RESILIENT, INCLUSIVE SOCIAL CONTRACTS EMERGING FROM TRANSITIONS: DRAWING LESSONS FROM TUNISIA FOR THE MENA REGION

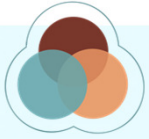## PROFESSOR ERIN MCCANDLESS

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OVERVIEW

Objectives: share RSC project framing and findings; (humbly) reflect on value for MENA region.

1. Introduction
2. *Forging Resilient Social Contracts* – Framing
3. Findings: General and Tunisia
4. Other analyses & implications, including other MENA Countries
5. Conclusions

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT: ENDURING THEMES & QUESTIONS

- **Purpose?**

- **Who the social contract is between?**

- **What mechanisms enforce/forge/sustain it?**

- **How to handle conflicting interests, i.e. how to address moral obligation to others and self-interest, and the distribution of wealth?**

Ancient Era
`~1000 BC - 400 AD

Medieval Era and Renaissance
~400 AD - Early 17th century

Modern Era 'Classical' Political Thought
Mid-17th – Early 19th century

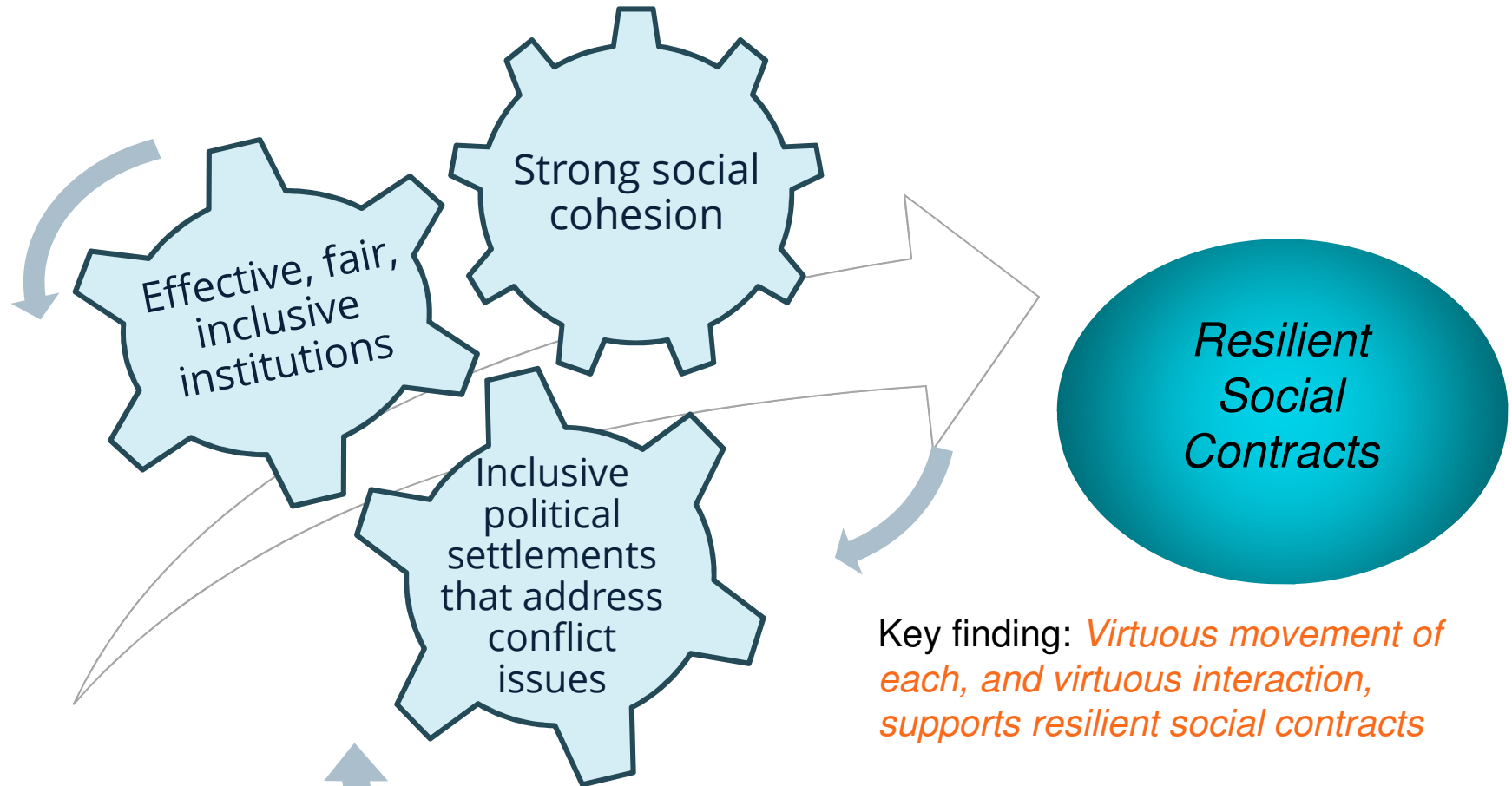Current (Contemporary)
Late 19th century - Now

RESILIENT SOCIAL CONTRACT

*A **Resilient National Social Contract** is a dynamic <u>national</u> agreement between state and society, including different groups in society, on how to live together, and notably, around how power is distributed and exercised.*

It allows for the <u>peaceful mediation</u> of different demands and conflicting interests, and different expectations and understandings of rights and responsibilities (including with nested or overlapping social contracts), over time, and in response to <u>contextual factors</u> (including shocks and stressors), <u>through varied mechanisms</u>, institutions and processes.

DRIVERS OF RESILIENT SOCIAL CONTRACTS

Strong social cohesion

Effective, fair, inclusive institutions

Inclusive political settlements that address conflict issues

Resilient Social Contracts

Key finding: *Virtuous movement of each, and virtuous interaction, supports resilient social contracts*
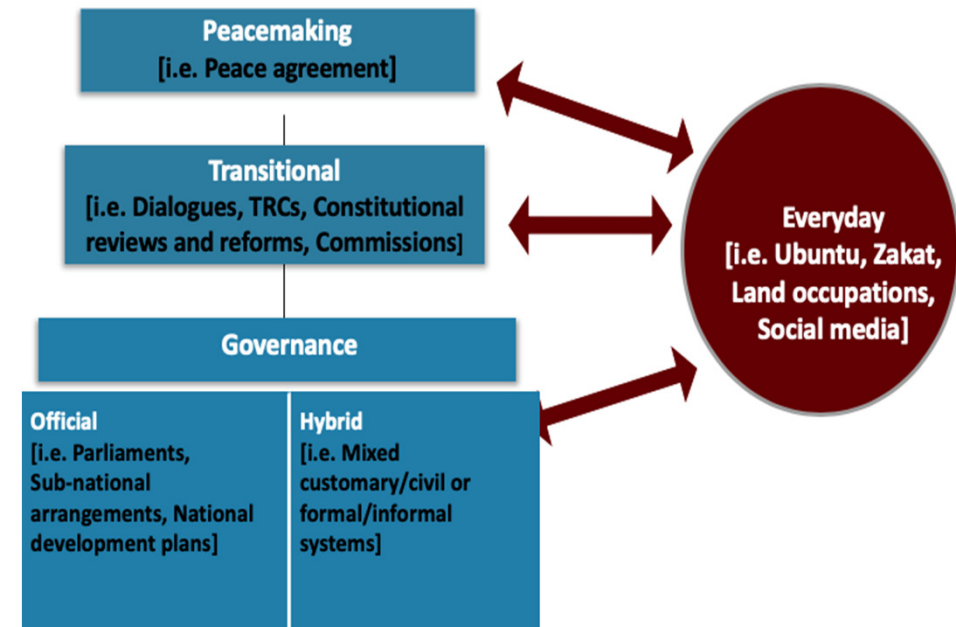
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FINDINGS: POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS & SOCIAL CONTRACT MAKING

➤ **D1: Early stages of peace negotiations offer possibilities for redefining parameters for inclusion** & positioning of different groups and issues, **but often fail to sustain advances**
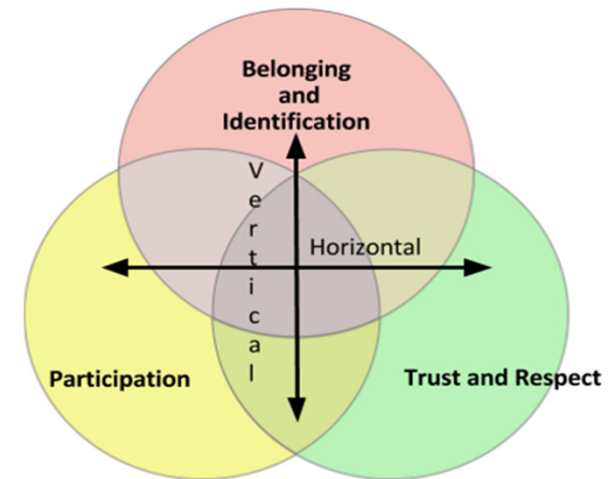
RSCs often don't materialise <u>because:</u>

➤ **CCIs are not effectively addressed over time, undermining ability of political settlement to deliver inclusive results**

➤ **D1&2: Social contract making "spheres" and "mechanisms" are not well linked** to coherently address CCIs and engage resilience capacities

➤ **Institutions (including customary, informal and non-state) are not sufficiently** engaged in agreement implementation

Institutional Spheres of Social Contract Making to support inclusive political settlements

Peacemaking [i.e. Peace agreement]

Transitional [i.e. Dialogues, TRCs, Constitutional reviews and reforms, Commissions]

Governance

Official [i.e. Parliaments, Sub-national arrangements, National development plans]

Hybrid [i.e. Mixed customary/civil or formal/informal systems]

Everyday [i.e. Ubuntu, Zakat, Land occupations, Social media]

FINDINGS: SOCIAL COHESION

> *Poor progress in achieving inclusive political settlements and providing fair service delivery can weaken vertical and horizontal social cohesion*

> *Horizontal social cohesion tends to be stronger within groups than between them*, and weaker when political issues (rather than ethnic or religious issues) come into play

> *Social cohesion initiatives tend to be more effective when driven by communities rather than the state*

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WIDER SOCIAL CONTRACT ANALYSIS: TUNISIA & MENA REGION

	Drivers of social contract	Outcomes / Challenges
Tunisia	**Driver 1:** Inclusive political settlement. CCIs included, but serious challenges addressing them in follow on mechanisms. New CCIs - security related, present profound problems. **Driver 2:** Institutions - some progress, but economic and security challenges and corruption undermining. Progress on decentralization slow, and conflicted. **Driver 3:** Social cohesion mixed. Distrust b/tw regions Youth disaffected with state, majority not voting in elections HC: Tolerance b/tw groups ok, incl. secularists and Muslims Affected by D1&2 poor progress	**Democracy** Wide ownership of political process & outcomes New constitution adopted; high support Five credible elections Economic challenges Slow progress on CCIs
Egypt	**Driver 1:** Political settlements were driven by inclusive protests, State capture overtook (Morsi-Islamic), El-Sisi (Securitization). **Driver 2:** Institutions are corrupt, poor service delivery. Securitization of institutions. Military heavily in economy. **Driver 3:** Vertical and horizontal cohesion very weak. Horizontal SC challenged by Islamic/secular divide	**Military dictatorship** Militarization of state 'Arab Winter'

CASE STUDY: PROTESTS, THE EVIDENCE *(CHENOWETH & STEPHEN)*

- Chances of conflict remerging within the first 10 years in states where transition:
    - was violent are 43%
    - through nonviolent resistance are 23%

- Key factors of NV civil resistance movements being successful:
    - high levels of participation by citizens (diversity, women and youth)
    - Winning over of security forces
    - Variation of methods
    - Holding stable in periods of repression

- States which transition through nonviolent resistance tend to be democratic, higher levels of social trust, etc.

WHY CIVIL RESISTANCE WORKS

THE STRATEGIC LOGIC OF NONVIOLENT CONFLICT

Erica Chenoweth
& Maria J. Stephan

DETERMINANTS OF MILITARY'S RESPONSE, ARAB SPRING (SHAMA 2019)

	Egypt	Tunisia
Degree of Institutionalisation	High	High
Army's Relationship with Regime	*Strong (But waning in pre-2011 Period)*	*Weak, marginalised*
Army's Bond with Society	Strong	Strong
Institutional and Economic Benefits	*Yes*	*Limited*
Regime Legitimacy	Low	Low
External Aid to Regime	Moderate	Moderate
Prospects of Foreign Intervention	Small	Small

TAKEAWAYS..

- Importance of winning over military and transforming securitised state

- Forging social contract mechanisms to build a more lasting inclusive political settlement, and to sustain peace:

  - Progress in three drivers:
    - *Ensure coherent, inclusive social contracting mechanisms addressing CCIs, engaging resilience capacities*

    - *Transform institutions*

    - *Societally driven social cohesion*

  - Synergize efforts across drivers for catalytic effects

  - Engage and align parallel and competing actors, legitimacies, contracts

  - *A PROPOSED THEORY OF CHANGE FOR SUSTAINING PEACE*