



Norwegian Institute
of International
Affairs

The ENP as an instrument for building a security community: The case of Morocco

Pernille Rieker and Niklas Bremberg



NUPI Working Paper 835

Publisher: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
Copyright: © Norwegian Institute of International Affairs 2014

Any views expressed in this publication are those of the authors. They should not be interpreted as reflecting the views of the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs. The text may not be printed in part or in full without the permission of the authors.

Visiting address: C.J. Hambros plass 2d
Address: P.O. Box 8159 Dep.
NO-0033 Oslo, Norway
Internet: www.nupi.no
E-mail: info@nupi.no
Fax: [+ 47] 22 99 40 50
Tel: [+ 47] 22 99 40 00

The ENP as an instrument for building a security community: The case of Morocco

Pernille Rieker and Niklas Bremberg

Abstract

This contribution investigates whether and how the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) works as a security community-building instrument in EU–Morocco relations. The analysis is based on the argument that building an effective security community depends on *a certain level of integration* combined with a *certain degree of domestic support*. Inquiring into the extent to which the ENP is effective as a security community building instrument towards Morocco, we examine the actual level of Morocco’s integration with the EU and the domestic support for such integration. By focusing on the possibilities and the limits of the ENP as such an instrument, this analysis goes beyond previous studies of EU–Morocco relations that have focused exclusively on the effects of external governance. We conclude that the ENP has been relatively successful in promoting security community-building, although there is mixed evidence that Morocco is adapting to EU norms and regulation (external governance). This is because the process supports practices of *mutual responsiveness* rather than *adaptations*. Thus, the attractiveness of the ENP lies in its open-ended character and the fact that both parties seem to think that they are getting what they want. For the EU this is stability, migration control and gradual reforms, whereas for Morocco this includes greater access to European markets, financial support as well as a certain external legitimacy for the current regime.

Published by Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Contents

Introduction	4
Morocco – a pioneer in the ENP south	6
Morocco and the level of integration into the EU	8
The attractiveness of the EU to Morocco	17
Conclusions	21
References	23

Introduction

To what extent has Morocco become integrated into the EU – and does the EU remain attractive in Morocco in times of economic and political crisis in Europe? Our empirical focus is directed towards the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), which has been developing since 2004. We begin with the assumption that the more Morocco is integrated into the EU and the more attractive the EU is in Morocco, the more likely it is that the country can be seen as gradually becoming an integrated part of the European security community. This is based on the argument presented in the introduction (Rieker) that economic and political integration and interdependence tend to lead to security and stability among the integrated countries. This is not a new argument: it has been stressed in the security community literature since the 1950s (Deutsch 1957, Adler and Barnett 1998, Pouliot 2008). Here it should be noted that, from the perspective of *security communities*, ‘integration’ is not necessarily equivalent to formal accession to the EU, nor is the prospect of EU membership a necessary condition for such integration. By using integration as an analytical category, we can capture the emergence of dependable expectations of peaceful change through the creation of a ‘sense of community’ as well as the emergence of common institutions and shared practices (Deutsch 1957 5, Adler and Barnett 1998 37).

Expectations of peaceful change, mutual trust and practices of self-restraint are often based on the existence of collective identities and shared values (Wendt 1999, Acharya 2001, Bially 2001). However, we argue that pluralistic security communities are not necessarily based on *commonality* of values (collective identity), but may hinge on *compatibility* of values or *mutual responsiveness* (Deutsch 1957, Möller 2007 46). Recent studies have also noted the role that networks of practitioners and communities of practice play in expanding security communities, since the development of common practices often precedes the creation of collective identities (Adler 2008, Pouliot 2010). International and regional organizations such as the EU might function as security community building institutions, by providing venues where participants in transnational networks from various states can engage in practical cooperation (Bellamy 2008, Bremberg 2010).

The development of EU–Moroccan relations represents a highly interesting case in this regard. First, Morocco is geographically close to Europe and has a long, common history with much of the continent. Second, Morocco has a history of relatively greater independence from European colonialism than most other countries of North Africa. Third, it has chosen a different approach to domestic politics than its

neighbours, with a focus on pluralism and inclusion rather than exclusion of political adversaries. Fourth, Morocco was the first country to be granted 'Advanced Status', making it a pioneer within the ENP framework. Fifth, the Arab Spring has not led to political turmoil in Morocco, although political reforms have been undertaken and the country's first Islamist-led government is in office since 2012. Taken together, this makes EU–Moroccan relations a case study that can provide valuable insights into the possibilities and limitations of the ENP as a security community-building instrument.

In order to uncover the level of integration in EU–Morocco relations, we examine three dimensions: the current *scope of the bilateral association agreements* seen in relations to the EU *acquis*, *the level of adaptation* to the conditions set by the EU, and *the level of participation* in EU policies and programmes (Rieker). Assuming that security community-building is a result of integration as well as attraction, we also investigate the relative attractiveness of the EU. To what extent has the economic crisis has impacts on this dimension? We begin with the view that the level of attractiveness depends both on what Morocco benefits from the EU (e.g., financial contributions and access to the EU policies; also to a certain extent norms and values) and what it might receive from other regional actors. Understanding how these factors interact will give an idea of whether Morocco's integration with the EU is likely to continue. A certain level of domestic support in the partner country – among elites and major constituencies – is crucial to the EU's ability to achieve its objectives within the framework of the ENP.

Morocco – a pioneer in the ENP south

Economic and political cooperation between the EU and Morocco has a long history, with diplomatic and commercial relations dating back to the early 1960s (Tovias 1996, Pierros, et al. 1999). Morocco even applied for membership in the EC in 1987. The application was rejected by Community foreign ministers on the grounds that Morocco could not be considered to be a European country; apart from that, Morocco was also far from meeting the EC/EU criteria at the time. With no prospects for membership, Morocco has subsequently been an active partner in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and more recently the ENP. To further develop the bilateral relations, the EU and Morocco set up the EU–Morocco Association Agreement, which entered into force in 2000 (Bicchi 2007). This agreement still forms the legal basis for relations between Morocco and the EU, also within the framework of the ENP.

Although Morocco is still far from a fully-fledged liberal democracy, the regime has chosen a pathway of political inclusion rather than exclusion to ensure its political survival, from the very beginning (Willis 2012). The Moroccan constitution of 1956 established a multi-party system. The regime has managed to co-opt radical movements by legalizing them as political parties, integrating them into the political process, as long as they do not challenge the authority of the monarchy itself.¹ Following upon the reforms undertaken under Mohammed VI (and prior to the Arab Spring), Morocco became the first ENP country in the South to obtain Advanced Status in 2008. This agreement constitutes a ‘roadmap’ for widening the scope of EU–Moroccan relations by setting out new objectives in three main areas: closer political relations (with the holding of an EU–Morocco summit and the establishment of consultation mechanisms at the ministerial level); integration into the EU’s Internal Market on the basis of gradual adoption of the Community *acquis* in certain sectors and the alignment to the *acquis* in others; and sectoral cooperation. The agreement also stipulates that the human dimension (e.g. poverty alleviation, education and rural development) is to be prioritized.

The fact that Morocco had experienced a certain degree of political liberalization before the Arab Spring might also explain why there have not been the same levels of popular unrest as in other North African

¹ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

countries. The few demonstrations that took place also had a rather immediate impact, as they led the regime to launch a constitutional reform process that brought Morocco a step closer to resembling a constitutional monarchy already by September 2011. The new constitution strengthens and broadens the powers of the Prime Minister and the Parliament in the Moroccan political system, but it fails to circumscribe the king's powers effectively. For instance, while the Prime Minister must be chosen from the majority party in the Parliament, the cabinet must still be approved by the monarch (Madani 2012).

The EU was quick to welcome Morocco's new constitution as 'a significant step [that]...signals a clear commitment to democracy and respect for human rights' (European Commission 2011b). Elections were then held in November 2011; the EU and Council of Europe electoral monitoring teams were fairly positive concerning how the elections had been conducted (European Commission 2011a, Council of Europe 2012). Similar to many other countries in the region, an Islamist political party, *le Parti de la Justice et du Développement* (PJD), received the majority of the vote. This meant that the first (moderate) Islamist-led government took office in Morocco as from January 2012. According to representatives from the ministries and civil society, the reason why the constitutional amendments could be presented so quickly was that they had already been in the pipeline for some time and were thus not really initiated as a result of the demonstrations. That said, popular demands undoubtedly accelerated the reform process.²

² Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

Morocco and the level of integration into the EU

Analysing the level of integration with the EU in terms of *the scope of the agreements*, *the level of adaptation* to EU standards and the *level of participation* in EU policies can give an indication of whether the EU can be said to be a security community-building institution as regards Morocco.

Scope of agreements with the EU

The scope of Morocco's agreements with the EU must be described as comprehensive. Taken together, the Association Agreement, the ENP Action Plan and the roadmap for the Advanced Status cover most chapters of the *acquis* (with the notable exception of the chapter on Economic and Monetary Policy). However, there are important differences in the level of commitment that these agreements entail for Morocco. For example, the central element in the Association Agreement is the establishment of free trade between Morocco and the EU, gradually implemented since the agreement came into force in 2000 (EU 2000). Since 2012, free trade on industrial goods is being enforced. Issues such as public procurement, intellectual property, competition, financial services, taxation, social policy, industrial policy, education, energy and environment are also addressed in the agreements. While the EU does not formally require Morocco to *adopt* the *acquis*, the logic behind regulatory convergence is clearly based on the view that third countries such as Morocco can gain greater access to the Internal Market if they not only *align* themselves to EU rules and standards, but eventually adopt the *acquis* in certain sectors.

Negotiations on a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) are currently underway. The main objective of the DCFTA is to bring Moroccan legislation closer to EU legislation in trade-related areas; this is intended to extend significantly beyond the scope of the existing Association Agreement, to include trade in services, government procurement, competition, intellectual property rights and investment protection. In addition, it foresees the gradual integration of the Moroccan economy into the Internal Market, in areas like industrial standards and technical regulations, or sanitary and phytosanitary measures.

Further, an [EU–Morocco Agreement on agricultural, processed agricultural and fisheries products](#) entered into force on 1 October 2012 (EU 2013), opening up for free trade in almost all products that

comply with European standards and regulations. While the intention is that this agreement will eventually include most of the agricultural products (as soon as the Moroccan products correspond with EU standards), the provisions on free trade do not apply to labour and capital: instead, other agreements stipulate 'cooperation' on these issues. Concerning migration, for instance, a Migration and Mobility Partnership was launched between the EU and Morocco in June 2013 (Council of the EU 2013). As yet this remains merely a declaration of intent. However, the intention is a win-win cooperation where the EU will open up for increased immigration for certain groups, and Morocco will commit itself to assist the EU in fighting illegal migration.

The current Association Agreement also covers cooperation in the areas of justice, freedom and security, as well as foreign, security and defence policy. It should be noted that with the adoption of the new ENP Action Plan³ and the road map for the Advanced Status, the agenda for cooperation on matters relating to JHA (e.g. migration, visa, border control, judicial and police cooperation) and CSDP (e.g. civil and military crisis management) has expanded significantly.

Level of adaptation/alignment

Overall assessments of Morocco's level of adaptation or alignment to the EU and the ENP criteria⁴ have been generally positive (Van Hullen 2012). According to the ENP country report for 2010, Morocco is considered to be an important economic partner for the EU in the region as well as a strategic ally in facing many common challenges, including the fight against terrorism and illegal migration (European Commission 2010). Beyond this, the Commission also emphasized the need for improvement in areas such as the development of an independent juridical system (European Commission 2010 4). This assessment is echoed in the most recent country report. However, the areas of concerns are made more explicit. For example, it is argued that Morocco has taken steps to start implementing the key recommendations of the EU, but that it has not yet completed them, and the EU raises concerns about the current association law as well as the lack of judicial independence in Morocco (European Commission 2013a, b). The EU also notes that the Moroccan government has adopted only one out of the nineteen laws necessary for the new constitution to enter into force. In the following, we will inquire into how Morocco scores in terms of the ENP criteria of democracy promotion and good governance, the rule of law and respect for human

³ The negotiations on a new ENP action plan were finalized in November 2012 for the period 2013–2017.

⁴ Democracy promotion, respect for human rights, rule of law, good governance, market economy principles and sustainable development.

rights, as well as market economy principles and sustainable development.

Democracy promotion and good governance. Concerning the first ENP criterion, democracy promotion, there remain numerous examples of non-democratic features in Morocco. First and foremost, the king still enjoys far-reaching powers. While his powers resemble more and more the powers of a president in a strong presidential system, the position of the monarch is determined by inheritance, not by the ballots. This means that a very basic undemocratic feature remains. On the other hand, the legitimacy and broad popular support enjoyed by the monarchy are beyond doubt. Many of our interviewees seemed surprisingly confident that the king intervenes only when necessary, and that they perceive the risk of misuse of power as low.⁵

Even though it can be argued that the power of the monarchy, in its current form, represents an obstacle to further democratization of the Moroccan state, the king enjoys a high degree of legitimacy in Moroccan society, among the elites as well as in society at large. Several of our interviewees argue that the king is in many ways seen as a guarantee against any form of religious extremism and as source of stability, pluralism, tolerance and the respect for human rights, including women's rights.⁶

Morocco today is not a state in post-revolution transition. Rather, it is an authoritarian monarchy characterized by a gradual political liberalization. Importantly, this top-down process is managed by the monarchy itself (Volpi 2010). Some argue that the king has played a tactical game, making some constitutional amendments so as to shore up his legitimacy without having to give up his power (Benchemsi 2012). Others hold that this 'controlled democratization process' can help to explain why the development in Morocco seems more stable than in many other countries in the region.⁷ However, it is too early to say whether the reforms will be sufficient. As long as the country suffers from unequal economic development, high illiteracy levels, deficiencies in the educational system, and corruption (apart from the other remaining non-democratic features), there is always the risk of political and social unrest (Dennison, et al. 2011 2).

Due to the prevailing non-democratic features and the high levels of poverty, some hold that the EU policy has failed. They argue that the EU seem to give priority to short-term stability and security over the promotion of democracy (Kausch 2010, Graciet and Laurent 2012). However, many of our interviewees in Morocco disagree, presenting the

⁵ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

⁶ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

⁷ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

ongoing and gradual reform process as crucial for the Moroccan economy as well as for regional security and stability. In their view, the king's role as an arbitrator among various interests in the country will remain important as long as democratic institutions do not function as intended.⁸

A further dynamic to emerge after the Arab Spring is closer cooperation between the EU and the Council of Europe (CoE) in Morocco. The Moroccan reform process is now supported by a joint EU–CoE programme. The EU contributes financial assistance (mainly in the form of budgetary support), while the CoE and certain European states (through ‘twinning projects’) engage in training activities and assistance in the actual reform process. In June 2011, the Moroccan Parliament was also accorded status as ‘partner for democracy’ by the CoE. Since then representatives from the Moroccan Parliament have participated in all Commissions of the *Parliamentary Assembly of the CoE (PACE) in order to learn how to establish a well-functioning opposition as well as other fundamental aspects of a democracy. A further example is the newly launched process* by CoE to assess the legal and institutional anti-corruption framework in Morocco.⁹

This kind of cooperation is highly important since the most difficult challenges for Morocco seem to revolve around implementation of the new constitution, in particular the reform of the justice sector (e.g. training of judges). According to our interviewees, this process has slowed down with the PJD in government since 2012. It is uncertain, however, whether this is due to lack of political will or lack of experience in governing. In any case, pro-reform individuals in the administration as well as in civil society in Morocco are deeply concerned at this delay.¹⁰ The latest report from Freedom House characterizes Morocco as “partly free”, but with somewhat lower scores than those awarded to Lebanon and Tunisia (Freedom House 2014).

Rule of law and respect for human rights. The National Council for Human Rights (CNDH) was established in 2011 on the initiative of the king. While it may seem tempting to dismiss this as mainly a cosmetic reform, it is worth noting that the President of the CNDH is a well-known former communist, Driss El Yazami who recently returned to Morocco from many years in exile in France. The CNDH is to advise the government in matters of human rights. While the new constitution is quite far-reaching in its provisions on human rights, there are still numerous examples of violations of its articles. According to our interviewees, these incidents must primarily be understood as a result of the lack of a well-developed training programme for the police force,

⁸ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

⁹ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

¹⁰ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

lawyers and judges aimed at ensuing coherent implementation of the laws.¹¹

Some limits on the freedom of expression have persisted, such as criticizing Islam, the monarchy or the figure of the king. Also freedom of association is respected only in part. The new constitution protects for the first time the right to create associations, but a recent report from Human Rights Watch notes that Moroccan officials continue to arbitrarily impede the legalization of many associations, especially groups that defend the rights of Saharawis, Amazighs (Berbers), sub-Saharan migrants, as well as associations whose leadership includes members of al-Adl wal-Ihsan (Justice and Spirituality) (Human Rights Watch 2013). In Western Sahara, the authorities withheld legal recognition for all local human rights organizations that support Saharawi independence.

Together with the EU, the Council of Europe plays an increasingly important role in assisting Morocco in the implementation of its new constitution. For instance, the Ministry of Justice has obtained observer status in the CoE Commission for the Efficiency of Justice (CEPEJ).

Market economy principles. The Moroccan economy has undergone a process of liberalization since the 1980s and it is increasingly more open to foreign investors and international trade. According to the World Bank, Morocco has experienced notable economic growth recently (on average about 5.1% between 2001 and 2008, which is almost twice as high as the average in the 1990s) (World Bank 2012). Growth is also more stable than in the 1990s and inflation has remained low (on average about 2.5% per annum). With increases in investments from some 25% to 36% of GDP between 2001 and 2008, the prospects of sustained economic growth have improved as well. It is worth noting that the Moroccan economy has shown resilience in the wake of the global financial crisis (following a slowdown in 2009, non-agricultural GDP grew by 5%, and overall GDP grew by an estimated 3.3% in 2010) (ibid).

While Moroccan economy has been growing at a faster rate than many southern European countries in recent years, Morocco still faces economic and financial problems, like budget deficits and unemployment (9.1% in 2010).¹² The main challenge for the Moroccan economy is its high dependency on a few sectors: agriculture, tourism and textile production. All three sectors are fragile – the first is

¹¹ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

¹² Although this is significantly lower than the levels of unemployment in the 1990s, less than half of the population participate in the labour market. Among youth (aged 15–24), unemployment is almost three and a half times as high (World Bank, 2012).

dependent on climate and rainfall, the second requires stability in the region, the third hinges on market access.

The EU generally supports economic reforms in Morocco but notes that the announced reform of public finances which envisions a more transparent and democratic control over public spending has not yet been adopted. The EU also supports the Moroccan government's actions to fight poverty in the country, like the National Initiative for Human Development (INDH), but it also notes that the national labour legislation is not respected by many companies and the Moroccan labour inspection is under-resourced (European Commission 2013a, b). Other examples of the problems that the goal of aligning Moroccan legislation to the *acquis* entail in practice include the issue of food security, where the new veterinary law prepared in 2011 is intended to provide Morocco with a regulatory framework which harmonizes with EU sanitary and phyto-sanitary regulations, but it has not yet been adopted. Progress has also been slow on regulatory convergence on issues such as intellectual property, state aid and competition. In general, the problems involved in enforcing market economy principles are related to the weak regulatory powers of the Moroccan authorities, as well as high levels of corruption that obstruct competition.

But there are examples to indicate that in some sectors the Moroccan economy is both liberalizing and converging with EU standards. In 2008, the EU–Morocco ‘single sky’ agreement on air traffic regulations was signed (Council of the EU 2006). Two new ground handling operators have been established at Moroccan airports; concerning air traffic regulations Morocco participates as non-permanent observer in the Open Sky committee and cooperates with the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA) to put in place aviation safety regulations that harmonize with EU standards.

Sustainable development. In the field of environmental protection, there are signs of regulatory convergence. For instance, Morocco envisions aligning its legislation on the use of water with EU directives. Beyond this, Morocco is also investing in developing in renewable energy and green growth. Of particular interest is investment in a solar energy programme that Morocco has been developing independent of EU funding. This project is based mainly on national funding (the Hassan II Fund) as well as financial support from Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, although international donors such as the World Bank and the European Investment Bank have also been involved. While this project has the potential to make Morocco self-sufficient in energy supply, there are also ambitions of being able to export energy to Europe. At present, realization of this solar energy project suffers from the economic crisis in Europe, political turbulence in the region as well as some technical uncertainties.

Level of participation in the EU

Morocco's Advanced Status offers the opportunity to deepen dialogue and cooperation, including participation in EU policies on key strategic issues of concern to both parties. Here we examine participation along two dimensions: the form and the frequency of meetings; and actual participation in various policy areas. The empirical focus is on the fields of security and trade, which seem to be where there is mutual interest in have greater participation of Morocco.

Form and the frequency of meetings with the EU. Meetings between Morocco and the EU have been many and rather frequent, varying in level and format. Those on the highest political level take place within the Association Council (Jaidi 2010). The first meeting of the EU–Morocco Association Council was held in October 2000 and the latest meeting was held in April 2012. Representatives of the EU and Morocco have met more or less annually in this constellation. According to the EU–Morocco Association Agreement, the parties are to consult each other on political and strategic issues of common concern. This principle is also referred to in the roadmap of the Advanced Status, which lists a range of proposals as to how the EU and Morocco could enhance their bilateral political and economic relations – such as holding ministerial meetings between Morocco and EU member-states, as well as allowing Moroccan diplomats and functionaries to participate at Council working group meetings and in the Political and Security Committee (PSC). Meetings between Moroccan officials and representatives of the PSC have been held on various occasions since 2008.

There is also close parliamentary cooperation between Morocco and the EU. As one way of implementing the Advanced Status, an EU–Morocco Joint Parliamentary Committee was established in 2010. The purpose is to strengthen the ties between the European Parliament and its Moroccan counterpart, and the committee meets regularly in Brussels and Strasbourg. Besides these political meetings there are regular (and quite frequent) meetings between representatives of the European Commission and Moroccan officials relating to more technical aspects of EU–Morocco cooperation, such as projects within the ENP framework and financial assistance. This means that, in addition to the frequency of the different types of meetings, there is some flexibility in the meeting structures that allows for more contact points when needed.

Level of participation in EU policies. Morocco's agreements with the EU and its Advanced Status stipulate that the EU is to support Morocco in several fields (including human rights, science and technology, consumer health). This provides a basis for financial aid, but also for Moroccan access to some EU programmes and thereby greater participation in various EU policies.

In security policy, Morocco contributes to the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), including defence (CSDP), as well as to EU internal security. While Morocco has agreed to give support to CFSP declarations on a case-by-case basis, the two parties have not yet agreed on implementation procedures (Lecha 2011 238). On the other hand, besides setting up an EU–Morocco summit and holding regular meetings to enhance political dialogue, the new political agenda includes Morocco's participation in EU-led crisis management operations (military and civilian) and supporting statements of the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) (Idrissi 2011).

As mentioned, Morocco also contributes to EU internal security. EU–Morocco cooperation includes the development of border control mechanisms, enhancing of Morocco's participation in training and seminars of the European Police College, the establishment of cooperation between Morocco and the European Police Office as well as greater cooperation with the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (Idrissi 2011). Morocco participates in regional cooperation on disaster management and civil protection in the Mediterranean, which the EU has promoted since the 1990s (Bremberg 2010). Further, the EU's Community Mechanism for Civil Protection was activated and used in the operation sent to Morocco after the 2004 earthquake, and Moroccan authorities were also allowed access to the Common Emergency and Information System (CECIS) of the Community Mechanism in order to receive the information dispersed in connection with a crisis management exercise in 2008 (Council of the EU 2008).

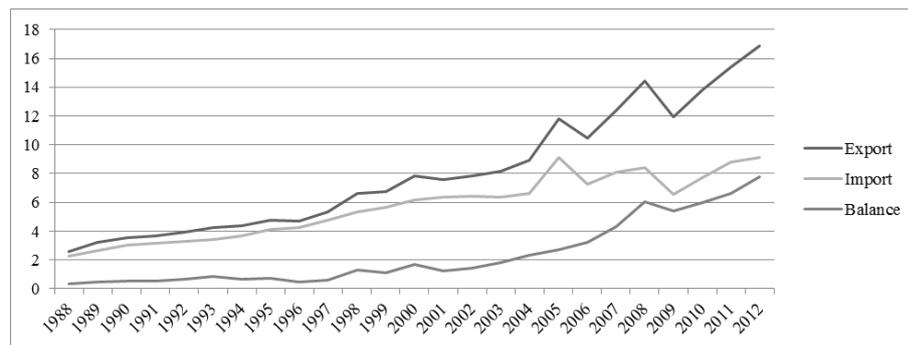
The reforms of the Moroccan judiciary (see above) have a link to the cooperation with the EU on internal security. In terms of judicial cooperation, the EU supports the proposed upgrading of the Moroccan legislative and institutional framework for asylum-seekers in accordance with international standards. To this can be added the possibility for Morocco to access CoE conventions related to judicial matters which are open to non-member participation, and the establishment of a cooperative agreement between Morocco and Eurojust (the European agency for the fight against crime), as well as the EU's support for cooperation on reforms in order to implement the recommendations of the Instance d'Équité et Réconciliation (IER) (Idrissi 2011).

One recent achievement in Morocco–EU relations is the signing of a mobility partnership in June 2013. The objective is to improve the information available to qualified Moroccan citizens on employment, education and training opportunities available in the EU, and to make mutual recognition of professional and university qualifications easier. A further objective is to support the integration of Moroccan citizens who regularly visit an EU member-state. As regards irregular migration, the intention is for the EU and Morocco to work together in combatting

the smuggling of migrants and trafficking in human beings, and to provide assistance for victims of these crimes. While this is not yet realized, Morocco is foreseen as an active partner that will contribute to EU policy on migration.

Concerning trade, Morocco has gained greater access to the Internal Market and is becoming a more integrated participant in the European economy. Some 40–50 per cent of Moroccan imports and exports are estimated to originate from or be destined to the Internal Market (Dawson 2009). While these figures have remained basically constant since the 1990s, the total volume of trade has expanded steadily. The total value of trade in goods between the EU and Morocco was estimated to €26 billion in 2012 (see Figure 1). The global financial crisis had a negative impact on EU–Moroccan trade in 2009–2010 but it bounced back in 2011–2012. However, here it should be noted that Morocco has had an annual trade deficit of about €6–7 billion to the EU since 2008.

Figure 1. EU–Morocco Trade Volumes, 1988–2012



Trade in goods, figures in € billions (Source: European Commission).

The launch of negotiations on a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) early in 2013 and the entry into force of a Fisheries Agreement in October 2012 (European Commission 2013a) are indications that Morocco's integration into the European economy will continue.

The attractiveness of the EU to Morocco

The analysis above shows that Morocco has achieved a far-ranging level of integration and cooperation with the EU. The scope of agreements is broad, and the level of adaptation or at least alignment to the ENP criteria is relatively high, despite some important shortcomings. Finally, the EU and Morocco have many and flexible meeting formats, also conducive to a high degree of participation in EU policies. As noted, most political and civil society actors perceive the establishment of closer ties to the EU as beneficial for economic growth and democratization. This indicates that the EU has a certain attraction. There is also evidence that those in favour of further democratic reforms in Morocco see the process of moving closer to the EU as a powerful tool for triggering domestic reform (Dennison, et al. 2011). A survey conducted by TNS opinion for EU Neighbourhood Barometer in autumn 2012 showed that 69% of those interviewed had positive perceptions of the EU (EU Neighbourhood Barometer 2012). This would indicate that support for closer ties with the EU is not restricted to certain segments of the Moroccan economic and political elite.

However, continued support is likely to depend on the ability of both parties to deliver on the lofty promises entailed in the idea of ever-closer cooperation. Support for closer ties with the EU will depend on continuing economic growth but also on the benefits that Morocco can expect – as well as the relative attractiveness of other actors in the region, such as the Gulf states.

Benefits and access

Achieving Advanced Status in its relations to the EU is important for Morocco for several reasons. First, it provides financial support through development aid – Morocco tops the list of partners that benefited from EU financial support as part of neighbourhood assistance, receiving some €205 million in 2009 (Dennison et al. 2011:4). EU's support to Morocco through the ENP for 2011–2013 is estimated to €580.5 million, an increase of approx. 20 per cent over 2007–2010 (see Table 1). Additional funding to Morocco under the SPRING programme, as part of the EU's response to the Arab Spring, amounts to €80 million, primarily for support to human rights and education, health and rural development.

Table 1. Financial Aid EU–Morocco 1995–2013

	Total amount (million euro)	Amount per year (million euro)	Amount per inhabitant (euro)
MEDA I (1995–1999)	660	132	4.7
MEDA I (1995–1999)	660	132	4.7
ENPI (2007–2010)	654	163.5	5.4
ENPI (2011–2013)	580	193.3	6.2

Source: Jaidi & Martín (2010)

Most of EU funding is budgetary support, although there have been intentions of supporting Moroccan civil society to a greater extent. However, it is not the amount of money that Morocco receives from the EU that is crucial for development and growth of the Moroccan economy. According to the interviewees, it is greater access to the Internal Market that will make the largest impact.¹³ Therefore, the economic crisis in Europe, together with the instability in many neighbouring countries, poses the real challenge for the Moroccan economy. According to several of our interviewees, the real ‘game-changer’ for the Moroccan economy would be greater regional economic integration in the Maghreb region – something that both the EU and Morocco officially support. However, this will be difficult to achieve as long as relations between Morocco and Algeria remain tense and the conflict level in the region is high.¹⁴

Beyond trade, the mobility partnership is also important for Morocco, due not to remittances from Moroccans working abroad. According to a recent report on Moroccan migration it is estimated that about 4.5 million Moroccans were living abroad (legally or illegally) in 2012 and that more than 80% were living in Europe (European Training Foundation 2013). Although Moroccan migration to the Gulf countries has increased, Europe (France, Spain and Belgium in particular) continues to be the most popular destination by far for Moroccan migrants (European Training Foundation 2013). Remittances (mainly from Moroccans living in Europe) are estimated to represent as much as 10% of the country’s GDP, although money-flows ‘fluctuate in accordance with the European economic cycle’ (Escribano 2008 146). This may also explain why the Moroccan government has been eager to cooperate with the European Commission in trying to prevent illegal migration, as this is a condition set by the EU for opening up for certain groups of qualified Moroccan workers.

Our analysis has shown that cooperation with the EU offers Morocco various means and opportunities for dealing with problems relating to security and economic development. It should also be noted that

¹³ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

¹⁴ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

Morocco needs the Union's support in order to tackle a range of issues that could undermine the regime's domestic legitimacy and thus stability – most importantly, the Western Sahara conflict.¹⁵ However, the EU has sought to avoid becoming directly engaged in the conflict due to the diverging positions of its member-states (Vaquer i Fanés 2004).

Still, there are signs that the EU might become more involved. For example, at the EU–Morocco summit in 2010, the President of the European Council, Herman van Rompuy, said that the EU wishes to see improvements regarding human rights in Western Sahara (European Council 2010). Moreover, the Lisbon Treaty provides for a greater involvement of the European Parliament in shaping the EU's relations with third countries, and the Parliament has traditionally been a strong supporter of the right of the Saharawi population to decide on independence. According to our interviewees, however, greater integration with the EU might serve to provide greater legitimacy to Morocco's position in the long run.¹⁶ That, of course, remains to be seen.

Moroccan identity involves a mix of Arab, African and European identities, although the European affiliation was emphasized as the most important by our interviewees.¹⁷ It is clear that there is some pride connected with being the first partner country in the South to have a special relationship with the EU, and thus be referred to as a model for other countries in the region.¹⁸ Obviously, closer integration with the EU will tend to reinforce Morocco's European affiliation.

Competition from other actors

Financial support from Arab countries like Saudi Arabia and the UAE is important for Morocco, and in the wake of the Arab Spring there have been signs of closer ties developing between Morocco and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). The GCC has launched a USD 5 billion development aid programme in Morocco, and a new GCC–Morocco partnership envisions closer cooperation on trade, investment, energy, education and environment (Arab News 2013). Morocco and Saudi Arabia have enjoyed close relations for many decades, and Saudi

¹⁵ For an overview of the Western Sahara conflict, see Jensen (2005)20052005200520052005Jensen, E. (2005). Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate. Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner.

20052005JENSEN, E. 2005. *Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner.JENSEN, E. 2005. *Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner.2005200520052005JENSEN, E. 2005. *Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner.2006.

¹⁶ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

¹⁷ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

¹⁸ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

Arabia is a firm supporter of Moroccan claims to Western Sahara (Willis 2012). However, the fact that Morocco declined an invitation to join the GCC in 2011 indicates the limits of this relationship.

In terms of Foreign Direct Investments (FDI), France is by far Morocco's main provider (representing 33% in 2011); Spanish FDI has increased substantially over the last decade (6% in 2011). That said, the UAE and Saudi Arabia have recently increased their share of the FDI stock in the country (17% and 6% in 2011) (Invest in Morocco 2011).

The value of Morocco's trade with other major powers is well below that of its trade with the EU. For example, in 2012 Moroccan trade in goods with the EU represented 50% of the total value, whereas trade with China represented 5%, trade with Saudi Arabia represented 4.4% and trade with the USA, 6%. The 2004 free trade agreement with the USA is likely to strengthen Morocco's position as economic partner with both the USA and the EU, indicating that Morocco will continue to view the EU as its main economic and political partner in the foreseeable future.

Conclusions

Through the ENP framework the EU has offered integration à la carte, allowing those partners in the neighbourhood that are ready to undertake the necessary reforms to go ahead. As we have seen, Morocco has welcomed the ENP philosophy. The scope of agreements between EU and Morocco is very broad and the level of participation is high, particularly in the fields of trade and internal security. In terms of adaptation to ENP criteria as well as to the EU *acquis*, our analysis indicates alignment rather than adaptation. On basic criteria like democracy and human rights, important shortcomings remain. However, we also note that the Moroccan administration is convinced that further reforms and thereby further integration with the EU are in the interest of the country.

Even though this process of alignment and adaptation is costly, our interviewees describe it as crucial for Morocco's long-term economic development as well as for security reasons. The political and administrative leadership is well aware that instability in the Maghreb and Sahel could have spill-over effects on Morocco. Further economic integration and political cooperation are seen as the best means to avoid such a scenario. Given the turbulent situation in neighbouring countries and Morocco's tense relations with Algeria, the prospects for regional integration in the Maghreb are bleak. This makes integration with the EU even more important for Morocco.¹⁹

Our analysis indicates that neither the ongoing economic crisis in Europe nor the Arab Spring have changed the course of EU–Morocco relations. While Morocco is adapting to a world of global power shifts in which the Western powers are facing relative decline, the EU is still perceived as its main economic partner, a source of stability as well as an inspiration. Likewise, as the EU is grappling to come to terms with how to respond to the profound crises and changes underway in the countries in the Southern neighbourhood. Morocco is among the very few partners in the region with whom the EU enjoys broad and deep cooperation. Indeed, the crises only seem to have brought the two even closer together.

Thus we conclude that Morocco is closely coupled to the European security community. Our analysis also shows the ENP works as an instrument for building a security community. On the other hand, it should be noted that the reform process in Morocco seems to be mostly

¹⁹ Interviews in Morocco, October 2013.

governed by the interests of the Moroccan regime rather than developing as a consequence of any real pressure from the EU. Moreover, the cooperative dynamic between the EU and Morocco appear to be more an effect of the *high degree of mutual responsiveness* that have emerged over the years and which existed also before the ENP was launched. This mutual responsiveness is ultimately based on the belief that this is a relationship equally beneficial for both parties. For the EU this would be stability, migration control and gradual reforms; for Morocco, it would be greater access to European markets, financial support and external legitimacy for the regime.

The attractiveness of the ENP lies in its open-ended character which makes it particularly equipped to accommodate the different interests of the parties. Even though the ENP as regards Morocco ‘works’ mainly thanks to pre-existing dispositions on both sides, it can nonetheless be seen as a security community building instrument, by further institutionalizing EU–Moroccan relations through the creation of important new venues for cooperation and interaction. The fact that Morocco participates in an increasing number of EU policy fields also serves to tie Moroccan practitioners closer to policy networks centred on the institutions in Brussels.

Even though it may be argued that the reform process in Morocco is driven mainly by the regime’s interest in survival and securing external legitimacy, the EU definitely serves as inspiration for many reform-minded actors in Morocco. The EU can be criticized for granting external legitimacy to a political system which still does not fully respect human rights or effectively circumscribe the powers of the monarch – but the reform process in Morocco is moving forward nonetheless. Even if the Moroccan regime might be simply ‘playing along’, without any deeply-felt commitment to democratic norms, it continues to play to the tune set by the EU and other European partners – and that may lead to more substantial changes over time.

References

- Acharya, A. 2001. *Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Problem of Regional Order*. London: Routledge.
- Adler, E. 2008. 'The spread of security communities: communities of practices, self-restraint, and NATO's post-Cold War evolution'. *European Journal of International Relations* 14 (2): 195–230.
- Adler, E. & M. Barnett, eds, 1998. *Security Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arab News 2013. 'GCC, Morocco ties enter a new era', 12 October 2013.
- Bellamy, A. 2008. *Security Communities and their Neighbours: Regional Fortresses or Global Integrators?* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Benchemsi, A. 2012. 'Morocco: Outfoxing the opposition'. *Journal of Democracy* 23 (1): 57–69.
- Bially, J.M. 2001. 'The power politics of identity'. *European Journal of International Relations* 7 (3): 349–397.
- Bicchi, F. 2007. *European Foreign Policy Making toward the Mediterranean*. Houndmills Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bremberg, N. 2010. 'Security, governance and community beyond the EU: exploring issue-level dynamics in Euro-Mediterranean civil protection'. *Mediterranean Politics* 15 (2): 169–188.
- CoE 2012. 'Observation of the parliamentary elections in Morocco'. Report Doc. 12832: Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly.
- Council of the EU. 2006. 'Decision of the Council and of the representatives of the governments of the member states, meeting within the Council of 4 December 2006 on the signature and provisional application of the Euro-Mediterranean Aviation Agreement between the European Community and its Member States, of the one part, and the Kingdom of Morocco, of the other part'. *Official Journal of the European Union*. L 386/55, 29 December 2006.
- 2008. 'Third EU Emergency and Crisis Coordination Arrangements Exercise (CCAEX08)'. Brussels, 24 September. IP/08/1396.

- 2013. 'Joint declaration establishing a Mobility Partnership between the Kingdom of Morocco and the European Union and its Member States'. Brussels. 6139/13 ADD 1 REV 3, 3 June 2013.
- Dawson, C. 2009. *EU Integration with North Africa: Trade Negotiations and Democracy Deficits in Morocco*. London: Tauris.
- Dennison, S., N. Popescu & J.I. Torreblanca 2011. 'A chance to reform: How the EU can support democratic evolution in Morocco'. Policy Brief London: European Council on Foreign Relations.
- Deutsch, K.W. 1957. *Political Community and the North Atlantic Area. International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Escribano, G. & A. Lorca 2008. 'Economic Reform in the Maghreb: From Stabilization to Modernization.' In *North Africa: Politics, Region, and the Limits of Transformation*, eds Y. Zoubir & H. Amirah-Fernández. London: Routledge.
- EU 2000. 'Euro-Mediterranean agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Kingdom of Morocco, of the other part'. Official Journal of the European Communities L70 (2–18 March).
- . 2013. 'EU/Morocco Agreement concerning reciprocal liberalisation on agricultural products and fishery products'. Official Journal of the European Communities C249E (34): signed 16 February 2012.
- EU Neighbourhood Barometer 2012. 'Morocco'. <http://www.enpi-info.eu/medportal/publications//620/EU-Neighbourhood-Barometer:-Morocco-Autumn-2012>; EU Neighbourhood Info Centre.
- European Commission 2010. 'Mise en œuvre de la politique européenne de voisinage en 2010. Rapport pays: Maroc'. Document de travail conjoint des services COM (2011)303 Brussels
- European Commission 2011a. 'The EU's response to the "Arab Spring"'. Memo 11/918 Brussels: European Commission.
- 2011b. 'Joint statement by High Representative Catherine Ashton and Commissioner Štefan Füle on the announcement of the new constitution of Morocco', Brussels. A 238/11, 19 June 2011.
- 2013a. 'European Neighbourhood Policy: working towards a stronger partnership'. Joint Communication to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions Join(2013) 4 final Brussels: European Commission.

- . 2013b. 'Mise en œuvre de la politique européenne de voisinage au Maroc. Progrès réalisés en 2012 et actions à mettre en oeuvre'. Communication conjointe au Parlement Européen, au Conseil, au Comité Economique et Social Européen et au Comité des Régions SWD(2013) 81 final Brussels: European Commission.
- European Council 2010. 'Remarques de Herman Van Rompuy, Président du Conseil européen, au sommet UE-Maroc'. Granada, 7 March. PCE 47/10.
- European Training Foundation 2013. 'Migration et compétences au Maroc: Résultats de l'enquête 2011-2012 sur la migration et le lien entre compétences, migration et développement'.
[http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/CC3D1360326C17DBC1257BBE004E9255/\\$file/Migration&competences_Maroc.pdf](http://www.etf.europa.eu/webatt.nsf/0/CC3D1360326C17DBC1257BBE004E9255/$file/Migration&competences_Maroc.pdf): ETF.
- Freedom House 2014. 'Freedom in the World 2014: Middle East and North Africa'. New York: www.freedomhouse.org.
- Graciet, C. & E. Laurent. 2012. *Le Roi prédateur*. Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Human Rights Watch 2013. 'World Report 2013: Morocco/Western Sahara'.
<http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2013/country-chapters/morocco/western-sahara>.
- Idrissi, B.I. 2011. 'Analysis of Morocco–European Union partnership within the framework of the Advanced Status : Main features and challenges'. Oslo: Europautredningen.
- Invest in Morocco 2011. 'Activity Report 2011'. Rabat.
http://www.invest.gov.ma/upload/documents/en_Doc_108.pdf.
- Jaidi, L. & I. Martín 2010. "Comment faire avancer le Statut Avancé UE-Maroc?". Documents IEMED 5: IEMED.
- Jensen, E. 2005. *Western Sahara: Anatomy of a Stalemate*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Kausch, K. 2010. 'Morocco's 'Advanced Status': model or muddle?'. Policy Brief 43: FRIDE.
- Lecha, E.S.I. 2011. 'Converging, diverging and instrumentalizing European Security and Defence Policy in the Mediterranean'. *Mediterranean Politics* 15 (2): 231–248.
- Madani, M., D. Maghraoui & S. Zerhouni 2012. 'The 2011 Moroccan Constitution: a critical analysis'. Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Möller, F. 2007. *Thinking Peaceful Change: Baltic Security Policies and Security Community Building*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

- Pierros, F., J. Meunier & S. Abrams. 1999. *Bridges and Barriers: The European Union's Mediterranean Policy, 1961–1998*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Pouliot, V. 2008. 'The logic of practicality: a theory of practice of security communities'. *International Organization* 62 (2): 359–384.
- .2010. *International Security in Practice – The Politics of NATO–Russia Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tovias, A. 1996. 'The EU's Mediterranean policies under pressure.' In *Mediterranean Politics*, ed. R Gillespie. London: Pinter.
- Van Hullen, V. 2012. 'Europeanisation through cooperation? EU democracy promotion in Morocco and Tunisia'. *West European Politics* 35 (1): 117–134.
- Vaquer i Fanés, J. 2004. 'The European Union and Western Sahara'. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 9 (1): 93–113.
- Volpi, F. 2010. 'Normative and technical power at the EU–Moroccan interface: the Islamization of the North as a response to the democratization of the South'. *European Foreign Affairs Review* 15 (5): 681–695.
- Wendt, A. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Willis, M. 2012. *Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring*. London: Hurst.
- World Bank. 2012. "Kingdom of Morocco: Promoting Youth Opportunities and Participation." 68731. Washington DC: World Bank.



Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

Established in 1959, the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs [NUPI] is a leading independent research institute on international politics and areas of relevance to Norwegian foreign policy. Formally under the Ministry of Education and Research, NUPI nevertheless operates as an independent, non-political instance in all its professional activities. Research undertaken at NUPI ranges from short-term applied research to more long-term basic research.

About the authors

Pernille Rieker is a Senior Researcher at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). She holds a doctoral degree from the University of Oslo from 2004. Her research focuses on different issues related to European integration and European security, including French and the Nordic countries foreign and security policy.

NUPI

Norwegian Institute of International Affairs
C.J. Hambros plass 2D
PO Box 8159 Dep. NO-0033 Oslo, Norway
www.nupi.no | info@nupi.no

Niklas Bremberg (Ph.D. in Political Science) is post-doctoral Research Fellow at the Swedish Institute of International Affairs. His research interests include theories of international relations and European integration, especially in the field of EU foreign and security policy and crisis management.