

## CHAPTER II

### 1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

The democratization process in Morocco is a subject of considerable academic intrigue, encapsulating a discourse that is both rich in historical context and intricate in its political manifestations. This literature review sets out to methodically explore the nuanced trajectory of Morocco's reforms and democratic advancements. The scholarly discourse surrounding Morocco's political metamorphosis, especially post-Arab Spring, forms the cornerstone of this thesis. A meticulous comparative analysis of twenty critical studies provides a scaffold for this examination, each contributing distinct perspectives on the socio-political intricacies, economic variables, and the monarchy's strategic orchestration of reform and stability. This analysis will juxtapose these academic contributions, delineating areas of scholarly consensus and debate, thereby enriching our comprehension of the multifarious factors that continue to sculpt Morocco's democratic contours.

The studies are as follows:

The study of Waterbury (Vinogradov & Waterbury, 1971) and Hammoudi (Hammoudi, 2010): Waterbury's analysis of the French legacy's impact on Morocco's political changes contrasts with Hammoudi's focus on the cultural foundations of authoritarianism. While Waterbury emphasizes economic and administrative shifts, Hammoudi examines the religious and ideological underpinnings that sustain the monarchy's power.

The study of Colombo (Colombo & Medpro, 2011) and Abubakar (Abubakar, 2019): Colombo's study on the oscillation between moderation and repression in Morocco's political landscape parallels Abubakar's examination of incremental reforms. Both studies highlight the monarchy's central role in guiding changes, but Colombo places more emphasis on the recent democratic regression, whereas Abubakar provides a historical context for the monarchy's approach to reform.

The study of The World Bank (Bank, 2014) and Hendry (Hendry, 2013): The World Bank's focus on the aspirations and challenges of Moroccan youth in political participation aligns with Hendry's exploration of the Arab Spring's influence on political discourse. However, The World Bank study is more concerned with the practical barriers to participation, while Hendry questions the depth and sustainability of reforms.

The study of Essaoudi (Essaoudi, 2021) and Aalouane (Aalouane, 2021): Essaoudi's research on the contributions of elite Moroccan women to democratic transition finds a counterpart in Aalouane's comparative analysis of Morocco and Tunisia. Both studies explore the role of specific groups in promoting democracy, but Essaoudi spotlights women's influence, whereas Aalouane focuses on the broader democratic transition within the Arab world.

The study of Abdessadek (Abdessadek, 2021) and al-Akhssassi (Al-Akhssassi, 2017): Abdessadek's qualitative analysis of Morocco's peaceful democratic transition contrasts with al-Akhssassi's comprehensive review of post-Arab Spring reforms. Abdessadek highlights geographical and cultural influences,

while al-Akhssassi assesses the practical outcomes of constitutional changes.

The study of Mezran (Mezran, 2015) and (Bank, 2020) : Karim Mazran's report on Morocco's stability during the Arab Spring shares themes with the Bank world report on the evolution of the monarchy's rule. Both discuss the strategic reforms and the monarchy's legitimacy, but Karim Mazran give more weight to economic reforms, while the repport bank world focus on the political maneuvers.

The study of Dennison (Dennison et al., 2011).and Colin (Colin, 2024): Dennison et al.'s analysis of the EU's potential role in supporting Morocco's democracy complements Colin's study on institutional petitions. While Dennison. advocate for EU engagement in promoting reforms, Colin examines the domestic mechanisms for political participation and their effectiveness.

The study of Bayer (Bayer, 2010).and Essaoudi (Essaoudi, 2021): Bayer's case studies on women's political empowerment in Morocco resonate with Essaoudi's research on women's elite and democracy. Both studies address the barriers and progress of women in politics, but Bayer focuses on the broader challenges to political participation, whereas Essaoudi emphasizes the diverse contributions of elite women.

The study of Hendry (Hendry, 2013).and al-Akhssassi (Al-Akhssassi, 2017): Hendry's insights into the limited impact of the Arab Spring on Morocco's political system contrast with al-Akhssassi's analysis of the trajectory of reforms. Hendry suggests a stalled transformation, while al-Akhssassi provides a critical examination of the democratization process and the state's performance.

The study of Council (Council, 2015). and (Bank, 2020): The Council's

report on Morocco's unique path through the Arab Spring aligns with the report from the Arab World Bank on the monarchy's adaptation during this period. Both highlight the monarchy's strategic responses to maintain stability, but the Council also delves into the socio-political reforms and the road to economic stability.

These comparative analyses reveal the multifaceted nature of Morocco's democratic transition, with studies converging on themes of sociopolitical dynamics, economic factors, and the monarchy's role in guiding reforms, while diverging in their focus on cultural versus economic influences, the depth of reforms, and the role of various societal groups in the democratization process. Each pair of studies contributes to a nuanced understanding of the opportunities and challenges facing Morocco's journey toward democracy.

## **1.2 Research Framework**

This thesis commences with a theoretical framework, wherein a brief review of various theoretical theses and the perspectives of their advocates on matters concerning democratic transition will be presented. As global political societies in general and the Arab world in particular are witnessing a diversity of theories and concepts based on political analysis and monitoring its parts, from Khaldunian philosophy (attributed to the sociologist Ibn Khaldun 27 May 1332 - 17 March 1406, 732 - 808 AH) to contemporary political thought and colonial sociological theories (Grine & Khezzar, 2018).

Gandhi, Jennifer (2008) titled: Political Institutions under Dictatorship  
American political scientist Jennifer Gandy (Gandhi, 2008) proposes an idea regarding the nature of dictatorial rule and its relationship to shadowy democratic

institutions. Gandy argues that democratic institutions under dictatorship are merely a false façade used to justify authoritarian power and decisions, as dictators devise creative ways to shape power and control governance, even with formal democratic institutions such as legislative assemblies and political parties. She emphasises the importance of understanding institutions and their role based on the "new institutionalism" approach, which posits that institutions are deliberately constructed and shaped to achieve specific goals. In this sense, political institutions can be exploited by dictatorial governments to strengthen their control and maintain their power, whether by resolving certain issues by default, or channelling political trends in ways that serve their own interests. In other words, the traditional understanding of political institutions can be misleading in cases of dictatorial rule, as these institutions are strategically used to fulfil the goals of the dictatorial government without a genuine commitment to democracy and the rule of law.

Not far from Jennifer's theory. the theory that developed by Samuel Huntington From Authoritarianism to Democracy, It Provide important insights into democratic transitions(Margareth, 2017) . In this book, Huntington introduces a new concept of democracy based on the notion of 'regional arbitrariness', arguing that democratic transitions may be limited to certain geographical regions and that successes and failures vary across these regions. In this context, Huntington examines the cultural, historical, and religious factors that may influence a country's ability to successfully democratise, which characterises democratic models in different regions of the world.

Albert O. Hirschman (1915-2012), an economist, (Steinert & Dworschak,

2023) developed theories about the role of protests and resistance in processes of political transformation. His work focused on understanding the forms of social and political resistance that emerge in different contexts. He also contributed to understanding how resistance movements can challenge national regimes and form spaces of manoeuvre that can disrupt the existing order.

Not far from the same field, the American economist Albert O. Hirschman as one of the founders of institutional theory in the twentieth century he said that it is about the importance of institutional analysis in understanding the social, political and economic dynamics in societies, whether these societies are run by democratic or authoritarian regimes. Viewing institutions as the rules of the game in any society means that they form the framework that governs the interactions of power, politics, economics and society in general (Dwivedi et al., 2023). This theory explains that change in institutions determines the nature of the evolution of societies over time, and is related to how power is formed, wealth is distributed, and policies and laws are made. Thus, understanding the institutional structure of a society and how it functions helps in understanding the transformations and changes that take place in it through two main perspectives in political and social analysis. The first perspective focuses on constitutional and legal aspects, as changes in constitutions and laws are considered an indicator of shifts in power and governance, which is clearly visible during periods of transition from authoritarian to democratic regimes. The second focuses on the role of elites and ruling classes in society, as it considers that power cannot be exercised without the participation of political and economic elites and classes, and that the distribution of power and wealth reflects

the dynamics and structure of society.

(Jennifer Gandhi), (Samuel Huntington), (Albert O. Hirschman), and (North Douglas) have theories that constitute an appropriate proposition through which to compare the Moroccan political party work and the nature of its relationship with the ruling authority in being a representative of the people within the various political and administrative institutions. The institutional structure of society and the importance of looking at institutions as tools that shape and reflect power and social and political interactions in societies, which helps in understanding the nature of the transformations and changes that occur in them.

### **1.3 Thinking Framework**

#### **1.3.1 Democratisation**

The concept of democracy is one of the most important concepts that has been and still is the subject of much debate, and has been analyzed and studied by writers and critics, as it is used in different meanings according to time and place, and there is no universal and comprehensive definition of democracy, nor a single applied form that all democratic systems of government adopt.

If democracy had a rigid form and a fixed ideological content, the democratic system of government would not have been able to spread across continents and adapt to different cultures. I will start from the common definition, which specifies that the basic elements of modern democracy are citizens who share equally in the basic rights, are the final decision makers in the constitution of the society, choose who to entrust with the legislative and executive powers, and at the same time exercise the final veto power over the current government. In a modern

democracy, majority rule is no longer a fundamental principle, but a derivative principle whose validity is based on the above-mentioned essence (self-government of the people).

The word democracy, a word of Greek origin, is made up of two terms: Demos meaning people and kratos ou kratien meaning authority, power, leadership, influence. When combined together, they indicate that this word means the authority of the people, the power of the people or the rule of the people, and this is the same concept that former US President Abraham Lincoln spoke about in a political speech in Gettysbus on 19-11-1863 where he said: "A government of the people chosen by the people for the people must not disappear from the face of the earth (فهييم, 2010).

The ancient Greek civilization was the first to seek to apply the democratic system in the world, which was characterized by an organization called the city-state, the most famous of which is the Athenian democracy, known as direct democracy because the citizens met in one council and consulted on their affairs due to the small number of these citizens (داود, 1991).

At the same time that popular government emerged in Greece, it also appeared in the Italian peninsula, but the Romans chose to call their system a republic (**Plibblicus** - from **Res** , or publicus in Latin), or in simpler terms, democracy is something that belongs to the people (Cartledge et al., 2000).

Democracy underwent a new labor in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries after the outbreak of revolutions in France, the United States, Britain, and others, in its representative form and within the framework of a new political entity



known as the nation-state as a result of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 (Farr, 2005).

Democracy was defined as the absolute right of the people to legislate in all public matters by a majority of the votes of their representatives, so that the will of the people remains free and unrestricted. He is his own master and is not accountable to any other authority other than his own (Munck, 2016).

To overcome the ambiguity surrounding the definition of the concept of democracy, many thinkers decided to rely on a procedural definition to solve the issue of defining it, including Joseph Schumpeter, who adopted procedural criteria and structural constants for the concept of democracy, and this is the typical simple definition that defines the modern concept of democracy on a minimalist model. A narrow definition of democracy relies only on adoption variables. In this context, Joseph Schumpeter argues that the electoral variable is essential in democratic institutions, as it is "the institutionalized procedure for realizing political decisions and passing elections" where individuals gain decision-making power through candidates competing for voters' votes (Blokland, 2014) . "

### **1. Types of democratization**

There are many forms and models of democracy in the world that arise in accordance with political, economic and social conditions. Intellectual and ideological differences among States do not affect the fundamental elements of a democratic system. Historically, this can distinguish between three forms of democracy:

#### **a. Direct democracy**

Direct democracy is that the people directly govern themselves, which means

that the people manage their affairs without intermediaries, in the sense that there are no representatives of the people to carry out these tasks, but rather the people meet in one place to perform their functions. Legislation to appoint some important positions, even within the limits of adjudicating some key issues (الدين, 1995).

#### **b. Representative democracy**

Parliamentary democracy is the second form of democracy. It is simply about the political system of Parliament, which performs all or part of the Government's functions, especially legislative ones. This Parliament is composed of members elected by the people for a fixed term.

The image of representative democracy runs counter to that of direct democracy. While direct democracy is dispensed with in parliamentary assemblies, parliamentary democracy limits the people's role to the mere choice of deputies. Therefore, the people live only in a passing gesture, at the moment of the elections (الشرفاوي, 2007).

#### **c. Semi-democratic direct**

Semi democratic it's as a centralized system between direct democracy and parliamentary democracy. It is based on the existence of an elected People's House of Representatives, together with this House of Representatives, attributed to the people in certain matters of a vital and important nature. People are also given a number of means by which they can exercise certain powers in government and control their deputies. The popular proposal, the popular referendum, requested the right to dismiss the deputy, a popular solution for the removal of the President of the Republic (الدين, 1995)

On the basis of our findings, the concept of the core part of the concept of democratic transition is defined as "democracy". We have found that it represents every system with a democratic culture that respects the fundamental rights of citizenship on an equal footing, enabling the people or the majority of them to delegate power to the legitimate constitutional institutions constituted by free institutions, fair and periodic elections that enshrine the principle of the peaceful circulation of power and censor the political decision maker's policy.

In the next paragraph, the research, proceed to define the concept of democratization as an important part of this research.

There is no doubt that the issue of defining concepts is the first rule of proper scientific research in the field of human and social research. This is because defining the meanings of words gives scientific research clarity in discourse and intention in purpose, especially when it comes to newly used concepts such as the concept of democratic transition.

### **1.3.2 The concept of democratic transition**

After the simple definition of democracy, the research moves to the definition of democratization, which in Arab studies used different synonyms, because of the reliance of Arab studies on its former Western counterpart.

Perhaps one of the most important definitions of democratization presented by Professor G. Hermit relates more to time than it actually refers to. It is somewhat ambiguous and represents the changing category of time that elapses between the fall of the regime and the moment when the regime that replaces it becomes completely in control of power, which usually ends when this democracy

establishes for itself legitimate and constitutional institutions and democratic leaders obtain recognition of their control by the military or institutions, making it possible to transfer power by peaceful means (Europe, 2019).

The democratic transition is marked by a historic transition of political power from a peaceful and progressive pattern of authoritarian measures to building a new experience based on a more democratic system of governance through real changes at the institutional level, laws and relations between the Governor and the people, expanding areas of participation, strengthening mechanisms of governance and guaranteeing rights and freedoms (طارق, 2012). Democratization is a phase between two different systems that build on two different regions. It is an atypical stage in form and content that is influenced by the circumstances and specificities of each society while upholding the great elements of a democratic system that achieves popular governance by ensuring broader participation, equal citizenship rights and political competition based on free and fair suffrage that leads to the circulation of power within the framework of constitutional legitimacy (Europe, 2019).

In short, democratization is arguably a transition from an undemocratic system of government to a democratic system of government. This shift involves abandoning the standards of an authoritarian regime and gradually moving towards an integrated democratic system, which is influenced by time, spatial and coordinated conditions and economic conditions. The cultural and social structure, which differs from the political coup d'état, is a sudden change of order and depends on force, whether by a military group or a different institution from the concept of revolution, which includes the armed struggle against an authoritarian state system

(بشارة & السياسات, 2020).

Democratic transition encompasses the concept of transitional justice, where the transition from authoritarianism to democracy is peaceful through a series of transformations, and post-transition democracy is consolidated.

In the end, a democratic transition is a challenge that requires multiple political and economic efforts to achieve a shift towards a system of governance that reflects the will of the people Through three themes (Political reform, Democratic transition, Democracy).

In other words, changing a country's political system from one that lacks democratic practices, such as free and fair elections, political pluralism, and respect for human rights, to one that embraces these practices and encourages popular participation in governance.

This transformation may be gradual or rapid and may involve changes in the constitution, laws, political institutions, and the political culture of the society. Thus, inclusive democratization can be placed on the path to achieving an inclusive democratic transformation.

### **1.3.3 Paths of Democratic Transition According to Alfred Stepan**

Alfred Stepan, in his works on democratic transition, highlights three main pathways that states can follow to transform from a non-democratic to a democratic system (Chalmers D, 2012):

#### **1. Transition through Negotiation**

where the existing regime and the opposition negotiate to reach a settlement that leads to democracy.

## **2. Transition through Reform**

the existing regime undertakes gradual reforms that ultimately lead to democracy.

## **3. Transition through Collapse**

The authoritarian regime collapses due to internal or external crises, paving the way for democracy.

## **4. Transition through Replacement**

The authoritarian regime is suddenly replaced with a democratic system, often through a popular revolution.

### **1.3.4 The Path of Democratic Transition in Morocco**

The democratic transition in Morocco represents a comprehensive and multi-faceted journey from an authoritarian regime to a democratic governance system. This transformation is characterized by significant changes in political institutions, legal frameworks, and the dynamics of power, fostering a new relationship between the government and its citizens. It is a process that not only broadens political participation and enhances the accountability of public officials but also safeguards fundamental civil liberties.

Politically, Morocco has witnessed a shift from autocracy to democracy, marked by the strengthening of democratic institutions like the parliament and political parties. The country has committed to conducting free and fair elections, ensuring that all political entities have equal opportunities to engage in the political landscape.

Economically, the transition is accompanied by policy reforms aimed at

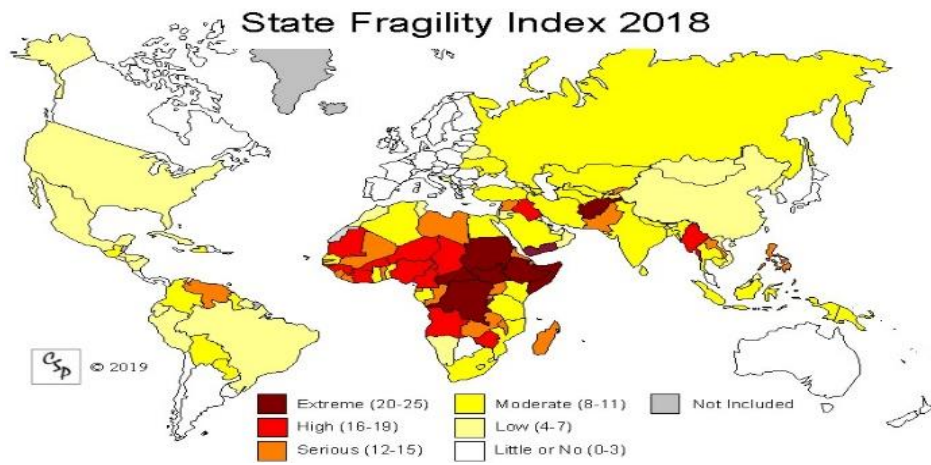
equitable resource distribution and sustained economic growth. The development of a market economy and the promotion of private sector investment are pivotal to this aspect.

Socially, the transition demands an improvement in living conditions, advancing social justice, and bridging societal gaps. This encompasses universal access to healthcare and education, as well as enhancing overall quality of life for all Moroccans.

Culturally, the transition involves nurturing values of tolerance, pluralism, and human rights respect. It emphasizes the importance of freedom of expression, media independence, and cultural diversity.

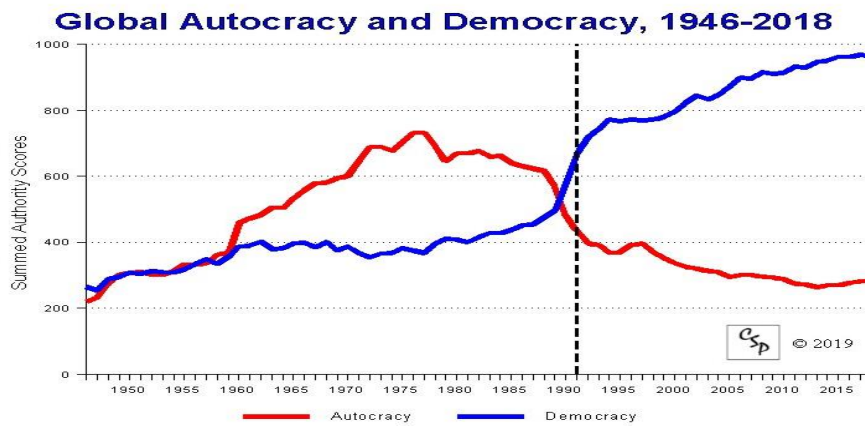
Despite ongoing challenges like bolstering confidence in the electoral system and securing judicial independence, the ultimate objective remains to establish a governance model that mirrors the populace's will, upholds human rights, and guarantees active citizen participation in governance.

In line with Alfred Stepan's models, Morocco's path to democracy can be dissected into three primary routes: top-down transformation led by the ruling elite's constitutional and political reforms, bottom-up transformation fueled by grassroots movements like the February 20th Movement, and transformation through negotiation, where compromises between the elite and opposition factions have facilitated reforms. This intricate blend of pathways, particularly emphasizing top-down and negotiated changes, mirrors the unique complexities and delicate power balances within the Moroccan state.



**Figure 2.1: State fragility index 2018.**

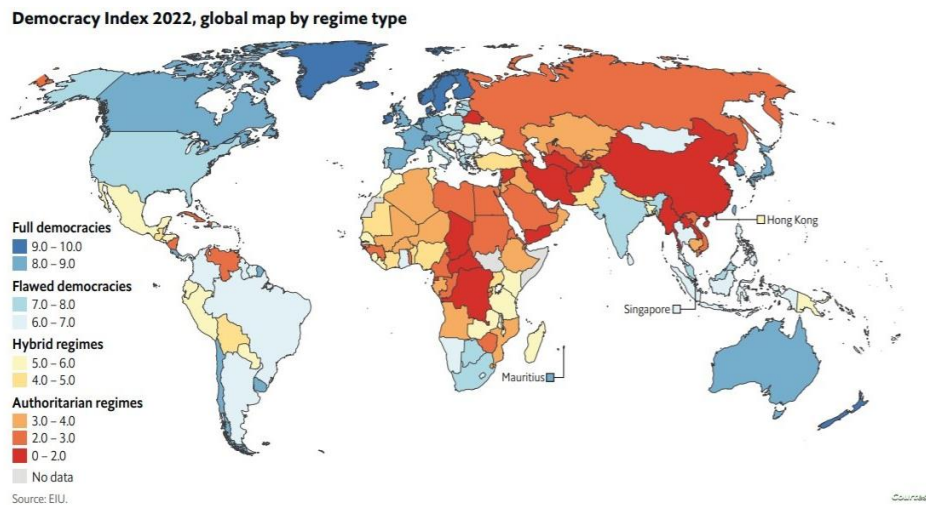
**Note: Adapted from (Peace, 2013).**



**Figure 2.2: Global autocracy and democracy 1946-2018.**

**Note: Adapted from (Peace, 2013).**





**Figure 2.3: showing democracy index 2022, global map by regime type.**

**Note: Adapted from:** (journal alhora, 2023)

**Explanation Figures: 2.1-2.2-2.3.**

The map that I provided is the State Fragility Index for the year 2018. It uses a color-coded system to indicate the level of state fragility across different countries.

Dark Red: Extreme fragility (20-25)

Red: Serious fragility (15-19)

Light Orange: Moderate fragility (8-11)

Yellow: Low fragility (4-7)

Uncolored: Little or no fragility (0-3)

Grey: Not included in the index

The index measures the pressures faced by states that could lead to conflict or collapse. Countries with higher scores are considered at greater risk of fragility, which can have implications for international peace and security.

Based on the 2018 State Fragility Index, Morocco ranked 78th most fragile out

of 178 countries, with a total score of 73 points. This classification places Morocco in a category that indicates that it faces some challenges that may lead to the fragility of the state. The index serves as a diagnostic tool to help identify potential vulnerabilities and guide policymakers in strengthening a country's capacity and resilience. Morocco's position in the index reflects its continuing efforts to deal with complex regional dynamics and internal demands while continuing economic development and democratic reform.

The Democracy Index 2022 map categorizes countries by regime type, with Morocco classified as an authoritarian regime, scoring between 20 and 40. This classification suggests limited political freedoms and democratic practices within the country. The color-coding on the map, ranging from dark green for full democracies to red shades for authoritarian regimes, provides a visual representation of the global state of democracy. Morocco's orange color indicates challenges in democratic governance, aligning with its ranking as the 78th most fragile state in 2018, reflecting vulnerabilities in political stability and development.

### **Interpretation of graphics and charts**

The visual data presented in the images collectively offer a comprehensive overview of the global political landscape over time. The Democracy Index map from 2022 categorizes countries by regime type, highlighting the spectrum of governance from full democracies to authoritarian states, and underscores the geographical distribution of political systems. The State Fragility Index for 2018 further complements this by color-coding countries based on their levels of fragility, which can be indicative of the stability and effectiveness of their institutions. Lastly,

the line graph titled "Global Autocracy and Democracy, 1946-2018" traces the ebb and flow of political authority, with summed scores reflecting the historical shifts between autocratic and democratic rule globally. Together, these images encapsulate the dynamic and evolving nature of state governance and the ongoing struggle between autocratic tendencies and democratic ideals. They serve as a stark reminder of the complex interplay between political structures and societal resilience, offering a nuanced perspective on the challenges and triumphs of nation-states in the pursuit of governance that reflects the will and welfare of the people.

### **In the context of Morocco**

In the context of Morocco, these global trends resonate with its own unique journey towards democratization. Morocco's path has been marked by a series of reforms initiated from the top, with the monarchy playing a pivotal role in steering the country towards a more open and participatory political system. The constitutional reforms of 2011, influenced by the Arab Spring, were a significant milestone, expanding the powers of the elected parliament and prime minister while still maintaining the monarch's central role. The Justice and Development Party (PJD) has emerged as a key player in this transition, navigating the delicate balance between traditional authority and the push for democratic governance. Despite the progress, Morocco's democratic transition remains a work in progress, with ongoing debates about the extent of political liberalization, the role of Islamists, and the need for further economic and social reforms (Ottaway & Riley, 2006).

This nuanced trajectory underscores the complexities of Morocco's democratic evolution within the broader spectrum of global political shifts.