

# THE HAMMAMET CONFERENCE 2013

UK AND NORTH AFRICAN LEADERS' VIEWS ON  
MEETING CHALLENGES IN THEIR SOCIETIES



ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE,  
UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

## ABOUT THE HAMMAMET CONFERENCE

The Hammamet Conference 2013 is the second event in a major international conference series which enables senior leaders from Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and the UK to form new relationships, share insights and examine together some of the major political, social and cultural issues arising in their respective countries.

The theme of the conference series is: The Leadership Challenge. Each year an expert Steering Committee works with the British Council and the Conference Co-Chairs to advise on the specific focus for that year's event.

The 2013 conference included 95 senior and emerging leaders from the sectors of politics, civil society, business, education, the media, and arts and culture. The event included a mix of formal plenary sessions and dynamic workshops to enable participants to share their ideas and debate the changes taking place across all six participating countries.

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'I SPENT A FASCINATING AND INSPIRING FEW DAYS... AND FROM THIS EXPERIENCE CAME AWAY BETTER INFORMED AND BETTER CONNECTED.'

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## ABOUT THE BRITISH COUNCIL

The British Council is the UK's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities. We create international opportunities for the people of the UK and other countries and build trust between them worldwide.

We work in more than 100 countries and our 7,000 staff – including 2,000 teachers – work with thousands of professionals and policy makers and millions of young people every year teaching English, sharing the arts, and in education and society programmes.

We are a UK charity governed by Royal Charter. A publically-funded grant-in-aid provides less than a quarter of our turnover which last year was £781 million. The rest we earn from English teaching, UK exams and services that customers around the world pay for, through education and development contracts and from partnerships with other institutions, brands and companies. All our work is in pursuit of our charitable purpose and creates prosperity and security for the UK and the countries we work in all around the world.

For more information, please visit: [www.britishcouncil.org](http://www.britishcouncil.org). You can also keep in touch with the British Council through <http://twitter.com/britishcouncil> and <http://blog.britishcouncil.org>

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'THE DEBATE IN PANEL DISCUSSIONS, WORKSHOPS AND THE CONFERENCE AT LARGE WAS CHARACTERISED WITH AN EMPHASIS ON DISCUSSING REAL ISSUES, AND PRODUCING PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS.'

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@HammametConf  
#HammametConference

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‘THE HAMMAMET CONFERENCE IS AN EXCELLENT  
EXAMPLE OF WHAT THE BRITISH COUNCIL DOES  
BEST: CONNECT PEOPLE AND IDEAS FOR ACTION.’

# FOREWORD FROM OUR CO-CHAIRS

At a time of continuing reform, instability and protests across North Africa, the Hammamet Conference 2013 brought together some of the most inspiring and influential leaders of five North African countries and the UK to hold discussions that are essential to our shared future. Inside the rooms of the conference, for one weekend in November, political leaders and activists, business leaders, journalists, leading academics, researchers and artistic curators came together. Thoughts and experiences were shared, ideas exchanged, differences discussed and solutions proposed. Since that weekend the conversation has continued, and indeed talk has turned to action. Meetings, emails, dinners, blogs and social media have all ensured that the conference was the beginning, not the end, of the Hammamet conversation.

Reform and revolution have given the societies of North Africa unique opportunities for introspection, to think about the future towards which they are heading. As nations decide what kind of place they want to be, dialogue with neighbours and friends is essential. In the UK too, arguments endure over issues such as accountability, education and the role of active citizens. While there were numerous ways in which experiences between the countries differed, and participants' opinions even more so, it became clear through conversation that we have much to learn from one another.

Building on the success of Hammamet 2012, this year's conference demonstrated the benefit of dialogue. Dialogue battles isolation and reveals that the barriers between us are not immovable. It allows us to think critically about how to better our societies, and to develop together the ideas that can create positive change. Without such dialogue we can become insular, trapped in disagreement, and with no hope of compromise or change.

In the spirit of dialogue and friendship, Algerian, Egyptian, Libyan, Moroccan, Tunisian and British leaders came together to discuss the challenges we share. Within the region, strong bonds are needed between neighbours who face many of the same problems. In the UK there has never been a more important time to develop a deeper understanding and friendship with the countries of North Africa that are experiencing such rapid change.

The relationships built at Hammamet will be essential for our future, as we are brought closer together than ever through the internet, the media, trade, education and issues of security. These new friendships have already begun to offer increased understanding, not purely of the challenges facing colleagues abroad, but also of the different views of participants from within the same country. Perhaps even better, we have already begun to see discussions of potential solutions and shared projects to tackle key issues.

We are proud to have been part of Hammamet 2013, and look forward to engaging in the continuing conversation.



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# HAMMAMET 2013: AN OVERVIEW

‘IT HAS MANAGED TO BRING TOGETHER A REMARKABLE MIX OF DELEGATES THAT REPRESENT A WIDE SPECTRUM OF EXPERIENCES, VOICES, IDEAS AND ATTITUDES.’

Hammamet 2013 was the second in an important new conference series that provides a forum for a wide variety of leaders from the United Kingdom and the countries of North Africa. The series gives leaders an opportunity to learn from one another's experiences and share respective visions for the future.

Participants strove to explore the common challenges facing the diverse communities within Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and the United Kingdom as they undergo a period of rapid change.

The Hammamet Conference brought together those who might otherwise never have had the opportunity to openly discuss such issues with each other. As any dynamic conversation between a diverse group with intertwined, and often painful histories, Hammamet 2013 was not without tension. Both within country delegations and more broadly, discussions were peppered with passionate disagreement. Indeed, the freedom to disagree was warmly welcomed, opening the way to frank and open dialogue and the formation of long lasting relationships built on trust and mutual understanding.



A spirit of openness and enthusiasm prevailed, filling the 'safe space' that the British Council sought to provide at the conference. Speakers and delegates tackled the subjects of each formal session directly and the ideas mooted within the conference halls flowed naturally into conversations outside. Without simultaneous translation or moderators, exchanges such as these brought the conference to life, building the momentum of discussion, stimulating debate and laying the foundation for an enduring network of contacts. Research presented at the opening of the conference offered thought-provoking material for many of the debates and certainly set the scene. This was conducted by the Gallup World Poll, the British Council's research *'Revolutionary Promise: Youth Perceptions in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia'* and research from the Brookings Institute *'The Revolution Continues – Interrupted'*.

Through a series of interactive presentations, workshops and plenaries conducted over a two-day period in Hammamet, Tunisia, ninety-five participants representing both an established and a newer generation of UK and North African leadership in politics, civil society, business, media, the arts, education and academia discussed the following themes:

- trust and accountability between citizens and leaders
- difference, diversity and dialogue
- active citizenship
- educational reform, skills and entrepreneurship
- arts, culture and innovation.

This report provides a flavour of the discussions as they happened, and sets out the main conclusions reached by the participants during the event.



# TRUST AND ACCOUNTABILITY BETWEEN CITIZENS AND LEADERS

## THE THEME IN BRIEF

Trust and accountability are vital to the functioning of societies, political systems and economies. People must trust their leaders to act in their interests, and their system of justice to protect them, their families and their property. Before 2010, trust between governments and citizens across North Africa had been undermined, contributing to the demonstrations, revolutions and reforms that we have seen play out over the past three years. Similarly, the UK has experienced its own crises of legitimacy. Trust in leaders has been in decline for much of the past generation but in recent years a financial crisis, coalition compromises and controversies surrounding ethics in politics and the media have eroded confidence in formal leadership even further.

Hammamet participants discussed the accountability deficit and considered ways that leaders could overcome this challenge.



## THE CHALLENGES

Specially commissioned research by Gallup suggested that in all participating countries except Morocco, the percentage of people who perceive there to be widespread government corruption has continued to increase since and despite the events of the last few years.

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‘IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, THE LAST THREE GENERAL ELECTIONS HAVE ACHIEVED THE THREE LOWEST TURNOUTS SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR.’

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Participants commented that politicians from each of the North African countries and the UK are often mistrusted by the public, who perceive that they often under-perform, act for personal gain and avoid interacting with society.

## HOW CAN WE TELL THAT THERE IS A LACK OF TRUST?

Workshops highlighted the primary indicators of citizens’ lack of trust in leaders as being:

- political apathy and disenchantment
- a rise in support for fringe political parties
- low voter turnout
- flourishing black market economies.

In all participating countries this ‘**trust deficit**’ is most acute between young people and political leaders.

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‘AMONG NORTH AFRICAN YOUTH THERE IS CONFUSION OVER THE MEANING OF LEADERSHIP AND ACCOUNTABILITY. MANY YOUNG PEOPLE FEEL THAT THE PEOPLE THAT THEY VOTED FOR AREN’T THE “REAL LEADERSHIP” AND THAT THEY HAVE BEEN SQUEEZED OUT OF THE PUBLIC SPACE THEY OCCUPIED DURING THE REVOLUTIONS.’

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In exploring what makes leaders *untrustworthy*, some participants blamed unaccountable leadership. Others felt, however, that heightened accountability of leaders could actually generate more sceptical and mistrustful citizens, by providing a window into what is sometimes seen as the murky business of politics.

## THE SOLUTIONS

There was much debate over how trust can be engendered and accountability implemented. It was agreed that the responsibility for holding leaders to account on a constant basis should be shared between:

- a responsible media
- non-governmental organisations (NGOs)
- whistle-blowing citizens armed with new media
- institutionalised **'accountability structures'**.

### ELECTIONS

Free and fair elections together with transparent parliamentary processes were identified as part of the solution. However, delegates stressed that these were not sufficient in and of themselves. Rather, North African countries need to look beyond what some participants saw as flawed Western models.

### CIVIL SOCIETY ACTIVITY

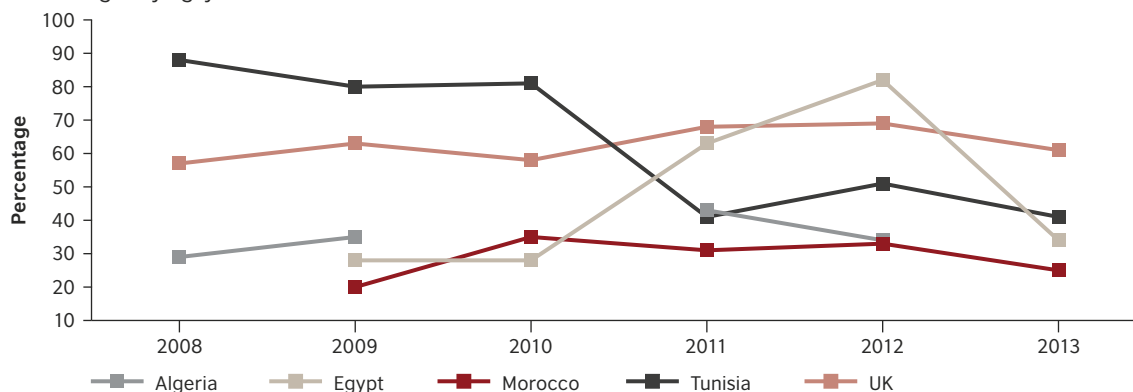
The leaps and bounds made by Tunisian civil society since the revolution were pointed to as a source of common inspiration. Delegates looked to the example of a Tunisian civil society project that seeks to:

- reposition citizens at the core of political action, by offering them the means to stay updated with the work of their elected representatives, and by providing them with information about the political process
- build relationships with elected representatives and decision makers in order to work towards the establishment of good governance practices and political ethics.

It was agreed that civil society must also strive to be more inclusive, to engage **'active citizens'** in dialogue with each other and with government, and to **'work hand in hand with the political establishment'**.

### CONFIDENCE IN ELECTIONS

In this country, do you have confidence in the honesty of elections?  
Percentage saying 'yes'.



Source: Gallup [www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup\\_research\\_0.pdf](http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup_research_0.pdf)

‘BEFORE THE ARAB SPRING, CIVIL SOCIETY WOULDN’T THINK ABOUT TALKING TO PARLIAMENT. WE’VE OVERCOME THAT.’

#### ACCOUNTABILITY STRUCTURES

Parliaments were urged to work harder to hold governments to account through bodies inspired by the Moroccan and UK Public Accounts Committees, the UK Parliamentary Select Committees, National Audit Office and Freedom of Information Act. Ministers were implored to explain to the public the nature and outcomes of their work and to make their ministries more transparent.

#### TRAINING FOR POLITICIANS

Participants asserted that trust in leaders was often jeopardised by:

- unrealistic pledges
- broken promises
- incapacity
- miscommunication.

To counter this, some participants suggested that power holders and aspirants – including political parties – could be given training to strengthen their expertise and capacity, and to improve their communication and consultation with citizens; bringing even the most marginalised citizens into the political process. However, other participants cited the example of great leaders from history who had received no formal training in these issues. They therefore felt that this would have less effect and that this was not a necessary pre-condition for effective political leadership.

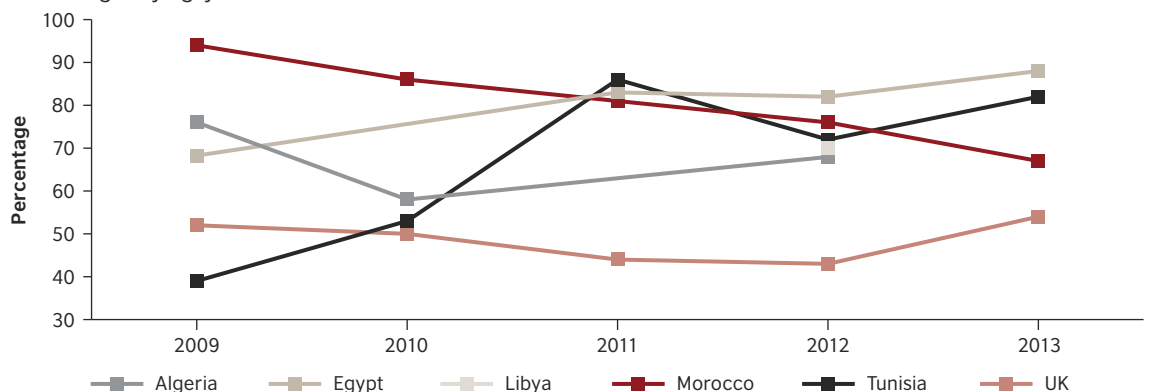
#### PARTICIPATION AND COLLABORATION

Discussions affirmed that communication and co-operation between leaders and citizens are vital for building trust by helping the public understand their leaders’ failures in the light of the difficulties they face and the time pressures of political transition.

‘AS CITIZENS, WE NEED TO PARTICIPATE AND PUSH OUR POLITICIANS TO PARTAKE IN CONVERSATIONS ABOUT WHAT OUR SOCIETY NEEDS TO BE, WHAT WE WANT FROM IT AND WHAT WE AND THE STATE SHOULD DO TO ACHIEVE THIS.’

#### GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION

Is corruption widespread throughout the government in this country, or not?  
Percentage saying ‘yes’.



### FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS

There was consensus that in North Africa and the United Kingdom, an accountable, free and independent press has a unique ability and responsibility to hold leaders, both elected and unelected, to account. To do this, the media in all participating countries need a professional approach and need to be able to engage in constructive criticism. This may require additional training.

A UK participant commented that the North African press should avoid mimicking the ferocity of the British media industry which **‘can have a negative role in creating bland, political automatons’** and which can undermine trust in leaders by seldom reporting ‘good news’ or the fulfilment of political promises. There was also animated discussion about the potential benefits and disadvantages of a binding ‘code of conduct’ for the media.

It was also noted that those who have been wronged by the media need some form of redress. Participants highlighted that in some North African countries this is currently not possible as there is no libel law and therefore there are limited means of correcting incorrect information published by the media. This can lead to damaged careers and dangerous rumours based on misinformation.

Most urgently, participants observed that the media need to revise the classical criteria by which leaders are judged so that new and better models of leadership can develop in the wake of authoritarianism.

### A NEW LEADERSHIP MODEL

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‘TRUST IS BUILT WITH STORIES, SPIRITUALITY, MUSIC, ART AND SPORT. ONCE ESTABLISHED AT THE MICRO-LEVEL IT WILL PERCOLATE UP TO THE MACRO-LEVEL – TO INSTITUTIONS.’

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Inside and outside the conference sessions, the question of leadership models and qualities was one of the most audible: what should replace authoritarianism? How should the largely leaderless reform movements and revolutions be reflected in the corridors of power? Now that citizens are increasingly



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TRUST AND ACCOUNTABILITY BETWEEN CITIZENS AND LEADERS

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sceptical of classical leadership, equating qualities such as 'vision' and 'charisma' with authoritarianism, what should a 21st century leader be – 'father figure' or sensitive artist?

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**'THE GHOST OF AUTHORITARIAN LEADERSHIP COULD BREED MONSTERS.'**

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Survey data presented indicated that North African citizens are now seeking participative, respectful, earnest and skilful leaders. Delegates agreed that citizens should seize upon the advent of '**participative, viral leadership**'. Citizens should look beyond the advice of business school handbooks and nurture leaders who combine rational intelligence with creativity, and the skills of working across networks to communicate, mobilise and respect diversity. Critically, it was felt that abstract theories of leadership cannot be simply copied and pasted into the

North African context. Finding a leadership model becomes more pressing as current (and prospective) leaders are confronted by a growing new challenge: the uninhibited, sceptical and active citizen.

**HOPE FOR THE FUTURE**

Despite such trials, there was sweeping enthusiasm among participants for the opportunity North African citizens now possess to revise and remodel the entire political landscape, and build genuine trust between accountable leaders and their citizens.

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**'THE PREVAILING CLIMATE, ALTHOUGH CLOUDED WITH MISTRUST, PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW TO THE PUBLIC THAT THERE IS STILL HOPE.'**

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# DIFFERENCE, DIVERSITY AND DIALOGUE

## THE THEME IN BRIEF

In the 21st century, new power structures rub against established hierarchies while online communities of shared interest increasingly replace geographic communities. As differences between groups are brought into sharper focus, more fragmented societies are likely to arise. Deeper factionalism can become entrenched, preventing communities from achieving their shared potential.

Across North Africa political debate has been affected greatly as religion and new political parties assume a growing role in formal politics. In the UK, smaller and younger parties, and a coalition government – the first since 1945 – have also had major effect.

Hammamet participants discussed the problems inherent in bringing newer voices into the discussion, and potential solutions leading to compromise.

## THE CHALLENGES

Given the sheer diversity of Hammamet participants themselves, it will come as no surprise that exchanges during the workshops and sessions on this theme proved to be among the most contentious of the conference. Discussions tackled the challenges and opportunities posed by:

- the resurgence of tribalism in Libya
- the tension between Arab and Berber identities across the Maghreb
- the rise of violent sectarianism in Egypt
- the polarisation of political persuasions in Tunisia
- the lessons learned from the Northern Ireland peace process
- increasing ethnic and religious diversity resulting from immigration to the United Kingdom.

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‘DIVERSITY NEEDS TO BE MANAGED LONG TERM. EVERYONE MUST BE INTEGRAL.’

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It was suggested that the greatest threats facing leaders and societies seeking reconciliation include:

- the **‘instrumentalisation of difference’** by those seeking to exacerbate societal tension
- the **demonisation and dehumanisation of ‘the other’** (in this case different political, religious or ethnic groups) by factions seeking to accrue power
- a lack of clear **‘rules of the game’**
- ongoing conflicts over the **‘definition and representation of national identity’**.

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‘IT WAS ONLY IN TAHRIR SQUARE THAT EGYPTIANS REALISED HOW DIVERSE THEY ARE. NOW, THE SIDES OF THE DIALOGUE ARE DEFINED IN RELIGIOUS TERMS: ARE YOU AN IKHWANI, OR AREN'T YOU?’

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### A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

Having reached a consensus that **‘leadership, civil society and public policy all have a responsibility to ensure that everyone gets equal treatment and rights,’** participants jointly concluded that affirmative approaches are sorely needed to **manage increasingly diverse societies.**

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‘TOLERANCE IS ABOUT ACCEPTING OTHERS AND FEELING THE BEAUTY AND BLESSING OF THEIR DIFFERENCE.’

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## THE SOLUTIONS

Proposed solutions highlighted the role of education and the media in the prevention of conflict and the celebration of diversity and art as a **mechanism for exploring areas of conflict and at times 'smoothing over disagreements,'** and religion as a potential **'partner and incubator of empowerment'.**

'WE NEED TO CONVINCE PEOPLE OF THE NECESSITY OF DIALOGUE BY "DOING". WE SHOULD EMBED AN APPRECIATION OF DIVERSITY WITHIN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.'

## QUESTIONS AROUND HOW, WHEN AND WHY DIALOGUE IS THE ANSWER

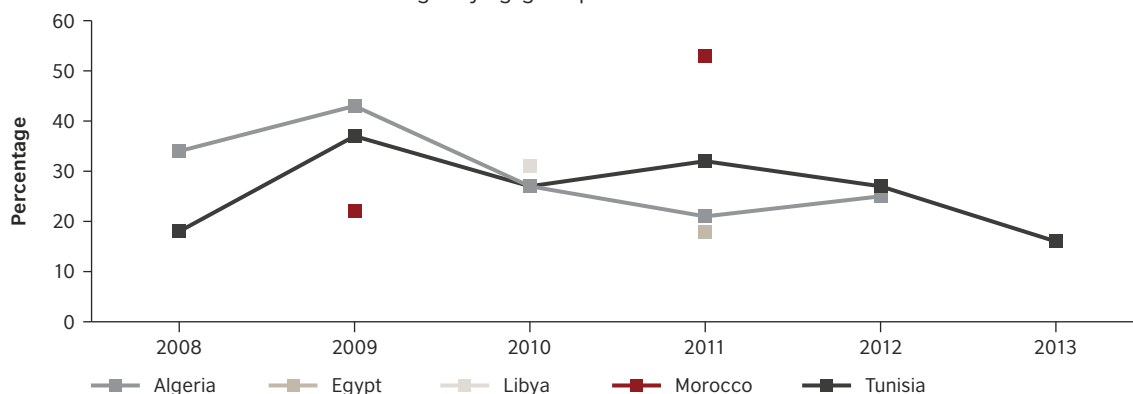
Nevertheless, in both workshops and official sessions, the issue of dialogue proved far more polarising. Comparisons between the utility and appropriateness of dialogue and **'exploratory dialogue'** in Northern Ireland and in Libya, as well as its acceptability to various actors in Egypt and Algeria, were thoughtfully discussed.

There was heated debate over how, when and under whose leadership or mediation, dialogue should take place; especially when insecurity and violence prevail. Views were sharply divided between those advocating dialogue as a means to resolve conflict and those citing peace and security as preconditions for any dialogue.

'ALL SIDES OF THE DISCUSSION MUST BE INCLUDED. SOMETIMES YOU NEED THE HARDLINERS TO BE INVOLVED SO THAT THE DIALOGUE AND SOLUTION CAN BE SUSTAINED.'

## RACIAL/ETHNIC MINORITIES

Is the city or area where you live a good place or not a good place to live for racial and ethnic minorities? Percentage saying 'good place'.



Source: Gallup [www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup\\_research\\_0.pdf](http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup_research_0.pdf)





# ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

## THE THEME IN BRIEF

In North Africa and the UK, charitable organisations, religious groups, protesters, trade unions, social enterprises and businesses practise active citizenship on a daily basis. In many cases, governments struggle to solve entrenched challenges due to a lack of available finance or a lack of capacity to deliver the services communities need. At times communities must decide whether to run the services themselves or see them close.

Active citizenship is also visible in less formal ways in our communities, by the millions of people who take action to help others or improve their own communities. These citizens go beyond voting in elections, paying taxes and obeying laws.

Participants discussed the importance of active citizenship and identified a number of ways those engaged in their communities could be encouraged and supported.

The sessions and workshops on active citizenship quickly revealed a firm consensus: that the courage and ingenuity of active citizens across North Africa ushered in the period of 'rapid change' explored by Hammamet 2013. In partnership with government, the international community and the media, active citizens will be decisive in realising the objectives of these transformations.

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'THROUGH ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP WE CAN MAKE WHAT IS INVISIBLE, VISIBLE.'

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## THE CHALLENGES

### WHAT IS AN ACTIVE CITIZEN?

A definition offered by one participant was:

**'An active citizen has to be courageous and assertive, has to have empathy, know how to blur the differences enough to live together, to be open minded and humble, to consider their own views as the first draft, to work in teams, be a follower and not always a leader, to think critically, to be educated beyond compliance and to be critical.'**

It was also proposed that in such a period of transition, power should be handed to non-state actors and in particular to active citizens as the cornerstones of civil society and agents of political reform.

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'MORE AND MORE PEOPLE WANT TO BE CITIZENS NOT NATIONALS – OUR CHALLENGE IS TO FIGURE OUT HOW WE CAN HELP THEM.'

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## THE SOLUTIONS

### AN ACTIVE YOUTH

Throughout the conference, young people were identified as the most important group to be engaged as active citizens. Across North Africa, young political processes are matched with young populations whose immense energy could be harnessed as a force for positive change.

Engaging young people as active citizens in the decisions that affect their lives is critical during this period of rapid change. It will involve a major cultural shift, but participants agreed that youth voices must now be heard.

### AN ENGAGING GOVERNMENT

Having agreed on the indispensability of active citizens in social and political transition, debates focused on the mechanisms by which active citizenship can be nurtured. It was argued that governments in particular **'have a responsibility to nurture and guide active citizenship'** as well as to consult more extensively with these individuals and groups and to support their enterprises through public policy.

Participants concluded that the state should urgently provide citizens – directly or through NGOs – with a **'safe space'** in which to be active, flourish, **'argue against the status quo'** and develop visions for the future.

### A COLLABORATIVE APPROACH

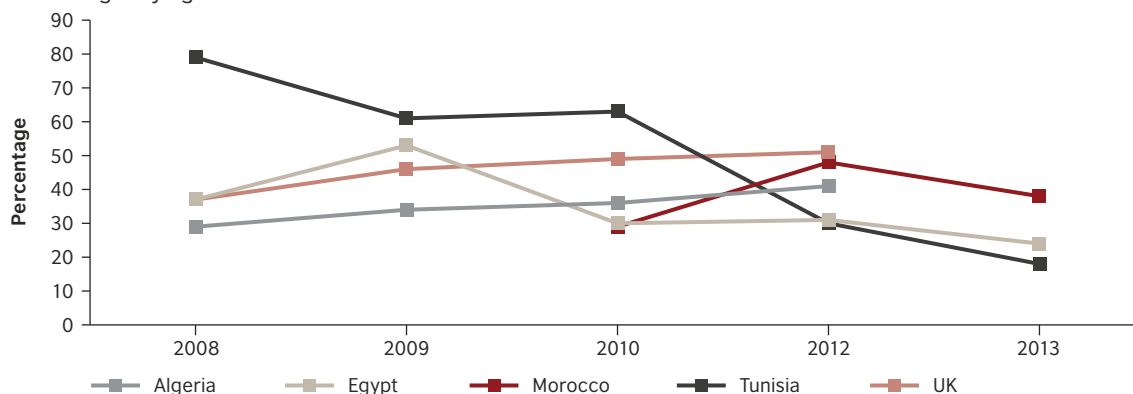
Participants stressed the need to pool local, national and international expertise and experience in areas as diverse as sports, community building, youth volunteering and fundraising – particularly engaging family owned businesses.

Further suggestions for fostering active citizenship considered the idea of city-based solutions as opposed to nationwide projects. Others noted the need for civil society and religious leaders to exchange expertise, given the role many religious groups in North Africa play in supporting the most marginalised members of society.

**'CULTURE IS ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL TOOLS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP.'**

### SATISFACTION WITH DEALING WITH THE POOR

In this country, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with efforts to deal with the poor?  
Percentage saying 'satisfied'.



Source: Gallup [www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup\\_research\\_0.pdf](http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup_research_0.pdf)

#### THE USE OF NEW MEDIA

Interactive radio programmes and the internet in particular were put forward as tools with which to promote the values of active citizenship, encourage youth initiatives, store ideas and build capacity at the local level.

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‘WE BECAME A PART OF DECISION MAKING IN THE GOVERNORATE, AND BEGAN TO BE CONSULTED ABOUT SOCIO-ECONOMIC ISSUES AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.’

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#### THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

Discussions emphasised the fact that while higher education institutions wield a great potential for outreach, schools can play a key role by teaching children about the concept of active citizenship from an early age. By giving pupils the space for creativity, expression and teamwork, art and sport can help nurture innovative active citizens and help them establish themselves in their communities.

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‘WE NEED TO SHORTEN THE DISTANCES AND BUILD BRIDGES BETWEEN CITIZENS, GATHER A STOCKPILE OF IDEAS AND ATTRACT DONORS TO HELP PUT THESE IDEAS INTO PRACTICE.’

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# EDUCATIONAL REFORM, SKILLS AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP

## THE THEME IN BRIEF

Today's international economy demands very different skills to those which were the norm when the education systems of all the participating countries were first designed. In both North Africa and the UK there is a high level of youth unemployment and a disconnect between the skills young people learn in education and those that employers need. Many young people find that an education and hard work alone will not guarantee a successful career. Voices from an underemployed and frustrated new generation may have many ideas and thoughts to share.

The challenges faced by young people and the reforms needed to solve these problems were discussed at length by participants.

## THE CHALLENGES

### NEGLECTED YOUTH

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‘YOU MAY THINK THAT YOUNG PEOPLE ARE NOT INTERESTED, BUT THEY ARE. THEY NEED A PLATFORM. WE’RE HERE, AND WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO TALK TO US – WE WANT TO BE INVOLVED.’

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The British Council’s **Revolutionary Promise** research revealed that young people in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia feel they have become the ‘**sacrificed generation**’. Considering the hardships they face, from joblessness to political exclusion, delegates agreed that the present moment represents an historic opportunity to empower young people through education.

Participants identified the common problems facing young people in all of the participating countries as unemployment (particularly of university graduates), political apathy, the prevalence of unrealistic expectations as employment shifts from the public to the private sector, and the ‘brain drain’ of wasted skills caused by acute graduate unemployment.

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‘THE EDUCATION SYSTEM NEEDS TO BE ENERGETIC AND RESPONSIVE. HOWEVER... THE BUREAUCRACY BEHIND THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION IS OBTUSE AND WITHOUT DIRECTION.’

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### SKILL DISCONNECT

Discussions also noted that education systems in North Africa do not teach students the analytical, professional and practical skills they need for further learning and work. The system fails to prevent high numbers leaving formal education prematurely. Education, it was asserted, lacks good governance and funding.

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‘YOUNG PEOPLE NEED A FULLY ROUNDED EDUCATION.’

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## THE SOLUTIONS

### ENGAGEMENT WITH SOCIETY

Discussing the recent history of the education system in the UK it was agreed that while there can be no quick and simple solutions, there needs to be a North African debate on education. This should be accompanied by a concerted effort to bridge the gap between educational establishments and society; matching qualifications to the job market locally and internationally, inviting industry leaders to work more closely with universities, and changing negative attitudes towards manual occupations.

Young people should be encouraged to take part in political and administrative processes through participation in advisory boards, as well as in the process of educational reform itself. Parents should also be included in order to build trust between all parties. Where young people are unable to find employment, they should be given practical support to become successful entrepreneurs and there should be legislation to facilitate this.

‘LESSONS CAN BE LEARNED FROM THE TRANSFORMATION OF SCHOOLS IN LONDON, WHICH RESULTED FROM STRONG, INNOVATIVE LEADERSHIP.’

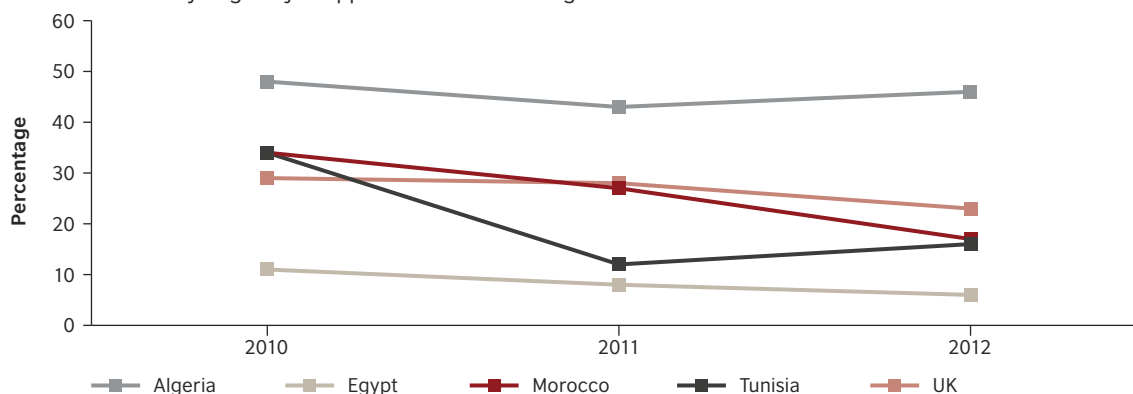
‘IN NORTH AFRICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, TOP DOWN CURRICULA HAVE REDUCED INNOVATION WITH A DETRIMENTAL EFFECT ON THE ARTS AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION. SCHOOLS IN NORTH AFRICA MUST NOW LEARN TO LOOK OUTWARDS, NOT UPWARDS.’

### AUTONOMY FOR TEACHERS

Gradually, schools and teachers in North Africa must be given greater autonomy, matched by accountability and quality leadership. Teachers should be trained to integrate new technologies and online resources into their approach.

### JOB OPPORTUNITIES

In the city or area where you live, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the availability of good job opportunities? Percentage 'satisfied'.



Source: Gallup [www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup\\_research\\_0.pdf](http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup_research_0.pdf)



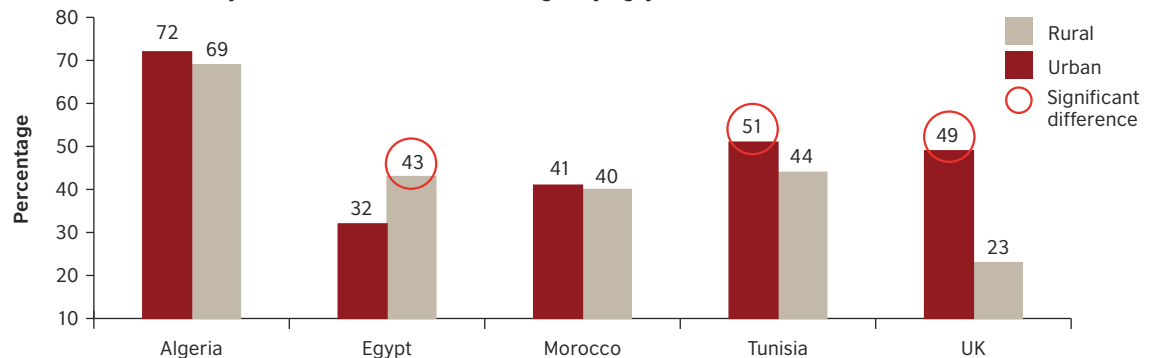
### HARNESSING THE POTENTIAL OF YOUNG PEOPLE

However, perhaps the most important addition to discussions on educational reform, skills and entrepreneurship was made by a participant of the British Council and the National Council for Voluntary Organisations' Young Leaders' Exchange Programme which was developed as result of the Hammamet Conference in 2012:

**'Young people often have the same objectives and want the same things, but they have different ideas about how to achieve them. So, if they can be involved it could really be something special.'**

### EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM SATISFACTION

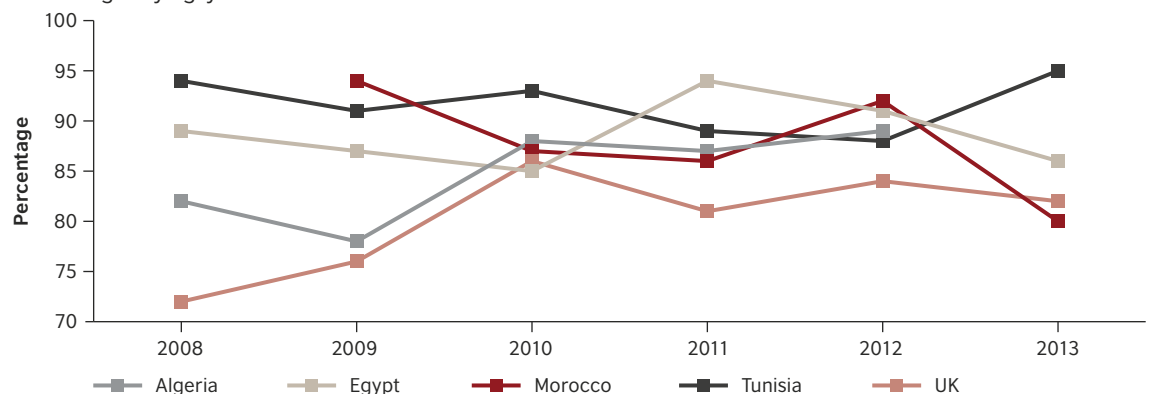
In the city or area where you live, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the educational system or the schools? Percentage saying 'yes'.



Source: Gallup [www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup\\_research\\_0.pdf](http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup_research_0.pdf)

### JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Can people in this country get ahead by working hard, or not? Percentage saying 'yes'.



Source: Gallup [www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup\\_research\\_0.pdf](http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/gallup_research_0.pdf)

# ARTS, CULTURE AND INNOVATION

## THE THEME IN BRIEF

Culture can be an access point into another society, and is vital in developing relationships and encouraging dialogues between societies and within nations. Resistance art may not have launched revolutions, but it has played an important role in communicating ideas and beliefs across North African populations. Art has proven its ability to voice internal dissent, speak out against the abuse of power and to model new futures. It has simultaneously provided a space in which to disagree and reinforce shared identities within nations. Musicians, graffiti artists, cartoonists, writers, poets, dancers and others in both the UK and North Africa have used their chosen mediums to celebrate and also critique.

## ARTS: CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS

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‘THE ARTS ARE A WAY TO BRIDGE  
VARIOUS COMMUNITIES DURING  
CONFLICT – THEY SPEAK TO  
EVERYBODY.’

---

Art, culture and innovation was a constant theme during Hammamet 2013. Formal sessions were interspersed by performances from musicians and breakdancers.

There was much reflection on the challenges artists faced under repressive regimes as well as the skills of subversion and subtle, constructive criticism that enabled them to survive and communicate. Today, North African citizens have the opportunity to: **‘move away from government sponsored projects that mimic European cultural institutions and to create independent cultural and artistic societies.’**

### INCLUSIVITY

Participants emphasised the role that artists and culture can play in political and social transition, particularly in dispelling widespread feelings of exclusion and mistrust. Discussions raised the need to find innovative solutions to common, entrenched problems. It was suggested that politicians could learn from artists’ creativity and sensitivity, using art and culture as a way to build trust between leaders and citizens.

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‘WE NEED LEADERS WHO RECOGNISE  
THE FLEXIBILITY AND AMBIGUITY  
WITH WHICH ARTISTS WORK, TO TREAT  
THEM AS INDIVIDUALS.’

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New leadership models might stress the importance of conversing with and listening to society and integrating an artistic approach to leadership; one that **‘seeks to present rather than convince.’**

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‘CULTURE IS BECOMING A POLITICAL QUESTION ONCE MORE. IT IS BECOMING A FOCAL POINT IN OUR CITIES AND SHOULD ALSO PLAY AN INCREASED ROLE IN LEADERSHIP.’

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#### DIALOGUE AND DISCUSSION

Participants and presenters considered how the naturally provocative and discursive character of arts and cultural productions of every kind might be used to channel dialogue and counter extremism. There was consensus that, once **‘embedded in the schooling system,’** art has the potential to help children develop the creative skills they need to shape the future.

Formal education systems as well as independent and accessible cultural spaces can provide the ideal environment in which to practise and promote diversity and active citizenship.

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‘IF YOU GIVE SPACE TO YOUNG PEOPLE WITH TALENT THEY CAN FILL IT, YOU DON’T NEED TO PUSH THEM. JUST GIVE THEM SIMPLE SUPPORT.’

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# THE LEADERSHIP CHALLENGE: SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS FROM THE HAMMAMET CONVERSATION

‘DO WE GO AWAY FEELING POSITIVE?  
THE ANSWER FOR ME IS “YES”!’

By sharing their distinct experiences and perspectives on the five Hammamet themes, participants identified a number of ways that their countries might seize this moment of rapid change as an historic opportunity.

## LEADERS AND CITIZENS SHOULD WORK TO:

- develop an education system that is innovative, well rounded, vocational and tailored to the demands of the market
- support entrepreneurship through public policy
- expand the role that artists and culture play in political and social transition, particularly in dispelling widespread feelings of exclusion and mistrust
- train a free, yet responsible media and create a culture of citizen journalism
- promote dialogue and diversity through the arts
- push parliaments to work harder to hold government to account and explore other ways to appraise the performance of leaders and institutions via civil society
- strengthen the capacity and expertise of politicians, and encourage them to communicate and consult effectively with citizens
- redraw models of leadership
- encourage the active participation of all citizens in the democratic process, particularly those who are not already engaged
- urge the state to provide citizens with a ‘**safe space**’ in which to be active, argue, flourish, and develop visions for the future
- empower North African and UK emerging leaders to shape the future.



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THE LEADERSHIP CHALLENGE: SUGGESTED SOLUTIONS FROM THE HAMMAMET CONVERSATION

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### SO WHAT NEXT?

In light of the discussions and conclusions reached over the course of Hammamet 2013, and with the aim of turning agreed principles into practice, the British Council has committed to:

- Promote the arts as a means to bridge societal **divides and difference**, celebrate **diversity** and encourage **dialogue** in North Africa.
- Produce and distribute a pamphlet in Arabic, English and French across North Africa and the UK to share case studies from each participating country and suggest recommendations for **educational reform**.
- Host follow up meetings with participants in each country to encourage **active citizenship** and develop ways to build **trust and accountability**.
- Launch a new **Hammamet Scholarship scheme** for a short period of study at the University of Oxford.



## THE HAMMAMET SCHOLARSHIP

The Hammamet Scholarship will enable one young person from each of the participating Hammamet countries – Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and the UK – to attend a short academic programme at Oxford University supported by St Antony's College 2014 Summer School. This will be followed by a week of professional development designed by the British Council and our partners.

The 2014 Scholarship winners will return to next year's Hammamet Conference and present their work.

By giving some of North Africa's and the UK's brightest young minds the chance to study together at the University of Oxford and be involved in future Hammamet Conferences, the **Hammamet Scholarship** unveiled at the close of the conference hopes to encourage some vital youth engagement.

## THE HAMMAMET CONVERSATION

Of course, the greatest task will be the implementation of these strategies. It is hoped that the conversations started at this year's conference will be continued until the Hammamet Conference 2014 and beyond, and that with the continued commitment of the British Council, the spirit of friendship and co-operation between participants in all of the Hammamet conferences will continue to grow.

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'WE MUST MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF DIALOGUE AND INTERACTION AND KEEP THE LINES OF COMMUNICATION OPEN.'

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# WITH THANKS TO OUR PARTNERS



ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

The Middle East Centre of St Antony's College is the centre for the interdisciplinary study of the modern Middle East in the University of Oxford. Centre Fellows teach and conduct research in the humanities and social sciences with direct reference to the Arab world, Iran, Israel and Turkey, with particular emphasis on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Middle East Centre has provided expert advice and support with the development of the conference and is our partner for dissemination of the conference outcomes.



Shell is a global group of energy and petrochemicals companies with around 87,000 employees in more than 70 countries and territories. We use advanced technologies and take an innovative approach to help build a sustainable energy future.

Shell has been active in Tunisia for almost 90 years. Over the years, Shell has aided in the development of Tunisia's oil and gas industry, notably in the downstream sector where we had one of the largest retail networks, supplying consumers with LPG, motor fuels, lubricants and bitumen. We are still present in Tunisia through our partnership with Vivo Energy.





Silatech is a Qatar-based social initiative that works to create jobs and expand economic opportunities for young people throughout the Arab world. The organisation promotes large-scale job creation, entrepreneurship, access to capital and markets, and the participation and engagement of young people in economic and social development. Founded in 2008 by Her Highness Sheikha Moza bint Nasser, Silatech finds innovative solutions to challenging problems, working with a wide spectrum of development organisations, governments and the private sector to foster sustainable, positive change for Arab youth. For more information, please visit: [www.silatech.com](http://www.silatech.com)



Société tunisienne de l'air or TUNISAIR is the flag carrier airline of Tunisia. TUNISAIR provides an extensive network to more than 47 destinations. From the airline's hub at Tunis Carthage international airport, Tunisair provides scheduled services to over 25 countries including France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Lebanon, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Algeria, Libya and Morocco. The TUNISAIR loyalty program 'FIDELYS', places customers at the centre and offers a wide range of advantages and exclusive awards through its three levels of cards: Classic, Silver and Gold. TUNISAIR has implemented a quality management system and has successfully obtained the renewal of its ISO and IOSA certification, recently.



Gallup delivers forward-thinking research, analytics, and advice to help leaders solve their most pressing problems. Combining more than 75 years of experience with its global reach, conducting research in over 140 countries annually, Gallup knows more about the attitudes and behaviours of the world's constituents, employees, and customers than any other organisation.



The Tunisian National Tourist Office (TNTO) works to promote Tunisia all over the world. The TNTO works in close co-ordination to provide the public with extensive information on all aspects of Tunisia. It provides details on destinations and places of interest, activities and excursions, travel and transport, and much more.



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Photography © Amine Aissa apart from the headshots on pages 3 and 33.

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