# Morocco Five Years after the Arab Uprisings

Findings from the Arab Barometer

May 8, 2017

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## Overview

The fourth wave of the Arab Barometer was conducted in May 2016, about five years after the Arab uprisings. Continued low oil prices and several years of growth yielded moderate improvements in Morocco's economic situation, but politically, little had changed. The moderate Islamist Justice and Development Party (PJD) led the government and would increase the size of its plurality in parliamentary elections in October 2016. Meanwhile King Mohammed VI retained ultimate control over policy decisions in the country and continued to portray himself as steering the country on a course of gradual political change. Against this background, the fourth wave of the Arab Barometer reveals that Moroccans are becoming increasingly optimistic about the country and its direction compared with previous waves. However, significant social and economic challenges remain.

Moroccans' assessment of the state of their economy improved dramatically since 2013, with the percentage of Moroccans seeing the economy as good or very good rising from 37 percent to 66 percent. Moroccans' general sense of political satisfaction has also risen to levels higher than in prior survey waves. For example, 90 percent are satisfied with government performance providing for the country's security, and the army and police remain the most trusted political institutions. While Moroccans perceive significant corruption in their system, most believe the government is taking at least some steps to tackle corruption. Additionally, more than half of Moroccans believe that the government is undertaking farreaching reforms. Support for democracy remains strong, and has increased slightly since 2013, but few Moroccans are pushing for dramatic reforms; four-fifths of Moroccans continue to believe that political change should take place gradually instead of all at once.

Despite their relatively positive outlook on the Moroccan economy, two-thirds of Moroccans still cite the economic situation as their top concern. Meanwhile, fewer than half say they can meet their economic needs without difficulty. Moroccans are also deeply worried about their ability to provide a quality education for their children, and they are generally unsatisfied with the quality of health and education services. These ratings may be linked with negative views of the government bureaucracy. Few Moroccans (21 percent) say that political leaders are concerned with ordinary citizens, a grievance that most recently helped stoke protests over government mistreatment of an informal sector worker who died in October 2016.

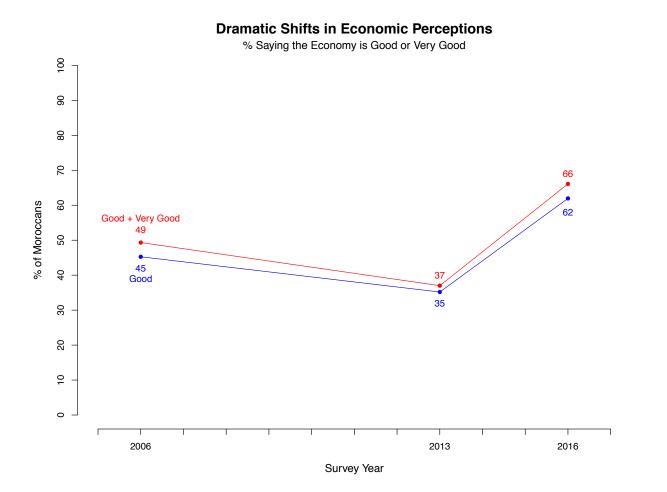
Amidst these trends, Moroccans' views on some social issues appear to have changed. Compared to 2013, Moroccans are less likely to agree that university education is more important for boys than for girls, and they are more likely to agree that married women can work outside the home if they want to. Levels of agreement that religious leaders should not influence elections were unchanged from 2013, while slightly fewer Moroccans say that religious leaders should influence government.

In international relations, most Moroccans would like to see stronger ties with Turkey, Saudi Arabia, the EU, and the United States, but express less desire for stronger ties with Iran or Russia. At the same time,

most Moroccans see external powers as having a neutral or slightly positive influence on the development of democracy in Morocco, and they are more likely to cite internal factors than external factors as the cause of Morocco's underdevelopment. Moroccans continue to have a generally positive view of globalization.

#### The Economy and Corruption

A majority of Moroccans rate their country's current economic situation as good (62 percent) or very good (4 percent), and they are generally optimistic about the future, with 61 percent saying they believe the economic situation will be better or much better five years from now. Half (49 percent) believe that the economic situation is about the same as it was five years ago, and a third believe it is better or much better than five years ago.

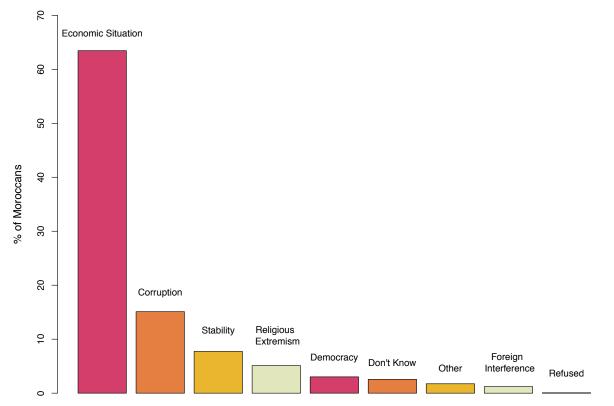


Moroccans are similarly positive about their household's economic situation. Six-in-ten (61 percent) say their current household economic situation is good, while 4 percent say it is very good.

The quality of public services remains a major concern (see Appendix Table 2), however. The vast majority of Moroccans (87 percent) worry that there is no possibility to give their children a good education (61 percent worry very much), 56 percent say they are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the educational system. Even more (71 percent) are dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the health care system. Views are similar when Moroccans are asked

about their satisfaction with government performance in improving basic health services: 68 percent say the government is bad or very bad job. Meanwhile, 58 percent say the government is doing a bad or very bad job addressing educational needs. Overall, just five percent say they are very satisfied with the educational system compared with only three percent who say the same about the health care system.

The survey makes clear that above all, the economy and corruption are Moroccans' top concerns. Nearly two-thirds (63 percent) cite the economic situation as the most pressing problem, while 15 percent say their country's biggest challenge is corruption. Meanwhile, a further 22 percent cite the economic situation as their second biggest concern, while 32 percent say the same about corruption. Other key concerns include internal stability and security, which 20 percent cite among their two biggest concerns, and religious extremism (14 percent). By comparison, relatively few Moroccans are rate with the state of democracy (6 percent) or foreign interference (4 percent) as being among the country's two most significant challenges.



#### Moroccans' Top Concerns in 2016

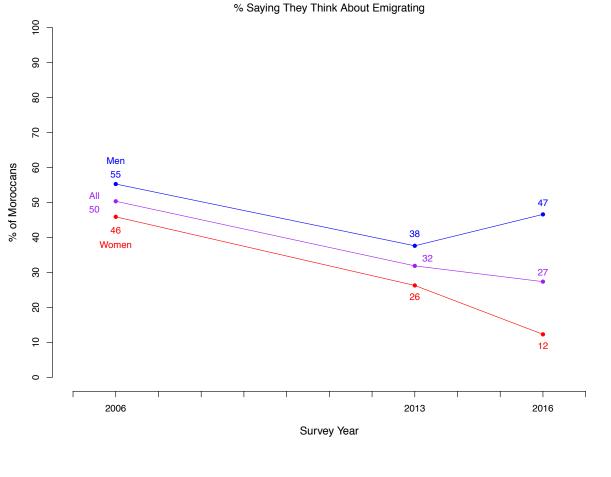
Three-quarters of Moroccans perceive that corruption is a large (42 percent) or moderate (34 percent) problem in their political system, while only one percent say there is no corruption at all. Views of the degree to which the government is working to crack down on the problem are evenly divided. Half of citizens say the government is working to crack down on corruption to a large (12 percent) or medium (39 percent) extent. Meanwhile, 31 percent say the government is cracking down to a small extent but 14 percent say it is not doing anything at all about corruption.

Personal experiences of corruption and unequal access to opportunities are also widespread. Nearly half (45 percent) of Moroccans say that the use of *wasta* (personal connections or an intermediary) to get a job opportunity is extremely widespread, a further 48 percent say it is often used. Additionally, a quarter of Moroccans say they have been

required to receive a certificate of good behavior from the police in order to obtain a passport, identity card, or other document from local government institutions.

## Emigration

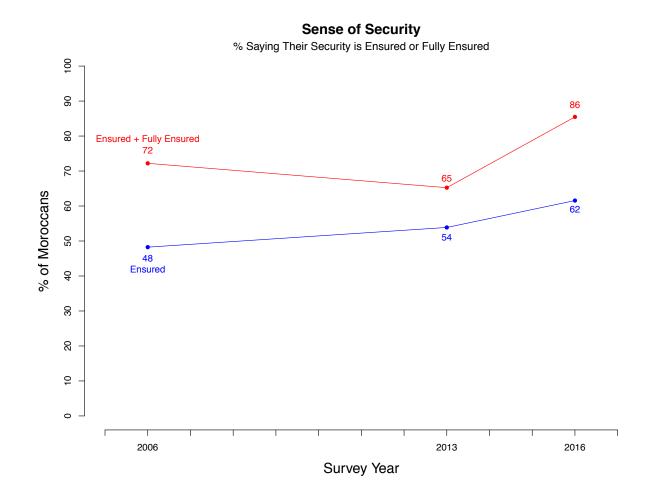
About a quarter (27 percent) of Moroccans say that they think about emigrating. Men are far likelier to say they are considering emigrating than women—47 percent of men say they want to emigrate, compared with just 12 percent of women. Notably, women's desire to leave Morocco has decreased over the last decade, falling from 46 percent in 2006. Among those who do think about emigrating, a clear majority (75 percent) cite economic reasons as the basis for moving abroad. Europe is by far the most preferred destination at nearly two-thirds (73 percent), while the United States or Canada come in a distant second (37 percent). Meanwhile, some (9 percent) want to emigrate to Saudi Arabia or another Gulf country (respondents could cite multiple desired destinations).



Interest in Emigration

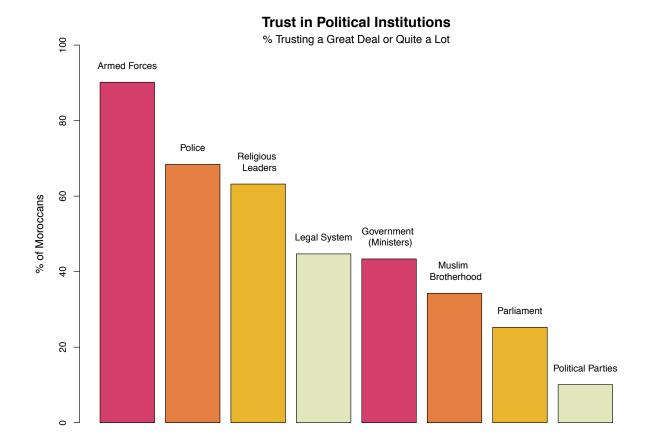
#### Security

Moroccans generally feel secure, with 85 percent saying their personal and family safety and security are ensured or fully ensured compared with just 13 percent who say it is not. Less than one percent felt that their security was "absolutely" not ensured. However, public harassment remains a problem. The majority of Moroccans worry about being harassed or threatened on the street (see Appendix Table 2). Three-quarters (76 percent) of women are worried (20 percent) or very worried (56 percent) about such harassment, while 68 percent of men are worried (22 percent) or very worried (46 percent). Terrorism also remains on Moroccans' minds: fully 82 percent worry about a terrorist attack in their country, including 63 percent who say they are very much worried about this possibility.



#### **Trust in Political Institutions**

Moroccans continue to trust the armed forces significantly more than any other political institution. Nine-in-ten trust the armed forces a great deal or quite a lot. The next most trusted institution is the police (68 percent), followed by religious leaders (63 percent) and the courts and the legal system (45 percent). Parliament and political parties are the least trusted political institution: 25 percent of Moroccans trust the parliament, compared to 67 percent who do not (8 percent respond don't know). Only 10 percent of Moroccans trust political parties, compared to 86 percent who trust them either not much or not at all (4 percent say don't know). Similarly, few Moroccans trust politicians. Asked to rank politicians' honesty on a 7-point scale (with 7 being the most honest), more than half of Moroccans nearly two-thirds (63 percent) rated politicians' honesty at a 3 or below.

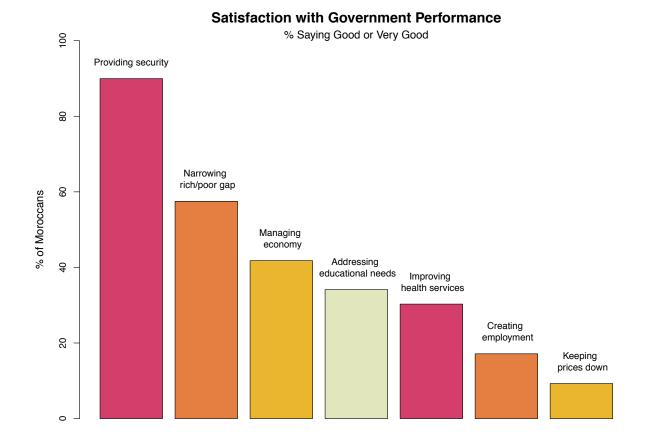


Moroccans are split fairly evenly on the question of whether they feel they are being treated equally by the government compared with other citizens: roughly half (54 percent) feel they are to a medium or great extent, while 43 percent feel they are to a little extent or not at all. Events suggest that perceptions of the government's lack of respect for Moroccans' needs and aspirations is a major source of grievance and political strain in Morocco. In October 2016 (after the survey was conducted), the death of a fishmonger whose contraband goods were confiscated by a government official provoked street demonstrations calling for justice and greater opportunities for Moroccans

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This gap shows up clearly in the disjuncture between Moroccans' clear perception that the government is aware of citizens' needs (72 percent agree or strongly agree) versus their perception that few political leaders care about the needs of ordinary citizens (2 percent strongly agree and 19 percent agree).

Moroccans express mixed views on whether the state is undertaking far-reaching reforms. More than half (56 percent) say yes or definitely yes, while a quarter (24 percent) say no or definitely no, and many (20 percent) state they don't know.

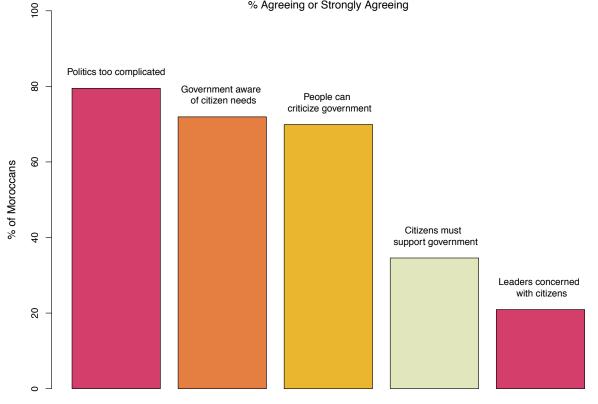


Most Moroccans (90 percent) are satisfied (46 percent) or very satisfied (44 percent) with the government's provision of security (see figure above and Appendix Table 4). However, they are less satisfied with government performance related to economic matters. Just 17 percent say the government is doing a good job creating employment opportunities while nine percent say the same about its efforts to keep prices down. By comparison, four-in-ten say the government has done a very bad job controlling rising prices. At the same time, however,

Moroccans express satisfaction with government efforts to reduce income inequality: 58 percent believe the government is doing a good or very good job of reducing the gap between the rich and the poor.

#### **Opinions About Politics**

The majority of Moroccans (59 percent) disagree or strongly disagree with the idea that you must support the government even if you disagree with it. A clear majority (70 percent) agree that Moroccans can criticize the government without fear, while 20 percent disagree and 10 percent say they do not know. At the same time, Moroccans remain uncertain about many aspects of politics, with most (79 percent) agreeing or strongly agreeing that "Sometimes, politics are so complicated that I cannot understand what is happening."



#### Opinions about Politics % Agreeing or Strongly Agreeing

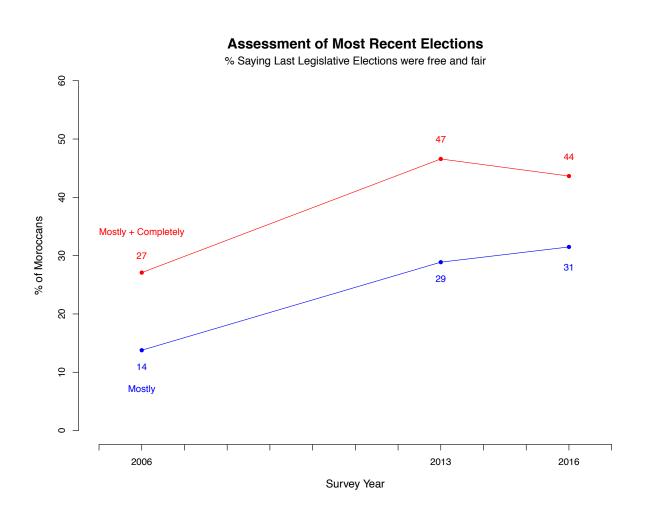
#### **Alleviating Poverty**

Moroccans describe themselves as very interested in helping the poor, even at a personal cost to themselves. About a quarter (26 percent) say they would help the poor even at a large personal cost and a further 46 percent saying they would do it a small cost. More than half of all Moroccans (57 percent) say that they want to help the poor primarily because they believe God will reward them for it. Another third say they want to do so because it makes them sad to see people suffer (21 percent) or they enjoy making the unfortunate happy (13 percent). Meanwhile, a third of Moroccans (34 percent) believe the best way to help the poor is by encouraging *sadaqa*, or private charity, but only 9 percent believe raising their taxes is the best way, and 40 percent (the plurality) said that neither taxes nor sadaqa was the best way to help the poor.

#### **Elections and Parliament**

The fourth wave of the Arab Barometer was conducted about five months before Morocco's parliamentary elections in October 2016. Thus, questions asking respondents about their views of the most recent parliamentary elections refer to the prior parliamentary elections, held in 2011. Answers to questions about the most recent parliamentary elections in this wave of the survey can therefore be compared to the results from wave 3 to examine consistency of responses as distance from the election increases.

In the 2016 survey, 52 percent of Moroccans say that they voted in the last parliamentary elections and 13 percent say that they went to any campaign rallies. Evaluations of the elections were mixed: 12 percent said the last parliamentary elections were completely free and fair; 31 percent said they were free and fair with minor problems; 11 percent said they were free and fair with major problems; and 12 percent said they were not free or fair. Meanwhile, about a third (32 percent) say they do no not know enough to evaluate the quality of the last elections. These assessments have changed little since the last Arab Barometer survey was conducted in 2013, and represent a significant improvement over assessments of parliamentary elections expressed in the 2006 wave of the Arab Barometer.

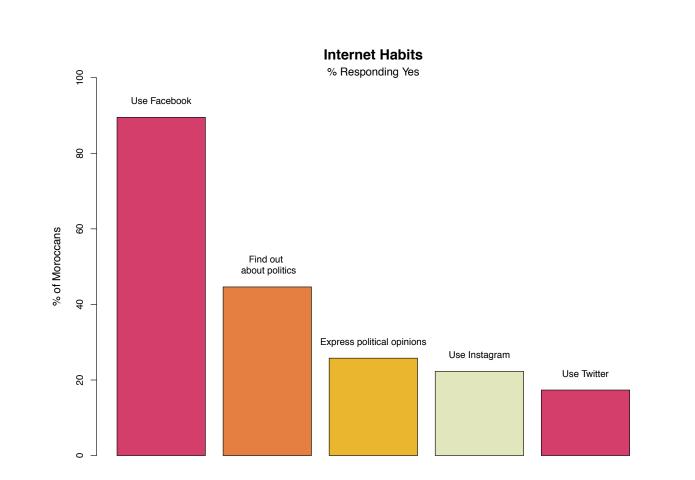


## The Media

Like most other nationalities surveyed by the Arab Barometer, Moroccans say they are largely uninterested in politics. Overall, 81 percent say they are not interested or not at all interested in politics, compared with only 3 percent say they are very interested. Perhaps as a result, most Moroccans do not follow political news closely. Large proportions of Moroccans state that they rarely or never watch television (39 percent) or read daily newspapers (79 percent) to learn about political news (see Appendix Table 8). Generally, television is the most important source of political news, with nearly a quarter (24 percent) stating that they learn about political news from the television daily.

Few Moroccans have direct experience with trying access censured media. Most (61 percent) say that they do now know whether the media they might want to access such newspapers, magazines, or foreign books are sometimes forbidden by the government and/or its agencies. However, 27 percent say that they are censured while 5 percent report that they are not.

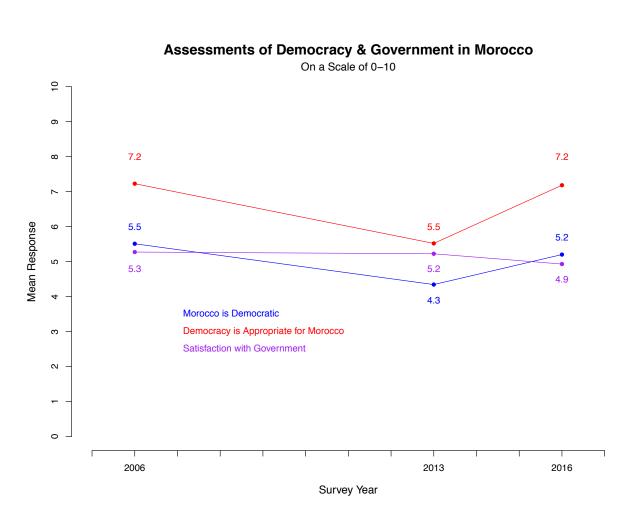
Moroccans' rates of internet usage are vary widely. Half (51 percent) say they do not go on the internet at all, while 28 percent are online either daily or almost all day. The remaining 21 percent are online, but log on less frequently. Among those who use the internet, just under half (45 percent) say they have used it to find out about politics while a quarter (26 percent) have used it to express political opinions. The vast majority of Moroccan internet users have Facebook accounts (90 percent), but far fewer are on Instagram (22 percent) or Twitter (17 percent).



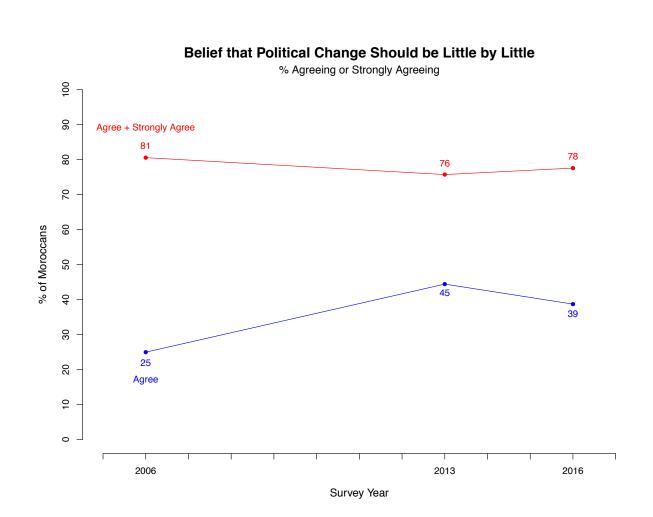
### Democracy

Similar to findings from previous waves of the Arab Barometer, very few Moroccans belong to any organizations or formal groups (22 percent) or political parties (3 percent). Few Moroccans have attended a political meeting or signed a petition in the last three years (14 percent) or participated in a protest in the last three years (20 percent). Around half of those who have participated in a protest or demonstration have done so more than once.

Using a 10-point scale, Moroccans believe their country is moderately democratic, with a median score of 5. Using similar scales, they are more likely to say that democracy is appropriate for their country (median of 7), and are moderately satisfied with the government (median of 5). See Appendix Table 10 for a full breakdown of responses.



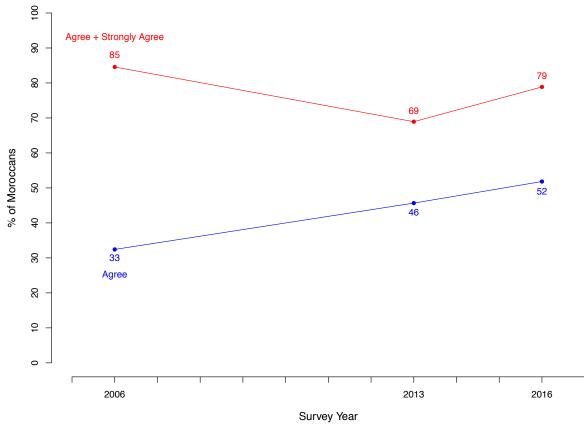
As prior waves of the survey have also found, most Moroccans (78 percent) support gradual over radical political reform, with 39 percent strongly agreeing and a further 39 percent agreeing that reform should be little by little instead of all at once.

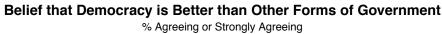


The concept of democracy contains multiple elements, and Moroccans tend to conceptualize its most essential characteristics in primarily socioeconomic terms. Asked to choose the most essential characteristic of democracy from among several options provided, 43 percent chose "basic necessities like food, clothes, and shelter are provided for" and another 27 percent chose "government provides people with quality public services," while only 15 percent chose "the legislature has oversight of government," and 7 percent chose "people are free to organize political groups." Another 7 percent said they don't know, and 1 percent refused to answer. Two similar questions with varied wording of the options produced similar results.

Despite varying understandings of the meaning of democracy, Moroccans are supportive of this type of political system (see Appendix Table 11). A large majority strongly agree (27 percent) or agree (52 percent) that while a democratic system may have problems, it is better than other political systems. However, when asked another way, support for democracy appears a bit less strong. About half (51 percent) state that their opinion on democracy is closest to the statement, "Democracy is always preferable to any other kind of government." Another quarter (24 percent), however, believe that it does not matter for them what kind of government Morocco has, and 17 percent believe that "under some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable."

Concern about certain weaknesses of a democratic system are limited. For example, only 7 percent of Moroccans agreed or strongly agree with a statement that democratic regimes are not effective at providing order or stability, 9 percent agree or strongly agree that economic performance is weak in democratic systems, and 13 percent agree or strongly agree that democratic regimes can be indecisive and full of problems. However, concern is higher about the degree to which fellow citizens are prepared for this type of system. Fully a quarter (24 percent) of Moroccans agree that "citizens in our country are not prepared for a democratic system."





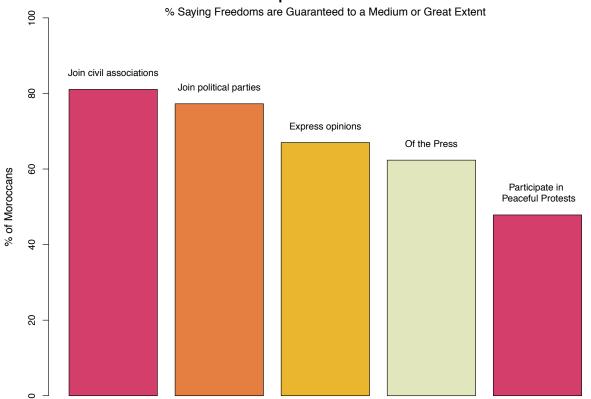
Moroccans hold diverse views on what a suitable form of government for Morocco looks like (see Appendix Table 12). A majority of Moroccans (66 percent) believe that "a parliamentary system in which nationalist, left-wing, rightwing, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections" is a very suitable or suitable form of government for Morocco. A further 8 percent believe it is somewhat suitable, but 10 percent state it is not suitable at all. Meanwhile, 15 percent saying they do not know.

Other possible forms of government garner less support, but there is significant variation. Notably, 19 percent of Moroccans believe a system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections would be suitable, whereas 59 percent believe such a system would be not suitable at all. In contrast, only 4 percent believe that a parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete would be suitable or very suitable, and 4 percent believe that a political system governed by a strong authority which makes decisions without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition would be suitable or very suitable. Slightly more Moroccans (13

percent) would see as suitable a system that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the process.

## **Civil Liberties**

As previously noted, most Moroccans (67 percent) feel they are at least somewhat free to express their political opinions. Most also believe that the press is free to a medium or great extent (62 percent), that they enjoy freedom to join political parties to a medium or great extent (77 percent), and that they are free to join civil associations and organizations to a medium or great extent (81 percent). However, the degree to which they feel able to participate in other political activities is somewhat lower. Just 48 percent believe they are free to participate in peaceful protests and demonstrations to a medium or great extent. These findings reflect prior survey results as well as observations of Morocco that confirm its relatively free press and freedom of association (see Appendix Table 14).

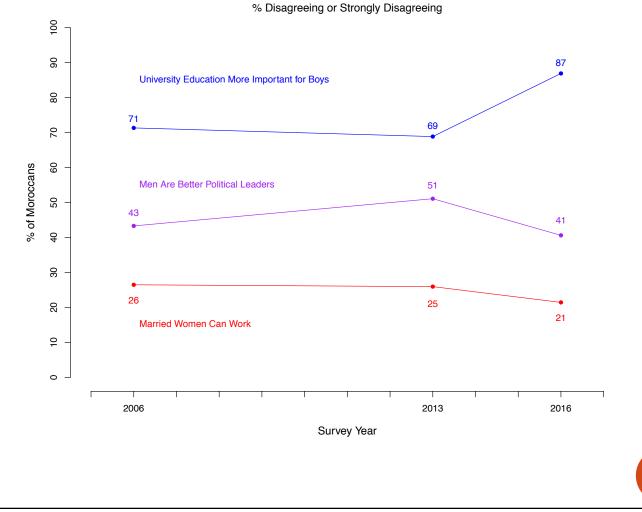


#### Perceptions of Freedoms

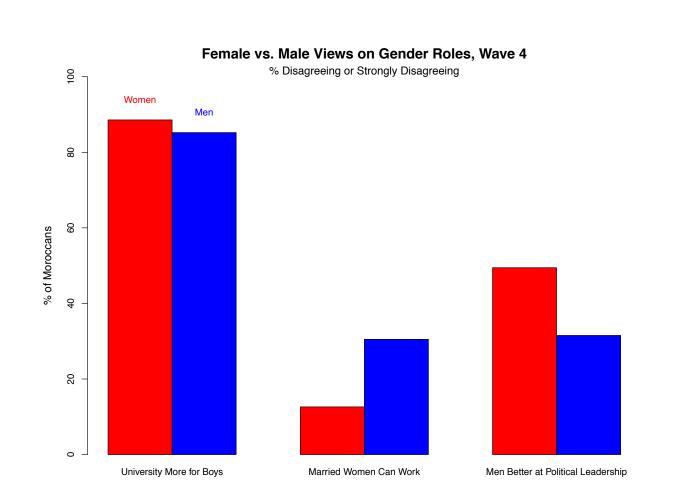
## **Culture and Religion**

As in previous waves, the survey found a wide range of views on women's rights and roles (see Appendix Table 15). Most Moroccans (70 percent) agree that a woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country (42 percent agree, 27 percent strongly agree), although a majority (55 percent) also believe that men are better at political leadership than women (41 percent agree, 15 percent strongly agree). Most (60 percent) also agree that husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family (40 percent agree, 20 percent strongly agree), although these figures are lower than in neighboring countries.

There is wider variance on views about education, work, and inheritance. Most Moroccans value education, including higher education, for both genders, with 39 percent disagreeing and 48 percent strongly disagreeing that university education for males is more important than university education for females – a significant increase over 2013. Meanwhile, most Moroccans agree (54 percent agree, 23 percent strongly agree) that a married woman can work outside the home if she wants to. A large majority of Moroccans agree (13 percent agree, 85 percent strongly agree) that women and men should have equal inheritance rights, although it is possible that respondents interpreted this question to mean equal access to the inheritance rights afforded to them under traditional interpretations of Islamic law, in which men inherit twice as much as women.

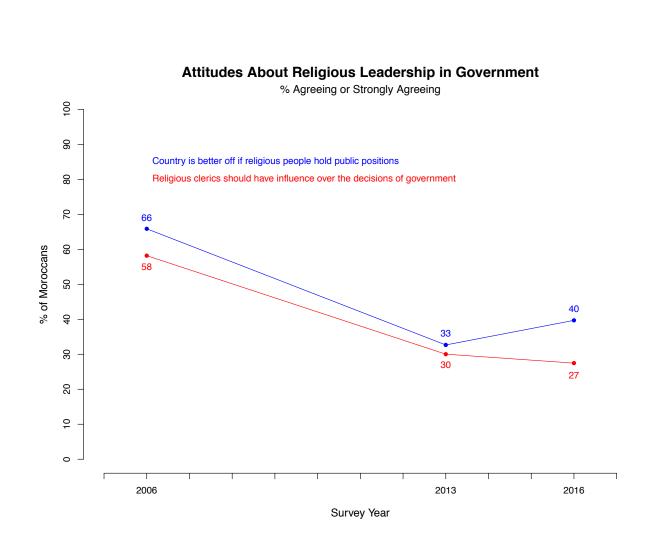


#### **Attitudes On Gender Roles**



Moroccans demonstrate less prejudice with respect to race or nationality than with respect to religious differences (see Appendix Table 16). Asked whether they would like or dislike neighbors of particular backgrounds, 37 percent of Moroccans say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different religion and 49 percent say they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different sect of Islam. By comparison, just 20 percent said they would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different race or color while 23 percent say would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors of a different race or color while 23 percent say would dislike or strongly dislike neighbors who were immigrants or foreign workers. Similarly, concerns about the religiosity of a possible spouse for a close family member weigh more heavily than concerns about his or her socioeconomic status: while 57 percent say a suitor not praying would constitute a large or moderate obstacle to marriage, only 23 percent say that a suitor being from an incompatible social class would represent such an obstacle.

In line with the opinions noted above that most Moroccans would find a parliamentary system with both secular and Islamist parties appropriate for Morocco, most Moroccans (53 percent) believe that the law should rest partly on sharia and partly on the will of the people. However, 22 percent state that they believe the law should rest entirely on sharia, and more than half (53 percent) state that they would prefer a religious political party to a non-religious political party. Most Moroccans do not believe that religious practice is only a private matter separated from socioeconomic life (48 percent disagree or strongly disagree, and 9 percent do not know, see Appendix Table 17). At the same time, few Moroccans believe that religious leaders should have influence over the government (27 percent agree or strongly agree), and a minority hold that the country is better off when religious people hold public positions in the state (40 percent agree or strongly agree).



On the other hand, support for religious leaders influencing government has declined substantially overtime. In 2006, 58 percent of Moroccans agreed or strongly agreed that religious leaders should influence government. In 2013, only 30 percent, and in 2016 this had fallen to 27 percent.

Table 18 in the Appendix presents attitudes on additional questions relating to the intersection of religion and public life. Most Moroccans agree or strongly agree that banks in Muslim countries should not charge interest because it is forbidden in Islam (87 percent) and a slim majority disagree or strongly disagree that this rule should be relaxed to meet the demands of the modern economy (50 percent), although 12 percent stated they do not know.

Most Moroccans agree or strongly agree that it is acceptable for male and female university students to attend classes together (85 percent); and that while women should dress modestly, Islam does not require wearing a hijab (53 percent).

Most Moroccans disagree or strongly disagree that democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam (72 percent), although nearly one-fifth (18 percent) stated that they do not know.

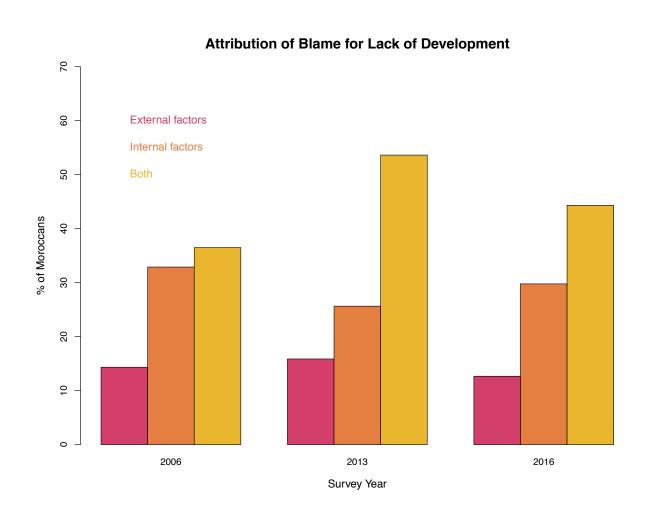
#### **International Relations**

Asked what direction they would like to see future economic relations with other countries take (see Appendix Table 19), Moroccans were most bullish on Turkey (71 percent want stronger relations) and Saudi Arabia (70 percent). Majorities also want stronger economic relations with the United States (56 percent), and the EU (68 percent). Meanwhile, around a fifth to a quarter of Moroccans would like economic relations between Morocco and major specific economic partners to remain the same: the United States (24 percent), Saudi Arabia (20 percent), Iran (26 percent), Turkey (19 percent), the European Union (22 percent) and Russia (20 percent). Moroccans express less interest in stronger economic relations with Russia (49 percent) and Iran (20 percent), although for both of these countries, a significant proportion also stated that they did not know what kind of economic relations they wanted (18 percent and 20 percent for Iran and Russia, respectively).

Most Moroccans believe that major powers have had either neutral or slightly positive effects on the development of democracy in Morocco (see Appendix Table 20). Moroccans are most neutral toward Russia (44 percent see its influence as neither positive nor negative) and their neighboring countries (39 percent are neutral). At the same time, neighboring countries are seen by the highest proportion of Moroccans (27 percent) as having a negative or very negative influence on the development of democracy.

When asked about the most positive thing that the United States could do for their country, nearly a third of Moroccans (31 percent) believe that the most positive thing would be for the United States to not to get involved. The second most positive potential action would be resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict (27 percent). Moroccans are divided on the question of whether American demands for reform are acceptable or not: 13 percent say they are acceptable, 29 percent say they are acceptable with conditions, 19 percent say they are unacceptable on principle, and 21 percent say they are unacceptable because they are harmful to Morocco's national interests. Moroccans are relatively likely, however, to say that, regardless of U.S. foreign policies, most ordinary Americans are good people: 60 percent agree, while 12 percent disagree and 25 percent say they do not know—likely a reflection of Moroccans' limited exposure to ordinary Americans. At the same time, the majority (73 percent) agree or strongly agree that American and Western culture have positive aspects. After Israel (15 percent), the United States is seen as the greatest threat to stability for Morocco (6 percent), which is the same level as for Iran (6 percent). Meanwhile, 38 percent of Moroccans say another country is the greatest threat to stability for them, but 27 percent say they do not know.

Moroccans generally think it is a good thing that the world is getting more connected: 69 percent say it is very or somewhat good, while 19 percent say it is neutral, and 10 percent say it is somewhat or very bad (3 percent don't know). Most Moroccans blame a mix of external and internal factors (44 percent) for Morocco's lack of development, with a higher proportion citing mainly internal factors (30 percent) than mainly external factors (13 percent), a notable contrast to views in some other Arab countries such as Algeria and Egypt.



At the same time, nearly half agree or strongly agree (49 percent) that Western interference is an obstacle to reform in Morocco. A similar proportion (44 percent) agree or strongly agree that interference from Arab and Islamic countries within the region is an obstacle to reform in Morocco.

Additionally, Moroccans are concerned about growing sectarian division across the region: 37 percent are concerned to a great extent, and 29 percent to a medium extent.

## **Select Demographics**

Just over a third of Moroccans (33 percent) report that they work. Among those who work, 15 percent work in the public sector, and 74 percent in the private sector (with 11 percent reporting "other" or refusing to answer). Among those who do not work, just over half (55 percent) are housewives, about a fifth (17 percent) are students, and roughly a fifth (21 percent) are unemployed.

In terms of household possessions, 44 percent of Moroccans have at least one computer in their home, and 17 percent own a car within their family. Half (49 percent) have a non-smart mobile phone and about half (47 percent) have a smartphone with access to the internet.

Just under half of Moroccans describe themselves as religious (45 percent), while 46 percent say they are somewhat religious. Just 8 percent say they are not religious.

Fewer than half of Moroccan families are well-off enough that they are able to cover their expenses without notable difficulties (34 percent) or even well enough off that they are able to save (11 percent). A further 36 percent face some difficulties meeting expenses, and 16 percent report facing significant difficulties to make ends meet. Most Moroccan families (83 percent) do not receive any remittances from abroad. Only 1 percent report receiving remittances as frequently once a month, 7 percent receive them a few times a year, and 7 percent receive them once a year.

#### About the Survey

The Arab Barometer is a public opinion survey conducted in partnership between academics and survey experts in the Arab world, the United States and Europe. The survey in Morocco, conducted from May 7 – June 11, 2016, was led by One to One for Research and Polling and Mhammed Abderebi of Hassan II University - Casablanca. The survey included 1,200 respondents randomly selected from all 16 regions across all regions of the country. The survey was conducted face-to-face in the respondent's place of residence and has a margin of error of  $\pm$  3 percent.

To date, the Arab Barometer has conducted 38 national surveys over three waves including more than 45,000 interviews in 15 Arab countries. The fourth wave includes 9 countries and more than 11,000 interviews. For more information about the project, please visit www.arabbarometer.org.

## Morocco Arab Barometer Report Appendix

Comment on Abbreviations: SA = Strongly agree, A = Agree, D = Disagree, SD = Strongly Disagree, DK = Don't Know

Statement	A great deal of trust	Quite a lot of trust	Not very much trust	No trust at all	Don't Know	Refused
Government (Council of Ministers)	8.44	34.93	33.86	21.76	0.73	0.28
Courts and legal system	10.24	34.46	34.71	17.42	3.09	0.07
The elected council of representatives (the parliament)	2.25	23.01	34.33	32.69	7.71	
Police	23.7	44.7	22.82	7.58	1.09	0.11
The armed forces (army)	62.4	27.76	6.56	1.04	2.13	0.11
Muslim Brotherhood	6.95	27.32	32.55	27.19	4.94	1.05
Religious leaders	20.26	42.94	23.01	8.75	4.74	0.29
Political parties	0.31	9.78	43.19	42.33	3.82	0.57

Table 1: Trust in Political Institutions

Table 2: Worries

Statement	Very much	Much	Not much	Not at all	Not applicable	DK	Refuse
No possibility to give children a good education	60.98	26.46	6.92	3.28	1.93	0.41	
A terrorist attack in your country	63.32	19.17	7.85	8.16	0.34	0.91	0.25
Being harassed or threatened on the street	50.67	20.65	12.46	14.93	1.19	0.1	

Table 3: Satisfaction with Public Services

Item	Definitely satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Definitely dissatisfied	DK	Refused
Educational system	4.75	38.71	36.18	19.48	0.89	
Healthcare system	2.66	25.76	44.93	25.99	0.66	

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Item	Very good	Good	Bad	Very bad	Not government's role	DK	Refuse
Managing the economy	1.83	39.96	31.01	11.91	0.86	13.77	0.65
Creating employment opps	0.48	16.66	46.29	33.56	0.58	2.24	0.19
Narrowing rich/poor gap	15.39	42.11	29.03	3.1	9.86	0.51	
Improving basic health services	0.71	29.59	47.62	20.34	0.07	1.51	0.15
Keeping prices down	0.23	9.04	47.99	40.29	0.34	1.98	0.14
Providing security	44.05	45.92	6.35	1.93	1.38	0.28	0.07
Addressing educational needs	1.68	32.45	43.5	14.51	7.77	0.1	

 Table 4: Satisfaction with Government Performance

Table 5: Top Concerns

	Top Concern 1	Top Concern 2
Economic situation	63.45	22.19
Financial and administrative corruption	15.10	32.11
Democracy	3.02	3.14
Internal stability and security	7.73	11.66
Foreign interference	1.21	2.88
Religious extremism	5.11	8.73
Other	1.74	3.96
DK	2.56	14.97
Refused	0.07	0.37

 Table 6: Government Responsiveness

Item	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK	Refused
Govt aware of citizen needs	23.43	48.5	16.46	6.38	5.16	0.07
Pol leaders concerned with ordinary citizens	2.23	18.71	39.36	35.16	4.04	0.49
Politics are so complicated I can't understand	40.13	39.35	10.35	3.49	5.62	1.06

Item	Politicians (Unintelligent/Intelligent)	Politicians (Dishonest/Honest)	Citizens (Unintelligent/Intelligent)	Citizens (Dishonest/Honest)
1	2.19	19.19	0.08	1.46
2	4.11	18.3	1.61	5.23
3	10.54	25.96	9.26	18.16
4	18.49	18.01	23.6	35.32
5	23.91	10.23	27.15	25.02
6	18.1	1.85	18.4	7.33
7	12.68	0.56	15.56	3.58
Not concerned	6.91	3.79	2.76	2.35
DK	3	1.96	1.46	1.41
Refused	0.08	0.16	0.11	0.14

Table 7: Views Toward Politicians and Fellow Citizens: 7-Point Thermometers

 Table 8: Media Habits (for Political News)

Frequency	Television	Daily newspaper
Daily	23.51	3.62
A number of times a week	29.67	9.53
A number of times a month	7.92	6.45
Rarely	21.88	19.82
I don't follow it ever	16.94	59.67
DK	0.08	0.91
Refused		

 Table 9: Internet Habits (Among Internet Users)

Item	Yes	No	DK	Refuse
Find out about political activities	44.63	54.99	0.38	
Express your opinion about political issues	25.78	73.27	0.2	0.75
Facebook user	89.52	10.32	0.16	
Twitter user	17.35	82.51	0.15	
Instagram user	22.28	77.72		

Rating $(0-10)$	Extent to which Morocco is democratic	Extent to which democracy is appropriate	Satisfaction with the government
0	1.57	0.36	5.16
1	2.07	0.98	3.32
2	5.02	1.45	8.05
3	10.81	3.6	11.28
4	10.37	4.48	13.8
5	18.72	9.61	19.39
6	16.49	11.31	14.08
7	12.69	13.07	12.97
8	7.03	13.91	4.64
9	1.41	7.85	2.22
10	0.82	19.22	0.96
Not Concerned	6.53	6.15	2.03
DK	6.3	7.65	2.05
Refused	0.18	0.36	0.07

Table 10: Democracy 10-Point Thermometers (% of Moroccans Giving Each Response)

Table 11: Attitudes Toward Democracy

Item	SA	А	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Under a democratic system, economic performance is weak	0.99	7.92	41.73	22.71	26.03	0.62
Democratic regimes are indecisive/full of problems	1.12	12.25	41.36	20.41	24.01	0.85
Democratic systems not effect at order/stability	0.55	6.72	45.02	26.02	20.39	1.29
A democratic system may have problems, but better than others	27.04	51.83	5.72	0.95	13.55	0.92
Citizens in our country not prepared for democratic system	3.88	20.48	35.02	21.39	17.84	1.4

Item	Very Suitable	Suitable	Somewhat Suitable	Not suitable at all	DK	Refuse
A parliamentary system in which nationalist, left wing, right wing, and Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections	36.96	29.04	8.3	9.67	15.33	0.7
A parliamentary system in which only Islamist parties compete in parliamentary elections	8.62	12.32	15.37	51.86	11	0.84
A parliamentary system in which only non-religious parties compete in parliamentary elections	0.55	3.85	8.5	74.39	11.44	1.26
A political system governed by a strong authority which makes decisions without considering electoral results or the opinions of the opposition	0.72	2.82	5.32	77.34	13.47	0.33
A system governed by Islamic law in which there are no political parties or elections	7.97	11.21	12.11	59.08	9.04	0.59
A government that provides for the needs of its citizens without giving them the right to participate in the political process	3.32	9.59	14.57	63.02	9.05	0.45

#### Table 12: Attitudes Toward Different Forms of Government (Suitability for Morocco)

#### Table 13: How Guaranteed are Freedoms to Express Opinions?

Item	Great Extent	Medium Extent	Limited Extent	Not guaranteed	DK	Refused
Freedom to express opinions	22.47	44.54	18.15	11.07	3.58	0.19
Freedom of the press	20.65	41.7	17.84	7.09	12.65	0.07
Freedom to join political parties	47.13	30.14	8.24	4.14	10.13	0.21
Freedom to participate in peaceful protests and demonstrations	15.1	32.75	24.56	17.22	9.97	0.41
Freedom to join civil associations and organizations	51.14	29.93	6.36	3.36	8.69	0.52

#### Table 14: Perceptions of Guarantees of Freedoms (% who say they are guaranteed to a medium or great extent)

013	2016	Change
66	77	+11
56	62	+ 6
59	67	+ 8
46	48	+2
	$\frac{56}{59}$	56   62   59   67

#### Table 15: Women's Roles and Rights

Item	SA	А	D	SD	DK	Refuse
A woman can become president or prime minister of a Muslim country	27.37	42.82	18.54	9.67	1.53	0.07
A married woman can work outside the home if she wishes	23.25	54.4	14.31	7.12	0.33	0.59
In general, men are better at political leadership than women	14.97	41.47	28.86	11.76	2.87	0.07
University education for males is more important than university education for females	2.34	9.92	39.19	47.73	0.51	0.31
Women and men should have equal inheritance rights	85.09	13.09	0.99	0.46	0.14	0.23
Husbands should have final say in all decisions concerning the family	19.69	37.95	29.54	11.39	1.13	0.3

#### Table 16: Desirability of Potential Neighbors

Item	Strongly Dislike	Dislike	Neither	Like	Strongly Like	DK	Refuse
People of a different religion	15.63	21.43	52.69	6.31	3.47	0.4	0.07
People of a different race or color	6.93	12.67	66.6	9.65	3.73	0.41	
Immigrants or foreign workers	7.08	16.4	61.29	10.99	3.54	0.63	0.07
People of a different sect of Islam	25.59	23.45	37.83	7.72	1.98	3.43	

#### Table 17: Religion and Public Life

Item	SA	А	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Religious leaders should not interfere in voters' decisions in elections	20.76	48.07	16.84	3.61	10.23	0.49
Your country is better off if religious people hold public positions in the state	8.83	30.86	33.82	14.4	10.49	1.61
Religious clerics should have influence over the decisions of government	3.04	24.43	42.76	16.44	12.6	0.73
Religious practice is a private matter and should be separated from socio-economic life	8.12	33.62	31.43	16.87	9.3	0.66

#### Table 18: Interpretations of Islam

Item	SA	А	D	SD	DK	Refuse
Democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with Islam	1.57	7.89	42.46	29.53	17.64	0.92
Banks in Muslim countries must be forbidden from charging interest because this is forbidden by Islam	51.37	35.18	5.21	1.41	6.31	0.51
It is acceptable in Islam for male and female university students to attend classes together	30.03	55.44	10.05	2.62	1.38	0.49
A woman should dress modestly, but Islam does not require that she wear a hijab	15.6	37.82	24.64	18.95	0.86	2.13
In order to meet the demands of the modern economy, banks should be allowed to charge interest	6.24	29.61	28.75	21.35	12.26	1.79

Country	Become stronger	Remain same	Become weaker	DK	Refuse
The United States	56.18	24.17	12	7.49	0.17
Saudi Arabia	70.22	20.02	6.74	2.87	0.15
Iran	20.32	26.88	33.15	18.29	1.35
Turkey	71.09	18.97	3.37	6.35	0.22
EU	68.31	21.72	4.98	4.68	0.32
Russia	48.6	20.49	10.2	20.03	0.69

Table 19: Do you prefer that future economic relations between your country and (country X)

Table 20: Perceptions of Other Countries' Influence on Development of Democracy in Morocco

Country	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat negative	Very negative	DK	Refuse
The United States	5.27	21.76	29.76	10.7	3.92	27.88	0.72
The European Union	8.72	28.36	30.84	8.63	2.2	20.82	0.43
Neighboring Countries	1.92	12.83	39.45	18.59	8.31	18.57	0.33
Russia	1.66	8.73	44.19	6.68	1.8	36.7	0.24