

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| List of Abbreviations | 11 |
| List of Figures | 13 |
| 1. Introduction | 14 |
| 1.1. Background | 15 |
| 1.2. Research interest and design | 18 |
| 1.2.1. Theoretical framework | 23 |
| 1.2.2. Methodology | 28 |
| 1.2.3. Data | 29 |
| 1.2.4. Sample | 30 |
| 1.2.5. Analysis | 32 |
| 1.3. Structure | 33 |
| 2. Political transformation and transition | 34 |
| 2.1. Autocratisation | 36 |
| 2.2. Liberalisation | 37 |
| 2.3. Democratisation | 39 |
| 2.4. Assessing regime types and democratic quality | 41 |
| 2.4.1. Democracy | 44 |
| 2.4.2. Autocracy | 45 |
| 2.4.3. Hybridity | 46 |
| 3. Good and democratic governance | 47 |
| 3.1. Good Governance | 48 |
| 3.2. Democratic governance | 51 |
| 3.2.1. Dimensions of democratic governance | 52 |
| 3.2.2. Promotion of democratic governance | 55 |
| 4. Approaches and legitimacy of governance and democracy promotion | 56 |
| 4.1. Legitimacy through norms and values | 57 |
| 4.2. Modernisation and Europeanisation | 61 |
| 4.3. Development versus political aid | 63 |
| 4.4. Legitimacy versus effectiveness | 66 |
| 5. Dimensions of democracy and governance promotion | 67 |
| 5.1. Strategies and interaction modes of democratic governance and democracy promotion | 70 |
| 5.2. Actors' orientation, behaviours and interests | 71 |
| 5.3. Levels and sectors | 73 |
| 5.4. Modes of interaction | 74 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| 5.4.1. | External Governance Approach | 75 |
| 5.4.2. | Top-down reform processes and down-loading interaction | 77 |
| 5.4.3. | Bottom-up reform and up-loading interaction | 79 |
| 5.5. | Mechanisms | 81 |
| 5.5.1. | Hard mechanisms | 85 |
| 5.5.2. | Soft mechanisms | 89 |
| 5.6. | Conditions | 90 |
| 5.6.1. | Governance: domestic policy and institutional change | 92 |
| 5.6.2. | Democratisation and democratic transition | 95 |
| 5.7. | Outcomes | 96 |
| 6. | Institutional and political context in Morocco | 100 |
| 6.1. | Institutional context: executive versus constitutional monarchy | 101 |
| 6.2. | Political transition and democratisation | 105 |
| 6.3. | Depoliticisation through technocratisation | 109 |
| 6.4. | Socioeconomic context | 110 |
| 6.5. | Economic transformation | 111 |
| 7. | International donor institutions: the EU and AfDB | 113 |
| 7.1. | European Union | 114 |
| 7.1.1. | European Neighbourhood Policy | 114 |
| 7.1.2. | European democracy promotion | 119 |
| 7.1.3. | EU-Moroccan relations | 120 |
| 7.2. | African Development Bank | 123 |
| 7.2.1. | Regional and non-regional members | 124 |
| 7.2.2. | Governance structures | 125 |
| 7.2.3. | Lending activities | 125 |
| 7.2.4. | AfDB-Moroccan relations | 126 |
| 8. | Domestic recipient organisations: non-state actors and civil society | 127 |
| 8.1. | Notions of civil society | 128 |
| 8.2. | Development of Moroccan Civil Society | 131 |
| 8.3. | Legal status and current situation of Associations | 133 |
| 8.4. | Consultation in legislative procedures: National Dialogue on Civil Society | 137 |
| 8.5. | Participation in decision-making processes | 139 |
| 8.6. | Making civil society independent through external funding | 142 |
| 8.7. | Depoliticisation of citizens and civil society | 147 |
| 8.8. | Conclusion: Politicisation of citizens and civil society through democracy promotion | 152 |

| | | |
|------------|---|-----|
| 9. | Domestic recipient institutions: state actors and public authorities | 152 |
| 9.1. | Modes of interaction | 153 |
| 9.1.1. | Multi-donor coordination | 153 |
| 9.1.2. | Donor-recipient relation | 156 |
| 9.1.3. | Intergovernmental coordination | 161 |
| 9.2. | Instruments and Mechanisms | 162 |
| 9.2.1. | Conditionality and incentives | 163 |
| 9.2.2. | Positive and negative conditionality | 168 |
| 9.2.3. | Dialogue and stakeholder consultations | 171 |
| 9.2.4. | Social learning and best practices | 175 |
| 9.2.5. | Output versus Outcome-oriented approaches | 176 |
| 9.3. | Actors' orientation | 179 |
| 9.3.1. | Recipients' national reform priorities | 179 |
| 9.3.2. | Recipients' ownership | 180 |
| 9.3.3. | Recipient's ambition and will | 187 |
| 9.3.4. | Actors' identity | 188 |
| 9.3.5. | Recipients' and donors' interests | 192 |
| 9.4. | Understanding of democracy and democratic governance | 202 |
| 9.4.1. | Democracy | 203 |
| 9.4.2. | Democratic governance | 205 |
| 9.4.3. | Depoliticisation and technocratisation of political and developmental aid | 207 |
| 9.4.4. | Rhetoric adoption | 209 |
| 9.4.5. | Conflicting objectives and rational-choice | 210 |
| 10. | Conclusions | 212 |
| 10.1. | Politicisation and de-politicisation of non-state actors | 213 |
| 10.2. | Shaping of external governance and democracy promotion strategies | 215 |
| 10.3. | Conflicting objectives: outputs versus outcomes | 219 |
| 10.4. | Recommendations for future research | 223 |
| 11. | Appendices | 224 |
| | Appendix A: List of documents | 224 |
| | Appendix B: List of interviews | 231 |
| | Appendix C: Interview guidelines | 233 |
| | Appendix D: Coding schema | 255 |
| 12. | References | 261 |