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Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik | German Development Institute

Supporting new social contracts for dysfunctional Middle Eastern states - instead of fictitious *nation building*

26th International DAVO Congress

Hamburg, Germany, 9.00h-18.30h, 04 October 2019

Bernhard Trautner

Structure

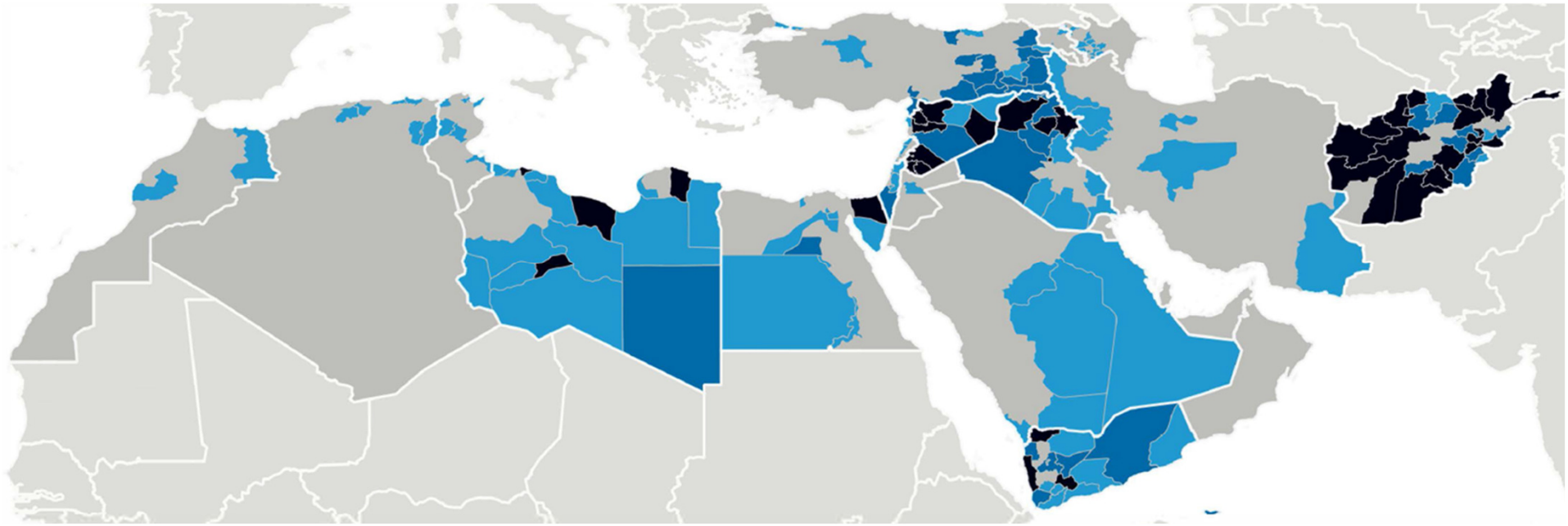
1) Introduction – challenges to peace: state failure
2) Three non-exclusive modes of framing the state:
   a) (nation)state
   b) state fragility
   c) social contract (SC)
3) Core deliveries of the *Social Contract* in Iraq over time
4) Towards a new contract for reconstruction in Iraq 2019
5) SC's specific value for analytical framing

Three main challenges to peace in MENA

1) Conflict and war: transforming the state in MENA
2) (Re-?) building:
   a) state and/or nation
   b) peace
3) Peacebuilding as recalibrating state – society relations

   → Reconstruction or re-invention of the state?

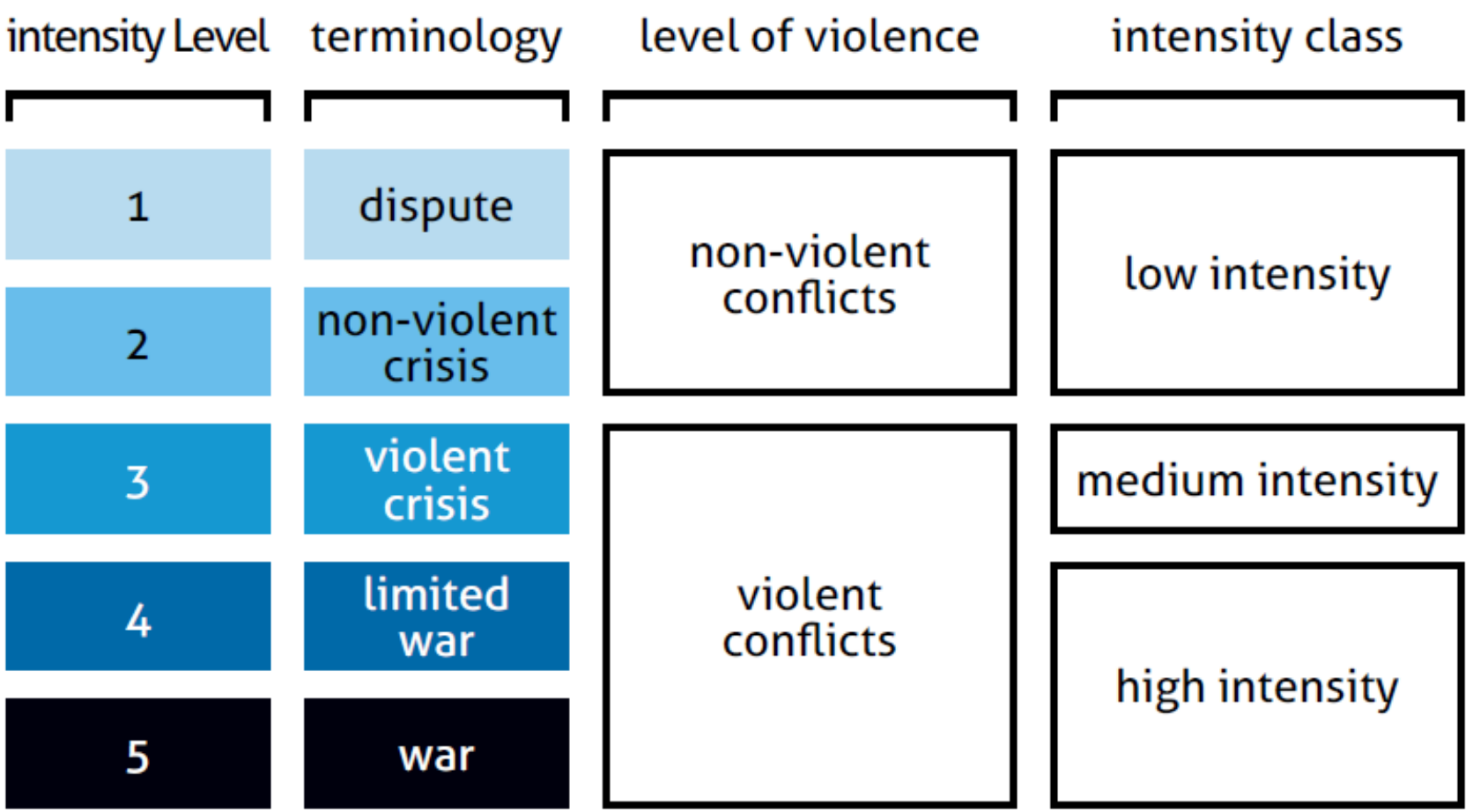
Violent Conflicts in MENA 2018



Souce: HIIK Conflict Barometer 2018, S. 158

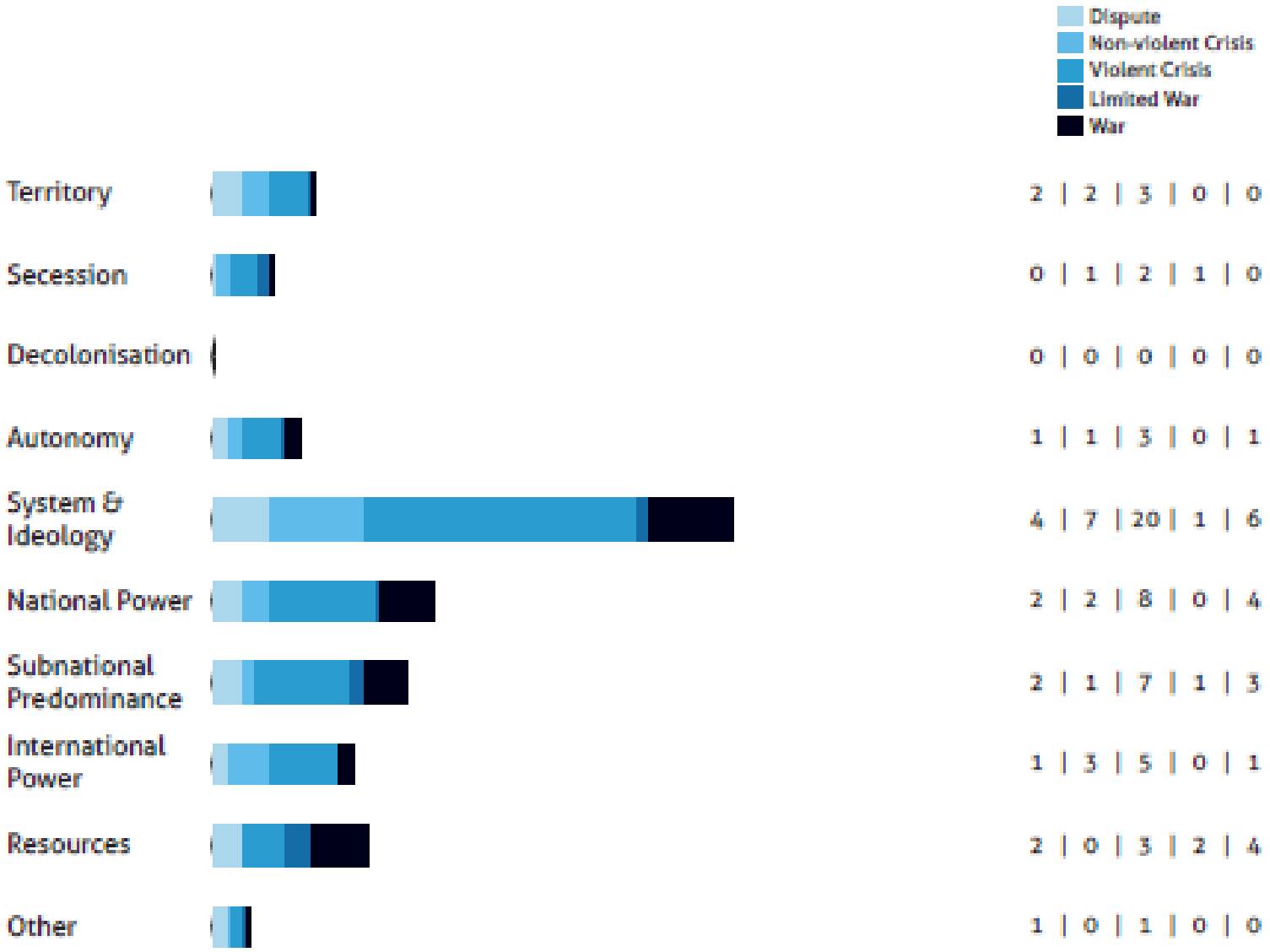
Heidelberg Conflict Barometer - Methodology

THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT INTENSITY



Source: HIIK Conflict Barometer 2018, S. 6

Observed frequency of conflict types in MENA 2018



Source: HIIK Conflict Barometer 2018, S. 161

Framing the challenge: (nation) state (mode a)

- *Public law* definition of the sovereign state (cf. *Jellinek 1905: 381-471*) by its:
  1) territorial confines (‚*Staatsgebiet*')
  2) monopoly of power (‚*Staatsgewalt')*
  3) polity (‚*Staatsvolk*')
- recent (disputed) addition in *international law*: *R2P* (‚responsibility to protect', or else: foreign intervention)
- global normative framework of *SDG16*: „just, peaceful and inclusive societies" (transactional element)

Three modes of framing the challenges

a) the (*nation*) *state*: static perspective, ‚top-down'

***b) state fragility*:** vertical perspective but dynamic

→ states as ‚containers'

→ ‚*national*' self-determination, only?

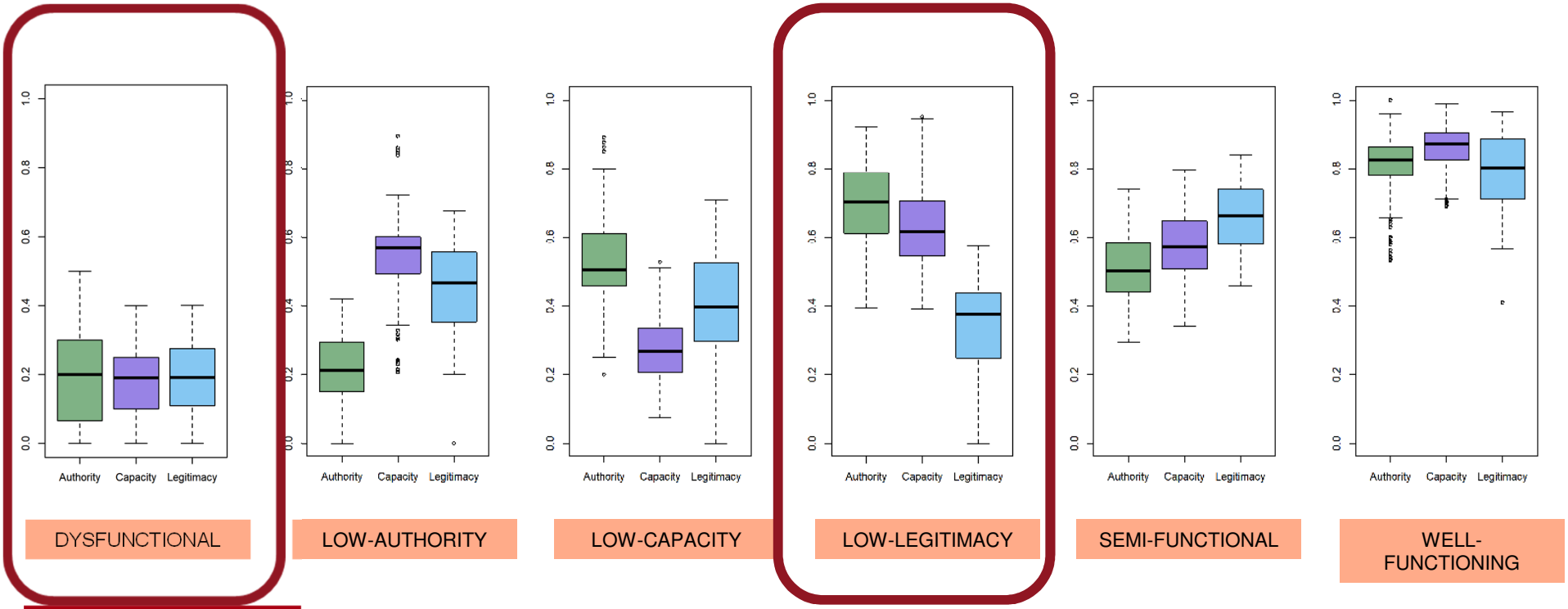
c) the *social contract*: transactional perspective, vertical and horizontal perspective, multi-dimensional

→ sub- and trans-national, functional self-determination, geo-politics and geo-economics play a role

State Fragility Constellations: 2005-15

SYR, IRQ, LIB, YEM

MENA



CONSTELLATIONS of STATE FRAGILITY

www.statefragility.info

‚New Social Contract' عقد اجتماعي (mode c)

- focus on state-society relations but: ‚flip side' of state fragility
- **Definition**:

  "*social contracts as explicit or implicit, formal or informal or mixed* ***agreements between the various groups that make up a society and the government*** *(or any other actor in power)* ***defining their rights and obligations*** *towards each other"*

- 2014ff **GDI/DIE: SC as ‚analytical lens' – explicit** departure from normative use

The social contract ‘lens’ for fragile, and conflict affected countries in MENA

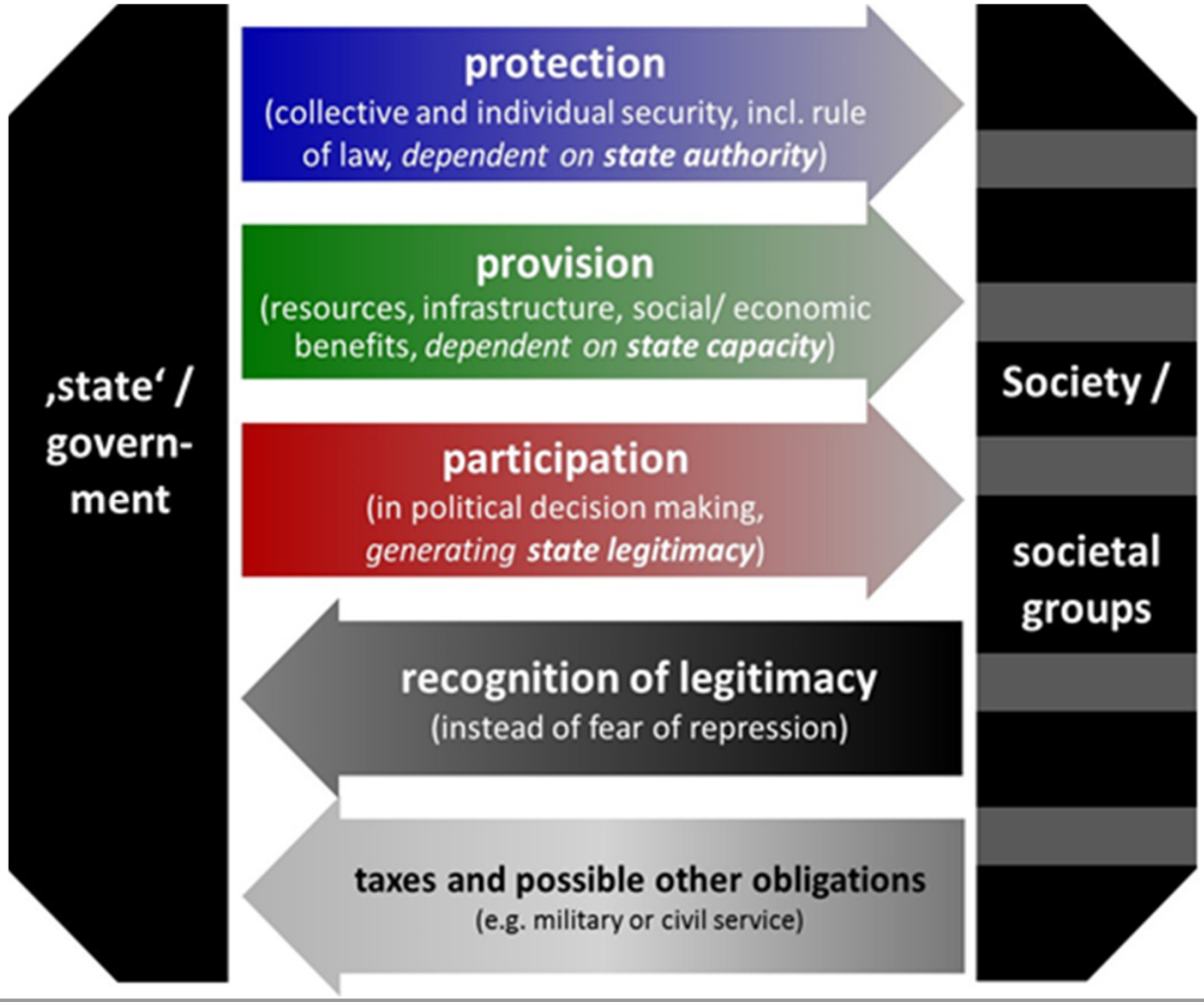
Three **analytical dimensions**:

a) *substantive* – ‚deliverables‘

b) *spatial* – (territorial) *scope,* stake-holders

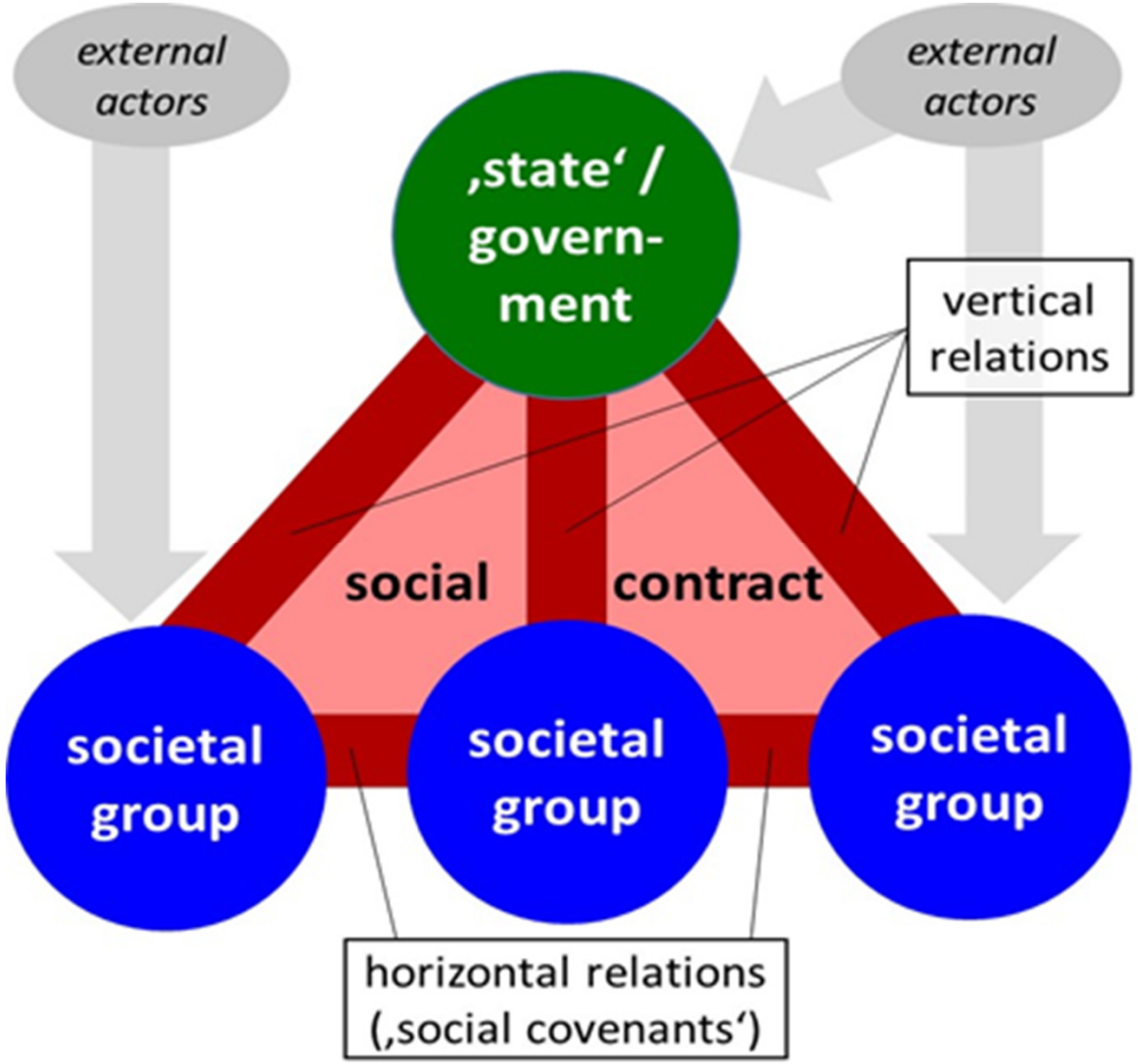
c) *temporal* – path dependencies

Substantive dimension: ‚deliverables'



Source: Loewe / Zintl (forthcoming)

Spatial dimensions: vertical - horizontal



Source: Loewe / Zintl (forthcoming)

temporal dimension: past determines future?

t - 1 → ***t*** → ***t + 1***

past - present - future

‚Old SCs' - conflictive re-negotiation - ‚New SCs'

- ***t-1*:** staying with or breaking away from *path dependencies* (‚normal/standard year – pre-conflict?)
- ***t+1***: *pareto-superior* results vs. retribution, revenge and punishment

Source: own design

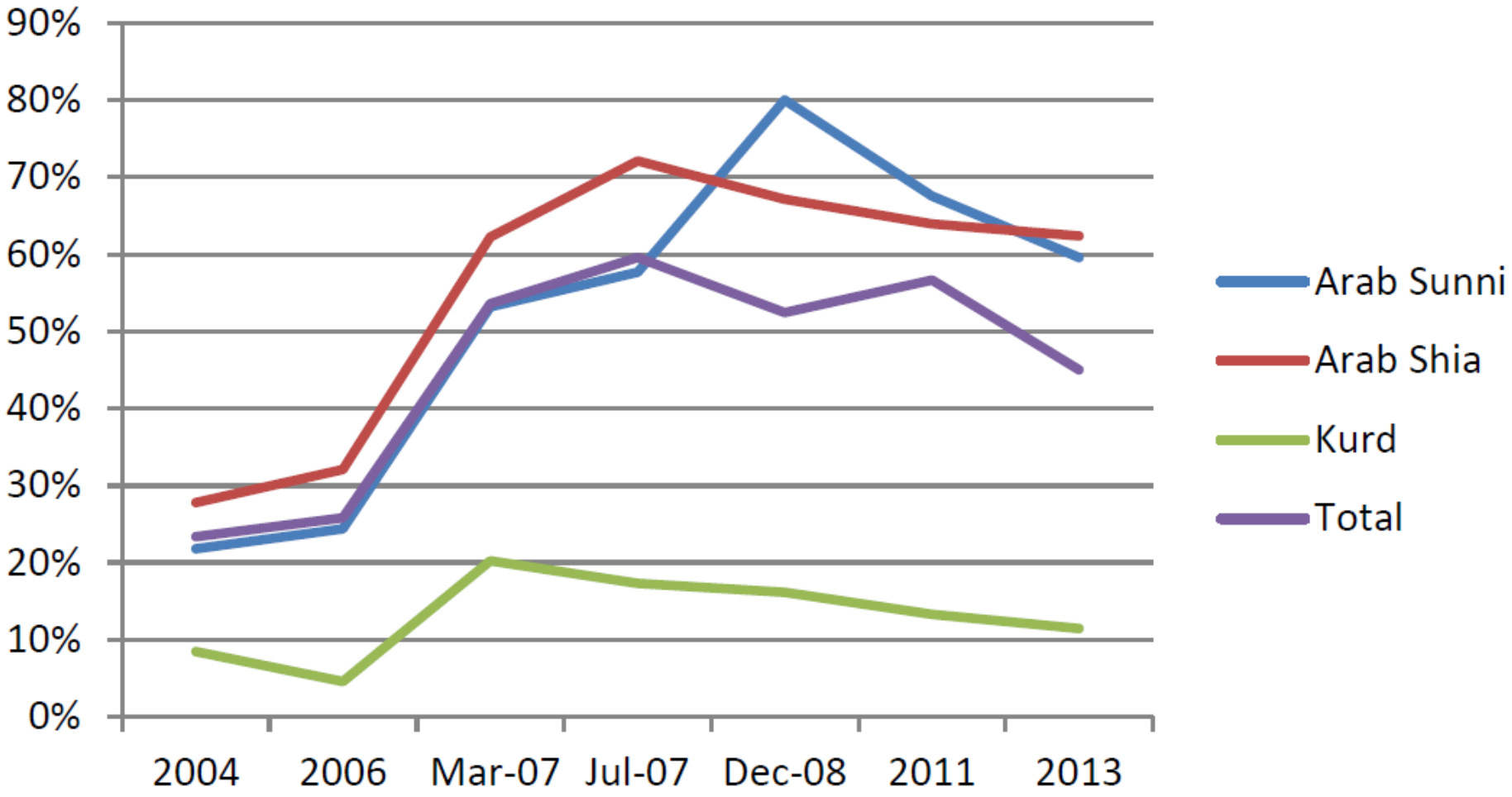
Social Contract - current policy adaptations

- **Iraq**: SC references in deliberations on a new WB Multi Donor Trust Fund
- **Syria:** literal translation (عقد اجتماعي) for the *de facto* autonomous Kurdish Region in Northern Syria:

  „a… *new social contract, based upon mutual and peaceful coexistence and understanding between all strands of society*..”

  Framing societal autonomy at explicitly sub-national level
- **German Development Policy**: **all new TC & FC interventions** in MENA to be assessed under ‚SC-lens‘ as of 2017

A national SC? % defining themselves as Iraqis, above all – before 2014!



Source: Moaddel 2014 Is Iraq falling apart? On the basis of WVS2 data, p. 3

Adressing grievances

Mourners carry the coffin of a protester, who was killed in Tuesday's demonstrations in Baghdad, during a funeral in Najaf, Iraq, October 2, 2019. REUTERS/Alaa Al-Marjani

New Social contract(s) ? Adress the expectations of the people – AB Wave V

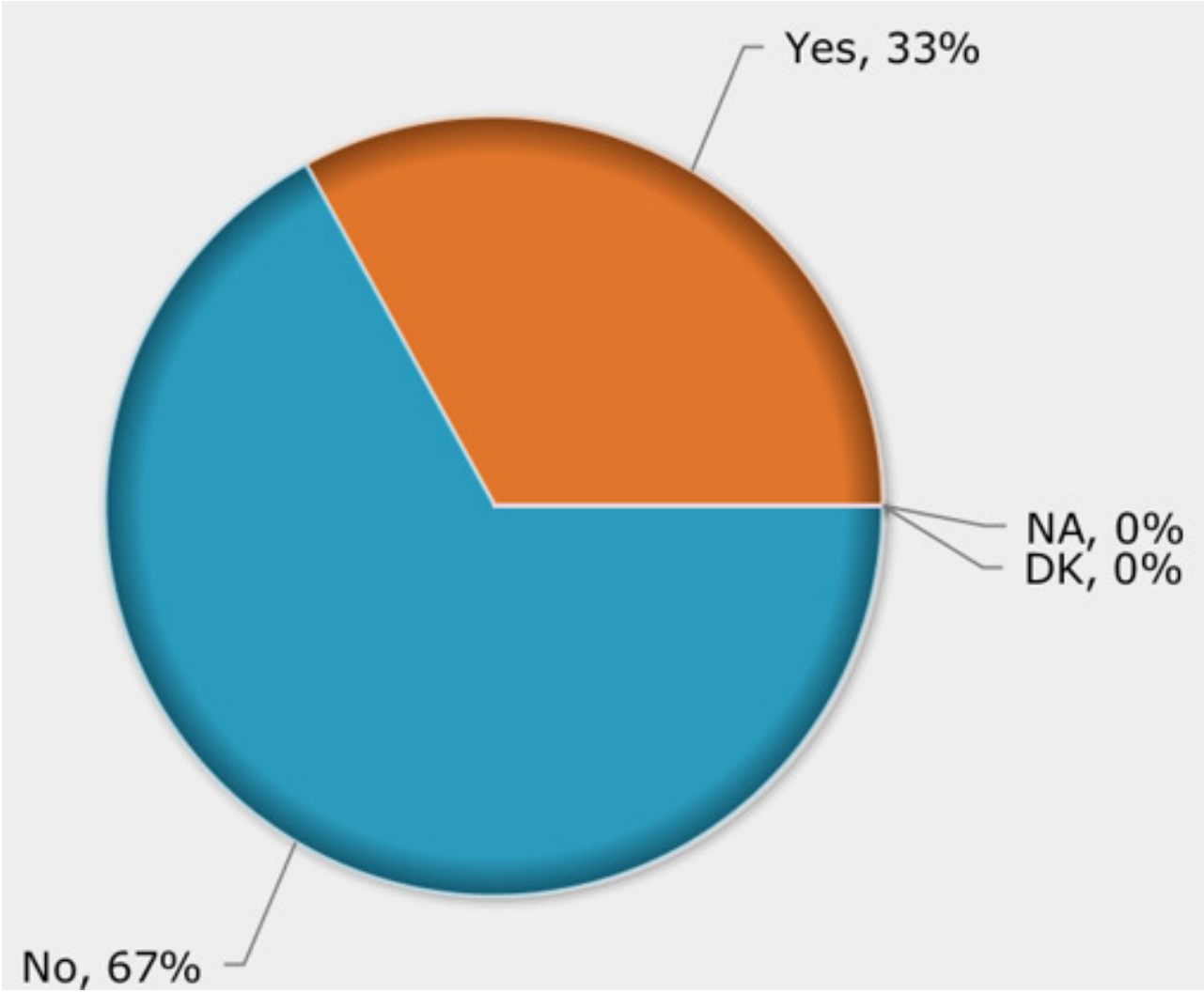
Field period:	24 December 2018 to 27 January 2019
Language:	Arabic
Target population:	Citizens aged 18 and above
Excluded populations:	Institutionalized populations; internally displaced persons in refugee camps; destroyed homes, and unfinished residences; Governorates Dohuk, Halabja, and Muthanna excluded
Sample design:	Stratified area probability sample
Sampling frame:	Population estimates provided by the Iraqi Ministry of Planning and the Central Statistical Organization of Iraq
Strata:	Governorate and areas
Number of strata:	32
Number of governorate:	19-3
Areas:	urban and rural

New Social contract(s) ? Adress the expectations of the people – AB Wave V

Primary sampling unit selection:	Probability proportional to size in urban areas; simple random sample in rural areas
Household selection:	Systematic skip interval of households with random starting point
Respondent selection:	Last birthday
Mode of data collection:	Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI); Interviewer Administered Paper and Pencil Interviewing (PAPI) in Erbil
Number of observations:	2,462
Response Rate:	86.7% (AAPOR Cooperation Rate)
Local Partner:	Independent Institute for Administration and Civil Society Studies

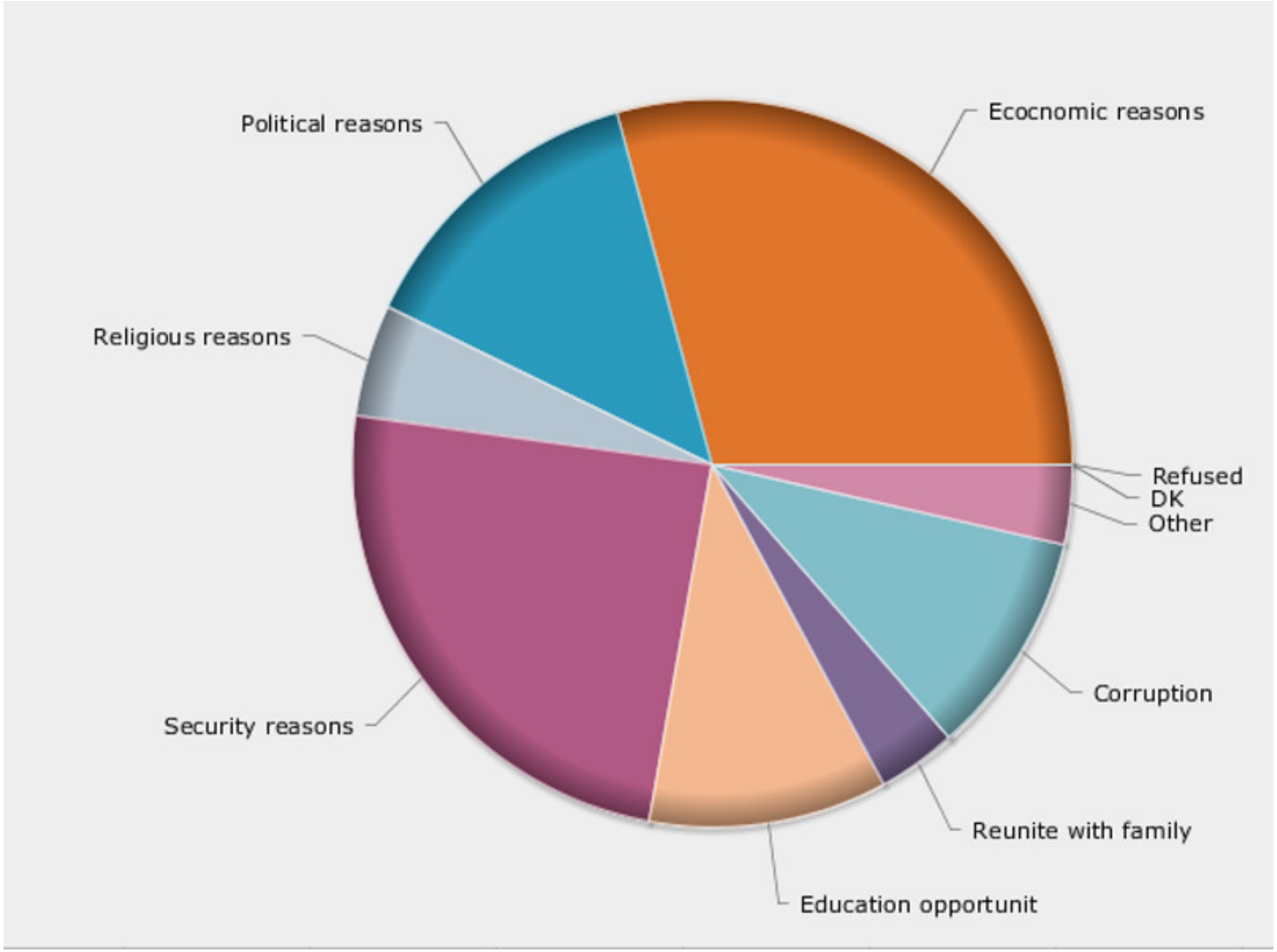
Arab Barometer Wave V Technical Report 2018-2019, p 4

Considered to exit the Iraqi social contract in the past (2018/19)? 37% - > 10m people



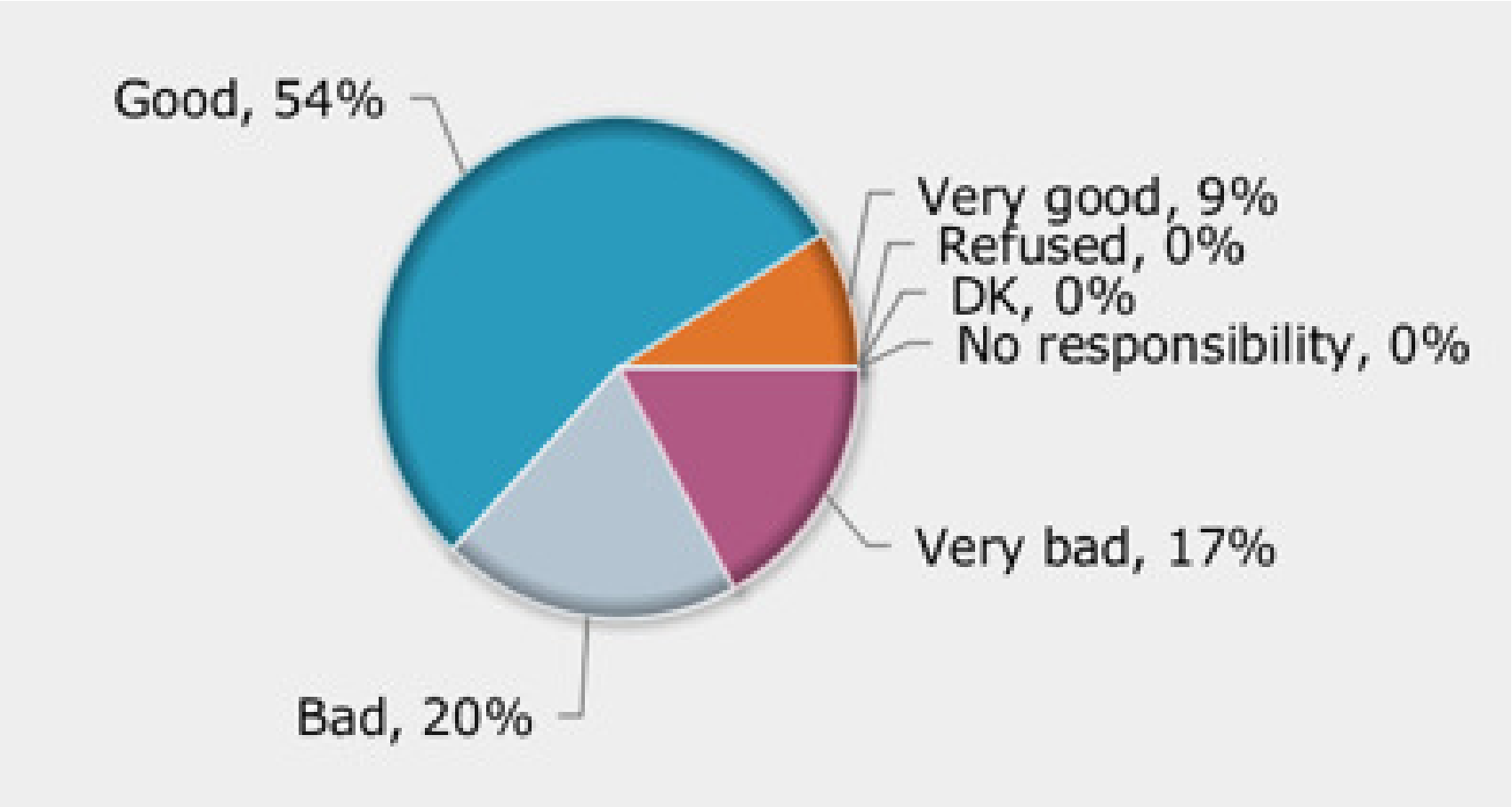
Data: Arab Barometer Wave V

Exiting a social contract: individual reasons a) (in-)security b) economic c) political



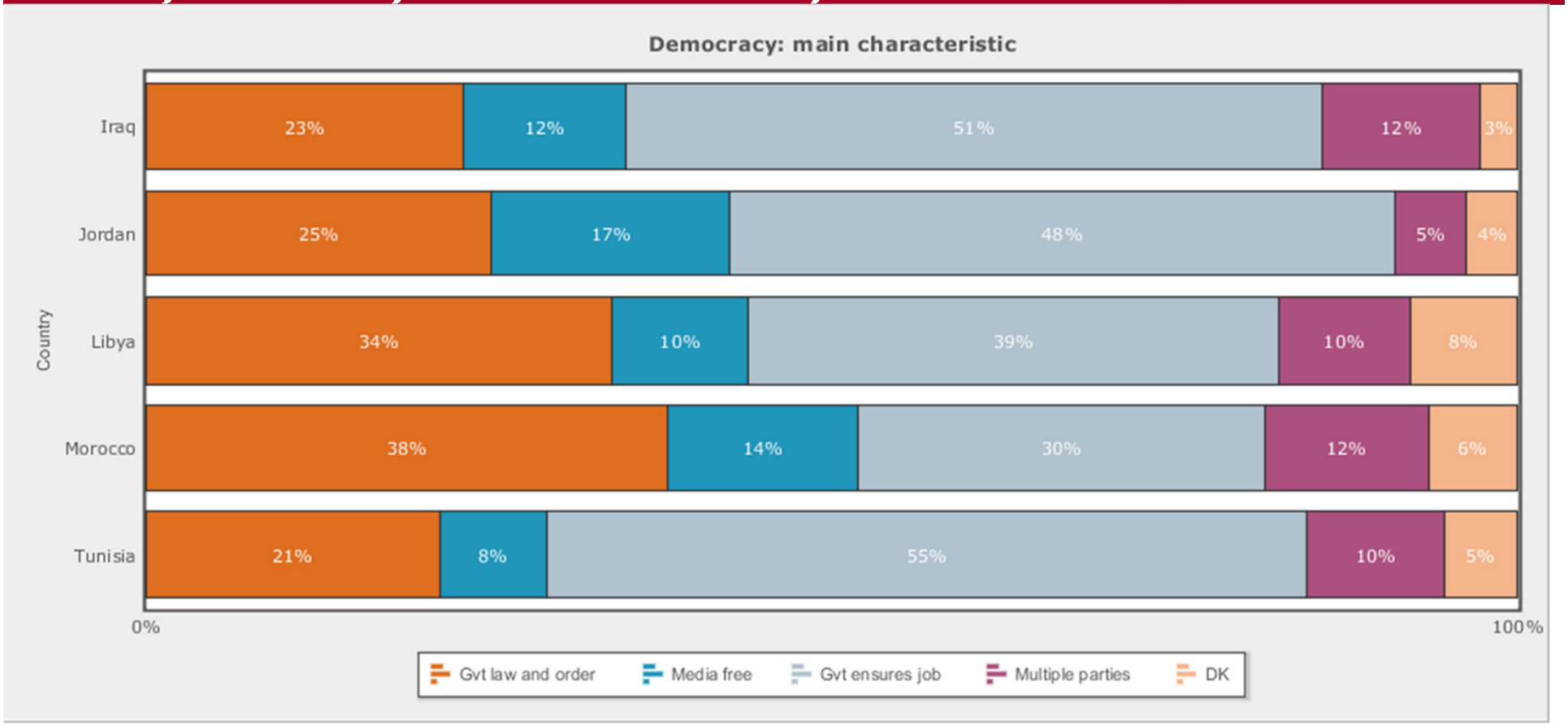
Data: Arab Barometer Wave V

Satisfaction with the current government's performance: Providing security and order



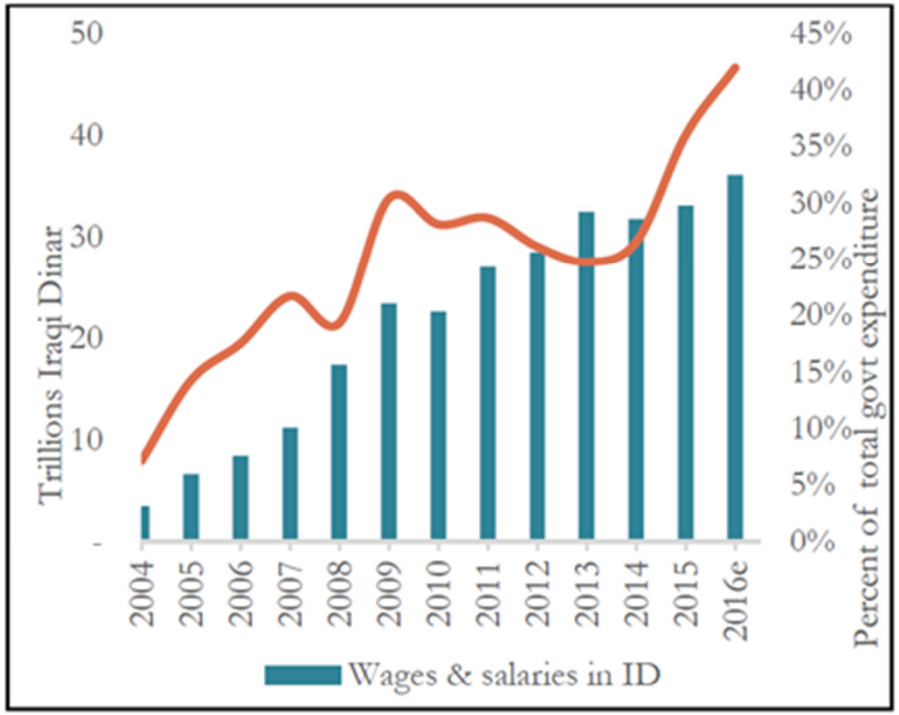
Data: Arab Barometer Wave V 2018/19

Purpose of/ expectations from democracy ? 1) Jobs 2) law & order 3) free media

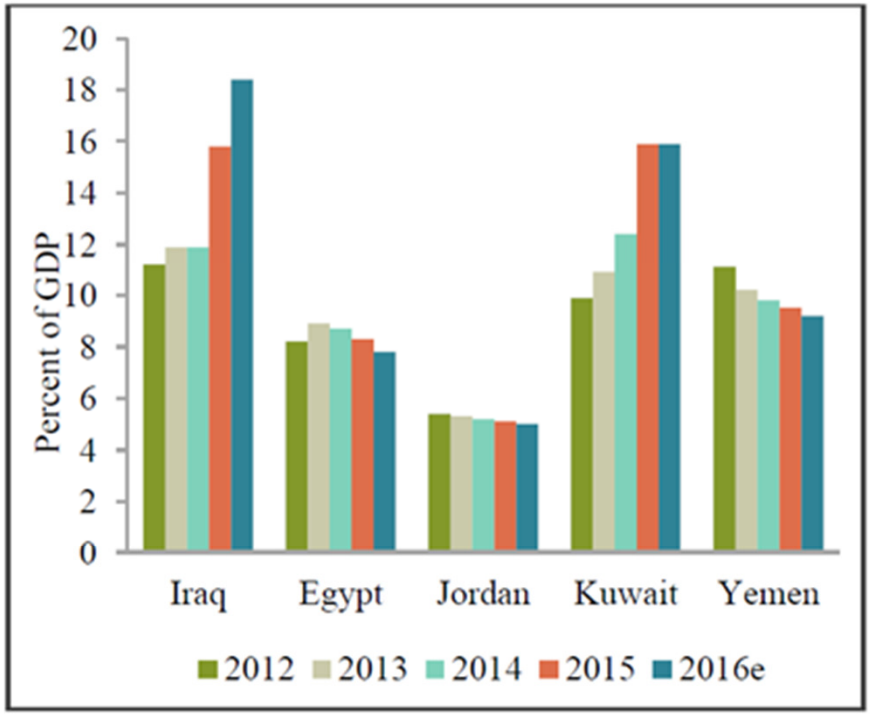


Data: Arab Barometer Wave V 2018/19

Deliveries in Iraq: *provision* by public sector employment (2004-2016)



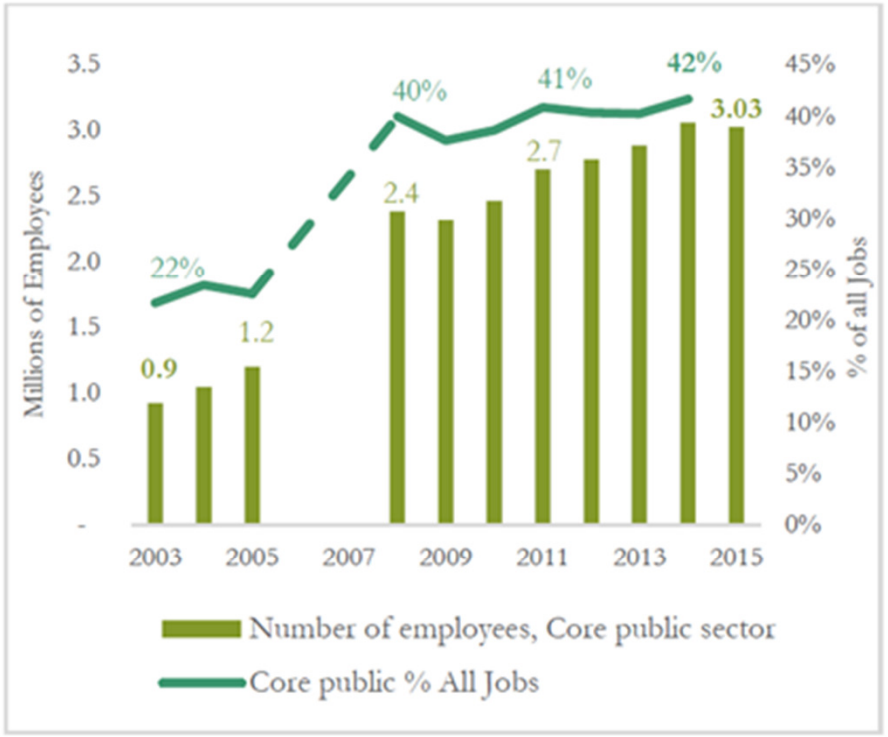
Sources: Ministry of Finance, Iraq, and IMF staff estimates and projections.



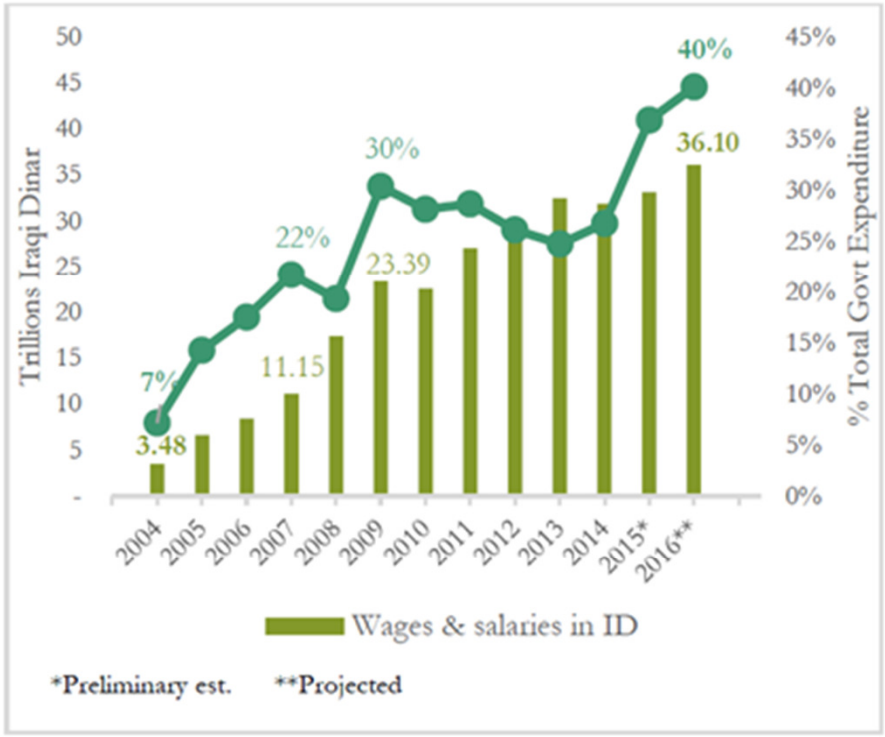
Sources: Iraqi authorities and IMF staff estimates

World Bank: Iraq - Systematic Country Diagnostic 2017, p. 52

Deliveries in Iraq: *provision* by public sector employment as % of all jobs



Source: Iraq Ministry of Finance and World Development Indicators



Source: Iraq Ministry of Finance and the IMF

World Bank: Iraq - Systematic Country Diagnostic 2017, p. 65

Challenge to *provision* (by public employment in Iraq - 2016)

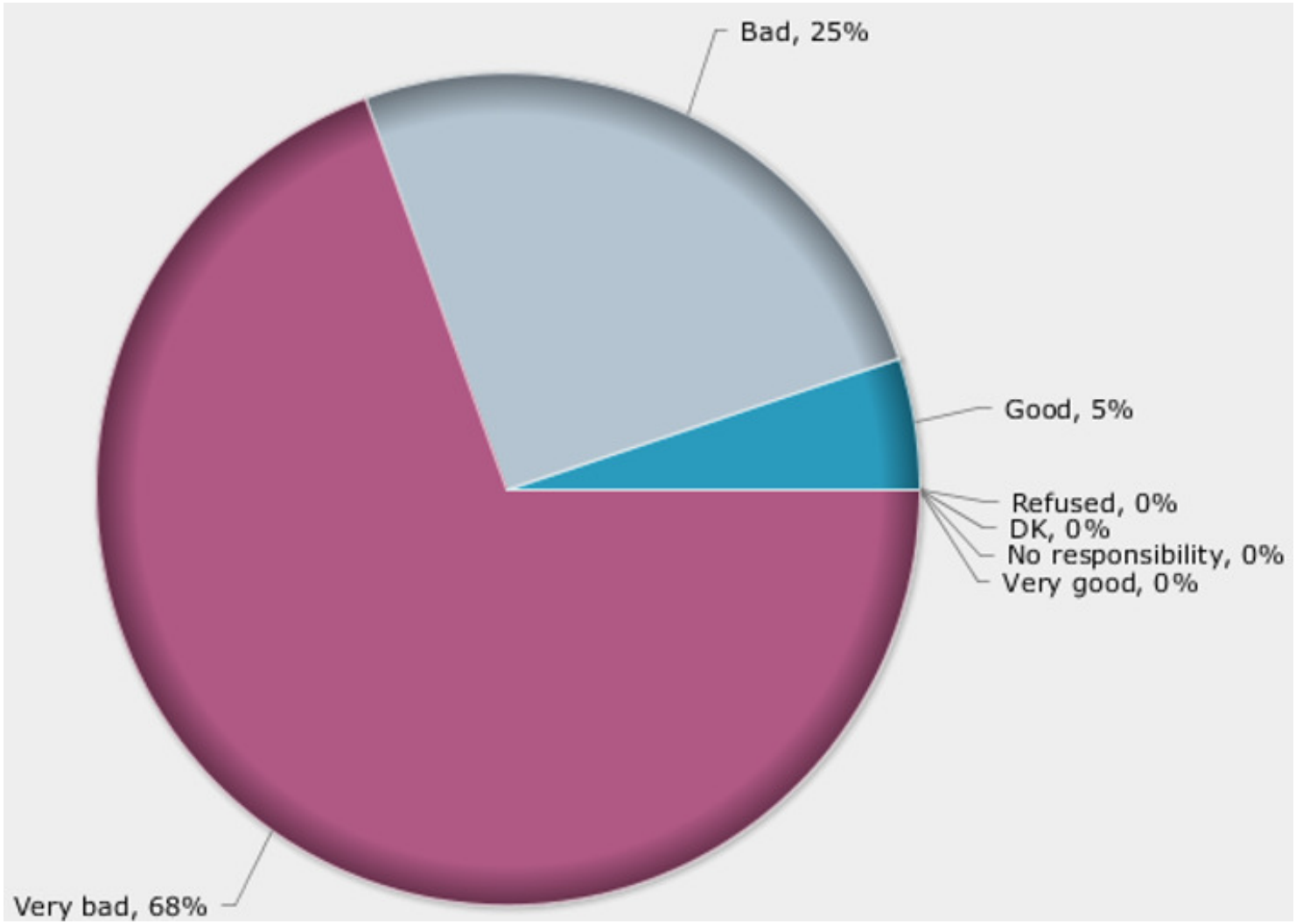
Ministry	No. of Companies Studied	No. of Employees (x 1000)	No. of Profitable Companies in 2013
Ministry of Industry and Mines	71	145.4	12
Ministry of Electricity	24	83	0
Ministry of Oil	18	143.6	17
Ministry of Transportation	18	37	7
Min. of Construction & Housing	8	13.7	0
Ministry of Trade	7	10.5	3
Ministry of Agriculture	7	4.3	2
Ministry of Defense	6	20.5	0
Ministry of Water Resources	3	2.8	3
Ministry of Communications	3	18.3	0
Total	157	479.1	44

Source: Iraq Ministry of Finance (2016)

Note: Nineteen companies associated with the Ministries of Finance (12), Culture (4), Health (2), and Education (1) could not be studied because of a lack of information.

World Bank: Iraq - Systematic Country Diagnostic 2017, p. 70

Satisfaction with the Iraq government's performance: Creating job opportunities



Data: Arab Barometer Wave V 2018/19

Iraq‘s challenges towards a new contract for reconstruction 2019 (1-2)

Narrowing the gap between expectations and delivery – engage in quality service & with non-conventional stakeholders:

- ***substantive* dimension – deliver better:** basic services and human security, in particular in ‚liberated‘ areas and Basra – **or else:** da‘esh 2.0
- ***spatial* dimension:**

  – engage stake holders: domestic GoI, KRG, DPK, PUK, PMFs. **External:** US, IRN, TUR

  – territorial scope & statal function / delivery: build capacity and enforce accountability at decentralized level

Iraq‘s challenges towards a new contract for reconstruction 2019 (2-2)

- **consider the *temporal* challenge: a developmental perspective for breaking *path dependencies*:**
  - **‚re-(?)construction‘** (of what: a *nation* / a country?) vs. *peace building* (reconciling state & society)
  - **conflict cycles:** adressing grievances in Basra, and of minorities, long-standing issues of (multiple) internal displacements
  - **reduce *rentier economy* / dependency on oil ‚rent‘ by** investment into: social capital / trust and in productive sectors (high quality education etc.)

Conclusion: SC's specific value for analytical framing

- **functional & dynamic vs. static perspective:** neither conventional ‚state-' nor ‚nation-'building
- **academic/scientific & analytical: compare** different social contracts with respect to their dimensions:
  - substantive (similar or same core 'deliverables' ?)
  - spatial (same relevant stake holders, effects on each contracting party, agency of stake holder & patrons)
  - temporal (transition/renegotiation over time, disruption, ability to provide long-term stability / societal resilience)

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Thank you for your attention German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)

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