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

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Forging Resilient Social Contracts: A Pathway to Preventing Violent Conflict and Sustaining Peace

SUMMARY FINDINGS

Research and Policy Tools for Progress
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
A Resilient National Social Contract is a dynamic national 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 peaceful mediation 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 contextual factors (including shocks and stressors), through varied mechanisms, institutions and processes.
**DRIVERS OF RESILIENT SOCIAL CONTRACTS**

- Effective, fair, inclusive institutions
- Strong social cohesion
- Inclusive political settlements that address conflict issues

Key finding: *Virtuous movement of each, and virtuous interaction, supports resilient social contracts*
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 because:

  - **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** and transformed
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.
WIDER SOCIAL CONTRACT ANALYSIS: TUNISIA & MENA REGION
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drivers of social contract</th>
<th>Outcomes / Challenges</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tunisia</strong></td>
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| **Driver 1:** Inclusive political settlement. CCIs included, but serious challenges addressing them in follow on mechanisms. New CCIs - security related, present profound problems. | Democracy  
Wide ownership of political process & outcomes  
New constitution adopted; high support  
Five credible elections  
Economic challenges  
Slow progress on CCIs |
| **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 |                       |
| **Egypt**                 |                       |
| **Driver 1:** Political settlements were driven by inclusive protests, State capture overtook (Morsi-Islamic), El-Sisi (Securitization). | Military dictatorship  
Militarization of state  
‘Arab Winter’ |
| **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 |                       |
CASE STUDY: PROTESTS, THE EVIDENCE (CHENOYETH & 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Determinants</th>
<th>Egypt</th>
<th>Tunisia</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree of Institutionalisation</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army’s Relationship with Regime</td>
<td>Strong (But waning in pre-2011 Period)</td>
<td>Weak, marginalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army’s Bond with Society</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional and Economic Benefits</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regime Legitimacy</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External Aid to Regime</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prospects of Foreign Intervention</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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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