

Literature Review

Civil society organizations in North Africa: Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia

"... There is no country in which associations are needed more, to prevent the despotism of parties or the arbitrary power of a prince, than those in which the social order is democratic. In aristocratic nations, secondary bodies form natural associations which check abuses of power. In countries where such associations do not exist, if individuals cannot artificially and temporarily create something resembling them, there will be no protection against any kind of tyranny, and a great people may be oppressed by a handful of dissidents or by one man. "

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I. General framework

1.1. Introduction

According to specialised literature, civil society was present in North Africa long before independence of the three countries, in different forms (Ulema associations, youth associations, cultural and sports associations, Scouts movements, etc.). However, this concept came into use as a practical and analytical category during the 1980s in the three Maghreb countries, as an issue of democratization.

The proliferation of associations in the Maghreb countries in the 1980s has helped revive the debate on "civil society", through an analysis of "new social movements". However, the divergent courses that have been followed by the three countries since independence have led to the development of very different civil societies, rooted in the individual national political and social contexts.

In Morocco, the political openness of the 1990s resulted in the huge growth and diversification of associations and the emergence of organizations for political advocacy and influence which aim to change the country's social and political order. The appearance of advocacy and influence organizations - human rights, feminism, the Amazigh movement, the movement of unemployed graduates, etc. - has very significantly contributed to the democratic associative movement by both: i) the nature of its demands which have put at the heart of political debate issues that were previously silenced (the status of women, cultural and religious specificity etc.) ii) its contribution to strategies and work methods (advocacy, force of proposal, professionalization and the use of foreign financing, etc.). The impact of the emergence of these new structures, led by leaders with extensive experience in politics and unions, has greatly contributed to improving the work methods of all civil society organizations.

In this context, at the end of the 1980s, historians, political scientists, sociologists and association members started to define the concept of civil society in the specific context of Morocco, to question the relationship between the State and "civil society" and to reflect on the approaches, mechanisms and tools for capacity building of these stakeholder associations, as well as their internal governance.

In Algeria, given the political context related to the Jihad movement and its impact on political, economic and social life, civil society which was, as in Morocco, in its infancy in the 1980s, experienced a setback from the early 1990s. This context may explain later research studies on civil society and its components in this country. Moreover, unlike in Morocco, work on this subject has been limited and mainly focused on Islamic movements and political and jihad Islam. Another specificity of Algeria, compared to Tunisia and Morocco, is the interest which research institutes pay to the subject of civil society. Historians, sociologists and anthropologists have been especially interested in the subject. The work of the CRASC (Centre for Research in Social and Cultural Anthropology), based in Oran, is the most striking example in the field.

In Tunisia, the associative movement was born early in the century between 1905 and 1913 (the movement of mutual insurance companies, charities, musical and sports groups, theatre companies, etc.). To a certain extent, the associative movement paved the way for the political movement, it helped and accompanied it. There are new trends showing a renewed interest in historical research into associations in Tunisia, treating associations not as marginal players, but as important social and cultural players.

Civil society, especially NGOs, is now the subject of historical, political and sociological analysis. This renaissance can be linked with the authoritarian political context prevailing in the country, which explains why the literature on civil society in this country focuses on the relationship between civil society and today's political power.

1.2. Theoretical framework and general definitions

The concerned parties (civil society organizations) generally tend to define themselves by what they are not: non-governmental, independent from political parties or the state, non-profit making, etc.. This is because these organizations have not yet sufficiently analysed their own identity, first in connection with their political and social position, and their contribution to the promotion of human rights and democracy and, secondly, as forums for democratic participation, autonomy and intermediation between the State and citizens. The sociology of organizations has helped to define an NGO by the following criteria:

- The private origin of its formation

- The non-profit aspect of its actions
- Financial independence
- Political independence
- The notion of public interest

However, a truly democratic system presupposes and requires, in addition to free and transparent elections, other factors such as the role of law, respect for individual and public freedom, and the existence of a civil society that can provide channels for citizens to make their voices heard and take their interests into account. In short, this is what is called social capital¹, defined as the density of the social network that covers all aspects of community life: a high level of participation, trust and reciprocity. This type of social capital is essential to economic development, institutional performance, etc..

Associations in some sectors were immediately recognized as participants in democratic development. They were particularly associations dealing with human rights, women's rights, those working against corruption, those working to increase the accountability of rulers towards their citizens, working for the emergence of citizenship and in the field of raising awareness about economic, political, social and cultural rights. These advocacy NGOs in the Maghreb play a key role in building civil society as they act as an organised counterbalance to state bodies, from democratic participation and education of citizens to civic participation, as a factor of social and economic development and a mechanism of defence and promotion of collective and public rights.

1.3. Elements of methodology

This study covers the literature on civil society in the three Maghreb countries during the period 1989-2009.

This report reviews research produced in Arabic, French and English. Due to the lack of time and resources, literature in Spanish is not covered.

This study examines the reports, studies, manuals, scientific articles and books published in the field, whether by academics, researchers, NGOs, international organizations, donors, or aid or

¹ Robert D. Putnam : *La société civile en déclin: pourquoi? Et après?* In: Conference by John L. Manion, Canadian Centre of Management, Ottawa (Ontario), 22 February 1996

development agencies. Note that this report does not include doctoral theses, since they are not referenced or accessible in these countries.

For reasons related to the format of this article, and because of the large number of research studies conducted during this period, this study will focus primarily on literature on NGOs. The analysis will focus on research on civil society organizations for influence and advocacy treating the following areas: (i) protection and promotion of human rights, (ii) sexual equality, (iii) democracy and governance.

This study will thus review and analyze the existing literature on civil society organizations in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. It will then present conclusions on existing research and recommendations for future research.

II. The current situation of existing research on civil society organizations in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia

The literature on civil society in the Maghreb can be divided into five subjects:

- historical and / or theoretical literature, which seeks to trace the birth of civil society, and to explore a possible definition.
- literature on the issue of freedom of association, a major challenge in the region
- The wealth of literature which addresses the issue of civil society and democratization.
- literature that examines the positioning, interaction, roles and impacts of civil society with regard to its external environment.
- literature dealing with the internal issues of civil society organizations, especially issues of governance and participation.

2.1 The early history and definitions of civil society in the Maghreb

A wealth of literature has been devoted to questioning the reality of civil society in the Arab world in general, and in the Maghreb countries in particular.

M. Tozy, Civil Societies in the Arab world, state of play for the establishment of the Regional Resource Centre for Capacity Building of Civil Society in North Africa and the Middle East, introductory paper for the Casablanca symposium, November 2009, 39 p. (French)

Paper, academic article

According to the author, in the Maghreb context, the ambiguity surrounding the concept of civil society in the original tradition is magnified by mistrust aroused by imported concepts (from the West). The quest for a unique lineage that would make it part of the continuity of the community's historical autonomy is a feature of most of the works. Accepting a broad definition of civil society (organized outside the state), identifies historical affiliations which prove the existence in the history of the Muslim world of types of organizations which correspond to this definition. This approach frees the concept of civil society from the specificities of the European liberal case, allows the reconstruction of its historical development and establishes civil society in a rich historical framework rather than presenting it as a result of imported modernity.

M. Camau: "Real" Civil Societies and teleology of democratization, *International Journal of Comparative Politics*, Vol. 9, N 2, 2002, 20p. (French)
scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

According to M. Camau, civil society's new practices are caused by standards imposed by donors but are also the result of a process of "appropriation and reworking on the national scene". This concept refers to "multifaceted practices, where repression rivals dissent or desire for independence". The concept of civil society has several meanings and tends to structure the field of confrontation of discursive strategies, where authoritarianism and its opponents, state advocates and "nongovernmental" parties, concur and conflict. To put a stop to ideological (and fruitless) controversies over the "existence" or not of civil society in any country or region, the formulation of Jeffrey Alexander, "of real civil societies is relevant because it covers practices, forms of organization and documentary evidence, which form the base of the concept of civil society." Analysis must be focussed on the ways of doing and saying and not on the unlikely imitation of a supposed model.

H. El Amouri *Civil societies in the Maghreb or the proper use of modernity*, *EurOrient Journal*, No. 1, September 1997 (French)
Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

The concept of civil society in the Maghreb is confronted with both political ideas from the precepts of Islam and the region's colonial past. The politico-religious order of Islam excludes any desire for a constitution based on principles of autonomy, which is the foundation of the modern Western concept of civil society. The influence of Western thought (and colonial domination), has brought about a collective awareness of the Maghreb identity and established new cross-cutting solidarities (the independence project). But in the three Maghreb countries the post-independence nation-state strengthens a power imposed "from above", renews traditional legitimacies, strong centralization and an alignment of elites of the liberation movement to power. The awakening of protests, from the 1980s, can be explained by policies of political and social liberalization and the emergence of a middle class. Practices of "detotalization" and "distancing" vis-à-vis the state now show that society is taking over from political power.

H. Belaid, "The associative movement in Tunisia during the colonial period: some reflections" in *The associative movement in the Maghreb*, *Les Cahiers du CRASC* (Oran) No. 5, 2002, pp.93-104 (French)
Scientific article, academic research CRASC

The author examines historical research on associations in Tunisia, from colonial times to the contemporary period. He studies current trends in Tunisian academic research on sociability, which

increasingly interests historians and opens new avenues for historical research. By studying community life "in its entirety" and the old forms of sociability, it differs from the approach which long prevailed, namely the approach of lawyers and political scientists. After Tunisia's independence, autonomous associative activity was considered suspicious, resulting in a lack of interest towards these activities, which was reflected in historical research.

2.2 Freedom of association

Associative law is used by states in the region as an instrument of political control over civil society. In this context, the right of association accurately reflects the extent of government control and is one of the most relevant indicators of the democratic development of a society or a state. For these reasons, the theme of freedom and the right of association has received significant interest in literature on civil society.

Euro-Mediterranean Network of Human Rights (EMNHR), *Freedom of Association in the Euro-Mediterranean region*, Copenhagen, 2007, 112 pages (Arabic, French and English)

Report, academic research and roundtables, EMNHR

This regional study (Euromed region) gives an overview of freedom of association by adopting an approach based on international standards of human rights. This report can be viewed as a reference document as it includes a substantial analysis of legal frameworks which regulate freedom of association in the region. It highlights differences between the countries of the Maghreb, especially Morocco, where legislation and governmental practices are characterized by a liberalism, and Tunisia, where the government exerts almost total control over civil society. Meanwhile, Algeria is in between the two.

Morocco

Many publications and academic and non-academic research projects have accompanied both the rise of the association movement in Morocco and its mobilization during the revision of the Code of Civil Liberties (2002), which regulated in a more liberal way the legislative framework for the creation and operation of associations.

Human Rights Watch: Morocco, The Freedom to form associations; a declarator regime that exists only on paper, 19 p. 2009

Report (The full report is available in English and Arabic on www.hrw.org.)

Since the early 1990s, Morocco has made great progress in human rights. However, many of these

improvements remain fragile and reversible because they have not been institutionalized. Specifically, the Associations Act of 2992 provides for restrictions related to attacks on Islam, the monarchy and the "territorial integrity" of the country. In other respects, the Associations Act contains provisions that are reformist but which in practice the authorities sometimes refuse to enforce. (declarator regime, exclusive power of the courts to disband an association).

O. Bendourou, Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law in Morocco, 2004, 266 p.

Work published in Morocco

This book focuses on four founding freedoms of the "Code of Civil Liberties": freedom of association, freedom of public assembly, freedom of the press and trade union rights. The author questions the discrepancy between the texts which have regulated the four freedoms mentioned above and administrative practice and the conformity of Moroccan law with the international law of human rights. In 2002, the new text required the government to immediately issue a receipt in the interim pending a final receipt to be issued to those concerned not later than sixty (60) days after the declaration. Otherwise, the association acquires its legality and is authorised to operate as provided by its statutes. However, the authorities continue, as before, to refuse to issue a provisional receipt to associations or to the bailiff.

A. Ghazali, Legal and Practical Guide of Moroccan Associations, F Ebert, 1996, (French) Guide, Legal Research, F. Ebert Foundation

This guide, sponsored by the Ebert Foundation, is intended for associations in order to consolidate their structure, sustain their action, democratize their functioning, improve their management and increase efficiency. It provides practical answers to the problems faced by organizations, namely: the constitution of the association, types of association, the assets of the association, administration (bodies, rules), management and disbanding of associations.

B. Dahak, freedom of association in Algeria, 2007, 5 pages Article

Having outlined the historical evolution of civil society since the beginning of the French administration, the author presents an analysis of the law of associations in force in Algeria.

The author also questions the reasons underlying the weakness of associations in Algeria, and lists a number of factors, including the lack of funds or equipment, lack of experience and expertise in association management, the depletion of energy through actions that do not come off, either because of misunderstandings within associations, or because of the indifference of public authorities, or because of current legislation and government regulations that hinder the creation and development of associations.

2.3 Civil Society and Democratization in the Maghreb

There is extensive literature on the significance and impact of emerging civil society in non-democratic or authoritarian contexts. The connection generally made between civil society and democracy / democratic transition suggests that this relationship is causal. This question is widely discussed in the literature on the Maghreb and each of the three countries in this region.

Indeed, two central questions are repeatedly addressed:

- How is the proliferation of NGOs possible within pluralist regimes with a one party system? Can those who are governed exist as a sovereign and independent group outside the political system (M. Tozy: 2009)? In other words, to what extent can the political sphere and civil society really be separate in the Maghreb;
- Are Arab NGOs positive bodies for their societies or is their contribution to development and democratization overvalued? Do they contribute to the democratization of their political system or are they the result of this democratization? This is the paradox outlined by Walzer. M.N.: "Only a democratic state can create a democratic civil society, only a democratic civil society can sustain a democratic state." A democratic order is not possible without civil society. But the democratic potential of civil society is itself based on the democratic level of the State."²

The answers to these questions follow two different approaches:

- analyzing this relationship in terms of Western standards
- a new approach, that of "real civil society"

² "Equality and Civil Society" in CHAMBERS S. and KYMLICKA W., 2002, cited by M.Camau, *civiles « réelles » et téléologie de la démocratisation*, Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée, Vol. 9, N 2, 2002, 20p

S. Benéfissa (ed.), *NGOs and Governance in the Arab world*, Karthala, Kalam Collection, 2004, 422 p. (French)
Report, Conference, UNESCO

This book analyzes a number of key issues relating to the capacity of NGOs in the Arab world in terms of design of development policies, relations between governments, NGOs between governments and donors, international NGOs and local NGOs. In her contribution, Sarah Ben Nénéfissa analyses a question at the heart of the matter, which is both a scientific and normative issue, namely: "Are Arab NGOs positive entities for their societies or is their contribution to development and democratization overvalued?"

M. Camau: "*real*" Civil Societies and teleology of democratization, International Journal of Comparative Politics, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2002, 20p. (French)

This article discusses the issue of the reality of civil society in authoritarian contexts (Maghreb and Arab countries). According to the author, nothing can be inferred from the combination of necessary or sufficient conditions for a democratization process, except analysis of these real civil societies as civil societies as if civil society could and should, by definition or vocation, conform to the canons of a teleology of democratization inspired by other historical experiences.

However, the author insists on both common and plural customs of civil society that reflect the aspirations and reasons involving the terms and meaning of human coexistence. The author identifies two types of historical and normative references which frame the analysis of real civil societies. The first refers to peaceful non-governmental institutions under the rule of law and based on a functional relationship between civil society and the Western liberal state. The second refers to a civil society as resistance, independent of the authoritarian state, which is the vehicle of a moral conscience and an alternative project. This referent is also based on the tradition of Western political theory, but more selectively. All analyses on the relationship between civil society and democracy "are compared with these referents".

In Arab countries, the concept of civil society covered an alternative political question, but was affected by "a semantic shift associated with the rise of "Islamist" movements. In the Maghreb, this concept also refers to a set of mutations of social and economic spheres because of the

"disengagement" of States. The potential of civil society in relation to issues of democratization is the object of conflicting diagnoses between the "weakness of the revival" and that of "revitalization".

M. Tozy, *Civil Societies in the Arab world, state of play for the establishment of the Regional Resource Centre for Capacity Building of Civil Society in North Africa and the Middle East*, introductory paper for the Casablanca symposium, November 2009, 39 p. (French)

Paper, academic article

This paper is intended to introduce the discussions of a regional meeting for the establishment of the Regional Resource Centre for Capacity Building of Civil Society in North Africa and the Middle East. According to the author, research on civil society in the Arab world is rare. Moreover, they face two problems:

- Their ad hoc and operational nature makes it difficult to take account of the conceptual and unlikely dimension of theoretical capitalization.
- The artificiality of the "Arab world" category gives rise to "culturalist" analyses and interpretations.

After discussing the issue of defining the concept of civil society, which is "seeking affiliation," the author gives an overview by distinguishing between: (i) first generation associations, (ii) second generation NGOs between advocacy and opposition, and (iii) development NGOs. The author concludes his report with operational recommendations for capacity building of civil society.

Ferrie, JN, *The limits of democratisation through civil society in North Africa*, CEDEJ (MAE / CNRS, Cairo) 2004, 19 p

Scientific article from a collective research report IREMAN (Aix en Provence)

This article shows that the liberalization of authoritarian regimes in North Africa (including Egypt) stems not from the development of civil society, but the victory of rulers over their opponents, so that the former can consider liberalization without risk. The simultaneous development of civil society in this region arises from the fact that some political opponents (or opposition candidates) preferred this form of involvement, since purely oppositional commitment proved unfruitful and without realistic alternatives.

Morocco

M. Catusse, *The discreet charm of civil society. The politics of forming a group in "adjusted" Morocco*, International Journal of Comparative Politics, No. 2, 2002, pp. 297-318 (French)

Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

M. Catusse analyzes the process of the formation and evolution of civil society (historically) through the denunciation of the vision which follows the Western model. She then re-examines the connection between civil society and political society. She draws the conclusion that the two worlds are interlinked with exchanges between them, and concludes that the "reformist" approach characterizes Moroccan civil society and leads to an opposition without radicalism.

J-N. Ferrie, *NGOs, expertise and democracy in Morocco*, paper presented at the Conference on "NGOs and Governance in the Arab States", Cairo, 29-31 March 2000, 5p. (French)

Conference paper, academic research, UNESCO

Jean-Noel Ferrié develops the idea that in Morocco there is currently an ideological revolution based on politicization that enabled the agreement between "agents for change" and "rulers" and "that consisted in the replacement of the ideology of structural difference with the ideology of procedural difference. The author expresses his doubts about the possibility of "civil society as an alternative to political critique." The legitimacy gained by the standard of civil society in Morocco highlights the ambiguities of the concept and the reality it conceals.

F. Cavatorta, *Civil Society, Islamism and Democratization: The Case of Morocco*, Journal of Modern African Studies, 44, 2, 2006, pp. 203-222, (English)

Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

This article, which examines the Al Adl Wal Ihsan organisation (an Islamic organization not recognized by the Moroccan State) states that Islamist groups can be a potential force for democratization, for three reasons: they participate in the political education of the population; in response, they cause the creation of secular militant associations and strengthen the ranks of such militancy; and they cooperate with other civil society organizations on a number of themes.

Desrués T., Moyano E., *Social Change and Political Transition in Morocco*, Mediterranean Politics, 6:1,21 - 47, 2001 (English)

Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

This is an academic analysis of civil society in Morocco in the context of a double transition: political transition to a Western democracy and economic transition towards the market economy model. The authors focus on the issues of "governability" that emerge in this type of context. They analyze the nature of the state in Morocco, which combines both unity centred on the monarchy and political pluralism, and the recent dynamic of political liberalization as a strategy for the elite to regain part of the legitimacy lost during a decade of economic crisis.

JN Aster, *The dynamics of state and civil society in Morocco*, *The Journal of North African Studies*, 7:3, 2002, pp. 101 to 118 (English)

Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

Since the late 1980s (especially with the advent of alternative government and the accession to the throne of King Mohammed VI), NGO activities have intensified. This article aims to identify the dynamics that were created at that time, in terms of relations between civil society and the state and civil society and political parties. The relationship between these three elements has indeed been redefined. In this context, the freedom of civil society is not guaranteed as it is still confronted with the state and political parties, which are both based on a historic, political and cultural consensus, and continue to threaten the freedom of civil society if they consider that the basis and source of their power is threatened by it.

Gandolfi P., *Civil Society in Morocco: meaning and outcome of the processes of social and political change*, Paper presented at the Fourth Mediterranean Social and Political Meeting organized by the Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies and the European University Institute, March 2003, 34p . (French and English)

Conference paper, field study, Robert Schuman Center for Advanced Studies and European University Institute,

This field study based on interviews with representatives of Moroccan civil society, analyzes the historical / political framework and the dynamics of change. The study draws the conclusion that there is real change from below, but exchange with the "top", that is to say with the government, is, according to the author, uncertain. In other words, exchange is horizontal, not vertical.

Tunisia

Studies, which are usually academic, devoted to civil society in Tunisia focus on a historical perspective to explain the weakness of civil society and the almost total control of political power over it.

O. Lamloum and B. Ravanel B., *The Tunisia of Ben Ali: society against the regime*, L'Harmattan, 2002, 283 p. (French)

Book, Academic research, academic work

The exploitation by Bourguiba and then the almost universal repression that accompanied the arrival of Ben Ali, nipped in the bud any desire for autonomy of civil society. Civil society could not impose an alternative to a system that is currently alone in dealing with Islamists, who hold the monopoly over civil society.

C. Alexander, *Back from the Democratic Brink: Authoritarianism and Civil Society in Tunisia*, Middle East Report, No. 205, Middle East Studies Networks: The Politics of a Field, 1997 (English)

Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

This article examines why the authoritarian turn of the late 1980s did not lead to a response from civil society. For the author, the explanation lies in the fact that Ben Ali has broken the links between the elite on the one hand and political parties and civil society organizations on the other.

M. Camau and V. Geisser, *The authoritarian Syndrome*, Presses de Sciences Po, Paris, 2003 (French)

Book, Academic research, academic work

The authors show the ambivalence of "the Tunisian exception", which lies in a "Tunisianness" policy cultivated by political leaders as well as by those governed, in the continuity of a political project initiated by the reformers of the nineteenth century, taken up by the national liberation movement, bolstered by the Bourguiba regime after independence and continued by Ben Ali, who is the "safe successor".

M. Desmères, "Tunisian civil society taken hostage?" In Ragionieri R., *Democratization and Stabilization in the Arab world*, CERI, 2009, 29. P (French)

Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

The author describes the control mechanisms of the Tunisian regime for civil society, characterized by: 1) a very restrictive legal framework for autonomous NGOs; 2) the creation of NGOs that support its policies, 4) total control over means of communication and sources of funding, and, 4) paradoxically, the celebration and the overvaluation of the role of civil society since the 90s, which "can only be recognized within the limits set by the government."

K. Zamiti, "Who's afraid of NGOs? "Associations of collective interest", study of the obstacles to associative ethos in Tunisia," In *NGOs and Governance in the Arab world*, Symposium organized within the framework of MOST (UNESCO), in partnership with IRD, CEDEJ, Al Ahram CEPS, 29 to 31 March 2000, Cairo (French)

Conference proceedings, academic research, UNESCO

According to K. Zamiti, NGOs are controlled with the complicity of Western donors "who link the granting of funds to a transfer of powers to associations empowered to promote the learning of democracy at the base and trump dictatorial regimes." According to the author, this option is "doomed to failure because it does not take into account the subtle combination of reluctance and pretexting."

L. Addi, *Problems of Civil Society in Algeria: Some theoretical and historical elements*, Paper for the CNES Summer University, September 2007 (French)

Paper, academic research, CNES

The author first analyzes the historical and theoretical aspects of the experience of the West. He then reviews the experience of Algeria, on three levels: political, economic and cultural. At the political level, Algeria is characterized by a populist project, which denies plurality to avoid institutionalizing it. This national project does not recognize the existence of group interests. Economically, by opposing the formation of civil society to prevent it from manifesting its autonomy from the state, the system has limited the productive capacity of the Algerian economy. At the cultural level, the author stresses the role of Islam, which must be reflected in the approach of civil society.

The author particularly stresses the role of the University in civil society's actions, in terms of theorizing and conceptualization, in a hostile political and administrative context.

2.4 Positioning, interactions, roles and impacts of civil society with regard to its external environment

2.4.1 General Literature

Morocco

G. Denoeux, and L. Gateau, *The growth of associations in Morocco: in search of a new citizenship?*, Arab World, Maghreb-Mashreq, 150, 1995, pp.19-39 (French)
Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

The authors describe the proliferation of associations in Morocco. They draw up a classification and question the investigation of citizenship that drives this movement. They note the weakness of civil society.

M-A. Roque A. (ed.), *Civil Society in Morocco: the emergence of new actors in development*, PubliSud, 2004 (French)
Book, academic research and consultation with stakeholders in civil society, IEMED

This group research project, part of a long term study in connection with Mediterranean civil society, led by IMED, aims to demonstrate that the vision that attempts to conceal the existence of a complex social reality which is practiced in Arab countries is incorrect (Morocco has the highest tradition of associations in the Maghreb). This work is based on the following observation: the institutional response has not been commensurate with the importance originally attached to civil society in the Euro-Mediterranean partnership.

This book seeks to locate real and potential elite mediators belonging to new economic, social and cultural networks, and to help expand the knowledge and debate on Moroccan social reality using social sciences.

The study draws the conclusion that, in the framework of the Barcelona process, additional resources should be used for the study of civil society "because research and teaching may open new avenues for dialogue".

El Aoufi (ed.), *Civil Society in Morocco, Signs of the Present*, SMER, 1992 (French)
Book, collection of academic articles, social science work

This collective work is a collection of scientific articles on various topics related to the issue of civil society in Morocco. The hypothesis of civil society in Morocco, is an analysis developed by the author (A. Saaf) on the concept and its meaning in Morocco. Economic development and institutional changes in Morocco, (D. Guerraoui) re-examines the genesis of civil society as part of a triple movement: the generation of the national movement (40s and 50s); the Generation of Independence: Creating the nation state and finally, the generation of the democratic ideal (70s and 80s): integration of civil society in a world system driven by new values which will become universal.

H. Ben Mahfoudh, *the associative phenomenon in Tunisia and Morocco, DEA dissertation, Tunis, 1995 (French)*
Research, DEA dissertation

This dissertation on public and finance law provides a detailed and exhaustive comparison between Moroccan and Tunisian civil societies. The author focuses on the historical development of the associative phenomenon in both countries. It also analyzes the interaction of civil societies with the socio-political contexts of Morocco and Tunisia, and the impact of this interaction in terms of association freedom, but also in terms of funding.

Algeria

The Association of Women in Communications, *Civil Society and presidential election, 2004, 22p. (French)*
Article, study based on extracts from the Algerian press, The Association of Women in Communications

This article discusses the role of civil society in the 2004 presidential election, particularly through the positions of the General Union of Algerian Workers, the citizens movement of Archs of Kabylia, associations campaigning for the repeal of the Family Code, associations which denounce terrorist violence and the Alliance of Associations of the Centre (AAC). After presenting a description of the career of the various candidates, the article argues that the 2004 presidential election was stimulating for civil society in Algeria.

P-J Roca., *The dynamism of associations and civil society in Algeria, Ecosphere, text No. 6, 3 p. (French)*
Short article, academic research, Ecosphere

This text first introduces the concept of civil society, starting with Hegel's definition which opposes civil society to political society. The author then considers the existence of Algerian civil society, and notes that there is both a public and a religious arena that meet the criteria for civil society. The author then describes a diverse and dynamic civil society, with lapses: pseudo-corporatist associations, pseudo-union associations, old associations loyal to the FLN. The Islamists have also benefited from liberalization to return as cultural associations. The author finally discusses the issue of advocacy organizations which advocate for human rights (including women's rights) and pays tribute to their role in promoting civil liberties. Yet he stresses their lack of representativeness and the absence of popular classes from the ranks of their supporters and questions the possibility of a subsequent spread to these classes.

2.4.2 Sectorial Literature: Associations for advocacy and influence

Three categories of associations have been selected for this literature review, namely: feminist associations, human rights associations and associations for the protection of the Amazighes.

a. Feminist / women's movements

At the Regional level

The work and research dedicated to the women's movement in the Maghreb began to emerge in connection with the development of feminist organizations in the Maghreb, which were created during the 80s. However, this research remains largely inadequate.

Maghreb Equality '95 Collective, *Self-portrait of a movement: women for equality in the Maghreb*, Rabat, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, January 2003 (French)
Self Portrait, Maghreb Equality '95 Collective, F. Ebert Foundation,

The study of the Maghreb Equality '95 Collective (a self portrait) is a self analysis from the interior led by members of the feminist movement in the Maghreb. This book also aims to preserve the memory of the birth of this movement and its struggles and mobilizations for reforms, especially personal status codes.

R. Naciri. "The feminist movement in the Maghreb, a century of debate", UNESCWA, 2006 (Arabic)

Article, Research, ESCWA

This article, part of a global study which includes all Arab countries, launched by ESCWA and part of a regional synthesis, discusses the specifics of the Maghreb's women's movement from a historical and progressive angle. The section on the birth of the current feminist movement (1980s) analyzes the feminist movement as a social movement which participated in recent developments in these countries, the political and social issues and interactions with other political actors (government, Islamist movements and other political and social actors).

Tunisia

I. MARZOUKI, *The Women's Movement in Tunisia in the twentieth century: feminism and politics*, Ceres Productions, 1993, 310 p. (French)

Book, sociology thesis, Scientific Work

This book based on Ilham Merzouki's sociology thesis paves the way for feminist academic research on feminist organizations in Tunisia and the Maghreb. It is a reference document that defines the evolution of the women's movement in Tunisia and traces its path until the 80s. According to the author, independent Tunisian feminist organizations which emerged during this period, represent a real break with the past because this is the first movement that has made women's liberation a priority and a societal project.

Ben Romdhane, Y.; Berrejeb N.; Mahmoudi S. *Women's groups in Tunisia*, Al-magallat al-li-tunisiyyat'Ulum al-ittisdl, Institute of Press and Information Science, 1994, No.26, pp. 97-142 (French)

Scientific article, academic research from primary sources, scientific journal

This research draws up a first-hand record of Tunisian women's associations (and non-feminist associations, which can include men among their members). A census of associations is carried out with a classification. The characteristics of the most active associations are highlighted particularly in terms of conditions of emergence and institutional anchoring. Two case studies are very detailed: the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (TANF) and the National Union of Tunisian Women (UNFT). The article then describes the media used by the associations.

Morocco

Association Forum, *Gender and organizations: Integrating the gender approach by NGOs acting for Democratic Development*, by R. Naciri, with support from GTZ, 2006 (French) report, field survey, association forum and GTZ

The book aims to establish an inventory of the inclusion of gender issues and gender equity in associations working towards democratic development. The analysis is based on background documents of associations which are part of the sample and interviews with associations (decision-makers and employee teams).

A. Belarbi, "The Women's Movement in Morocco," in El Aoufi (ed.), *Civil Society in Morocco, Approaches, Signs of the Present*, SMER, 1992
article in a book, academic research and fieldwork

This paper classifies women's associations, divided into 3 categories:

- Humanitarian associations, feminist associations: social associations,
- Professional associations, cooperative associations, associations with a political affiliation,
- Associations for family welfare (family planning, family counselling, etc.)

A. Dialmy, "University and feminism in Morocco", in F. Sadiqi (ed.) *Feminist Movements: Origins and Directions*, Centre for Women's Studies and Research, 2000
academic article in a collection of essays, academic research

This work distinguishes between two phases: The period from 1980 up to the reform of the Family Code (early 2000s): During this period, the main writings on feminist organizations were the work of the movement's stakeholders. After the reform, and given the mobilization and controversies surrounding the reform, several national and foreign researchers began to address the Moroccan feminist movement. The emergence of gender-studies within Moroccan universities contributed to the growth of this debate, which is still in its infancy.

Feminist associations are not cut off from research: they try to integrate it. According to the author, there is currently a lack of scientific independence concerning women's issues. Gender and activism outweigh academic competence and specialization. Research on women is perceived as being, in itself, a militant act.

F. Benhamouche, "feminist associations: their objectives," in F. Sadiqi (ed.) *Feminist Movements: Origins and Directions*, Centre for Women's Studies and Research, 2000 (French)
academic article in a collection of articles, academic research

The author traces the history of the women's movement in Morocco and then proposes a classification of the organizations, using the following criteria:

- Moderate women's associations: taking into account the traditions of the Muslim family. They do not campaign in favour of repealing the Family Code.

- Secular Associations: they advocate for the repeal of the Family Code and the transformation of mentalities.

- Cultural Feminist Associations (research development, promotion of literary and artistic work)

L. Chomiak, *Civil Society in Transition: The Experiences of centres for abused women in Morocco*, *The Journal of North African Studies*, 7:4,55 - 8, 2002 (English)
Scientific article, academic research, scientific journal

This scientific article discusses the emergence of centres for women victims of violence. It provides an inventory of existing centres (presentation, activities and personal stories of battered women).

It demonstrates that these centres are useful beyond the framework of assistance to women who are victims of violence by shaking up mentalities, and especially by crossing the border between the public and private spheres.

"Female Associationism" in Roque M-A. (ed.), *Civil Society in Morocco: the emergence of new actors in development*, PubliSud, 2004
Book chapter, academic and field research, IEMED

After drawing up a quantitative list of women's NGOs (number, location, fields of activities), the article concludes that there is a lack of information and analyses on the movement which is called upon to assess its achievements and performance, and to develop new strategies for the future. Five themes of reflection are highlighted: 1) empowerment of the movement and construction of an identity; 2) positioning of the movement against resistance to equality; 3) redefinition of the objectives of Joint Action; 4) associative projects; 5) the future and youth involvement.

b. Human rights movements

"human rights NGOs": "feminine Associationism", in M-A. Roque. (ed.), *Civil Society in Morocco: the emergence of new actors in development*, PubliSud, 2004
Book chapter, academic and field research, IEMED

The chapter begins with the birth of this movement, in connection with the challenge of authoritarianism and the international context (including international human rights standards). This movement is, according to the authors, primarily an endogenous product of the Moroccan political system.

The analysis then focuses on the question of the movement's autonomy in relation to political parties and its role in political change (release of political prisoners, relative openness, the creation of an advisory Council for Human Rights, Law and constitutional reform, processes of transitional justice, etc.)

Rollinde M. *The Moroccan movement of human rights, between national consensus and civic engagement*; Khartala Institute Maghreb Europe, 2002, 506p.
Book based on a doctoral thesis, field study

This book, adapted from a doctoral thesis in political science, is devoted to the evolution of the issue of human rights in Morocco during three major periods: the national movement, the involvement in the radical left and the associative movement.

For the last aspect, the book is based on interviews with activists from Moroccan human rights organizations and questions the capacity of these players to go beyond the references related to an identity based on belonging to a national community and overcome the logic of isolationism as members of an ethnic group, a religion or a nation.

c. Movements which defend Amazighitism

"Berber associationism" in Roque M-A. (ed.), *Civil Society in Morocco: the emergence of new actors in development*, PubliSud, 2004
Book chapter, academic and field research, IMED

This chapter discusses the Amazigh movement, recalling that it came about as a response to the Arabist ideology and the policy of Arabization, which was established after independence. This movement aims to end the exclusion of the Amazigh cultural identity from the spheres of

the State. The phenomenon of internationalization of the movement (creation of the Amazigh World Congress, 2000: Amazigh Manifesto) is also discussed. The chapter also provides an overview of the associative framework and Amazigh press.

F. Mernissi, *Rural NGOs of the High Atlas: Les Ait Débrouille*, editor, 1997 (French, and other languages)

Book, Report and sociological field study

Fatema Mernissi's book is a real qualitative sociological study of civil society organizations in the High Atlas. While profiling colourful characters, the author describes the motivation and dynamics specific to groups of individuals who, in their diversity, and despite the extreme lack of resources available, manage to work together to bring electricity to their homes or secure access to water. This book is thus a report on the work of 45 rural NGOs in the area.

Based on the description of these specific rural organizations, Fatema Mernissi discusses broader and more conceptual subjects (the relationship between NGOs and the state, the tradition of individual and collective responsibility unique to the area of the High Atlas, the link between civil society and democratic processes), and asserts that the associative movement is an important step towards democratization.

4.2.2 Associative Governance and Capacity Strengthening

A / General titles

Morocco

United Nations Program for Development, Study of volunteerism and volunteer work in Morocco, F. Perier, 2005

Report, academic research, field study and interviews, UNDP

The methodology for this study was to mobilize and analyze existing information. The bibliographical research revealed no studies or theses on this subject, a dual investigation was therefore necessary:

- Interviews with the personnel and representatives of institutions: ministries, public institutions, foreign voluntary NGOs, services for voluntary work abroad and in embassies, etc.
- A questionnaire survey of volunteers from a large sample of Moroccan associations.

The publication presents volunteer work in Morocco, the profiles and motivations of volunteers and voluntary workers and, finally, the contributions, limitations and constraints of volunteerism in Morocco. The recommendations are addressed to associations, government and universities.

Associative Forum, "Democratic Development and associative action in Morocco - Elements of Analysis and Strategic Actions", R. Naciri, M.S. Janjar, M. Mouaquit, with the support of Rights & Democracy, 2004

Book, participatory survey and discussion workshops, associative Forum

This work was developed using a participatory approach based on discussion workshops involving key associative players working in the field of democratic development. Its objective is to analyze some aspects of democratic development in Morocco with the practical prospect of helping the associative movement to better define its objectives, develop its strategy, and promote solidarity and synergies as well as the democratic and transparent workings of organizations. After analyzing the overall evolution of the Moroccan political system, the book tackles the socio-political field and the emergence of a vibrant civil society. The paper also analyzes some sectorial associative dynamics and actions and provides recommendations.

Associative Forum "Associative Movement, Democracy and Social Justice" with the support of the F. Ebert Foundation, 2003

Collaborative work, Roundtables, Associative Forum

This book combines the work of several researchers and civil society stakeholders during round table discussions organized by the associative forum on the subject: Associative Movement, Democracy and Social Justice. The purpose of this discussion is to "bring the various associative players to re-examine the concepts of democracy and social justice and place them in their political, economic and social contexts, so they can develop them in a way that fits the values of citizenship and the rule of law."

The main areas covered in these round tables are related to the associative movement in relation to the process of democratization, citizenship, economic and social development, social justice, the fight against poverty and access to basic social services.

Associative Forum "Civil Society Movements in Morocco, Diagnostic Elements" Construction Roundtable, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 1998 Rabat, 132 p (Arabic)

participatory work, Roundtables, Associative Forum

This publication brings together work and round table discussions on the theme of Civil Society Movements in Morocco in connection with democratic development, governance, transparency and ethics, networking, volunteering and associative management. Sectoral approaches are also discussed: women's groups, the women's movement and youth associations.

Associative Forum, "Program of Governance of associations in Morocco", Proceedings of the National Conference 17-18 October 2003, in Rabat, with the support of the European Union, Friedrich Newman Foundation, Bnyane Program, 2004, 141 p. (Arabic)

participatory work, Roundtables, Associative Forum

The document presents the lectures from the conference, structured into several themes and dimensions of associative governance: concepts, principles and perceptions, the experiences of regional, international and local organizations. The publication also reports on various workshops that address all aspects of associative governance.

Associative Forum, "What kind of associative contribution to reduce the deficit of local democracy?" Round Table, 2002, with the support of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 2004 (French)

Participatory Book, Roundtables, Associative Forum

This publication presents the proceedings of a roundtable organized by the *Associative Forum* for the benefit of and with the associative players on local governance and democracy, and the impact and role and responsibilities of associations: the limits of decentralization, social justice and participation, development and elections. The document also presents the debates in three major regions of Morocco.

B / NGO Directories

UNIFEM and CAWTAR, NGOs working for the empowerment of Moroccan women, 2001 Directory, UNIFEM and CAWTAR.

This is a directory of associations, classified by theme: human rights, economic and social empowerment, governance and politics, regional development associations with women's sections, local development associations, research associations, and culture and sport associations.

AMAPPE, *Directory of the Moroccan Association for Development, 2000*
Directory, the Moroccan Association for the Promotion of Small Businesses.

This directory, which is part of a project of institutional support of Moroccan development associations, was drawn up by the Moroccan Association for the Promotion of Small Businesses. Its development grew out of two observations: NGOs have become key players in the economic / social development of the country, however, most associations are unknown and unstructured.

Put together from a questionnaire survey, the document lists associations by level of intervention and by type of target population, by field of activity, by province and region. The directory also contains presentation files for each association, an index of associations and useful addresses.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Morocco, *List of ministerial departments and NGOs working in the field of integration of Women in Development, 1997*
Directory, Government of the Kingdom of Morocco

This directory shows that 15 ministerial departments and 76 associations work in the field of the IWD, but most NGOs are young, concentrated in the central region, and only 13% of them have relations with government services. This document is therefore a reference framework for researchers to bridge the information gap, achieve better coordination and meet the needs of different national and international users. The directory is in the form of a file per department / NGO, showing those in charge, the basic structures, the personnel, areas of intervention, partnership projects and partners, publications and periodicity, the activities carried out during 1995 / 1996, future operations, financing (internal and external) and the difficulties encountered.

C / Practical Guides

The proliferation of guides aimed at building NGO capacity is a phenomenon which is almost exclusively Moroccan. However, some feminist networks have recently begun to publish Maghreb guides.

Collective '95 Maghreb Equality, "Guide for equality in the family in the Maghreb." Ed. Collective '95, 2003, p. 226 (Arabic, English and Farsi).
Guide, Collective '95 Maghreb Equality

This guide is a tool for feminist organizations in the Maghreb and countries under Muslim law for the advocacy of equality between men and women in the family. It presents legal arguments, doctrinal, sociological and human rights support for equality and non discrimination in family laws.

Morocco

Coll. *Guide for advocacy for reform of family laws*, Demos Consulting, Rabat, Ed. La croisée des chemins, the crossroads, 2007 (In Arabic).
Guide, MEPI

This guide concerning the Moroccan experience in advocacy of the feminist movement for reform of the Moudawana, aims to make available to Arab feminist NGOs information, resources and practical experience in conflict and mobilization.

Law Group, Morocco, *mobilization of support from the private sector: A Guide for NGOs working in the fields of human rights of women in Morocco*, Rabat, 2002, p. 63 (Arabic)
Guide, Law Group, Morocco

This guide is based on a questionnaire survey of 18 Moroccan women's groups and qualitative interviews with 10 companies. It is a tool for capacity building of women's groups to develop partnership strategies and mobilize funds from the private sector in Morocco.

Kingdom of Morocco, Ministry of Social Affairs, State Secretariat for Youth and Sport, Directorate of Youth and Children, *Guide to associations and youth organizations*, with support from the Conrad Adenauer Foundation, 1998, 327 p (Arabic)
Guide, Government of the Kingdom of Morocco

This publication is a comprehensive directory of all organizations and associations working in the field of youth in Morocco in the fields of sports, recreation, youth workshops, culture, etc.. The directory has two lists: thematic and geographical (by administrative region).

ADFM Nejma Centre, *Practical Guide, legal Guidance, (Arabic)*
Guide, Democratic Association of Women in Morocco

This guide aims to strengthen the capacity of legal counselling and guidance centres for women in the field of judicial procedures of the Family Code and Criminal Law.

ADFM Nejma Centre, *Guide to the Creation of counselling centres, (Arabic)*
Guide, Democratic Association of Women in Morocco

This practical guide aims to assist civil society organizations in the creation, operation and management of counselling, information and guidance centres for battered women.

III. Conclusions and Recommendations

Following this literature review on civil society in the Maghreb, particularly advocacy and (politically motivated) influence organizations, it is possible to compile a summary of the state of play and to propose some recommendations to improve knowledge about civil society in the Maghreb.

3.1. Summary of the current situation and conclusions

3.1.1 Types of research and themes addressed

It is possible to distinguish between three types of approaches in relation to civil society organizations:

- **Academic research on civil society in the Maghreb**, which is mostly the work of researchers, political scientists and sociologists and more recently, historians. This is usually books and scientific articles (very few investigations) essentially addressing the theme of civil society in connection with the State and other actors and political elites.
- The wealth of literature also addresses the issue of the existence of civil society in politically authoritarian regimes, and the potential role of the latter in the democratization of political systems and society in the Maghreb.

This literature generally discusses the Maghreb as a whole, treating it as an entity characterized by a certain uniformity, but more recently, each country is treated separately because of different developments in the three Maghreb countries during the post independence period, especially during the last decade.

The arrival of North African researchers has highlighted this trend since they tend to consider the individual situation of each of these three countries:

In Morocco, existing literature focuses more specifically on civil society in relation to political and economic liberalization in the last two decades (or so-called political transition), linking it with the proliferation of associations and the evolution of political and economic systems in this country.

In Tunisia, the literature on civil society can be classified into two broad categories: the historical and historiographical studies on the one hand, and political studies on the current political regime on the other. Moreover, reflection and analysis of certain components of civil society, including the feminist movement have begun to emerge. They are mostly the work of civil society players.

In Algeria, compared with the two other Maghreb countries, the academic literature devoted to civil society and advocacy and influence organizations in this country is very cursory. Moreover, most works do not address civil society as it is understood in this study, but focus more specifically on Islamist movements in their relationship with the State and sometimes with society.

For the three Maghreb countries, the writings of foreign researchers or academics living abroad are dominant, but there are more and more national researchers.

From a historical perspective, the French language is still dominant in this literature, although there is now some interest from Anglo-Saxon scholars. Similarly, we are witnessing the emergence of literature in Arabic, mainly in Morocco.

More functional action research,

- based on an analysis of practices, achievements and constraints faced by these organizations, **this more functional literature** aims to improve the work, governance, internal democracy, and the human resource management of organisations.

- These works, which are usually the result of associative actors, are most often developed on the basis of participatory workshops, questionnaire surveys and/or face-to-face interviews with association managers and players. These are often also academics.

Among this operational literature, the proliferation of manuals, guides and directories, shows the importance generally attached by government departments and donors or international civil society associations and the extent of the phenomenon, and the will to control it.

This literature is most developed in Morocco. There is very little knowledge about the functioning of civil society organizations, the constraints and challenges of the external and internal environment in Algeria. In Tunisia, some recent work has also begun to consider these issues.

- **Research on specific categories of civil society organizations (or traditional forms)** that started to grow recently, is devoted to the study of certain new components of civil society in the three countries, namely:

The human rights movement, especially in Morocco, as a process of challenging authoritarianism but also as an endogenous product of the Moroccan political system which has forced the government to acknowledge its responsibility for gross violations of human rights.

The women's / feminist movement in the Maghreb and national dimension, has been studied through the work and influence of the Collective '95 Maghreb Equality, and related to the reforms recorded in Morocco (several works of Research are currently underway).

The Amazigh movement, which emerged during the last decade as an advocacy movement, is also beginning to generate interest from researchers (in Morocco and Algeria in particular) but this is still insufficient.

Some social movements which have emerged recently in the three Maghreb countries in connection with the disengagement of states with the economic crisis and rising unemployment (the movement for unemployed graduates in Morocco, etc.) have also begun to attract the attention of researchers.

3.1.2 Sponsors

The available sources and sponsors of scientific production and research activities can be classified into three categories:

- **Foreign and domestic researchers and research institutions:**

Initially developed by research institutions of anthropologists and political scientists connected with French academic and research institutions, especially in the West, national academic research has

begun to emerge in the three Maghreb countries. These are North African researchers published in Europe but also, and increasingly, in the Maghreb.

Some research institutions and scholars have seized upon this issue in the three Maghreb countries. Paradoxically, it is in Algeria and to a lesser extent in Tunisia and Morocco, that the interest of researchers and national academic institutions has begun to study and discuss civil society (CRASC in Oran, CREAD in Algiers) etc.. While in Morocco, academic and scientific thinking is very rare in academic research institutions. Civil society organizations in collaboration with researchers and academics (who are often committed), and with the support of international organizations (especially German Foundations and French, Spanish or Canadian Cooperation Organizations) are the most involved in this area.

- In Morocco, given the political agenda and the priority given by the government to social and human development and the promotion of the role of civil society organizations as partners to the government for human and social development (the National Initiative for Human Development, in particular), it is expected that social work and social actors will increasingly be the subject of analyses and academic studies, since they are more concerned with organizations working primarily in the fields of social and human development.

- Civil society organizations:

The overwhelming majority of operational works devoted to civil society organizations in Morocco are written by NGOs themselves, especially the Associative Forum. This NGO is a network structure created in 1996 to accompany and help strengthen the associative fabric of democratic development in Morocco. The Associative Forum has initiated and / or participated in several associative projects which promote the values of democracy by acting in two main areas: capacity building of associations and mobilization of associations for advocacy and influence of public policy.

- Donors and international organizations

This last category is especially present in literature on Morocco given the association process and the stresses they are subjected to in this country, but also given the importance of knowledge of civil society to develop their strategies and programs (and also the relative liberalism of Moroccan law on the issue of NGO funding). Especially some German foundations (especially F. Ebert and to a lesser extent C. Adenauer); UN agencies, bilateral cooperations (German), some international organizations

based in Morocco and finally, to a very limited extent, the Moroccan government (with the exception of a few directories).

3.1.3 As a general conclusion, it is possible to affirm that:

- In transitional political contexts, the structural problem faced by research on civil society is its unsustainability. This is especially true in Morocco: in a context of rapid change and transformation, it is necessary to intensify research to measure and assess current developments.
- Associations are now an object of both academic and operational study and analysis, it is expected that in the coming years they will attract increasing interest from national institutions (academic and governmental), and from the actors themselves.
- Studies and publications in Arabic are another new phenomenon that will certainly have positive impacts on ownership by national actors.
- Comprehensive Studies, generally produced by Western scholars, on the whole of the Maghreb and / or on the entire Arab world generally reduce differences and diverse and contradictory dynamics which are at work in each of these countries; they are gradually replaced by more in-depth and focused studies on national and sometimes local contexts.

3.2. Recommendations for future research

Ideas and recommendations for future research and studies, proposed below, are intended to improve knowledge as a strategic tool for developing strategies for capacity building of civil society organizations:

3.2.1. In quantitative and global terms

Given the previous findings related to major differences both in quantitative terms and in terms of the nature between the studies and research on civil society organizations in the three Maghreb countries, more targeted research aimed at actual effectiveness and a better identification of their stakeholders and their needs is required.

Geographically, the Maghreb region is only relevant in terms of sharing best practices, experiences and lessons learned, and not in terms of analytical research or action research. So any future research should avoid globalizing objectives by exaggerating common characteristics. Every country of the Maghreb has its specificities in terms of birth, dynamics and strategies of civil society actors.

There are still many more field studies and research projects to be carried out in Algeria and Tunisia, especially by the associative actors themselves (learning process, capacity building, reflection and discussion).

3.2.2. In terms of methodologies and approaches to research

The artificiality of the category "Arab world" gives rise to "culturalist" analyses and interpretations (Tozy: 2009) as if civil society could and should, by definition or by vocation, conform to historical and normative patterns and referents, which frame the analysis of real civil society inspired by other historical experiences (M. Camau: 2002). Similarly, the disciplinary divisions between political science, law, economics and religious studies, themselves based on Western scientific traditions, should certainly be reviewed to avoid misunderstandings (S. Benefissa).

Thus, sociological approaches, and political anthropology are still lacking. At the same time, participatory approaches have been developed in Morocco through the work and approaches adopted by the Associative Forum, but are rarely examined in the two other Maghreb countries.

Requirements in terms of qualitative surveys on associations, the logic of associative actors, their strategies and positioning are very urgent and useful to build discussions on the basis of realities, aspirations, perceptions, practices and constraints of players in order to understand the associations and their leaders, not as marginal players, but as worthwhile social and sometimes political players.

3.2.3 It would also be very useful to pay more attention to certain issues rarely raised in literature currently available on civil society:

Research in Political Science from the Maghreb countries is fairly rudimentary. The highlighting of non-state players who contribute to the regulation and operation of formal political institutions must be analyzed in the context of a more comprehensive analysis of “politics” in contemporary societies in the Maghreb.

Forums for debates and exchanges involving researchers, political scientists, institutions and civil society actors in the three countries must be provided. Therefore a research program on combined civil society in the three countries would be a good initiative to undertake. Moreover, existing work should be translated into Arabic for wider dissemination.

- It is also time to pay more interest to the analysis of what are called social movements, which are described as spontaneous movements which have emerged in recent years in the three countries around demands for better living conditions. This analysis should take into account both the links between these movements and the disengagement of states and their relationship with development and service provider organizations.

One of the biggest deficiencies found by experts who study or evaluate the different experiences of civil society is the lack of documentation about these experiences and the inability to capitalize on the success of good experiences, to establish standards and norms of intervention, to validate certain expertise and introduce a degree of visibility in the expertise of participatory development and social work in general.

We must combine existing knowledge, consolidate achievements and launch new study and research programs, test new development experiences in order to educate and inform the various partners involved in the development process.

Generally, existing studies and research pass judgment and categorize civil society organizations following criteria pre-established by academic disciplines. In addition, these studies do not generally examine real civil society per se, but on the analysis of civil society almost exclusively in connection with the Maghreb States and with the political power and pay little attention to internal and horizontal dynamics.

It would therefore be useful to develop qualitative research of stakeholders to see how they position themselves in relation to issues of political and social change, democracy and citizenship, etc.;

There are few field studies on the factors, reasons and conditions that led to the creation of associations, on the ethics and values of the associations, the degree of distribution of democratic values and their implementation in programs and daily activities as well as on the question of integration and individual freedoms (a problematic issue in the context of Maghreb societies).

- We should also encourage and provide technical and financial support to promote new research themes in all three countries on:

- The ability of NGOs to integrate diversity (ethnic, religious, sexual, etc.) within their ranks is also a central issue that could be addressed by research. However, at this level, studies are virtually nonexistent in the three Maghreb countries,

- The freedom of individuals within advocacy organizations (human rights, women's rights, citizenship, etc.) is also an issue that deserves to be examined to measure the extent and capacities of these organizations to transform values and to implement change within them;

- Power struggles related to gender issues and the question of the efforts of civil society stakeholders and sexual mixing to overcome them, are rarely explored. One could examine the effects and impacts of commitment, activism and the mixing of sexes on change in methods of action and interaction while considering gender relations in their social and family contexts.

There is very little research on the interactions and solidarities developed by NGOs in the three countries, and between them and the civil society organizations on regional and international levels. The analysis in terms of interactions may also help clarify the nature of relations between state actors and non state actors and central and local state institutions in terms of issues and relations of inclusion / exclusion.

- Analysis and research on networks on North African, Arab and international levels could be beneficial for the capacity development of stakeholders to establish horizontal, as well as vertical, relations, (how do these networks operate, what are their strengths, limitations and constraints, what are the types of linkages and synergies at work? etc.).

During the last decade, civil society organizations have developed, to varying degrees depending on the country, partnership relations with international organizations and donors.

- It would also be useful to have an idea of the strategies of large donors in the region, their nature and motivations. An evaluation could be carried out of the effectiveness of their partnerships, which are extremely valuable to civil society organizations in the Maghreb, especially in Algeria.

Associative governance is very telling of the failures in relation to dominant practices and of the true autonomy of civil society stakeholders and their contribution to the development and democratization of their society. The ability of NGOs to promote their autonomy and internal ethics and to establish a culture of liability and efficiency is an excellent indicator of the potentially transformative role of these organizations in political and social terms and in the sphere of citizenship.

- One must also support qualitative and quantitative studies on associative governance (programmatic, financial and volunteer management) that are under-developed in the three countries, especially in Tunisia and Algeria.

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