

Arab Barometer VII

Morocco Report

October 2022

Executive Summary

Since the pandemic hit Morocco in March 2020, the country has been facing crises on multiple fronts, including the public health crisis, the economic crisis, inflation, and the historic drought. Internationally, Morocco made several diplomatic gains in the wake of the United States' recognition of Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara. In an historic reversal of its previous stance, Spain declared that the Moroccan autonomy plan is "the most serious, realistic and credible" solution to the crisis. Multiple other countries opened consulates in Western Sahara.¹²

Moroccans express a great deal of awareness towards these crises, and many recognize the impacts on their daily lives. Nonetheless, not all Moroccans view the current situation in the country through a similar lens. As opposed to the 2018 fifth wave of Arab Barometer surveys where Moroccans were often divided in their views by age, it appears that the effect of these recent events has been to divide Moroccans by socio-economic status to a greater extent. Often, wealthier and more educated Moroccans have a different outlook on the country than those whose income cannot cover their expenses and those with only a high school education or less. The former have a better outlook on Morocco. They express more economic safety and are less likely to be critical of the current situation in their country. The latter are a bit more skeptical, instead expressing more economic frustration and are more willing to criticize many aspects of life in the North African kingdom.

Additionally, Moroccan citizens' views on the economy, government services, and international actors vary according to regions.³ Citizens in the Oriental region express more concerns about the economic situation and other issues. On the other hand, citizens in Beni Mellal-Khenifra express less worry about the economic situation, with over half of them positively rating the current situation. These regional differences may relate to other factors that also vary geographically, such as climate, economic opportunities, infrastructure, and proximity to conflict. The drought season did not impact all regions equally, with regions relying on precipitations impacted harder. In addition, most economic opportunities and infrastructure in Morocco are predominantly in the Atlantic Coast from Tangier to Agadir, therefore citizens in other regions might feel the

¹https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2022-03-18/spain-changes-stance-backsmoroccan-rule-in-western-sahara

²https://northafricapost.com/60344-number-of-consulates-in-moroccan-sahara-increasesby-inauguration-of-a-consular-representation-of-cape-verde-in-dakhla.html

³Region in this report refers to the official first administrative (geographic) division in the country.

impact of the economic crisis differently.^{4 5} Finally, citizens of different regions perceive international threats, with citizens of the southern regions worrying more about Iran's influence in the region.

Overall, Moroccans are still worried about the spread of COVID-19, despite the country having one of the most effective COVID response strategies on the African continent.⁶ The death or the illness of a family member is the most cited reason for fear among Moroccans who expressed worry about the virus. Moroccans are also feeling the economic impact of the pandemic, especially the impacts of the return of economic activity back to pre-pandemic levels. Citizens coalesce around economic issues as the most important challenges facing the country. Notably, they call for a return of subsidies, which have been slowly eliminated in the past decade.⁷ To overcome the economic challenges, Moroccans believe that the government should be focusing on creating jobs, raising wages for existing ones, and lowering the cost of living.

One of the ways people try to overcome economic challenges in their country is to search for a better future in another country. More than a third of Moroccans want to do just that, although this percentage is actually lower than it was in 2018. The desire to emigrate is higher among younger men with a higher level of education. Strikingly, more than half of potential emigrants from Moroccothe highest share among all countries surveyedsay they would do so even if they lack the official documents required.

Internationally, Assessments of the U.S. are more positive Moroccans have a more positive assessment of the U.S. than they are among citizens in any other surveyed country. This is at least partially linked to the rapprochement between Morocco and the United States, which has been building up for years and culminated in Trump's presidential proclamation to recognize Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara. This decision was directly linked to the normalization of relations between Morocco and Israel. Today, roughly three-in-ten Moroccans favor normalization.

These are among the main findings of a nationally representative face-to-face survey conducted in Morocco. The survey included 2,404 randomly selected citizens from across all regions and was fielded from March 4 to April 26, 2022 using a multistage clustered sample. The margin of error for the reported results is ± 2 percentage points. The surveys are part of Arab Barometer's seventh

⁴https://www.oecd.org/countries/morocco/Morocco-OECD-Dialogue-on-Territorial-Development-Policies.pdf

⁵https://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=1726338156&Country=Morocco&topic=Economy ⁶https://african.business/2021/04/technology-information/morocco-leads-the-continentin-covid-response/

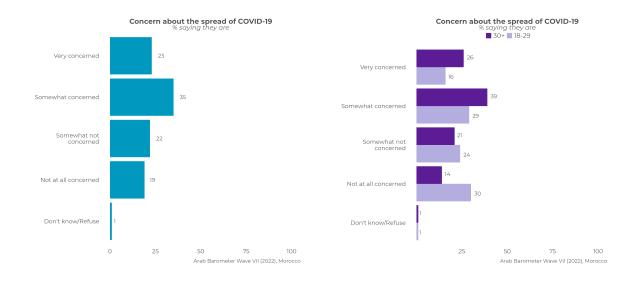
⁷https://www.reuters.com/article/morocco-economy-subsidies/morocco-ends-gasoline-fuel-oil-subsidies-idUSL5N0KR2EV20140117

wave which is the largest publicly available survey that captures the sentiments of citizens across MENA following the COVID-19 pandemic. Additional Information about the surveys can be found at www.arabbarometer.org.

COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic response by the Moroccan government has been hailed by many as proactive and effective.⁸ ⁹ The authorities established one of the strongest prevention measures in the region and mobilized all resources to maintain stability in the healthcare sector and beyond. Despite these government measures, Moroccans are still worried about the spread of COVID. Overall, 58 percent of Moroccans say they are very or somewhat concerned about the spread of COVID-19.

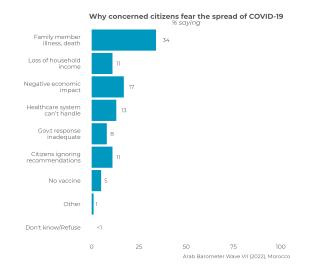
But views on the spread of the virus and its impact on citizens are not held equally. Citizens over 30 are considerably more concerned about the spread of COVID than those ages 18-29 (64 percent vs. 45 percent). Also, 62 percent of Moroccans with only a secondary education or less are concerned compared to 47 percent of those with a higher education. Additionally, there is a 10-point gender gap in Morocco, with men (63 percent) expressing more concern than women (53 percent).



⁸https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2020/06/16/morocco-stepping-up-to-the-covid-19-pandemic-outbreak

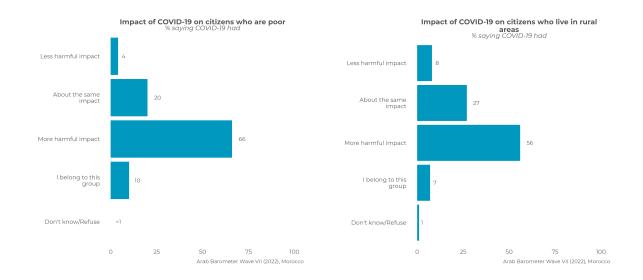
⁹https://newafricanmagazine.com/25754/

When asked about the reason they fear the spread of COVID-19, the most cited reason is the death or illness of a family member (34 percent). Notably, there are no significant demographic differences among Moroccans on this question, but major regional differences are found. Whereas over four-in-ten citizens in Oriental (45 percent), Eddakhla-Oued Eddahab (44 percent), and Draa-Tafilalet (41 percent) say they are concerned about the death or illness of a family member, only about a quarter of citizens in Marrakech-Safi (28 percent), and Beni Mellal-Khenifra (26 percent) say the same. This difference may be attributed to the differences in health infrastructure. For example, whereas Marrakech has a university hospital, multiple health centers, and 46 private clinics, Draa Tafilelt has only 4 private clinics.¹⁰



In terms of the impact of COVID-19 on the most vulnerable, 66 percent of Moroccans perceive that the pandemic had a more harmful effect on citizens who are poor, as many of them saw their incomes dwindle or cut-off altogether. Interestingly, 56 percent of Moroccans say that the impact of the pandemic was less harmful on citizens who live in rural areas, most likely because the biggest COVID hotspots in Morocco were in big cities such as Casablanca, Marrakech, and Tangier. The only significant differences in this question are socioeconomic: whereas two-thirds (66 percent) of Moroccans whose income cannot cover expenses say that the pandemic had a less harmful impact on citizens who live in rural areas, only 45 percent of those who can cover expenses say the same.

¹⁰https://aujourdhui.ma/societe/carte-sanitaire-au-maroc-ces-chiffres-a-retenir



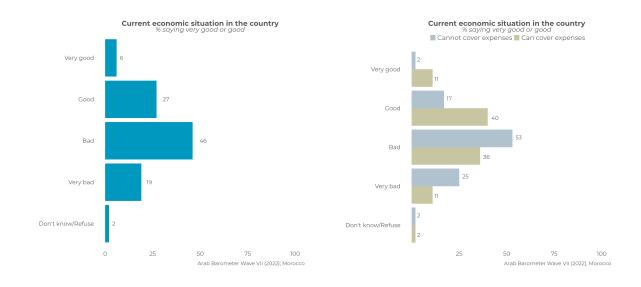
The economy

After over two years of strict prevention measures established by the Moroccan government to combat the spread of COVID-19, and the fallout from the multileveled global crisis including the chip shortage, inflation, and supply-chain crisis, Moroccans are feeling the economic toll and linking it strongly to the COVID pandemic.

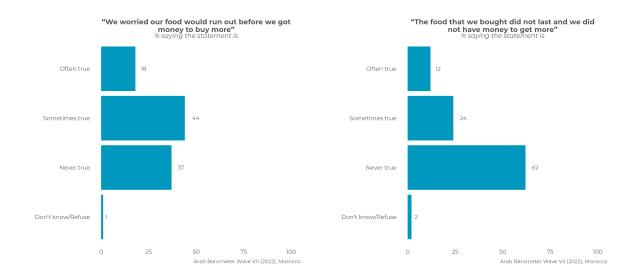
When asked about the biggest challenge caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, inflation is the biggest challenge cited by Moroccans. In addition, 33 percent of Moroccans say the current economic situation is good (27 percent) or very good (6 percent), the lowest Arab Barometer's surveys have ever measured in Morocco since 2007.

Notably, whereas 47 percent of Moroccans with a higher education say the current economic is good or very good, only 29 percent of those with at most a secondary education (18-points difference) say the same. Furthermore, 51 percent of those whose income can cover expenses view the current economic situation positively, compared to only 19 percent for those who cannot cover their expenses. Notably, over half of the citizens in the Beni Mellal-Khenifra region (53 percent) say the current economic situation is good, much higher than the national average, while citizens in the Oriental region tend to feel the economic crisis at a higher rate, with less than a quarter of them (23 percent) saying the current economic situation is good. These numbers reflect that not all Moroccans are feeling the effects of the economic pinch at the same level, and that actions to address the economy need to target those who are affected the most Arab Barometer – Wave VII Morocco Report

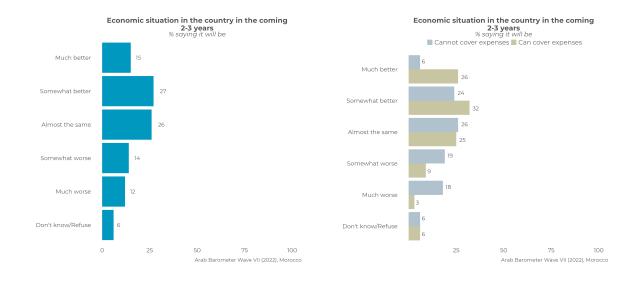
by the crises.



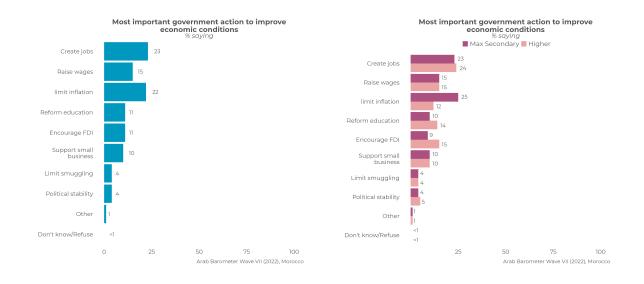
Another sign of the challenging economic situation is food security. Arab Barometer's 2022 survey reveals that 62 percent of Moroccans say they have often or sometimes worried they would run out of food before they get the money to buy more in the past 12 months, while 36 percent say that often or sometimes the food they bought did not last and they did not have the money to get more over the same period. Notably, citizens with a secondary education or less, those living in rural areas, and those whose income cannot cover expenses are more likely to suffer from food insecurity.



Although perceptions of the current economic situation are grim, Moroccans are still hopeful about the future of their country. A plurality (42 percent) believes that the economic situation will improve in the next 2 to 3 years, representing a 12-point increase from 2018. The percentages are even higher among wealthier Moroccans and those with a higher education. In addition, roughly half of citizens in the regions of Marrakech-Safi and Beni Mellal-Khenifra (49 percent) say that the economic situation in their country will be better in the coming few years, compared to 29 percent in Eddakhla Oued-Eddahab and 31 percent in Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima. These differences reflect that Moroccans are aware of the complex crises facing their country but are confident in its ability to emerge stronger.

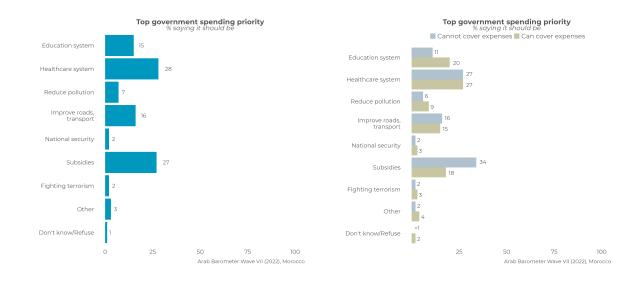


In order to do so, Moroccans are asking their government to create more job opportunities, lower the cost of living, and raise wages for existing jobs. The plurality of citizens (23 percent) says that creating more job opportunities is the most important action government can take to improve economic conditions, followed by 22 percent who want the government to lower the cost of living and 15 percent who want to see increased wages for existing jobs. Notably, socioeconomic status, education, and urbanicity are clear indicators of the differing priorities among citizens. Moroccans with at most a high-school degree (25 percent) are more than twice as likely as those with higher education (12 percent) to say the most important government action to improve the economy is lowering the cost of living. Similarly, while 15 percent of those who can cover expenses point to lowering the cost of living, 26 percent of those who cannot point to the same priority. In addition, 18 percent of urban citizens say lowering the cost of living should be the most important governmental action, while 27 percent of rural Moroccans say the same.



Finally, and in the midst of historic rises in fossil fuel products¹¹, 27 percent of Moroccans say the government should prioritize increasing subsidies in the next fiscal year. This priority is on par with calls to increase spending on healthcare (28 percent) but far ahead of calls to spend more on the education system (15 percent). Moroccans who struggle to cover their expenses (34 percent) are almost twice as likely to say subsidies should be the top government spending priority, compared to only 18 percent of those who can cover expenses. Notably, the Moroccan authorities have spent the last decade slashing subsidies that citizens relied on for decades and are trying to replace them with more direct support for the neediest families. This finding suggests that many Moroccans may want a reversal of these changes or that citizens see their reinstitution as a tangible step that could be taken to reverse the rising cost of living.

¹¹https://middle-east-online.com/en/fuel-prices-reach-all-time-highs-morocco

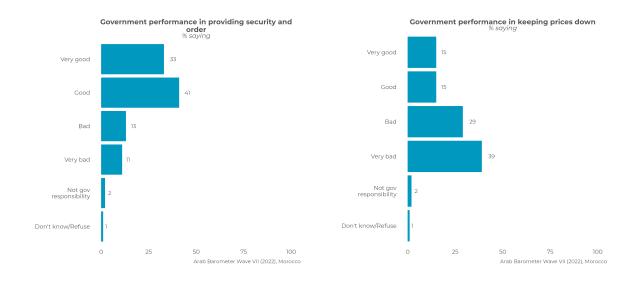


Government performance

To address challenges facing the country both during and before the COVID-19 pandemic, Moroccan authorities pursued a predominantly securitized approach to addressing challenges (including violent extremist threats), at times to the detriment of a developmental approach focusing on social and economic development.¹² Evaluations of this strategic choice is captured by Arab Barometer's seventh wave, which found that citizens are more satisfied with the state's performance in security provision than on the developmental front. Overall, three quarters of Moroccans (74 percent) say the government's performance in providing security and order is very good or good. The percentages are even higher among those with a higher education compared to those with at most a high school diploma (81 percent vs. 71 percent), those who can cover expenses compared to those who cannot (85 percent vs. 64 percent), and non-Amazigh speakers compared to Amazigh speakers (78 percent vs. 67 percent), most likely because of the harsh crackdown of authorities on social movements in the Rif and Atlas Mountains, both home to large Amazigh populations.¹³

¹²https://mipa.institute/7003

¹³https://www.reuters.com/article/us-morocco-rights/human-rights-in-morocco-deterioratein-2017-18-rights-group-idUSKCN1N65X4

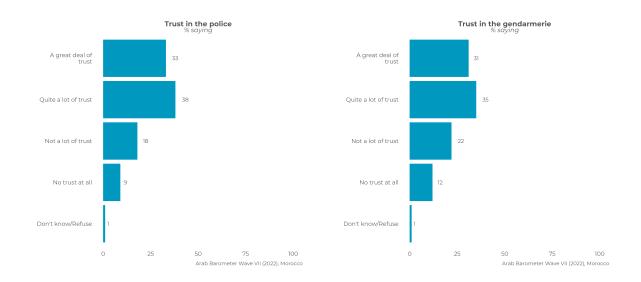


In contrast, fewer than 37 percent of Moroccans say the government is doing a good job in narrowing the gap between the rich and poor, while only threein-ten Moroccans say the same about limiting inflation. Wealthier and more educated Moroccans are more likely to think that the government is doing a good job on the developmental front. Among those who have a higher education degree, 43 percent think the government is doing a good job in narrowing the wealth gap, while 36 percent say the same about combating inflation. Similarly, roughly half of wealthier Moroccans (47 percent) rate the government's performance in narrowing the wealth gap positively, while about four-in-ten of them (37 percent) rate the government positively in limiting inflation. Interestingly, three quarters of citizens in the region of Beni Mellal-Khenifra approve of the government's job in keeping the prices down – higher than any other region.

The discrepancy between citizens' perceptions of the government's performance in national security on one side and development on the other is evident in the trust level that Moroccans assign to each of the state institutions and government agencies, although levels of trust have generally improved since 2018. Moroccan citizens exhibit broad trust in security agencies, probably because of the higher visibility of security agencies in the past decade in the media, especially the police.¹⁴ Overall, 77 percent of Moroccans have a great deal or quite a lot of trust in the armed forces, and the level of trust is slightly higher among wealthier citizens, non-Amazigh speakers, and more educated Moroccans. Additionally, 72 percent of Moroccans trust the police. The percentage of those

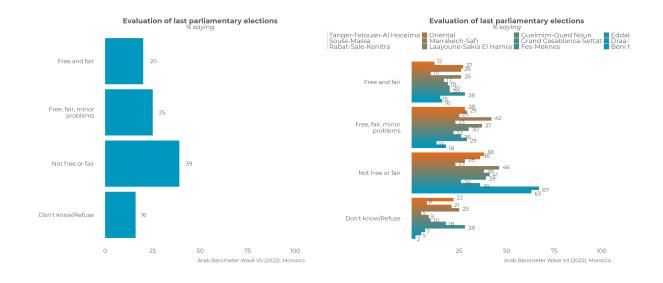
¹⁴https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2019/06/274854/jeune-afrique-portrait-moroccosupercop-abdellatif-hammouchi

who trust the police is higher among those with a university education (80 percent), those who can cover expenses (79 percent), and non-Amazigh speakers (77 percent). Similarly, 65 percent of Moroccan citizens trust the Royal Gendarmerie, with higher rates among wealthier and educated Moroccans (80 percent and 75 percent, respectively).



Notably, non-Amazigh speakers are 17-points more likely to trust the Royal Gendarmerie than Amazigh speakers (74 percent vs 57 percent); while those who identify as Arab are 12 points more likely to say they trust the gendarmerie (69 percent) compared to those who identify as Amazigh (57 percent). While the police operate in urban settings, the gendarmerie operates more in rural areas, which are more densely populated by citizens who identify as Amazigh.

Fewer than four-in-ten Moroccans have trust in the national government, parliament, and the prime minister, probably because many do not trust the electoral process in general. Overall, the plurality of Moroccans (39 percent) says the last parliamentary elections were not free and fair, compared to 20 percent who say they were free and fair, and 25 percent who say they were free and fair with minor problems. Strikingly, Moroccans who cannot cover expenses are roughly twice as likely to say that the elections were not free and fair as wealthier citizens (50 percent vs. 27 percent).



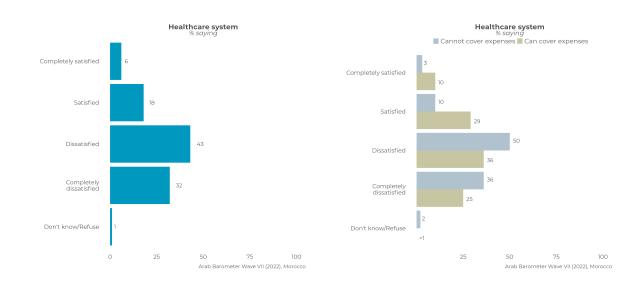
Overall, only 33 percent of citizens trust the parliament, representing a significant improvement since 2018 (+12 points). More educated and wealthier Moroccans are substantially more likely to say they trust the parliament (43 percent and 46 percent respectively). Equally low percentages have trust in the prime minister (34 percent), who was elected to office a year ago. Highly educated Moroccans are 10 points more likely to trust the prime minister compared to those with a secondary education or less (42 percent vs. 32 percent), while wealthier Moroccans are 25 points more likely to trust the prime minister compared to those who struggle to cover expenses (48 percent vs. 23 percent). In addition, fewer than three-in-ten (29 percent Amazigh speakers trust the prime minister, compared to 38 percent of non-Amazigh speakers.

Finally, 37 percent of citizens trust the national government, up from 29 percent in 2018. Wealthier Moroccans are more than twice as likely to trust the government (51 percent) as those who cannot cover expenses (25 percent), while those with a higher education are 14 points more likely to trust the government than those with at most a high school diploma (48 percent vs. 34 percent). Regionally, a small minority of citizens in the Oriental region trust the government (16 percent), which is far below the national average. Interestingly, Moroccans have more trust in regional (45 percent) and local governments (46 percent) than they do the national government. Moreover, these levels of trust are higher than any other MENA country surveyed by Arab Barometer in 2021-2022; most likely because of the proximity effect of the regional government and the prominence given to these levels by the advanced regionalization initiative. Wealthier Moroccans are more than 21 points more likely to trust the local government (58 percent vs. 37 percent) compared with those who cannot afford basic necessities, and almost twice as likely to trust the regional government (60 percent vs 33 percent).

To improve levels of trust in government institutions, many have suggested programs of political reform. Arab Barometer asked MENA citizens about political reforms in their country, including how they want to see them introduced. Overall, almost half of Moroccans (46 percent) say they want to see political reforms introduced all at once, compared to 43 percent who say they should be introduced little by little, while less than one-in-ten (8 percent) say they should not be introduced at all. While wealthier Moroccans (51 percent) are more likely to want political reforms introduced little by little, those who cannot cover expenses (53 percent) are much more likely to want reforms introduced all at once. Furthermore, Amazigh speakers are 14 points more likely to say they want political reforms introduced all at once, compared to non-Amazigh speakers (54 percent vs. 40 percent). The level of urgency described by citizens implies that the government may want to consider more dramatic reforms than have been taken to date, which could help increase levels of trust and confidence in the government.

Public services

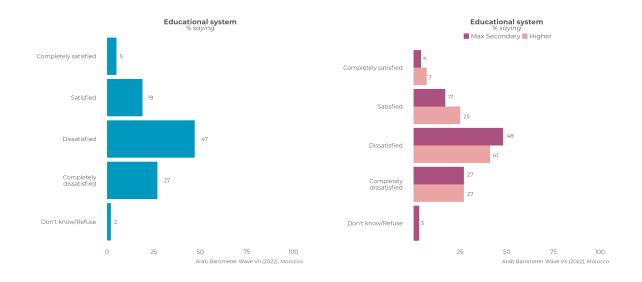
Relatively low levels of confidence in public institutions are underscored by levels of satisfaction with different public services, such as education, healthcare, quality of the streets, and trash collection. As Arab Barometer's previous waves highlighted, the level of satisfaction with the education and healthcare systems are lingering issues on which the government needs to focus. In 2022, only 23 percent of Moroccans are completely satisfied or satisfied with the healthcare system, which is below the MENA average, but slightly better than in 2018 (18 percent). In another example of the socioeconomic divide, the only demographic markers of note on this issue are levels of education and income. Whereas 38 percent of Moroccans with a higher education degree are satisfied with the healthcare system, only 18 percent of those with only a high school degree or less feel the same. In a bigger gap, 39 percent of higher income Moroccans are satisfied with the healthcare system, compared to only 12 percent of Moroccans whose income cannot cover expenses. Also, 26 percent of citizens who live in urban areas are satisfied, compared to 18 percent of those who live in rural areas. Additionally, 26 percent of those who identify as Arab are satisfied with the healthcare system, compared to only 16 percent of those who identify as Amazigh. Finally, fewer than 8 percent of citizens in the Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima are satisfied with the healthcare system, compared to roughly half of the citizens (48 percent) of the Eddakhla-Oued-Eddahab. These extreme differences in perceptions can be linked to citizens' access to quality healthcare: while poor and working-class Moroccans might rely on the public healthcare system which has a number of known weaknesses wealthier citizens use the



private healthcare system, which is more efficient, and is of a better quality.

When asked to specify the weaknesses of the healthcare system, the top reason listed is the lack of enough hospitals to provide adequate care, with 31 percent of Moroccans saying so, followed by 22 percent of Moroccans who say the biggest weakness of the healthcare system revealed by the COVID pandemic is the high costs of care. Notably, Moroccans who identify as Amazigh are 7 points more likely to say the lack of enough hospitals is the biggest weakness of the healthcare system compared to those who identify as Arab (36 percent vs. 29 percent). Accordingly, when asked about what the primary government spending priority should be, the healthcare system topped the list in Morocco at 28 percent. The percentages are even higher among older Moroccans, with 31 percent of those 30 or older saying healthcare should be the top priority, compared to 19 percent of those ages 18-29. In addition, while three-in-ten citizens with a high school diploma or less say healthcare, only two-in-ten citizens with a higher education say the same.

Similarly, Moroccan citizens are predominantly unsatisfied with the public education system, especially in the midst of drastic pressures that it came under during the pandemic. Only a quarter of Moroccan citizens are completely satisfied or satisfied with the education system. Again, citizens with a higher education are 10 points more likely to be satisfied with the education system compared to those with only a secondary degree or less (32 percent vs. 22 percent). Additionally, 35 percent of citizens whose income can cover expenses are satisfied with the education system, compared to only 17 percent of those who cannot cover expenses. This 18-point difference suggests a significant class divide in perceptions of education quality in the country. Strikingly, roughly onein-ten citizens in the Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima have positive views towards the educational system, much lower than the national average.

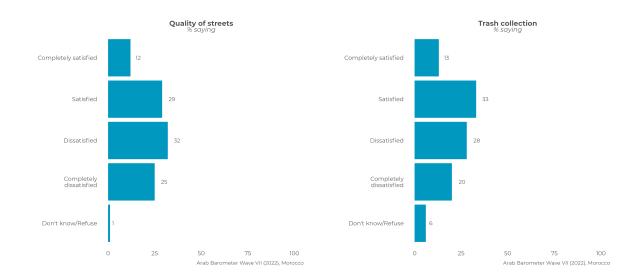


To fully understand why Moroccans are unsatisfied with the education system, Arab Barometer's seventh wave of surveys asked about the challenges facing students in classrooms, and the best ways the government can address the education crisis. There is significant variation in what citizens believe constitutes the biggest challenge facing children in schools in Morocco: 18 percent say overcrowding, 15 percent say lack of means of transportation, and 13 percent say each the outdated technology and the crumbling infrastructure. Citizens living in rural areas view transportation as more of a problem than those living in urban areas (23 percent vs. 10 percent), most likely because schools tend to be far from villages in rural areas and students often suffer from the lack of adequate transportation outside of urban centers. In contrast, outdated technology is viewed more of a challenge for those in cities compared to those living in rural areas (16 percent vs. 8 percent).

Similar trends are found in citizens' desired solutions to education challenges. When asked about the most important action to improve public education, the two most cited actions are to reduce class size (21 percent) and better train teachers (20 percent). Interestingly, there were wide differences based on urbanicity on this question as well, with citizens in rural areas wanting government to focus on rebuilding schools (19 percent vs. 11 percent) and citizens in cities supporting improving the technology in schools (18 percent vs. 10 percent), emphasizing the disparity on school structures between the rural and

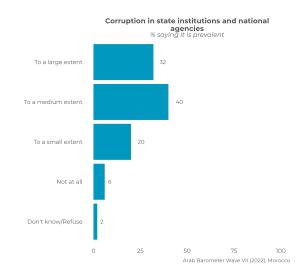
urban settings. Similarly, while three-in-ten citizens living in the Souss-Massa region point to overcrowding, only one-in-ten say the same in the Draa-Tafilelt region. Additionally, roughly two-in-ten citizens in the regions of Marrakech-Safi (19 percent) and Beni Mellal-Khenifra (18 percent) say overcrowding is the biggest challenge faced by children in school.

Although majorities are unsatisfied with the quality of the streets and trash collection in Morocco, the degree of satisfaction with these services is higher than satisfaction with public education. Overall, similar shares of Moroccans are completely satisfied or satisfied with each the quality of streets (41 percent) and with trash collection services (45 percent). Continuing the general trend, differences in views of the quality of the streets and trash collection pervade differences in education levels, socioeconomic status, and urbanity. While 54 percent of citizens with a higher education degree are satisfied with the quality of the streets, only 37 percent of those with at most a high school diploma. Similarly, 54 percent of higher degree holders are satisfied with trash collection compared to 43 percent of those with only a secondary education or less. Additionally, 59 percent of Moroccans with incomes that can cover expenses are satisfied with the quality of the streets compared to only 29 percent of those who cannot cover expenses, while 58 percent of Moroccans who can cover expenses are satisfied with trash collection compared to 37 percent of those who cannot cover expenses. Finally, 48 percent of Moroccans who live in urban areas are satisfied with the quality of the streets (mostly paved in cities), compared to only 30 percent of those living in rural areas, where most roads inside villages are unpaved, and main roads are unsatisfactory.

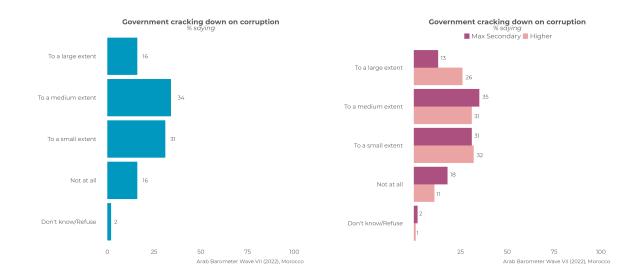


Corruption

Corruption is an important factor impacting the quality of social services provision and can hinder trust in public institutions. Arab Barometer continues to ask MENA citizens on their perceptions of the prevalence of corruption within state institutions, and more than seven-in-ten Moroccans (72 percent) say that corruption is prevalent in state institutions and national agencies, similar to the 2018 survey (71 percent). Perceptions of corruption are not held equally, with socioeconomic factors being the most important demographic difference. Moroccans with a higher education (67 percent) are 7 points less likely to acknowledge corruption compared to those with a high school diploma or less (74 percent). Moreover, 69 percent of women say that corruption is prevalent, compared to 75 percent among men. In a more striking gap, Moroccans who cannot cover expenses (81 percent) are 20 points more likely to say that corruption is prevalent in state institutions and national agencies compared to those who can cover expenses (61 percent).



Additionally, Arab Barometer asked citizens about their perceptions towards their government's efforts to tackle corruption within state institutions and national agencies. Overall, half of citizens in Morocco say that the government is cracking down on corruption to a large or a medium extent, and the percentages are even higher among older Moroccans, those with a high school diploma, and those who cannot cover expenses. Whereas half of citizens 30 years and older (51 percent) say the government is cracking down on corruption, 42 percent of those ages 18-29 say the same. Those living in cities are 8 points more likely to say the government is working to combat corruption compared to those living in rural areas (50 percent vs 43 percent). As before, perceptions of Moroccans towards many issues can best be viewed through the lens of education and socioeconomic status. Roughly half of Moroccans (52 percent) with a higher education see the government doing a good job cracking down on corruption, compared 46 percent of those with a high school diploma or less who say the same. Meanwhile, four-in-ten Moroccans who cannot cover expenses say the government is cracking down on corruption to a great or medium extent, compared to nearly six-in-ten of those who can cover expenses.



These perceptions could be the result of aspirational thinking by both groups: Research conducted by Transparency International suggests that the poor most often bear the brunt of bribe requests.¹⁵ ¹⁶ As such, wealthier Moroccans, who are less likely to have suffered the ramifications of rampant corruption, may consequently perceive it is not as prevalent because the government is doing a good job cracking down on it. In contrast, poor and working-class Moroccans are more likely to suffer the results of corruption, therefore more likely to say that it is prevalent, and that the government is not doing a good job tackling it.

In another sign of Moroccans' disparate perceptions of national and governorate levels, citizens view the governorate level as less corrupt than the national level. When asked about the level of pervasiveness of corruption at the governorate level, four-in-ten Moroccans say hardly anyone or not a lot of officials are corrupt,

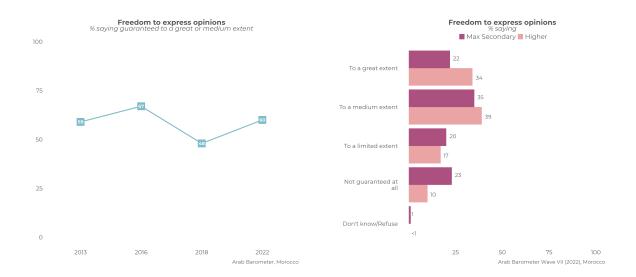
¹⁵https://www.transparency.org/en/press/20071205-poor-families-hit-hardest-by-bribery-even-in-rich-countries-finds

¹⁶https://www.transparency.org/en/blog/morocco-glaring-gaps-revealed-by-themanagement-of-the-coronavirus-pandemic

the highest among all MENA countries surveyed. Notably, those with a higher education are 11 points more likely to agree with this statement than those with a high school diploma or less (48 percent vs. 37 percent). Meanwhile, citizens who can cover expenses are twice more likely to think that hardly anyone or not a lot of officials are corrupt at the governorate level, compared to those who cannot cover expenses (56 percent vs. 28 percent).

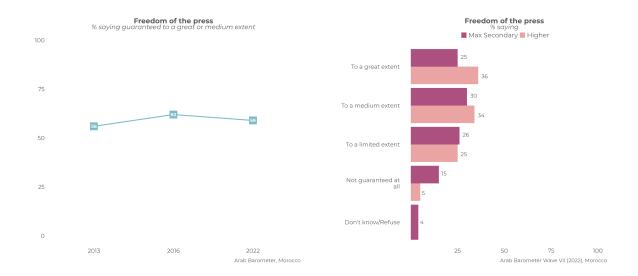
Freedoms & Democracy

Basic freedoms play a critical role in allowing for a free and open dialogue between the government and its citizens. Arab Barometer's seventh wave of surveys found an improvement in Moroccans' perceptions of the degree to which their freedoms are guaranteed. But at the same time, the latest data show clear signs of democratic backsliding. Despite the tight restrictions imposed by the Moroccan authorities to combat the COVID-19 pandemic, majorities of citizens say that basic freedoms are guaranteed in the country. Overall, six-in-ten citizens say that freedom to express opinions is guaranteed to a great or medium extent, up by 12-points since 2018. Notably, citizens with a higher education (72 percent) are much more likely to say that freedom of expression is guaranteed than those with at most a secondary education (56 percent). Additionally, seven-in-ten Moroccans who can cover expenses agree that freedom to express opinions is guaranteed, compared to half of citizens who cannot cover expenses. Finally, roughly two-thirds of non-Amazigh speakers say that freedom of expression is guaranteed, compared to half of Amazigh speakers.



Similarly, six-in-ten Moroccans (59 percent) say that freedom of the press is guaranteed, which is similar to the level in the 2018 survey (62 percent). Educated and wealthier citizens have a different outlook on this issue as well. While 70 percent of those with higher education say that freedom of the press is guaranteed, 55 percent of those with at most a high school diploma say the same. Also, 65 percent of citizens who can cover expenses, compared to just 53 percent of citizens who cannot, say freedom of the press is guaranteed.

Finally, fewer than half of all citizens (45 percent) say that freedom to participate in peaceful protests and demonstrations is guaranteed. This is most likely the result of the limitations that the government has put in place against large gatherings in the context of the pandemic but that remained in effect well after COVID-19 cases had subsided. High-profile sectorial protests were put down by the authorities.¹⁷ ¹⁸ Unsurprisingly, the largest difference in perceptions of freedom of demonstration is between those with a higher education (57 percent) and those with only a secondary education or less (41 percent).



While perceptions about freedoms have gotten better since the 2018 Arab Barometer fifth wave of surveys, perceptions of democracy have been in decline. Today, Moroccans are more likely to judge democracy by economic performance, and the provision of security and stability than the procedural aspects of democracy such as free and fair elections and the roles of the opposition.

¹⁷https://english.alaraby.co.uk/news/moroccan-police-use-violence-disperse-protesting-teachers

¹⁸https://www.ei-ie.org/en/item/23722:morocco-strikes-and-demonstrations-demandbetter-conditions-for-contract-teachers

For instance, more than four-in-ten Moroccans think that under a democratic system, the country's economic performance is weak, and the percentages are even higher among those 30 years and older (46 percent), those with a higher education (45 percent), and those who can cover expenses (48 percent). The percentage of Moroccans who agree with this statement has increased significantly from just nine percent in 2016.

Similarly, four-in-ten citizens say that democratic regimes are indecisive and full of problems, but with no meaningful differences across demographic differences. However, the number of Moroccans who agree with this statement has increased dramatically since 2018, when only 14 percent agreed. Results are slightly different for the perception that democratic systems are not effective at maintaining order and stability, with 34 percent of citizens agreeing with the statement. Citizens who are ages 30 and older are 8 points more likely to agree with this statement than those ages 18-29 (36 percent vs. 28 percent), while those who can cover expenses (30 percent) are 9 points less likely to agree than those who cannot (39 percent).

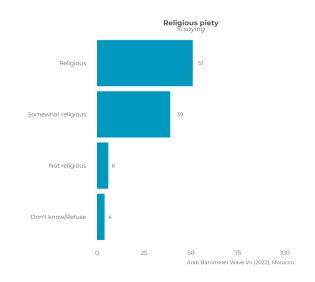
It is worth noting that although Moroccans have growing concerns about the ability of democracy to deliver economic and security outcomes, they still view democratic systems as much better than any other system. When asked about their perception of the statement "democratic systems might have problems, but they are better than other systems," more than half of the citizens (54 percent) say they agree or strongly agree, with significant differences in terms of age, education, and socioeconomic status. Just over six-in-ten citizens ages 18-29 hold this view, compared to half of those 30 and older. Also, roughly two thirds of those with a higher education agree with the statement, compared to half of those with the statement, compared to half of those who can cover expenses hold this view, compared to 48 percent of those who cannot. These results suggest that education and economic stability can greatly expand democratic values among citizens.

Religion

Evidence suggests that during times of crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, many people exhibit increased levels of spiritual engagement.¹⁹ Morocco is no exception to this rule. Compared to the fifth wave of Arab Barometer surveys conducted in 2018, levels of religiosity in Morocco have increased. Today, just six percent of Moroccans said they are not religious, compared with 13 percent in 2018. The percentage of those saying they are not religious has decreased among different demographic groups, but especially among the youth.

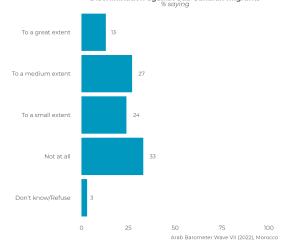
¹⁹https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC8557987/

In 2018, 22 percent of Moroccans ages 18-29 said they are not religious. Today, only ten percent of youth say the same. In addition, over six-in-ten Moroccans say they pray daily (64 percent), while a fifth of citizens say they listen to the Quran daily.



Racism & Discrimination

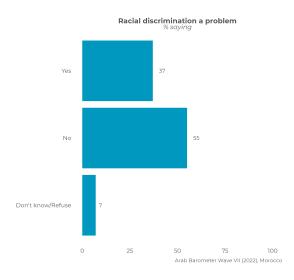
Morocco is undergoing a major shift in the patterns of migration. The country is changing from a country of emigration to a country of residence to many immigrants from different regions, but mainly from sub-Saharan Africa. Overall, four-in-ten Moroccans recognize the presence of discrimination against sub-Saharan African migrants to a great or medium extent, but views differ drastically by regions. At least six-in-ten citizens in the regions of Laayoune-Sakia El Hamra (66 percent), Souss-Massa (61 percent), and Oriental (62 percent) say there is discrimination against sub-Saharan migrants in the country, compared to fewer than four-in-ten citizens in the regions of Marrakech-Safi and Grand Casablanca-Settat (39 percent each), Beni Mellal-Khenifra (36 percent), Draa-Tafilalet and Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima (35 percent), and a third of citizens in the regions of Fes-Meknes and Eddakhla-Oued Eddahab.



Discrimination against Sub-Saharan migrants

Similarly, more than a third of Moroccans (37 percent) stated that racial discrimination is a problem in their country. Notably, educated and wealthier Moroccans are less likely to think racial discrimination is a problem in their country. Three-in-ten Moroccans with a higher education say that racial discrimination is a problem in the country, compared to four-in-ten of those with at most a high school diploma who say the same. More significantly, 45 percent of Moroccans who cannot cover expenses state that racial discrimination is a problem, compared to 29 percent of those who can cover expenses. This might be because sub-Saharan migrants tend to live in working-class neighborhoods, as opposed to wealthier neighborhoods where richer and more educated Moroccans live. Additionally, more than three quarters of citizens living in the Oriental region say that racial discrimination is a problem, most likely because of the high concentration of a large number of sub-Saharan migrants in the region, especially close to the city of Nador.²⁰

²⁰https://www.npr.org/2022/11/17/1134823910/nador-morocco-spain-migrationimmigrants

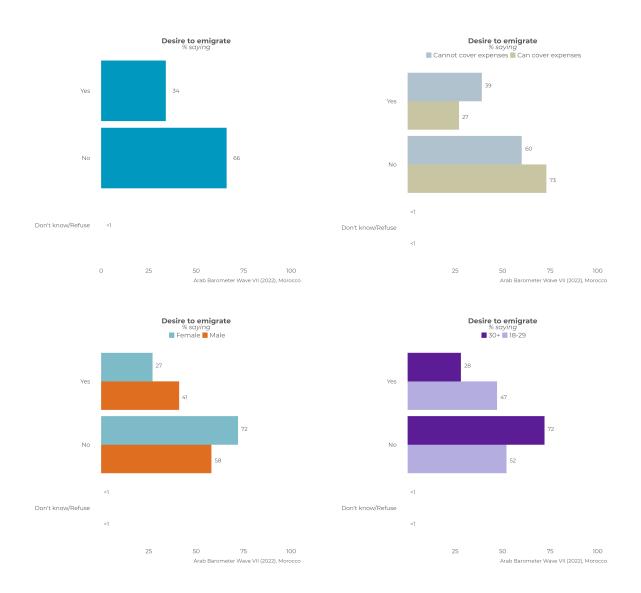


Arab Barometer's seventh wave of surveys did not only ask about citizens' perceptions of racial discrimination in their country, but also about personal experiences of discrimination. Overall, 11 percent of Moroccans say they have had someone use a racist or discriminatory phrase against them many times. the highest among all countries surveyed. Wealthier Moroccans are less likely to say they have been victims of slurs, with only seven percent of them saying so, compared to 15 percent of those who cannot cover expenses. The citizens of the Marrakech region are the most likely to say they have faced discrimination many times, with roughly two-in-ten citizens (18 percent) saying so. Also, about a guarter of Moroccans say they have faced personal discrimination once or twice, which is also more than in any other country surveyed. Again, the only key demographic differences are socioeconomic, with 17 percent of those who can cover expenses saying they faced personal discrimination once or twice, compared to 28 percent of those who cannot. Additionally, a third of Moroccans (34 percent) say that they had someone use a racist or discriminatory phrase against them at least once, higher than in any other country surveyed in the seventh wave. Those whose income can cover expenses are much less likely to have had someone use a racist or discriminatory phrase against them. A guarter of Moroccans (24 percent) who can cover expenses said they went through a discriminatory incident, compared to more than four-in-ten (43 percent) of those who cannot cover expenses.

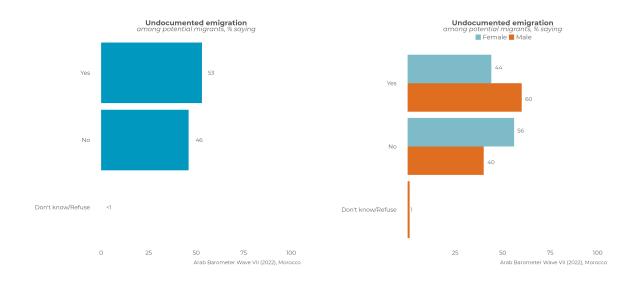
Migration

The impact of the dire economic conditions in many surveyed countries can be felt in the desire to migrate among its citizens. But, in Morocco, the number of

people who have thought about emigrating fell from 44 percent in 2018 to 34 percent this year. The main reasons cited by Moroccans who have considered emigrating are economic reasons (66 percent) and educational aspirations (19 percent). Here again, aspirations to migrate are not held equally among Moroccans: Youth ages 18-29 are much more likely to consider migration compared to those ages 30 and older (47 percent vs. 28 percent). Also, and in a potential sign of brain drain, 40 percent of Moroccans with a higher education say they want to migrate, compared to 32 percent of those who have at most a maximum secondary education. Moroccan men are also much more likely to consider migration, with 41 percent of them saying they have thought about migration, compared to 27 percent of women. Furthermore, socioeconomic status is once more a telling sign of differing views among Moroccans, with 39 percent of those whose income cannot cover expenses stating they are considering migration, compared to 27 percent for those whose income does cover their monthly expenses. Finally, citizens living in the Laavoune-Sakia El Hamra and Draa-Tafilelt regions are much less likely to consider migration than the national average (22 percent and 16 percent), compared to those living in the Oriental region and Tanger-Tetouan-Al Hoceima (42 percent and 44 percent respectively), higher than the national average.



Morocco is the only country surveyed where more than half (53 percent) of potential migrants say they would do so without the required documents, and the rate is even higher among men (60 percent); those living in rural areas (61 percent); and those with a high school diploma or less (58 percent). Interestingly, potential emigrants who identify as Amazigh (61 percent) are more likely than those who identify as Arab (51 percent) to do so. This might be explained by the level of desperation that these groups feel; but it can also be due to the "relative ease" of undocumented migration from Morocco compared to many other MENA countries, only because of the extreme proximity to many countries of migration preferred by Moroccans, especially Western European countries (France), and the presence of an extremely large community of Moroccans in Western Europe.



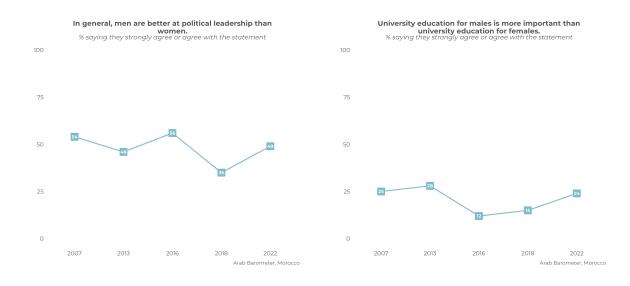
Among European destination countries, Spain is favored, with 25 percent of citizens saying their preferred destination, followed by Italy (24 percent), France (22 percent), and Germany (19 percent). Interestingly, 21 percent of potential Moroccan emigrants say Canada is their most preferred destination country, as thousands of Moroccans have migrated to the French-speaking region of Quebec in Canada, where it is easier for them to integrate, thanks to the shared French language, and the ever-growing community of North-Africans in Quebec.²¹ Another interesting observation is the geographic divide in the preferred countries of migration: of the Moroccans who thought about migration, Spain and Italy are preferred more by people who live in rural areas, most likely because of the prevalence of agricultural job opportunities in those countries; compared to Germany, the United States, and Canada which are preferred more by people living in cities, most likely because of people's perceptions that you need a different set of skills to succeed in those countries.

Gender Issues

The pandemic had an effect on gender relations across the world, including the MENA region. However, although Arab Barometer's seventh wave of surveys has captured a decline in the number of people who agree with the statement "men are better at political leadership than women" in several countries, Morocco is an exception. In 2018, 35 percent of Moroccans said that men are better at political leadership than women, but the share increased by 14 points

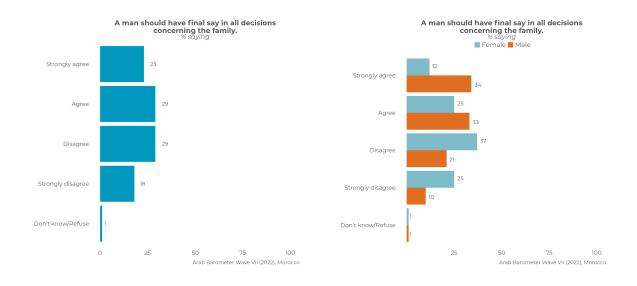
²¹https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/for-north-africans-montreal-offers-a-level-of-acceptance-that-paris-does-not/article20430012/

to 49 percent in 2022. The percentages are significantly higher among older, rural-dwelling, and less educated citizens than their counterparts. Notably, men are almost twice as likely to agree with the statement than women (63 percent vs. 36 percent). This might be linked to the timing of the survey, when a newly appointed minister of health was sacked from her position only a week after she assumed the office.²² Another sign of backsliding is on the question of gender equality in education. Today, a quarter of Moroccans say that university education is more important for men than women, up from 15 percent in 2018 and from an all-time low of 12 percent in 2016. Interestingly, fewer than one-in-five women agree with the statement, compared to three-in-ten men.

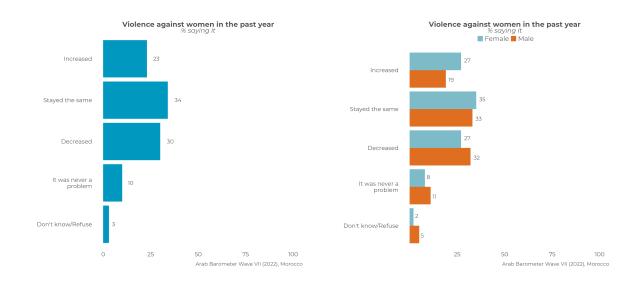


In addition to public life, the latest Arab Barometer surveys asked about gender relations at home. First, Moroccans were asked if they agree that a man should have the final say on all decisions concerning the family, and over half of citizens (52 percent) strongly agree or agree with the statement, a six-point increase since 2018. Strikingly, Moroccan men are 30 points more likely to say that a man should have the final say at home compared to women (67 percent vs. 37 percent).

²²https://fr.hespress.com/228580-cumul-des-fonctions-nabila-rmili-fait-face-a-des-actions-degagistes-a-casablanca.html

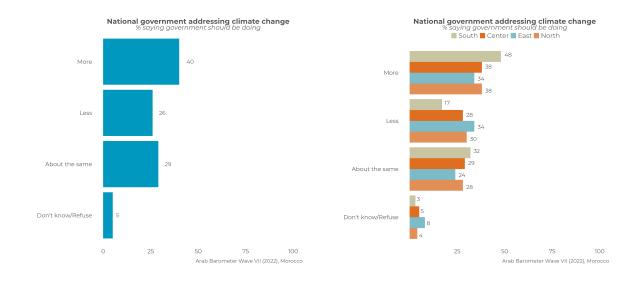


Second, Arab Barometer asked Moroccans about different tasks within the householdhelping children study, budgeting for the householdand who should be responsible for them. Moroccans are more likely to say that helping children study is an equal responsibility for both heads of the household, while they are more likely to say that men should be responsible for budgeting and spending for the household needs. Finally, only a minority of Moroccans (23 percent) say that violence against women has increased in the past year, with an 8-percentage point difference between men (19 percent) and women (27 percent).



Environment

According to the World Bank, and "due to a combination of political, geographic, and social factors, Morocco is recognized as vulnerable to climate change impacts."²³ But this vulnerability is not perceived equally by Moroccans. Indeed, Moroccans appear more preoccupied by environmental challenges that impact their daily lives, such as the pollution of drinking water and scarcity of water resources, rather than by more complex or abstract environmental issues like "climate change." Overall, four-in-ten Moroccans say that the government should be doing more to address climate change. The percentages are even higher among those with higher education (56 percent), citizens living in urban areas (44 percent), and citizens living in the south of the country (48 percent), most likely because the southern part of Morocco is more threatened by desertification.²⁴

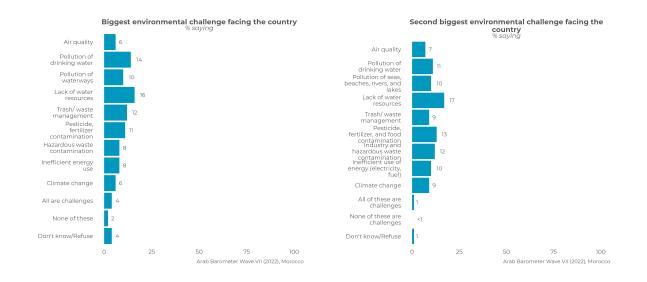


The pollution of drinking water (16 percent) and the lack of water resources (14 percent) top the lists of biggest and second biggest environmental challenges facing Morocco. The water situation has likely only become more dire after the survey was completed because of the severe drought plaguing the country in 2022.²⁵ Other threats that are cited in Morocco are also linked to the daily lives of regular Moroccans, such the pollution of waterways and contamination with agricultural or industrial chemicals.

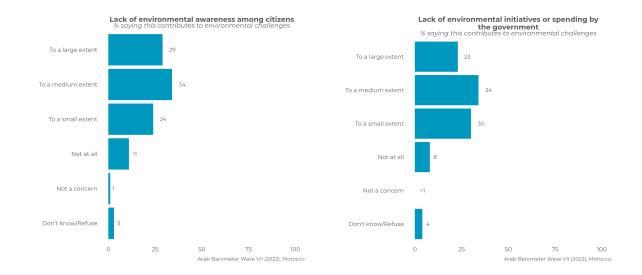
²³https://climateknowledgeportal.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/2021-09/15725-WB_Morocco Country Profile-WEB.pdf

²⁴https://www.greenbiz.com/article/saharan-oases-struggle-climate-change-takes-toll

²⁵https://www.voanews.com/a/drought-tightens-its-grip-on-morocco/6700790.html

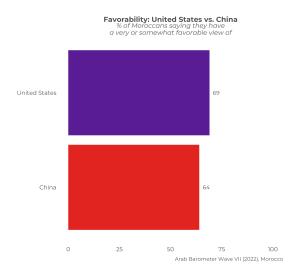


Moroccan citizens assign the same level of blame to the government and to citizens in exacerbating environmental challenges. While 57 percent of citizens believe that the lack of environmental initiatives or spending by the government contributes to environmental challenges to a great or medium extent, 62 percent say the same about the lack of awareness among citizens. This shows that the solution to climate change is going to take a combined societal and governmental effort to overcome the complex climatic challenges facing Morocco.



International Relations

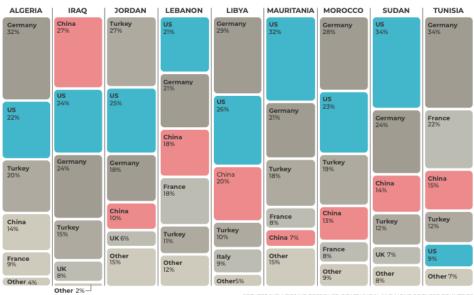
Unlike most countries in the MENA region, Moroccans have a stronger preference for the United States (69 percent) than China (64 percent). This is most likely the result of the strengthening ties between the U.S. and Morocco over the past few years, culminating in the U.S. recognition of Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara, a critically strategic issue for Moroccans. Notably, youth in Morocco tend to look more favorably on the United States compared with people ages 30 or older by 11 percentage points (77 percent vs. 66 percent). Meanwhile, youth (64 percent) and older Moroccans (67 percent) hold equally favorable views of China. This finding may be a result of youth being more exposed and connected to American than Chinese culture. Notably, only a third of citizens in the Draa-Tafilalet view the United States favorably, compared to roughly nine-in-ten citizens (87 percent) in the Oriental region.



Another sign of the growing support for the US in Morocco is how Moroccan citizens perceive American citizens irrespective of their government's foreign policy. Roughly three-quarters of Moroccans say they have a very good or good view of American citizens, a 9-point increase since 2018.

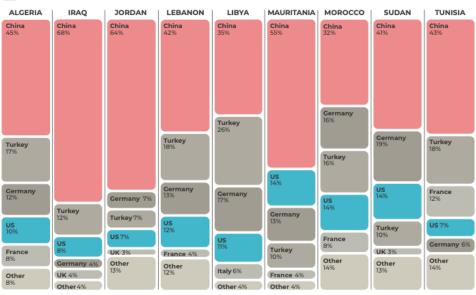
Economically, Moroccans are more inclined to want closer economic ties with the United States than with China. Overall, 42 percent of Moroccans say they want closer economic relations with the United States, compared to 36 percent who say the same for China.

It appears that although China tends to highlight economic relations as grounding its diplomacy, the Chinese economic model has not been overly effective at winning the hearts and minds of Moroccans. Arab Barometer's seventh wave posed a hypothetical scenario about an infrastructure project being built in Morocco and then asked citizens a series of questions about which country would perform best or worst in various aspects of the contract. In Morocco, nearly a quarter of citizens (23 percent) prefer an American company to build the project, second only to Germany (28 percent). Only 13 percent of Moroccans say the same thing about a Chinese company. The brand of China is more associated with cheap and low quality. China tops the list for the country that will build the lowest quality project in all countries surveyed, including Morocco (32 percent). In addition, China is at the top of the list for the country of origin of the company that will build the project with the lowest cost in all countries surveyed, including more than four-in-ten Moroccans.



PREFERRED COUNTRY TO GET THE CONTRACT FROM

"OTHER" INCLUDES NO RESPONSE, DON'T KNOW, AND NONE OF THESE COUNTRIES ARAB BAROMETER WAVE 7, 2021-2022

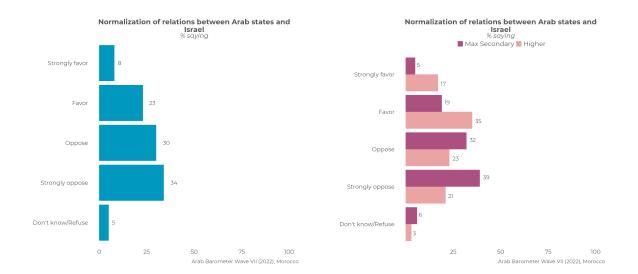


COUNTRY THAT WOULD BUILD THE LOWEST QUALITY

"OTHER" INCLUDES NO RESPONSE, DON'T KNOW, AND NONE OF THESE COUNTRIES ARAB BAROMETER WAVE 7, 2021-2022

Normalization of relations with Israel

Moroccans' greater favorability towards the United States is partially linked to the U.S. recognition of Moroccan sovereignty over Western Sahara,²⁶ a deal that also entailed normalization of relations between Morocco and Israel, of which Moroccans are not very fond. Arab Barometer asked citizens in Morocco about their views on the normalization between their country and Israel, only a third of Moroccans said they favor (25 percent) or strongly favor (7 percent) normalization of relations between Morocco and Israel. Notably, younger, more educated, and wealthier Moroccans are more likely to support normalization. About four-in-ten citizens ages 18-29 support normalization, compared to three-inten among those 30 years or older. Also, while 41 percent of wealthier citizens support normalization, only 25 percent of those who cannot cover expenses say the same. Finally, those with a higher education are more than twice as likely to support normalization compared to those with only a high school diploma or less (53 percent vs. 25 percent).

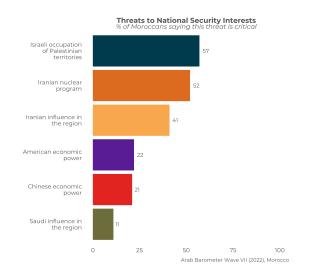


Iranian influence

Many in Morocco accuse Iran of meddling in Moroccan affairs by providing support to the Polisario front, a separatist group fighting for the independence of

²⁶https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/presidential-actions/proclamation-recognizing-sovereignty-kingdom-morocco-western-sahara/

Western Sahara.²⁷ When asked about the perceived threats to Morocco's national security, about half of Moroccans (52 percent) say the Iranian nuclear program poses a critical threat, a share of citizens second only to that saying the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories is critical to national security (57 percent). The citizens of the Southern regions might be more skeptical of Iran and its influence in the region because of what Morocco claims as its support to the Polisario front, and potentially arming them with drones similar to the ones it sent to Russia.²⁸



In addition, four-In-ten Moroccans (41 percent) say that the Iranian influence in the region is a threat to national security. Here again, there is a large discrepancy around regions, with half of citizens saying Iran's political influence in the region is critical in the regions of Rabat-Sale-Kenitra (52 percent) and Souss-Massa (51 percent), compared to only 16 percent in the region of the Oriental.

Regional powers

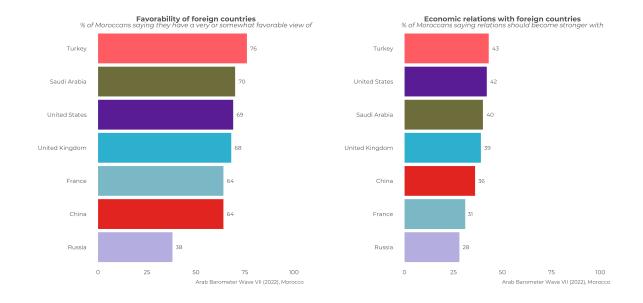
In the context of the regional power struggle between different allies one led by Saudi Arabia/UAE, the second led by Turkey/Qatar, and the third led by Iran and its proxies, and Morocco's skepticism towards Iran's role in the region, it is

²⁷https://mei.edu/publications/morocco-cuts-ties-tehran-accusing-iran-and-hezbollah-arming-polisario-front

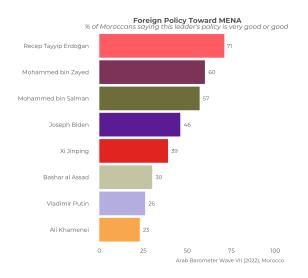
²⁸https://atalayar.com/en/content/morocco-warns-iran-and-hezbollahs-influence-maghreb-through-polisario

²⁹https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-9-2022-003422_EN.html

not surprising to find Moroccans more favorable of the two first poles than they do the third. Moroccans remain very favorable toward Turkey (76 percent), with educated and wealthier Moroccans having slightly more positive views towards the country. The second most favored regional power by Moroccans is Saudi Arabia, a traditional ally of the Kingdom. Overall, seven-in-ten citizens have favorable views towards the Saudi Kingdom, and the numbers are even higher among Moroccans ages 30 and older (72 percent). Additionally, at least fourin-ten Moroccans said they want stronger relations with Turkey (43 percent) and Saudi Arabia (40 percent).



Arab Barometer also asked about leaders representing each of the three poles: Turkish President Erdogan, Saudi Crown Prince bin Salman, newly appointed President of the UAE Bin Zayed, and Iranian Supreme leader Khamenei. Overall, Moroccans are most favorable towards Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan, whose favorability increased to 71 percent in 2022 from 60 percent in 2018. Slightly higher shares of more educated and wealthier Moroccans favor Erdogan. Interestingly, fewer than six-in-ten in the region of Beni Mellal-Khenifra (57 percent) favor Erdogan, while three quarters of citizens (74 percent) of citizens of the Oriental region favor him. Additionally, six-in-ten Moroccans hold favorable towards Mohamed Bin Zayed. Educated and wealthier Moroccans and those living in rural areas are more favorable towards Bin Zayed. Also, more than half of citizens in Morocco (57 percent) favor Mohamed Bin Salman's policy toward MENA, with women being slightly more favorable towards Bin Salman.

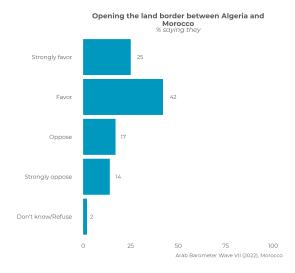


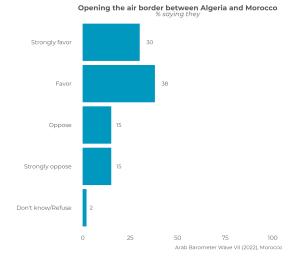
Opening borders with Algeria

In the midst of the diplomatic tensions between Algeria and Morocco, the countries have cut all diplomatic relations and closed the borders between the two countries including commercial flights.³⁰ However, Arab Barometer data makes clear that ordinary Moroccans do not favor this arrangement. A large majority of Moroccans (67 percent) say they are in favor of opening the land border between Morocco and Algeria, which was closed in 1994. Similar shares (68 percent) favor opening the air borders between the two countries. Moroccans who are 30 years or older and those living in the northern region of the country are slightly more likely to support opening the land borders are much more likely to favor their reopening. A clear majority (90 percent) of citizens who live in the Oriental region bordering Algeria favor opening the land border, while 94 percent of them support opening the air borders between the two neighboring countries.

³⁰https://www.reuters.com/world/algeria-says-cutting-diplomatic-ties-with-morocco-2021-08-24/

Arab Barometer – Wave VII Morocco Report







ABOUT ARAB BAROMETER

Arab Barometer is a nonpartisan research network that provides insight into the social, political, and economic attitudes and values of ordinary citizens across the Arab world.

We have been conducting rigorous, and nationally representative public opinion surveys on probability samples of the adult populations across the Arab world since 2006 across 15 countries.

We are the longest-standing and the largest repository of publicly available data on the views of men and women in the MENA region. Our findings give a voice to the needs and concerns of Arab publics.





