**Annex 6: Probetext für LOS 1: Englisch-Deutsch**

**Transnational Cooperation and Social Contracts**

Social contracts govern the core of state society relations. In the West, the social contract concept has been debated among political philosophers and social scientists since the Enlightenment and the work of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. However, the social contract is not just a Western philosophical concept setting out an idea form of socio-political and economic organisation. Indeed, as Nyabola points out, non-Western ideas and traditions have helped shape the understanding of the social contract. At its most basic level, the social contract captures why people consent to be governed, why rulers place limits on their arbitrary power, how societies that people want to live in are organised, and how individuals and groups cooperate to ensure collective security and welfare. Governments can rule by repression rather than by consent, but they rarely succeed in the long run without at least some legitimacy emanating from a social contract. The universality of social contracts and their central role in deciding who gets what and why makes them highly relevant for development policy and transnational cooperation.

For the purposes of analysis, the social contract can be defined as “the entirety of explicit or implicit agreements between all relevant societal groups and the sovereign (the government or any other actor in power), defining their rights and obligations towards each other” (Loewe, et al., 2019). Further, these rights and obligations can be identified in accordance with the ‘3Ps’: the sovereign must deliver *Protection* to citizens, it must provide goods, services and opportunities (*Provision*), and it must enable a degree of citizen *Participation* in public life and in decision-making. The state’s failure to deliver one or more of the 3 Ps leads sooner or later to societal discontent and political instability. Functioning, legitimate social contracts are key to social cohesion, which in turn is crucial for successful socio-economic development.

Although international actors can normally not define or dictate another country’s social contract (and efforts to do so usually create conflict and intervention quagmires like in Afghanistan or Ukraine), they can help strengthen certain aspects by supporting particular processes. International partners can help state and/or societal actors to deliver on their sides of the bargain by supporting one or more of the ‘3Ps’. International actors can also act as spoilers, undermining or even destroying existing social contracts, or attempting to shape them in accordance with their own interests.

It is therefore imperative from both a development effectiveness perspective and a moral standpoint that interventions that aim to influence or attempt to change aspects of a country’s social contract should respect core development cooperation principles: the focus on poverty, national ownership of key decisions and processes, transparency and accountability on the part of all, and that interventions ‘do no harm’.

Using the social contract as an analytical lens can therefore increase understanding of what donors should avoid doing, and also where they should concentrate their engagement.

The 3Ps framework outlines (or provides categories for) the “deliverables” that are “exchanged” by the state and society under a social contract:

* The state should provide public goods, such as national and human security (“protection”).
* The state should also provide institutions, opportunities and services, such as healthcare and education (“provision”).
* The state should enable “participation” by protecting citizens’ rights, such as the right to engage in political decision-making, the right to justice, freedom of expression, and religious and personal freedoms.
* Society, both at the level of social groups and individuals, should grant recognition to the state as a sovereign entity, and support the state by paying taxes, respecting laws and participating in public affairs.

Changes in the 3Ps can be assessed in Pareto terms: they should at least make nobody worse off, and ideally make many citizens, social actors and structures better off. Pareto-improving social contract reforms contribute to all aspects of social cohesion: vertical trust (in the government), horizontal trust (in the members of other groups of society), feelings of belonging and readiness to engage as citizens for the common good. Assessing interventions in this way can show if cooperation has respected core development principles with regard to the social contract.

The social contract offers an analytical perspective, a framework for identifying entry points, and a set of standards for principled cooperation. The social contract lens shows how the 3Ps work together as a framework for long-term social cohesion, peaceful relations and political stability. The social contract has a transnational dimension in that it involves state and non-state actors, its formation and evolution is influenced by external actors and forces, and these influences can have positive or negative effects in Pareto terms. Shifting the emphasis of donor engagement to the social contract has several implications for transnational cooperation and development policy.

First, using the social contract as an analytical lens helps to conceive transnational cooperation in a holistic and long-term manner. This is especially relevant for designing technical and financial cooperation programmes that aim to build genuine social, political and economic resilience. Sometimes, donor countries face contradictions between their own short-term goals and the longer-term needs of partners. Focussing cooperation on social contracts would help overcome conflicts of interest on the part of donors, especially those that have driven initiatives that target short- to medium-term goals, such as migration management.

A second implication is the need to diversify the partners of development cooperation, while being aware of the risks, especially in authoritarian contexts. Donors must secure the buy-in of the state where possible, in order to secure the cooperation of those able to either facilitate or block reforms. This is not always easy in conflict-affected countries especially, where the “state” may mean local or municipal administrations because the national government is compromised by its engagement in conflict. Development cooperation invariably contributes to strengthening the state, and often at the expense of society (or at least of marginalised groups within it). Indeed, focusing exclusively on state partners risks reproducing socioeconomic and power inequalities, and thereby reinforcing conflict, fragility or patterns of exclusion that weaken the social contract. In the short run, this may stabilise the political order so that economic and security cooperation can continue. However, its longer-term effects can be fundamentally destabilising, as social dissatisfaction with the status quo builds, resulting in pressure on the political and economic elite. Nevertheless, in authoritarian contexts, external support for non-state actors can be seen as a violation of sovereignty. Considering the implications of transnational cooperation for the social contract can help development policymakers think about this dilemma in a more structured way.

A third implication is that ‘classic’ technical and financial development cooperation still has an important role to play. Development cooperation that focusses on the ‘3Ps’ could support reforms that improve the well-being of citizens, but which are still acceptable to governments – for example, improvements in health care and education, especially in rural areas; greater transparency in administrative processes; targeted social assistance to replace energy subsidies; or more equitable access to justice. Strengthening the capacity of stakeholders and institutions to plan strategically for economic and political transformation, and underpinning local priorities with international expertise, are transnational processes that development cooperation can support.