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?
Sourse: HIJK Conflict Barometer 2018, S. 158
Heidelberg Conflict Barometer - Methodology

THE CONCEPT OF CONFLICT INTENSITY

- **Intensity Level**
  - 1: Dispute
  - 2: Non-violent Crisis
  - 3: Violent Crisis
  - 4: Limited War
  - 5: War

- **Terminology**
  - 1: Dispute
  - 2: Non-violent Crisis
  - 3: Violent Crisis
  - 4: Limited War
  - 5: War

- **Level of Violence**
  - Non-violent Conflicts
  - Violent Conflicts

- **Intensity Class**
  - Low Intensity
  - Medium Intensity
  - High 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

www.statefragility.info
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'**

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

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

- **Participation**
  (in political decision making, generating state legitimacy)

- **Recognition of legitimacy**
  (instead of fear of repression)

- **Taxes and possible other obligations**
  (e.g. military or civil service)

Source: Loewe / Zintl (forthcoming)
Spatial dimensions: vertical - horizontal

Source: Loewe / Zintl (forthcoming)
temporal dimension: past determines future?

$t - 1 \rightarrow t \rightarrow t + 1$

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
Iraq: SC references in deliberations on a new WB Multi Donor Trust Fund

Syria: literal translation 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
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)? Address the expectations of the people – AB Wave V

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

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

- Good, 54%
- Very good, 9%
- Refused, 0%
- DK, 0%
- No responsibility, 0%
- Very bad, 17%
- Bad, 20%
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

World Bank: Iraq - Systematic Country Diagnostic 2017, p. 65
## Challenge to provision (by public employment in Iraq - 2016)

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

*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.*

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 stakeholders: domestic GoI, KRG, DPK, PUK, PMFs. External: US, IRN, TUR
  - territorial scope & statal function / delivery: build capacity and enforce accountability at decentralized level
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*: addressing 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)
Thank you for your attention

German Development Institute / Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE)

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