

EUROPAWISSENSCHAFTLICHE REIHE, BAND 7

Ingrid Heidlmayr-Chegdaly

Technocratisation and Depoliticisation of Democracy Promotion and Development Aid

The European Union and the African
Development Bank in Morocco



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Preface

Much is made of the distinction that exists between the world of academia and that of the practitioner; probably in any field, but perhaps particularly so in external relations and the development of policy in this regard.

Certainly, some of the theories and approaches that are applied in the former, are rarely reproducible in the latter, because there are always aspects that are little known or too arcane or even unpredictable to be factored into an empirical study, but which in a real life situation can make a crucial difference to the outcome of any given situation.

What is certain, however, is that the practitioner needs to be able to turn to the academic as a source or sounding-board for ideas, which frequently require reflection and debate which is so rarely available when reacting to situations of crisis or when engaging in long-term and far-reaching support to partners near or far.

This in-depth study carried out by Ingrid Heidlmayr is an excellent example of the latter, delving into the complex network of actors and instruments that have worked with Morocco, which is one of the closest neighbours and partners of the European Union. While adopting an empirical and scientific approach, this is essentially a political work and Ms Heidlmayr has not chosen an easy subject: democracy promotion or propagation is controversial, especially in the southern Mediterranean. The record of the EU in this area is the subject of much debate and the jury is out on how effective it has been over the years, especially since the start of the Arab uprisings in 2011. While it is not my place here to enter into the merits of this discussion, I will posit that the EU has certainly been well-intentioned, wishing to balance its own union of values, with its interests and those of its member states, which is not an easy task by any means.

Ms. Heidlmayr's offering is a significant contribution which can provide an important point of reference in analysing the impact that reform agendas can have both in the country concerned as well as in terms of broader regional stability.

Brussels, November 2019

Colin Scicluna

Preface

In recent decades, states, international organizations and non-governmental organizations of the "Western world" have established democracy promotion as an important foreign policy instrument of their governments, agencies and multilateral institutions. This was motivated not only by the collapse of the international system structured by the East-West conflict, but also by the failed structural adjustment programs of the Bretton Woods institutions and the subsequent global economic crisis. The changed context prompted national, bilateral and multilateral donor countries and organizations to reconsider their objectives and instruments of development assistance, economic cooperation, foreign trade and modernization policies. After the collapse of the "Eastern Bloc", the cooperation, coordination and integration process of the European Union (EU) was perceived as a comparatively successful model for democratic transition of formerly authoritarian states into a system of peaceful and democratic conflict resolution. After all, the EU emulated the transformation in the post-socialist countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe by modeling the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and the free, social market economy into the core conditions for membership of the EU.

Despite large differences in the individual objectives, instruments and review regimes, the funding and cooperation programs of almost all national and international donors of the western community, which have been developed since the 1990s, are geared to the overarching goals of good governance and democracy. In particular, the discussions on the further development of the EU's external action fields show that a strict separation between the economic and political dimensions is hardly possible. As part of its cooperation with third countries, the EU links its aid to political dialogue and cooperation formats that are based on the EU's own goal and value canon and are used in addition to more traditional trade facilitation and development instruments. International organizations such as the World Bank, (inter)regional development banks and the International Monetary Fund have also linked their development and economic cooperation policies to a certain extent to political dimensions and conditions.

In politics, administration and law, questions of external democracy promotion have been established as a research field at the interface between democratization, governance and transformation research, with a focus on strategies, instruments and institutions. In contrast, so far only a smaller group of political science and economics have devoted interest to the approaches of non-Western states and their multilateral institutions regarding democratization and good-governance programs. This monography fills this gap, as it deals with the comparison of the external democratization and governance programs of the EU and the African Development Bank Group (AfDB).

The purpose of this study is to analyze the approaches of the EU and the AfDB in designing and implementing their aid, support and promotion policies for the development of democracy and good governance in the Kingdom of Morocco. The research focus of Dr. Heidlmayr-Chegdaly focuses on the interaction modes, instruments and

mechanisms as well as on the underlying interests and orientations of the actors involved. The author chose Morocco because of its specific regional links with both donor organizations. Firstly, the Kingdom is the recipient of most bilateral EU aid under the ENP and, in this context, benefits from an advanced status. On the other hand, Morocco is the AfDB's largest regional recipient state. The main objective of the book is to analyze the use of modes of interaction and their underlying strategic orientations in order to identify commonalities and differences, thus overlapping and connecting the respective program policies.

Dr. Heidlmayr-Chegdaly succeeds, starting from the description of formal structures and norms, deeply in the practice of the promotion program policies of the EU and the AfDB as well as the related adjustment and reform policies of Morocco. The study is based on a rich, empirical basis. It shows to what extent the understanding of different donor organizations of democracy and governance promotion is based on different political, administrative and technocratic approaches. Since the democratic and governance understandings underlying the respective program policies differ, the goals of democracy and governance promotion in the recipient state are different, sometimes contradictory, and ultimately in competition with each other. Since none of the actors involved wants to end the cooperation, the competition between the various foreign aid policies that are becoming effective in Morocco leads to a technocratization and depoliticization of external political assistance. As a result, the implementation of external political assistance is reduced to a technical-operational level that minimizes the political and strategic demands of European democracy promotion policy and pushes it to the limits of its design rights.

The study demonstrates profound expertise in the subject matter studied by the author, highlighting the processing of a comparatively underexposed research subject. Remarkable are also the theoretical arrangement of the work and the independent further development of the selected, theoretical bases. The analytic results presented in the study encourage deeper discussion on the normative orientation of European democracy promotion policies. The study is recommended to all those who deal with issues of democratization, development and transformation policy in science, political education, and in European and African political state and parliamentary practice.

Innsbruck / Brussels, September 2019

Prof. Dr. Andreas Maurer

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List of Abbreviations

AA	Association Agreement
AfDB	African Development Bank
ADF	African Development Fund
ALECA	Accord de Libre Echange Complet et Approfondi (DCFTA in English)
AME	Association Marocaine d'Evaluation/Moroccan Association for Evaluation
AP	Action Plan
AU	African Union
AWI	Al Adl Wal Ihsane/Movement for Justice and Spirituality
BP	Barcelona Process
CC	Cours de Comptes/Court of Audit
CDMT	Cadre de dépense à moyen terme/Medium-Term Expenditure Framework
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAR	Dynamique de l'Appel de Rabat
DCFTA	Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Commission
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEA	European Economic Area
EEAS	European External Action Service
EED	European Endowment for Democracy
EIB	European Investment Bank
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument
ENI	European Neighbourhood Instrument
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
Feb20	February 20 th Movement
FMAS	Forum des Alternatives Maroc
GAP	Governance Strategic Direction/Framework and Action Plan
GERM	Groupement d'Etudes et de Recherches sur la Méditerranée/Research and Study Group on the Mediterranean
HCP	Haut-Commissariat au Plan / National Statistics Authority
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDH	Initiative Nationale du Développement Humain/National Initiative for Human Development
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation

IR	International Relations
LOF	Loi organique des finances / Organic law on finance
MAD	Moroccan Dirham
MAE	Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et de la Coopération Internationale/Ministry for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation
MCRP	Ministère chargé des Relations avec le Parlement et la Société Civile/Ministry in charge of Relations with the Parliament and Civil Society
MDB	Multilateral Development Bank
MEF	Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances/Ministry of Economy and Finance
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
M MSP	Ministère de la Réforme de l'Administration et de la Fonction Publique / Ministry of Public Administration Reform
NIP	National Indicative Program
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRMC	Non-Regional Member countries
PARAP	Programme d'Appui à la Réforme de l'Administration Publique/Assistance Program to Public Administration Reform
PJD	Parti de la Justice et du Développement/Justice and Development Party
POLITY	Polity IV
RMC	Regional Member Country
RSA	Réussir le Statut Avancé/Succeeding the Advanced Status
SAL	Structural Adjustment Loan
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SGG	Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement Maroc/General Secretariat of the Government of Morocco
TFP	Technical and Financial Partners
TM	Transparency Maroc
TYS	Ten Year Strategy
UfM	Union for the Mediterranean
USFP	Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires/Socialist Union of Popular Forces
UMA	Union du Maghreb Arabe/Arab Maghreb Union
WB	World Bank

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