

Introduction to the Panel "Towards New Social Contracts in MENA Countries?"

DIE-MENA-Team

Panel on "Towards New Social Contracts in MENA Countries? Prospects for Economic and Social Policy Reform, better Governance and National Dialogues", organised by DIE, Annual DAVO Conference, University of Hamburg, 03-05 October 2019

"Social contract" concepts



Source: own design

"Social contract"
as a
normative concept
(Grotius, Hobbes,
Locke, Rousseau:
to overcome natural
state of anarchy)

"Social contract"
as an analytical concept
(to compare old and new settings
of state-society relations)

social contracts
as a means to
make statesociety relations
transparent

normativity
in how
new social
contracts should
be

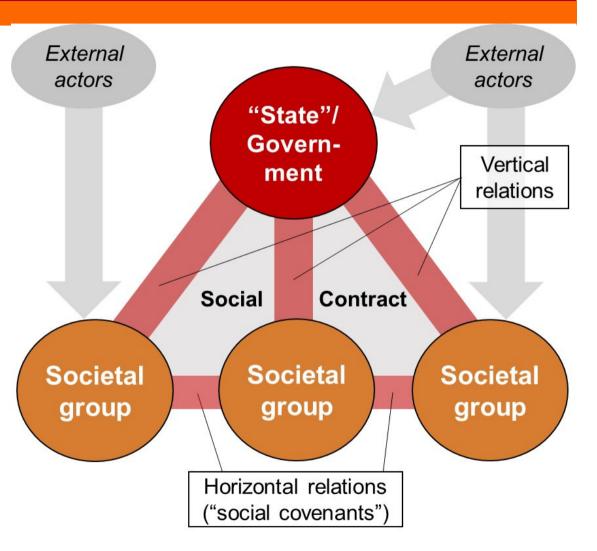
What is a social contract?



"set of explicit and implicit, agreements of the various groups of society

- with each other
- and with the government (or any other actor in power)

defining rights and obligations towards each other."



Source: Loewe and Zintl (forthcoming)

What is a social contract?



"set of explicit and implicit, agreements of the various groups of society

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- and with the government (or any other actor in power)

defining rights and obligations towards each other."

- partly implicit (informal institution)
- exist in every country
- but can look very differently
- are often asymmetric
 (reflecting distribution of power between government and social groups)
- can treat social groups differently
- not static
 (can be renegotiated or terminated)

What are the deliverables?



Source: Loewe and Zintl (forthcoming)

Protection

(collective and individual security, incl. rule of law, dependent on state authority)

Provision

(resources, infrastructure, social/economic benefits, *dependent on state capacity*)

Society/

"State"/
Government

Participation

(in political decision making, generating state legitimacy)

Societal groups

Recognition of legitimacy

(instead of fear of repression)

Taxes and other obligations

(e.g., military or civil service)

Narrative

(national narratives can generate identity, social cohesion, and stability for the social contract)

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What was the ,old' social contract in MENA?



Source: Loewe and Zintl (forthcoming)

Protection

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Provision

(resources, infrastructure, social/economic benefits, *dependent on state capacity*)

Society/

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Part. vi ation

(in political denision making, generating star legitimacy)

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Taxes an other obligations

(e.g., r in ry or civil service)

How has the social contract changed in Egypt?



Source: Loewe and Zintl (forthcoming)

Protection

(collective and individual security, incl. rule of law, dependent on state authority)

Pr. v'sion

(resources, infrastruture, social/economic benefits, dependent in a state capacity)

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MENA countries after the Arab Uprisings 2011

SPRING

ARAB



,old', populistauthoritarian social contracts

postpopulist, "unsocial" contracts **Source:** Loewe and Zintl (forthcoming)

more participatory / liberal social contract (Tunisia)



"stability contract" (e.g. Egypt)



no country-wide social contract / state failure (Libya, Yemen, Iraq, Syria)



reconstructed social contract (Jordan? Morocco?)



reinvented, more inclusive populist provision contract?(lran).....



anything else? (still in flux) (i: Saudi-Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain) (ii: Algeria) (iii: Sudan)





A more sustainable social contract?



Question:

Can we imagine reforms in MENA countries that

- improve the well-being of citizens on the short and long term
- improve the long-term potential of sustainable development
- <u>but</u> are also acceptable to the <u>regimes</u>
- and therefore good for short-term and long-term stability?

These changes/ reforms would thus lead to yet another 'social contract' that

- is not necessarily 'perfect' by any criterion
- but pareto-superior to the current / 'old' social contract
- and hence good for longer term stability

A more sustainable social contract?



Possible policy areas to start with:

Public administration and judiciary:

more accountability and transparency, e.g. by e-government

Social spending:

better targeting (universal direct cash transfers replacing subsidies)

Economic policy making:

no isolated decision making of ignorant governments no state capture by influential business people rather participatory policy-making: "*embedded autonomy*" "*social pacts*" by governments, employers and trade unions

Agricultural policy:

equitable access to land, water and related subsidies and credits; better embedding of agricultural policies in rural development and vice-versa; sustainable management of natural resources; more participative and accountable, transparent decision-making







Session C1: 09.00h-11.00h



Chair: Bernhard Trautner (University of Tübingen and German Development Institute/ Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, Bonn)

- Markus Loewe (DIE): Introduction to the panel
- Melani Cammett (Harvard University), Ishac Diwan (Harvard **University)**, and Irina Vartanova (Institute for Future Studies, Stockholm): The Effects of Insecurity on Political Values in the Arab World
- Erin McCandless (The New School in New York): Forging Resilient and Inclusive Social Contracts to Achieve and Sustain Peace: Drawing Lessons from Tunisia for the MENA Region
- Laryssa Chomiak (Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines à Tunis): State/Society/Protest in Contemporary Tunisia
- Zafiris Tzannatos (Lebanese Center for Policy Studies): The Youth Bulge than was not The Mismeasured, Misunderstood and Mistreated Arab Youth => second session

Session D1: 11.30h-13.30h



Chair: Amirah El-Haddad (Cairo University and German Development Institute/ Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, Bonn)

- Zafiris Tzannatos (Lebanese Center for Policy Studies): The Youth Bulge than was not The Mismeasured, Misunderstood and Mistreated Arab Youth
- Wael Khatib (independent researcher, Jordan), and Sean Yom (Temple University): The Social Contract in Jordan at 100 Years: Revisiting Identity
- Tina Zintl (DIE): Divide and Rule in the Taxi Business? How the carhailing services Uber and Careem illustrate Jordan's shifting social contract
- Martin Hvidt (University of Southern Denmark): The Dubai Model of Development - Changing the social contract
- Ingrid El Masry (University of Marburg): No lighthouse in sight? Post-2011 Tunisia and the need for sustainable development

Session E1: 14.30h-16.30h



Chair: Markus Loewe (German Development Institute/ Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, Bonn)

- Georgeta Vidican Auktor (University of Applied Science Nürnberg), and Markus Loewe (DIE): Rationalising public transfer spending in the Middle East and North Africa: Strategic options to deal with challenges
- Amirah El-Haddad (Cairo University and DIE): Redefining the social contract in the wake of the Arab Spring: the experiences of Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.
- Hania Sobhy (Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and **Ethnic Diversity):** Education and the Lived Social Contract in Egypt before and after the Uprisings
- Annabelle Houdret (DIE), and Hichem Amichi (Ecole d'Ingénieurs de Purpan, Toulouse): The rural social contract in Morocco and Algeria: reshaping through economic liberalization and new rules and practices

Session F1: 17.00h-19.00h



Chair: Annabelle Houdret (German Development Institute/ Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik, Bonn)

- Fabio Coriolano (Warsaw University): Healthcare Systems in Selected Islamic Countries
- Bernhard Trautner (DIE and University of Tübingen): Supporting new social contracts for dysfunctional Middle Eastern states - instead of fictitious nation building
- Mark Furness (DIE): The German guidelines on crisis prevention and peacebuilding, and Germany's responses to conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa
- Gubara Said Hassan (Sultan Qaboos University, Muscat): Sudan's Uprisings: For Hurriyyah (Freedom), Salam (Peace) and Adalah (Justice)





Thank you very much for your attention!

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