

World
Watch
Research

Morocco: Full Country Dossier

January 2022



OpenDoors

Serving persecuted **Christians** worldwide

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Man from Morocco (c) IMB

Introduction

World Watch List 2022

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021	Total Score WWL 2020	Total Score WWL 2019	Total Score WWL 2018
1	Afghanistan	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	15.0	98	94	93	94	93
2	North Korea	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7	13.1	96	94	94	94	94
3	Somalia	16.5	16.7	16.6	16.6	16.6	8.5	91	92	92	91	91
4	Libya	15.6	15.5	15.9	16.2	16.3	11.5	91	92	90	87	86
5	Yemen	16.7	16.6	16.5	16.7	16.7	5.2	88	87	85	86	85
6	Eritrea	14.6	14.9	15.5	15.9	15.6	11.1	88	88	87	86	86
7	Nigeria	13.8	13.8	14.3	14.5	14.4	16.7	87	85	80	80	77
8	Pakistan	13.6	14.0	15.1	14.9	13.1	16.7	87	88	88	87	86
9	Iran	14.5	14.6	13.6	15.8	16.5	10.4	85	86	85	85	85
10	India	12.7	12.7	12.9	14.7	13.3	15.6	82	83	83	83	81
11	Saudi Arabia	15.1	15.1	15.0	15.9	16.7	3.1	81	78	79	77	79
12	Myanmar	12.4	11.5	13.8	13.4	13.1	14.8	79	74	73	71	65
13	Sudan	13.4	13.4	14.3	13.6	15.7	8.5	79	79	85	87	87
14	Iraq	14.0	14.6	14.0	14.8	13.9	6.9	78	82	76	79	86
15	Syria	12.9	13.8	13.5	14.3	13.9	9.3	78	81	82	82	76
16	Maldives	15.4	15.3	13.7	15.8	16.5	0.4	77	77	78	78	78
17	China	12.6	9.8	12.2	14.4	15.5	11.1	76	74	70	65	57
18	Qatar	14.2	14.1	11.1	13.0	14.3	7.2	74	67	66	62	63
19	Vietnam	11.3	9.7	12.7	14.1	14.5	8.7	71	72	72	70	69
20	Egypt	12.7	13.2	11.5	12.7	10.8	10.0	71	75	76	76	70
21	Uzbekistan	14.9	12.7	14.1	11.8	15.6	1.7	71	71	73	74	73
22	Algeria	14.0	14.0	11.1	13.4	14.1	4.1	71	70	73	70	58
23	Mauritania	14.3	13.9	13.1	14.0	14.1	0.9	70	71	68	67	57
24	Mali	9.4	8.2	13.9	10.3	12.8	15.0	70	67	66	68	59
25	Turkmenistan	14.5	11.3	13.6	13.3	15.7	0.6	69	70	70	69	68
26	Laos	12.0	10.3	13.2	13.3	14.1	5.9	69	71	72	71	67
27	Morocco	13.1	13.8	10.8	12.8	14.2	3.9	69	67	66	63	51
28	Indonesia	11.3	11.5	11.5	11.0	9.6	13.5	68	63	60	65	59
29	Bangladesh	11.8	10.7	12.9	11.3	10.2	11.3	68	67	63	58	58
30	Colombia	11.5	8.8	13.1	11.0	9.9	13.3	68	67	62	58	56
31	CAR	9.0	8.6	13.6	9.6	11.4	15.6	68	66	68	70	61
32	Burkina Faso	9.4	9.7	12.0	9.6	12.1	14.8	68	67	66	48	-
33	Niger	9.4	9.5	13.9	7.2	12.8	14.8	68	62	60	52	45
34	Bhutan	13.4	12.4	11.7	13.7	13.8	1.7	67	64	61	64	62
35	Tunisia	11.9	12.7	10.6	11.3	13.4	6.5	66	67	64	63	62
36	Oman	13.8	14.0	10.3	13.2	13.4	1.5	66	63	62	59	57
37	Cuba	12.3	8.1	12.6	13.2	14.0	5.9	66	62	52	49	49
38	Ethiopia	9.9	10.3	13.1	10.3	12.3	9.8	66	65	63	65	62
39	Jordan	12.9	14.0	11.0	12.3	12.5	3.0	66	64	64	65	66
40	DRC	8.0	7.9	12.6	9.7	12.0	15.6	66	64	56	55	33
41	Mozambique	9.3	8.5	11.3	7.9	12.5	15.6	65	63	43	43	-
42	Turkey	12.6	11.5	11.4	13.2	11.6	4.6	65	69	63	66	62
43	Mexico	10.3	8.3	12.5	10.8	10.3	12.6	65	64	60	61	59
44	Cameroon	8.8	7.6	12.6	7.2	13.1	15.4	65	64	60	54	38
45	Tajikistan	13.8	12.3	12.0	12.6	13.2	0.7	65	66	65	65	65
46	Brunei	14.8	14.5	10.3	11.0	13.2	0.6	64	64	63	63	64
47	Kazakhstan	13.4	11.6	11.1	12.6	13.5	1.7	64	64	64	63	63
48	Nepal	12.4	9.8	9.9	13.6	12.7	5.2	64	66	64	64	64
49	Kuwait	13.5	13.7	9.8	12.3	13.1	1.1	64	63	62	60	61
50	Malaysia	12.5	14.3	11.5	11.6	10.2	3.3	63	63	62	60	65

Rank	Country	Private life	Family life	Community life	National life	Church life	Violence	Total Score WWL 2022	Total Score WWL 2021	Total Score WWL 2020	Total Score WWL 2019	Total Score WWL 2018
51	Kenya	11.7	9.2	11.4	8.0	11.5	11.1	63	62	61	61	62
52	Sri Lanka	12.9	9.9	11.4	11.3	9.4	7.8	63	62	65	58	57
53	Comoros	12.7	11.1	11.2	12.4	14.2	0.9	63	62	57	56	56
54	UAE	13.4	13.6	10.1	11.8	12.2	1.3	62	62	60	58	58
55	Tanzania	9.3	10.8	10.3	8.6	8.7	13.7	61	58	55	52	53
56	Azerbaijan	13.1	9.9	9.3	11.0	13.4	3.3	60	56	57	57	57
57	Palestinian Territories	13.0	13.4	9.8	10.2	12.0	0.9	59	58	60	57	60
58	Djibouti	12.3	12.3	11.1	10.0	12.2	0.7	59	56	56	56	56
59	Kyrgyzstan	12.9	10.1	11.1	10.4	12.0	1.5	58	58	57	56	54
60	Bahrain	12.5	13.2	9.1	11.1	10.2	0.9	57	56	55	55	57
61	Nicaragua	9.1	5.6	11.1	11.8	11.3	7.6	56	51	41	41	-
62	Russian Federation	12.3	8.0	10.2	10.6	12.3	2.2	56	57	60	60	51
63	Chad	11.5	8.2	10.2	9.6	10.3	5.6	55	53	56	48	40
64	Burundi	7.6	7.8	9.7	9.2	9.6	8.1	52	48	48	43	-
65	Venezuela	5.6	4.5	11.2	9.4	11.1	9.6	51	39	42	41	34
66	Angola	6.8	6.7	8.1	10.1	11.4	7.8	51	46	43	42	-
67	Rwanda	8.1	5.5	6.7	10.3	10.1	9.3	50	42	42	41	-
68	Honduras	7.2	5.1	10.5	7.7	9.2	8.7	48	46	39	38	-
69	Uganda	8.1	4.6	7.4	6.7	9.1	11.7	48	47	48	47	46
70	El Salvador	7.7	4.6	10.7	5.7	9.1	7.2	45	42	38	30	-
71	Togo	9.2	6.7	9.3	7.1	9.8	2.4	44	43	41	42	-
72	Gambia	8.3	8.2	8.7	8.3	8.8	1.7	44	43	43	43	-
73	Guinea	10.3	7.5	8.3	7.0	8.1	2.0	43	47	45	46	-
74	South Sudan	5.7	0.9	7.0	6.3	7.8	15.0	43	43	44	44	-
75	Ivory Coast	9.8	8.6	8.2	5.5	7.9	2.0	42	42	42	43	-
76	Israel	9.8	8.4	5.6	6.6	6.6	4.3	41	40	38	39	40

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Sources and definitions

- This country report is a collation of data and analysis based around Open Doors World Watch List (WWL) and includes statistical information on world religions, Christian denominations and people groups prepared by the World Christian Database (WCD).
- Highlighted links in the text can be found written out in full at the conclusion of each main section under the heading “External links”. In order to reduce the length of these reference sections, a table containing links to regularly used sources can be found at the beginning of the “Keys to Understanding” chapter under the heading “Links for general background information”. Where one of these sources has been quoted in the dossier text, a quote reference is supplied as indicated in the second column of the table.
- The WWL 2022 reporting period was 01 October 2020 - 30 September 2021.
- The definition of persecution used in WWL analysis is: “Any hostility experienced as a result of one’s identification with Christ. This can include hostile attitudes, words and actions towards Christians”. This broad definition includes (but is not limited to) restrictions, pressure, discrimination, opposition, disinformation, injustice, intimidation, mistreatment, marginalization, oppression, intolerance, infringement, violation, ostracism, hostilities, harassment, abuse, violence, ethnic cleansing and genocide.
- The latest update of WWL Methodology including appendices can be found on the [World Watch List Documentation](#) page of the Open Doors Analytical website (password: freedom).

Effect on data-gathering during COVID-19 pandemic

In the WWL 2022 reporting period, travel restrictions and other measures introduced by the governments of various countries to combat the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic did cause delays and create the need for restructuring grass-roots research in some cases. Through the agile cooperation of In-country networks, Open Doors country researchers, External experts, WWR analysts and an increased use of technological options, Open Doors is confident that – as in the previous reporting period – WWL 2022 scoring, analysis and documentation has maintained required levels of quality and reliability.

External Links - Introduction

- Sources and definitions: World Watch List Documentation - <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/world-watch-list-documentation/>

WWL 2022 Situation in brief / Morocco

Brief country details

Morocco: Population (UN estimate for 2021)	Christians	Chr%
37,498,000	31,400	0.1

Data source: Johnson T M and Zurlo G A, eds, World Christian Database (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed April 2021)

Map of country



Morocco: World Watch List	Points	WWL Rank
WWL 2022	69	27
WWL 2021	67	27
WWL 2020	66	26
WWL 2019	63	35
WWL 2018	51	0

Ranks are shown above whenever the country scored 41 points or more in the WWL 2018-2022 reporting periods

Dominant persecution engines and drivers

Morocco: Main Persecution engines	Main drivers
Islamic oppression	Government officials, Non-Christian religious leaders, Citizens (people from the broader society), including mobs, One's own (extended) family
Dictatorial paranoia	Government officials

Engines and Drivers are listed in order of strength. Only Very strong / Strong / Medium are shown here.

Brief description of the persecution situation

A recurrent problem for Christians who are open about their faith relates to Article 220 of the Penal Code which criminalizes 'shaking the faith of a Muslim'. This puts many Christians, both Moroccan and foreign, who talk to others about their faith at risk of criminal prosecution and arrest. Advocates for the rights of Christians have also been targeted by the government for their activities, while they also face the threat of violent attacks by Islamic militants. While the law only punishes proselytization, Moroccan converts to Christianity can be punished in other ways, for instance by losing inheritance rights and custody of children.

Summary of international obligations and rights violations

Morocco has committed to respect and protect fundamental rights in the following international treaties:

1. [International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights](#) (ICCPR)
2. [International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights](#) (ICESCR)
3. [Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment](#) (CAT)
4. [Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women](#) (CEDAW)
5. [Convention on the Rights of the Child](#) (CRC)

Morocco is not fulfilling its international obligations by regularly violating or failing to protect the following rights of Christians:

- Christian converts are ostracized and faced with opposition by their families, and threatened with divorce and loss of child custody (ICCPR Art. 18)

- Women converts are forcibly married and forced to recant their beliefs. (ICCPR Art. 23.3 and CEDAW Art. 16)
- Christians face harassment and violence if they talk about their faith or engage in proselytization (ICCPR Arts. 18 and 19)
- Christians face restrictions in employment in the public sector and experience discrimination in the private sector (ICCPR Arts. 25 and 26, and ICESCR Art. 6)

Specific examples of violations of rights in the reporting period

- The Moroccan police arrested and detained several Moroccan Christians in a number of places. Both individual Christians and groups have been questioned. Those interrogations were often combined with harassment by the police.
- Several young Moroccan Christians lost their employment after their faith became known. Combined with the economic crisis surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic, life has become very difficult for those Christians.
- Several female Moroccan Christians from a Muslim background have been forced by their families to marry a Muslim man, one woman was raped after her family discovered that she wanted to change her faith, and a young man was beaten by his family after they found a Bible in his room.
- Several Moroccan Christians had their shops sprayed with graffiti containing hate speech.
- A man and his family were forced out of their town by an angry mob after it was discovered that he had converted from Islam to Christianity.

Specific examples of positive developments

None.

External Links - Situation in brief

- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cat.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women - <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CEDAW.aspx>
- Summary of international obligations and rights violations: Convention on the Rights of the Child - <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>

WWL 2022: Keys to understanding / Morocco

Links for general background information

Name	Quote Reference	Link	Last accessed on
Amnesty International country report	AI 2021	https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/morocco-and-western-sahara/	4 August 2021
BBC News country profile	BBC country profile	https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14121438	4 August 2021
Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2020	BTI 2020	https://bti-project.org/en/reports/country-dashboard-MAR.html	4 August 2021
CIA World Factbook	CIA Factbook	https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/morocco/	4 August 2021
Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index 2020	EIU 2020	https://pages.eiu.com/rs/753-RIQ-438/images/democracy-index-2020.pdf	4 August 2021
FFP's Fragile States Index 2021	FSI 2021	https://fragilestatesindex.org/country-data/	4 August 2021
Freedom House's 2021 Democracy index (Morocco is not included)	Freedom House/Democracy 2021	https://freedomhouse.org/countries/nations-transit/scores	
Freedom House's 2021 Global Freedom index	Freedom House/Global Freedom 2021	https://freedomhouse.org/country/morocco/freedom-world/2021	4 August 2021
Freedom House's Freedom on the Net 2020 report	https://freedomhouse.org/country/morocco/freedom-net/2020	https://freedomhouse.org/countries/freedom-net/scores	4 August 2021
Garda World country report	Garda World	https://www.garda.com/crisis24/country-reports/morocco	4 August 2021
Human Rights Watch World Report 2021	HRW 2021	https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/morocco/western-sahara	4 August 2021
Internet World Stats 2021	IWS 2021	https://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#ma	4 August 2021
Middle East Concern Country profile	MEC country profile	https://meconcern.org/countries/morocco/	4 August 2021
RSF's 2020 World Press Freedom Index	World Press Freedom 2020	https://rsf.org/en/morocco-western-sahara	4 August 2021
Transparency International's 2020 Corruption Perceptions Index	CPI 2020	https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2020/index/mar	4 August 2021
UNDP's Global Human Development Indicators	HDI 2020	http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/MAR	4 August 2021
US State Department's 2020 International Religious Freedom country reports	IRFR 2020	https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/morocco/	4 August 2021
USCIRF 2021 country reports (Morocco is not included)	USCIRF 2021	https://www.uscifr.gov/countries	
World Bank country report	World Bank	https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/morocco	4 August 2021

Recent history

Morocco was a French protectorate from 1912 to 1956, when it gained independence. Upon independence, Morocco was able to take control of some of the territory from the Spanish protectorate, the so called "Western Sahara". However, Morocco's claim of sovereignty over other former Spanish controlled territories has been resisted by the "Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia el-Hamra and Río de Oro" (POLISARIO) which proclaimed an independent state called Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic and managed to secure the recognition of some nations.

After the initial Arab Spring uprisings of 2011, Morocco was also touched by the wind of liberty and desire for economic change. Large numbers of young people, many of whom found themselves unemployed even after getting university degrees, expressed their frustration by taking to the streets. Responding to the demonstrations and calls for change, the government organized a referendum on constitutional reforms which was held on 1 July 2011. In the elections held since these constitutional reforms were put in place, the Islamist Justice and Development Party (PJD) won the largest number of seats in parliament enabling it to form coali-

tion governments. Therefore, Morocco was able to avoid the political upheaval that engulfed much of North Africa. However, the Islamists were not able to deliver any real change and in the 2021 parliamentary elections, the PJD lost badly. The liberal-leaning royalist National Rally of Independents (RNI) came out first and its billionaire leader, Aziz Akhannouch, was subsequently appointed as prime-minister by the king ([Institut Montaigne, 30 September 2021](#)).

However, grievances and discontent remains especially strong in the Rif region (in the northern part of the country) where the mainly ethnic Berber population feel marginalized and neglected by the government. In previous years, there were occasional demonstrations in this region. In June 2018, some of the leading protesters [were given](#) lengthy prison sentences (The Washington Post, 27 June 2018). In August 2018, during the Eid al-Adha holiday, King Mohammed VI [pardoned](#) nearly 200 imprisoned protesters (The New Arab, 22 August 2018). However, sentences against 43 others [were upheld in the Court of Appeals](#) in April 2019 (Amnesty International - AI, 26 April 2019). Protests re-emerged in February 2020 in Casablanca, but due to COVID-19 restrictions and internal divisions, the demonstrations have mostly come to an end ([MEM, 24 February 2020](#); [Al-Araby, 23 April 2021](#)).

The COVID-19 crisis affected Morocco significantly: As of December 2021, the total number of Corona-related deaths stood at 14,837 ([Worldometer, accessed 29 December 2021](#)) and the economy shrank for the first time in two decades. Both the tourist industry as well as companies depending on trade with Europe have been heavily affected. However, the Moroccan government has also used the pandemic to tighten its grip on society under the guise of introducing health measures. Popular protests have been quelled, and voices critical of the government have been targeted and arrests made ([Bloomberg, 24 July 2020](#)). Newspaper editors have received high prison sentences in recent years, while investigative journalist Omar Radi was sentenced to six years in prison in July 2021 ([RSF, 12 October 2021](#)).

In December 2020, Morocco became the fourth Arab country in 2020 to normalize ties with Israel ([The Guardian, 10 December 2020](#)). The deal was brokered by the USA and included important incentives for Morocco: In exchange, the USA recognized Morocco's claims on the Western Sahara and it secured an important arms deal including US-made drones ([Al-Jazeera, 12 December 2020](#)). However, Islamist groups in the country denounced the deal, making it a potential stumble block for the king's popular support among the Moroccan people ([The Guardian, 13 December 2020](#)).

Moroccan Christians with a Muslim background continue to face discrimination and marginalization in the meantime. They are not recognized by the government, are closely monitored by the security services and reviled by family and society.

Political and legal landscape

Morocco is a parliamentary monarchy in which the king is granted extensive executive powers and is both political and religious leader, being officially designated “Commander of the Faithful”. He presides over the Council of Ministers and appoints the prime minister following legislative elections from the winning party. On recommendations from the prime minister, he appoints the members of government. The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU 2020) classifies

Morocco as a 'hybrid' regime (in a ranking ranging from: 'full democracy', 'flawed democracy', 'hybrid regime' and 'authoritarian state').

According to Humanists International's [Freedom of Thought report](#) (last updated 22 October 2020), which classifies the government as 'severely restricting':

- "Although Morocco signed and ratified few UN treaties and resolutions on civil rights and freedom of religion, conscience and thought, ... their primacy over national laws is compromised: ... Morocco commits itself 'To comply with the international conventions duly ratified by it 'subject to their compatibility with the constitution' and 'its immutable national identity'." This means de facto that international civil rights, including the Freedom of Religion and Belief, are subject to the cultural Islamic values of Morocco and its interpretation of Sharia law.
- "The constitution declares that 'Islam is the religion of the State' (Article 3), and that Morocco 'commits itself ... to deepen the bonds of togetherness with the Arabo-Islamic Ummah' (Preamble). It also refers to Islam, as well as monarchy, as one of the 'federative constants' of the Nation (Article 1). The King is considered as a direct descendant of the prophet of Islam, which gives the ruling Alaouite dynasty its legitimacy."

Middle East Concern (MEC country profile) writes:

- "Legal provisions strictly prohibit blasphemy and defamation of religions, as well as non-Islamic proselytism. According to the Penal Code, anyone who attempts to prevent persons from the exercise of their religious beliefs, and anyone who offers incitements in order to 'shake the faith of a Muslim' or to convert a Muslim to another religion faces imprisonment and a fine. The Associations Law prohibits any association that seeks to undermine Islam, and the distribution of non-Islamic materials is restricted. Although Rabbinical authorities have jurisdiction over personal status issues for the small Jewish communities, there is no equivalent provision for Christians – those born into Muslim families are subject to Shari'a courts in matters of personal status. Women registered as Muslim are not permitted to marry non-Muslims"

According to Human Rights Watch (HRW 2021), Morocco's Family Code (2004) discriminates against women in relation to divorce proceedings, marriage and inheritance. Whilst it sets 18 as the minimum age of marriage, judges can grant 'exemptions' to marry girls over the age of 15 at their family's request; 40,000 such exemptions were granted in 2018. The rate of child marriage has slightly decreased since 2018, although it remains an ongoing area of concern; 14% of girls are reportedly married by the age of 18. Morocco's 2018 Violence against women law (which criminalized some forms of domestic violence and offered improved protections for victims) was welcomed as a positive step, although critics have argued it stops short at addressing all crimes, such as marital rape ([Al-Jazeera, 12 September 2018](#)). These legal gaps can be utilized for the purpose of religious persecution, in particular making marriage a dangerous context for converts.

Christians in Morocco, especially those from a Muslim background, are severely limited in their civil and religious rights in Morocco's restricted political and religious environment. Moroccan Christians are not recognized and are forced to practice their faith away from the public eye.

Religious landscape

Morocco: Religious context	Number of adherents	%
Christians	31,400	0.1
Muslim	37,379,000	99.7
Hindu	0	0.0
Buddhist	0	0.0
Ethno-religionist	0	0.0
Jewish	2,300	0.0
Bahai	36,400	0.1
Atheist	400	0.0
Agnostic	48,300	0.1
Other	0	0.0
<i>OTHER includes Chinese folk, New religionist, Sikh, Spiritist, Taoist, Confucianist, Jain, Shintoist, Zoroastrian.</i>		

Data source: Johnson T M and Zurlo G A, eds, *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed April 2021)

Over 99% of the population is Muslim (majority Sunni), with the remainder being mostly agnostic, Bahai or Christian. Islam is the official state religion. The majority of (foreign) Christians in Morocco are Roman Catholic. Non-Muslim foreign communities can practice their faith, but proselytization with the intent to convert Muslims from Islam to another religion is still considered illegal.

Middle East Concern (MEC country profile) reports:

- "Registered expatriate Christian communities enjoy considerable freedom in Morocco, provided that they avoid interaction with Muslims that could be construed as proselytism. In recent years (and particularly in 2010) the government has deported significant numbers of expatriate Christians on the grounds that they were contravening the Penal Code provisions relating to proselytism, or on even more vague grounds of 'threat to public order'. Moroccan Christians, who mainly meet in small house churches, are especially aware of close surveillance of their activities by the authorities. In early 2017 Morocco's highest religious authority issued a declaration regarding apostasy which it defined in narrow political terms. A broad ruling by the same authority in 2002 had urged that apostates be sentenced to death. The revised ruling has been widely welcomed, including by Christians in Morocco. Similarly, Christians welcomed a recent ruling that a Christian who offered a bible to a friend did not 'shake the faith' of that friend as the bible is a book that Muslims should read. However, there continues to be family and societal pressure against those who choose to leave Islam. Some who are considered apostates are referred to the

courts (facing sanctions such as forcible divorce, loss of inheritance and removal of child custody), and in extreme cases they can face violent responses from family members."

Economic landscape

According to the CIA Factbook and World Bank:

- **GPD per capita (PPP):** \$7,515 (2019 est.)
- **Unemployment:** 9.2%
- **Youth unemployment:** 22.2%
- **Percentage of population below national poverty line:** 15.0% (2007 est.)
- "The combination of a pandemic with an agricultural shock pushed the Moroccan economy into a deep recession in 2020. However, the government response to the crisis has been appropriate, and the ambitious reforms being implemented could set the stage for a solid recovery."
- "Growth is expected to accelerate to 4.2% in 2021, although significant downside risks remain."
- "On the production side, the impact of the crisis has been particularly severe for the hospitality industry and transports, and for the manufacturing segments most exposed to international trade. In addition, agricultural value added contracted by 7.1% due to the drought."

Other sources report:

- World Bank's "[World by Income](#)" report puts the Moroccan economy in the lower middle income category (World Bank, accessed 29 July 2021).
- The Fragile State Index (FSI 2020) shows that the small but steady improvements in the economic indicators in the last years have been disrupted by the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, with the 'Economy indicator' being particularly affected. Despite this, 'Economic inequality' and 'Human flight and brain drain' kept improving, although the still high level of latter remains a cause for concern.

Morocco's economy has important industrial sectors such as mining, agriculture, manufacturing and tourism. Moroccan companies are becoming increasingly active and investing in other African countries, especially in West Africa and this is helping foster economic growth. According to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, Morocco is also the [world's largest producer and exporter of cannabis](#) (Bloomberg, 26 May 2021). Compared with most other countries in the region, Morocco's economy is relatively dynamic and robust. However, the consequences of the COVID-19 crisis will continue to have a significant negative effect on the economy in the short term ([World Bank, 7 October 2021](#)).

Women remain typically more economically vulnerable than men. Morocco is in the worst ten performing countries in relation to female employment, according to [Georgetown's Women, Peace and Security Index \(2019/20\)](#), which reports on 167 countries. In addition to employment rates, girls also lag behind boys in terms of access to education. This gender gap is however, steadily decreasing ([Borgen Project, 2018](#)).

Moroccan Christians, almost all of them from a Muslim background, often face discrimination in the job market. If their conversion becomes known, they are likely to lose their employment. Finding another job is difficult, especially employment in government departments. As men are the primary breadwinners, this primarily affects men.

Social and cultural landscape

According to the CIA Factbook:

- **Main ethnic groups:** The majority of the Moroccan population (99%) are from Arab-Berber decent.
- **Main languages:** The official language is Arabic, with French being widely spoken in business, government and diplomatic circles. Tamazight (official) and other Berber languages are spoken as well.
- **Population:** Morocco has a population of around 36.500.000 people, with a growth rate of 0.92% (2021 est.)
- **Urban population:** In 2021, 64.1% of the population lived in urban areas, while the annual urbanization rate stands at 1.88%
- **Literacy rate:** 73.8% of the population can read and write; with a significant difference between men (83.3%) and women (64.6%) (2018).
- **Youth population:** The younger generation - up to 24 years of age - makes up almost 44% of the population, making it a country with a young population in need of (economic) opportunities.
- **Life expectancy:** 73.6 years on average; women (75.3 years), men (71.8 years) (2020).
- **Education:** Moroccan citizens enjoy 14 years of schooling on average (2019). The mean years of schooling for girls is 4.7, compared to 6.6 for boys.

According to the UN Global Human Development Indicators (HDI 2020):

- **Human Development Index (HDI) score and ranking:** Morocco ranks #121 out 189 countries. The combined ratio of life expectancy, education and per capita income gives a medium score of 0.686, making Morocco score lower than its North African neighbors.
- **Gender inequality:** With a Gender Development Index (GDI) score of 0.835, women are significantly disadvantaged in comparison to men. The GDI measures the differences in life expectancy, years of education and GNI per capita per gender.

Morocco is socially conservative and Muslim, although there is also a strong Arab youth culture, and society is influenced by the large Moroccan population living in Europe.

A Moroccan Christian convert [dedicated an episode](#) of his weekly show “Daring Questions” on the discrimination of non-Muslims encouraged by school textbooks (YouTube video, accessed 29 July 2021). He gave an example of the Islamic education’s book for the 1st grade in primary school which stipulates: “I love those who love the prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and I am hostile to those who are hostile towards him”. He also brought attention to a *Baccalaureat* school book which states that the punishment for apostasy is execution. However, a comparative study on the recently introduced new curricula found that “The old curricula ... make a clear distinction between what is lawful and unlawful from the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence, whereas the

new textbooks confine themselves to what is commonly believed as right values and behaviours, such as honesty, peace, freedom, tolerance, etc." (Somaya Zine-Dine and Moulay Sadik Maliki, "[Religious Educational Reforms and the Shaping of Moroccan Identity](#): Islamic Education Textbooks as a Case Study," 52nd International Scientific Conference on Economic and Social Development – Porto, 16-17 April 2020, p.563).

According to FFP's Fragile State Index (FSI 2020): Social indicators showed continued improvements in previous years, but 'demographic pressures' worsened recently, while cohesion indicators show that group grievances are alarmingly high. This trend is confirmed by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU 2020): "Social tensions will be high, in line with increasing unemployment, especially in less developed areas, but overall stability will not be threatened. King Mohammed VI remains the ultimate arbiter of power, but the political spectrum is increasingly polarised."

Moroccan Christians remain side-lined and face discrimination by society. Once their conversion becomes known, family and society are likely to put pressure on them to recant their faith. Some of them face divorce by their spouses, while others are forced to marry a Muslim. Converts from Islam to Christianity are also likely to be excluded from family inheritance and lose custody rights in cases of divorce. These pressures affect both male and female converts; women and girls are more likely to be forced into a marriage whereas men are more likely to face discrimination in the workplace or be targeted by the authorities. Pressure mounted during the COVID-19 pandemic, due to economic uncertainty, a reported increase in domestic violence and a decrease of prosecutions of perpetrators (HRW 2021).

Technological landscape

According to World Internet Stats (accessed July 2021):

- **Internet usage:** 68.5% penetration – (December 2020)
- **Facebook usage:** 58.2% penetration – (December 2020)

According to World Bank's country profile (2020):

- **Mobile phone subscriptions:** 128.0 per 100 people

According to Freedom House/Internet Freedom 2020:

- Morocco is rated as 'partly free'.
- Key internet controls include the manipulation of (online) discussion by pro-government commentators, the arrest and detention of journalists and bloggers, as well as (technical) attacks on government critics and human rights organizations.

According to Reporters without Borders (World Press Freedom 2020):

- Internet usage has grown to 69%, but with significant variations depending on how rural the areas are. Journalist and bloggers critical of the government (especially those involved in the Rif protests) have received prison sentences and many apply self-censorship online.

- "Morocco's media continue to be subjected to judicial harassment. In addition to the trials of a number of media figures that have dragged on for years, several new prosecutions on sex charges have been initiated against journalists. The manipulation of testimony by women has been used in several such cases. The conduct of the trials and the media hype and defamation accompanying them deprive both victim and alleged aggressor of their rights. Heavy sentences have been passed, and several journalists and citizen-journalists continue to be imprisoned."
- One of the victims of those "absurd charges" was investigative journalist Omar Radi, who received a 6 year prison sentence in July 2021 ([Committee to Protect Journalists](#), 19 July 2021). Apparently, the Moroccan authorities used spyware from the Israeli NSO Group to hack Radi's telephone ([Amnesty International](#), 22 June 2020).

There is a small gender gap in regards to technology in Morocco. According to the UNDP's HDI 2020, 61.1% of women use the Internet lower than the country-wide average of 64.8%. According to [Statista](#), there is a greater imbalance in regards to social media; as of July 2021, 59.8% of Morocco's Facebook users were male, compared to 40.2% of female users.

Christians in Morocco, especially converts from a Muslim background, are careful in their social media postings. Criticizing Islam or the (religious authority of the) king can lead to arrest and detention, as well as social hatred. Most Christians in Morocco use a pseudonym to post Christian material. However, with the rise of Internet access and social media, many converts to Christianity can now find fellowship online, even if they are alone and isolated (for example during COVID-19 lockdown measures).

Security situation

In August 2018, the king reinstated military service for men and women aged between 19 and 25 years old ([Reuters](#), 21 August 2018). Critics say this was a way to quell protests ([Morocco World News](#), 10 April 2019). Many soldiers are needed to protect the border-wall in occupied Western Sahara, which Morocco sees as its 'southern provinces'. The Western Sahara dispute started after Morocco annexed the former Spanish colony in 1975. The indigenous Western Sahara Sahrawi people resisted the annexation and - led by the POLISARIO Front - they established the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) in 1976. After years of conflict, a truce was brokered by the UN upon promise of an independence referendum in 1991. This referendum has still not taken place, while Morocco has allowed thousands of its citizens to settle in the 75% of the area it controls. Meanwhile, the SADR controls a small area in the east of the country, with thousands of Sahrawis actually residing in permanent refugee camps near the Algerian border town of Tindouf ([BBC Western Sahara profile](#), 14 May 2018).

In December 2020, the US government recognized Morocco's claim over the Western Sahara in return for Morocco's normalization of ties with Israel ([Middle East Eye](#), 1 May 2021). This move, followed by several other diplomatic incidents, led to the unilateral severing of ties by Algeria in August 2021 ([Al-Monitor](#), 25 August 2021). Several smaller diplomatic incidents have taken place since, but it is unlikely that the tensions will spill over into military conflict.

In December 2018, Morocco was shocked by the murder and beheading of two Scandinavian women by men who had sworn alliance to the Islamic State group (IS). This kind of violence had not happened before in Morocco and the killing was widely condemned. The main suspects received the death penalty, although Morocco has not executed any convicted criminals since 1993 ([BBC News, 18 July 2019](#)).

Morocco's security apparatus is known to be strong and intelligence agencies are well-informed. These capacities have also been used against Christians in Morocco, especially against converts from a Muslim background. The security services monitor all Christians extensively, as they are seen as a threat to the king and his authority, which is derived from the claim that the king is a direct descendant of the Islamic prophet, Mohammed.

Trends analysis

1) The country's image is progressive except where religious minorities are concerned

Morocco has been a quite stable country in both political and economical terms in a region that has been fraught with political instability and economic crises. Its incremental and evolutionary approach to political reform has proved to be quite successful so far. Morocco's international image is that of a progressive, tolerant and economically dynamic country. However, there is the risk of complacency setting in and this image does not fully reflect the country's record when it comes to the rights of religious minorities, with Moroccan Christians being severely limited in their religious freedom. Also, unless the unrest in the Rif region is seriously addressed, the situation could destabilize the country.

2) The monarchy remains strong

Ten years after the start of the so-called Arab Spring which saw dictators being toppled in neighboring countries, the monarchy sits still on top, with the Islamist PJD being defeated by the royalist RNI in the most recent elections. Nonetheless, the degree to which the economic marginalization and political discontent of some groups persist can provide an opening for the Islamists to return in power. However, if its current overall trajectory continues, Morocco is likely to remain stable.

3) Moroccan Christians stay unrecognized

Even the Roman Catholic Pope did not raise his voice to call for more acceptance of Moroccan's Christians during his visit in 2019, as this issue remains highly sensitive in Morocco ([New York Times, 29 March 2019](#)). The Pope's visit underlines the keenness of the Moroccan state to maintain its image of being a tolerant and progressive modern state; the state is thus unlikely to openly increase restrictions on religious freedom. However, Christianity looks set to remain a foreign religion in Morocco. Article 4 of the Constitution states that "the motto of the Kingdom is Dieu, La Patrie, Le Roi [God, the Country, the King] and many Moroccans feel that way. As long as "God" is interpreted as the God of Islam, Christians will remain outsiders, even if they are of Moroccan descent.

External Links - Keys to understanding

- Recent history: Institut Montaigne, 30 September 2021 - <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/en/blog/moroccan-elections-same-old-same-new>
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- Recent history: Bloomberg, 24 July 2020 - <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-07-24/covid-crackdown-snuffs-out-flickering-embers-of-the-arab-spring>
- Recent history: RSF, 12 October 2021 - <https://rsf.org/en/news/moroccan-newspaper-editors-appeal-must-get-fair-hearing-rsf-says>
- Recent history: The Guardian, 10 December 2020 - <http://theguardian.com/world/2020/dec/10/israel-and-morocco-agree-to-full-diplomatic-relations-says-trump>
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- Political and legal landscape: Freedom of Thought report - <https://fot.humanists.international/countries/africa-northern-africa/morocco/>
- Political and legal landscape: Al-Jazeera, 12 September 2018 - <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/9/12/morocco-criminalises-violence-against-women-and-sexual-harassment>
- Economic landscape: World by Income" report - <http://datatopics.worldbank.org/world-development-indicators/the-world-by-income-and-region.html>
- Economic landscape: world's largest producer and exporter of cannabis - <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-05-26/morocco-s-lawmakers-vote-to-legalize-some-uses-of-cannabis>
- Economic landscape: World Bank, 7 October 2021 - <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/morocco/publication/economic-update-october-2021>
- Economic landscape: Georgetown's Women, Peace and Security Index (2019/20), - <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/WPS-Index-2019-20-Report.pdf>
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- Social and cultural landscape: Religious Educational Reforms and the Shaping of Moroccan Identity - <https://www.proquest.com/openview/12f9d515ee4b1631c53785717b135964/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=2033472>
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- Technological landscape: Amnesty International, 22 June 2020 - <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/nso-group-spyware-used-against-moroccan-journalist-new-investigation>
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WWL 2022: Church information / Morocco

Christian origins

Christianity arrived in Morocco when it was part of the Roman Empire and became very prominent in areas like Tangiers, Rabat and Fez. The first known Christian martyr in Morocco was Marcellus (298 AD) in Tangier. By the end of the 4th century, the Romanized areas of Morocco were solidly Christian and inroads had been made among the Amazigh ('Berber') tribes, who sometimes converted en masse. In that same 4th century, it was also one of the countries where Donatism and Arianism became a major theological issue. In the 5th century, German Vandals, coming via Spain, conquered Morocco and brought their Arian version of the Christian faith with them. In 533 AD, the Byzantine Empire [reconquered](#) Morocco to reinstate 'Roman' rule and to reinstall orthodox bishops and priests (Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed 29 September 2020).

According to Islamic tradition, Islam reached Morocco by the 7th century. Many Christians were forced to convert and the number of Christians decreased due to the policies of Islamization. In 1220, priests of the Franciscan Order made a brave attempt to re-introduce Christianity and a diocese was set up at Marrakesh in 1234 which was able to function until 1566.

Missionaries from North Africa brought the Protestant faith to Morocco in 1884. The Gospel Missionary Union and Emmanuel Mission Sahara came to the country in 1894 and 1926 respectively. Other churches and movements would follow, such as Anglicans, the Assemblies of God, the Christian Brethren and the Seventh-day Adventists.

Morocco's instability in the 19th century had resulted in European countries intervening to protect investments and to demand economic concessions. In 1912, Morocco became a French Protectorate, and Spain also assured itself of major parts of Morocco. Tens of thousands of French, Spanish and other colonists, entered Morocco and acquired large tracts of the rich agricultural land. During this colonial period, both Catholics and Protestants could freely worship in Morocco and the Reformed Church of France formed the Evangelical Church of Morocco. Churches, hospitals, schools and orphanages were built for the colonists and for mission work among the Muslim population.

When Morocco became independent in 1956, the country was home to 500,000 Europeans and the Roman Catholic Church was very visible. Since then, the Europeans and their churches have largely departed. Today the expatriate Christian community (Roman Catholic and Protestant) consists of a few thousand members.

According to Jack Wald in "Christianity in North Africa and West Asia" (Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity, Edinburgh University Press, 2018, pp.41-44), the indigenous Moroccan church began to emerge in the late 1960s, meeting in house-churches held in the homes of missionaries. In 1984 the community suffered a major setback when King Hassan II forced many Moroccan Christians to recant their faith, after suspecting them of a coup. With the arrival of incumbent King Mohammed VI in 1999, a decade of relative freedom started which allowed house-churches, this time mostly led by Moroccans, to grow. However, in March 2010, around 150 foreign Christians from all over the country were suddenly deported. [Reportedly](#), the country wanted to take a tough line against proselytism (BBC News, 12 March 2010). Moroccan Christians were interrogated too and it became apparent that the police had inside informers; many house-churches disbanded as a result.

Church spectrum today

Morocco: Church networks	Christians	%
Orthodox	1,100	3.5
Catholic	18,200	58.0
Protestant	4,800	15.3
Independent	5,800	18.5
Unaffiliated	1,500	4.8
Doubly-affiliated Christians	0	0.0
Total	31,400	100.0
<i>(Any deviation from the total number of Christians stated above is due to the rounding of decimals)</i>		
Evangelical movement	4,000	12.7
Renewalist movement	4,600	14.6

Data source: Johnson T M and Zurlo G A, eds, *World Christian Database* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, accessed April 2021)

Orthodox: Eastern (Chalcedonian), Oriental (Pre-Chalcedonian, Non-Chalcedonian, Monophysite), Nestorian (Assyrian), and non-historical Orthodox.
Roman Catholics: All Christians in communion with the Church of Rome. **Protestants:** Christians in churches originating in or in communion with the Western world's 16th-century Protestant Reformation. Includes Anglicans, Lutherans and Baptists (any of whom may be Charismatic) and denominational Pentecostals, but not Independent traditions such as Independent Baptists nor independent Charismatics. **Independents:** Christians who do not identify with the major Christian traditions (Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Protestant). **Unaffiliated Christians:** Persons professing publicly to be Christians but who are not affiliated to churches. **Doubly-affiliated Christians:** Persons affiliated to or claimed by 2 denominations at once. **Evangelical movement:** Churches, denominations, and individuals who identify themselves as evangelicals by membership in denominations linked to evangelical alliances (e.g., World Evangelical Alliance) or by self-identification in polls. **Renewalist movement:** Church members involved in Pentecostal/Charismatic renewal.

The majority of Christians in Morocco are expatriate Roman Catholics. Recognized churches for expatriates exist only in major cities. Denominations that existed prior to independence in 1956 include the Roman Catholic Church, the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Anglican Church and the French Protestant Church. Indigenous Moroccan Christians are not allowed to join these congregations.

External Links - Church information

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WWL 2022: Persecution Dynamics / Morocco

Reporting period

1 October 2020 - 30 September 2021

Position on the World Watch List

Morocco: World Watch List	Points	WWL Rank
WWL 2022	69	27
WWL 2021	67	27
WWL 2020	66	26
WWL 2019	63	35
WWL 2018	51	0

Ranks are shown above whenever the country scored 41 points or more in the WWL 2018-2022 reporting periods

The main reason for the increase of two points in WWL 2022 was a rise in average pressure, going up 0.3 points to 12.9 points. This was mainly caused by an increase in reported pressure in the *Private and Family spheres of life* as a consequence of the COVID-19 lockdown measures. The violence score also increased from 3.7 to 3.9 points, mainly because a higher number of Christians were forced to leave the country than in WWL 2021.

Persecution engines

Morocco: Persecution engines	Abbreviation	Level of influence
Islamic oppression	IO	Strong
Religious nationalism	RN	Not at all
Ethno-religious hostility	ERH	Not at all
Clan oppression	CO	Weak
Christian denominational protectionism	CDP	Not at all

Communist and post - Communist oppression	CPCO	Not at all
Secular intolerance	SI	Not at all
Dictatorial paranoia	DPA	Medium
Organized corruption and crime	OCC	Not at all

The scale for the level of influence of Persecution engines in society is: Not at all / Very weak / Weak / Medium / Strong / Very strong. For more information see WWL Methodology.

Islamic oppression (Strong)

Restrictions imposed by the Islamic authorities include the confiscation of Christian literature in Arabic (including Bibles) if discovered, bans on cooperating with Christians from abroad - especially if evangelization is planned - and insuperable challenges in securing recognized places of worship for Christians with a Muslim background. In addition, converts from Islam face pressure as a result of their new faith from family and friends and from the local community, if their statements about faith are felt to be an attempt at proselytization.

Dictatorial paranoia (Medium)

The Moroccan government looks at the Church with suspicion, especially activities involving converts. Moroccans are expected to be loyal to Islam, king and country; Christianity would seem to threaten this hegemony. In past years, the Moroccan authorities have accused Christians of being disloyal to the king and have deported many foreign Christians without due process. One of the reasons for this sort of government action could be the fear of radical Muslim groups: By appeasing them, the government tries to prevent any unrest. This means in practice that converts are regularly detained and questioned about their motives and contacts.

Drivers of persecution

Morocco: Drivers of Persecution	IO	RN	ERH	CO	CDP	CPCO	SI	DPA	OCC
	STRONG			WEAK				MEDIUM	
Government officials	Strong							Medium	
Ethnic group leaders				Weak					
Non-Christian religious leaders	Strong								
Violent religious groups	Weak								
Citizens (people from the broader society), including mobs	Strong			Weak					
One's own (extended) family	Strong			Weak					
Political parties	Weak								

The scale for the level of influence of Drivers of persecution in society is: Not at all / Very weak / Weak / Medium / Strong / Very strong. Please note that "." denotes "not at all". For more information see WWL Methodology.

Drivers of Islamic oppression

- **Government officials (Strong):** Among the main drivers of *Islamic oppression* in Morocco are government officials. The government does not fully recognize the right to freedom of belief and worship for Christians and state officials are also unwilling to register and allow Christian converts with a Muslim background to congregate freely, gain recognition and evangelize.
- **Citizens (Strong):** Moroccan society views Christianity mostly negatively and converts from Islam to Christianity are seen as shaming family and community.
- **Extended family (Strong):** The extended family of converts from Islam - especially in rural areas - put pressure on converts to renounce their faith in Christ.
- **Non-religious leaders (Strong):** Islamic radical thought is present and preached in Morocco and adds to the pressure on Christians.

Drivers of Dictatorial paranoia

- **Government officials (Medium):** The authorities and security services are monitoring all church life. Converts to Christianity are actively watched and sometimes interrogated. There is fear that the security services are actively infiltrating the convert movement.

Areas where Christians face most difficulties

The Islamic population in rural areas is known to be conservative; most incidents of persecution take place in the mostly Berber populated northeast of the country, the Atlas mountains in the east of the country and the south-eastern desert area. Most converts reside in the urban areas, where it is easier to escape family and community pressure. However, because they were confined to their houses due to the COVID-19 pandemic, many converts suffered as they were forced into isolation without the possibility of escaping potentially dangerous situations.

Christian communities and how they are affected

Communities of expatriate Christians

Expatriate Christians, many of whom are engaged in a variety of professional activities, are often under surveillance and risk deportation if they are perceived to engage in acts of evangelization. However, compared to other groups - especially Moroccan converts to Christianity - expatriate Christians from the West enjoy relative freedom of religion. Recognized churches for expatriates (i.e. those already in existence at Independence in 1956) are only found in major cities. Most own church buildings but the government owns the land. As long as the building is being regularly used for church services, the church keeps control of the building. If it falls into disuse, the government takes over the building and uses it for other purposes. Given the difficulty for these churches to get new members and the fact that it is impossible for Moroccan Christians with a Muslim background to join these churches, historical Christian communities find it challenging to remain active and present in the country.

Expatriate Christians from Sub-Saharan African countries, who are often Pentecostal Christians, are usually marginalized and discriminated against. They usually gather in self-established house-churches.

Historical Christian communities

These communities are not considered as a separate category in WWL analysis since they consist mainly of expatriate Christians and have been included in the category above.

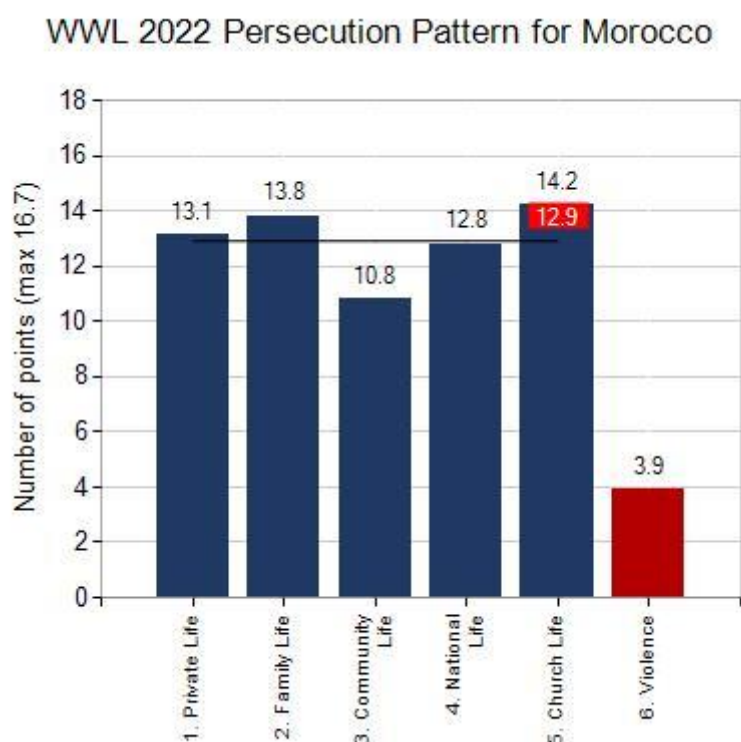
Converts to Christianity

Moroccan Christians meet in house-churches because they cannot get permission and official recognition to congregate in public. They change location regularly and do not have the history or level of organization to develop into a denomination as such (i.e. non-traditional Christian community). While the level of tolerance from society in urban centers (as well as from the public authorities) towards Christian converts is better than in most other countries in the region, converts to Christianity still face pressure from society at large and family to renounce their faith. They also tend to be under surveillance and risk further forms of persecution, especially if they engage in evangelism.

Non-traditional Christian communities

This category does not exist in Morocco.

The Persecution pattern



The WWL 2022 Persecution pattern for Morocco shows:

- The average pressure on Christians is at a very high level (12.9 points), rising from 12.8 points in WWL 2021.
- The pressure is highest and extreme in *Church life* (14.2 points). This reflects the limitations expatriate churches face if they try to share their faith with others and how the government

has effectively strangled fellowship among convert communities. The next highest score (also at an extreme level) is to be found in *Family life* (13.8 points), which reflects the pressure converts have to face when they want to practice their new religion in public: Getting baptized, married or even buried in a Christian way is difficult and they will face pressure from family, society and even the government, especially in rural areas.

- The score for violence went up from 3.7 points in WWL 2021 to 3.9 points in WWL 2022. A higher number of incidents has been reported this year, including the expulsion of a number of expatriate Christians.

Pressure in the 5 spheres of life

In each of the five spheres of life discussed below, four questions have been selected from the WWL 2021 questionnaire for brief commentary and explanation. The selection usually (but not always) reflects the highest scoring elements. In some cases, an additional paragraph per sphere is included to give further information deemed important. (To see how individual questions are scored on a scale of 0-4 points, please see the “WWL Scoring example” in the WWL Methodology, available at: <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/world-watch-list-documentation/>, password: freedom).

Pressure in Block 1 / Private sphere

Block 1.5: It has been risky for Christians to display Christian images or symbols. (3.50 points)

Both family and community members can react harshly or even violently when seeing a convert displaying a cross or Christian symbol. Some converts do share their new faith on social media, using fake identities to hide their real names.

Block 1.7: It has been risky for Christians to speak about their faith with immediate family members. (3.50 points)

Many converts are afraid to talk about their new faith with their families. There are many cases known of converts who have been ostracized or abused because they have done this. Therefore, converts often only discuss matters of faith with their family over time. Nonetheless, the first reaction can be intense, with only some families engaging in dialogue to give them the chance of recanting their new faith.

Block 1.8: It has been risky for Christians to speak about their faith with those other than immediate family (extended family, others). (3.50 points)

Both local and expatriate Christians can be charged with "shaking the faith of a Muslim" under Moroccan law. Hence, speaking about the Christian faith requires great sensibility.

Block 1.9: It has been risky for Christians to meet with other Christians. (3.25 points)

Especially during the COVID-19 pandemic it became more difficult for Moroccan Christians to meet and to establish relationships with new converts to Christianity. The lockdowns, among other measures, amplified existing problems for converts including isolation and cases of domestic violence.

Block 1 - additional information

Especially young and recent converts from Islam to Christianity experience high levels of mostly family pressure, with (young) women generally facing higher risks than men. It is often difficult for them to pray and worship privately at home, while many prefer to read their Bibles online rather than owning a physical copy. At the same time, due to social stigma, it is often difficult for them to connect and share their faith with other Christians. Risks and levels of pressure generally become less over time as converts find ways to rebuild relationships and receive support from other Christians, although for some, relief only arrives after they have been ostracized by their families. It is likely that a significant number of converts keep their faith a secret.

Pressure in Block 2 / Family sphere

Block 2.6: Christian couples have been hindered in adopting children or serving as foster parents because of their faith. (4.00 points)

To adopt a child in Morocco you have to be a Muslim. Part of the adoption procedure entails a meeting with an imam, who will ask the adoptive parents about the tenets of Sunni Islam.

Block 2.8: Christian children have been pressured into attending anti-Christian or majority religion teaching at any level of education. (3.75 points)

Islamic religious education is a compulsory subject in public schools and officially takes a moderate approach. School books have been adapted in recent years in order to fight extremism. Many texts deemed offensive towards Christians and Jews have been removed, although there is still no room for (religious) pluralism and it remains questionable whether these top-down reforms are supported at the grass-roots level. Although some private schools allow children from Moroccan Christian homes to skip the Islamic classes, this is not the norm and private schooling is often too expensive for Moroccan Christians to begin with.

In addition, even expatriate Christian parents, especially those from a Sub-Saharan African background, struggle with sending their children to public schools, as their children are not being exempted from Islamic religious education.

Block 2.2: Registering the birth, wedding, death, etc. of Christians has been hindered or made impossible. (3.50 points)

This is especially problematic for female converts, as they are only allowed to marry Christian (born) men if their intended husbands first convert to Islam. In practice, this means that they cannot marry a foreign Christian spouse in Morocco or that their (foreign) marriage will not be recognized by the state. Marrying another (Moroccan) convert is legally possible, but only via an Islamic marriage. Children born to Moroccan convert Christians cannot be registered with Christian names. Moroccan Christians can only be buried with Islamic rites in an Islamic cemetery.

Block 2.4: Christian baptisms have been hindered. (3.50 points)

Baptism of converts take place in secret, as baptism is a very clear sign of both conversion and proselytism.

Block 2 - additional information

Conversion to Christianity can trigger a hostile reaction from a convert's immediate and extended family. Children of known Moroccan Christians often face harassment and bullying, forcing many to lead a double life. The state considers all Moroccans to be Muslims and Moroccan Christian converts can be married (without being asked if they are Muslims because it is assumed they are). However, foreign Christian men wanting to marry a Moroccan woman would have to say they are Muslims because they are asked this question. It is not uncommon for Moroccan Christians, especially women, to be divorced or to lose custody of their children because of their conversion. Many accept certain levels of pressure or even domestic violence in order to avoid such problems and the shame it brings.

Pressure in Block 3 / Community sphere

Block 3.2: Christians have been monitored by their local communities or by private groups (this includes reporting to police, being shadowed, telephone lines listened to, emails read/censored, etc.). (3.50 points)

Both local and foreign Christians are being monitored by the Moroccan security services. Local community members regularly inform the police when they are aware of proselytizing activities.

Block 3.5: Christians have been put under pressure to take part in non-Christian religious ceremonies or community events. (3.25 points)

Christians, especially converts, feel a great deal of societal pressure to take part in Islamic religious activities and rituals. Especially during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan, but also during family events like circumcision ceremonies.

Block 3.6: Christians have been hindered in participating in communal institutions, forums, etc., for faith-related reasons. (3.25 points)

Christianity is seen as a foreign religion and Christians are not considered to be part of Moroccan society. Hence, there is no room for them within communal groups.

Block 3.13: Christians have been interrogated or compelled to report to the local vigilante/police for faith-related reasons. (3.00 points)

Converts, especially those active in ministry, are monitored and are regularly called in for questioning.

Block 3 - additional information

Christian converts face ostracization by their family and community, particularly in rural areas. Societal pressure also makes it difficult for converts to raise their children as Christians. Such

pressure could, for instance, take the form of bullying at school or Islamic instruction without parental consent. In urban areas, Christians have more freedom but expressions of Christian faith could still be perceived as an attempt at proselytization and could have negative repercussions.

Pressure in Block 4 / National sphere

Block 4.1: The Constitution (or comparable national or state law) limits freedom of religion as formulated in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (4.00 points)

The Constitution declares Islam to be the state religion (Art. 3) but the same article also guarantees all citizens the "free exercise of beliefs". In addition, Article 41 designates the king as the "Guarantor of the free exercise of beliefs" but the same article also defines him as the "Commander of the Faithful", who "sees to the respect for Islam". In practice, this means that a Moroccan citizen can only practice Islam and cannot change his religion to Christianity.

Block 4.9: Christian civil society organizations or political parties have been hindered in their functioning or forbidden because of their Christian convictions. (4.00 points)

Civil society organizations with clear Christian convictions, or who aim to defend the rights of Moroccan converts, are actively opposed by the government. The Law on Associations prohibits any organization that the government considers to be carrying out activities "for an unlawful purpose contrary to the laws or public morals, or which could harm the Islamic religion, territorial integrity or the monarchy ...". They are prevented from organizing activities such as conferences on religious freedom in Morocco or from advocating for religious freedom in general.

Block 4.8: Christians have been hindered in expressing their views or opinions in public. (3.50 points)

Christian evangelism is banned. Giving Christian literature to Muslims and proselytization is illegal. Christians who evangelize could be accused of "shaking the faith of Islam" and this will entail criminal liability.

Block 4.12: Christians, churches or Christian organizations have been hindered in publicly displaying religious symbols. (3.50 points)

Churches in Morocco are largely invisible in the public sphere. Only (foreign) historical churches in urban areas display Christian symbols publicly. However, both Moroccan Christians and expatriate Sub-Saharan African Christians gather in house-churches or general buildings not recognizable as churches from the outside, so as not to draw unwanted (police) attention and pressure.

Block 4 - additional information

There are considerable restrictions on Christians in public. For instance, eating in public during Ramadan is considered illegal. Morocco's High Religious Committee has retracted its 2012 ruling stating that apostasy is punishable by death and seems to have decided to permit Muslims to change their religion. However, state officials conduct surveillance on Christians and monitor

their activities to enforce the ban on evangelism.

Pressure in Block 5 / Church sphere

Block 5.5: Churches have been hindered from organizing Christian activities outside church buildings. (4.00 points)

Churches are hindered from organizing Christian activities outside church buildings as these could be construed as proselytism. This will be the case both for Christians with a Muslim background and for other Christians.

Block 5.7: Churches have been hindered from openly integrating converts. (4.00 points)

Churches of expatriate Christian communities are always monitored to make sure that Moroccan nationals do not attend their services. The restriction on fellowship between expatriate Christian communities and Moroccan church groups affects both communities negatively.

Block 5.2: It has been difficult to get registration or legal status for churches at any level of government. (3.75 points)

Only the Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox, Anglican and French Protestant Church have a special recognized status. Other churches have to register as associations. All churches are legally prohibited from pursuing any activities that could undermine Islam. Moroccan Christians cannot officially establish their own churches or belong to foreign churches.

Block 5.14: Openly selling or distributing Bibles (or other Christian materials) has been hindered. (3.75 points)

The government has continued to permit the display and sale of Bibles in French, English and Spanish. A limited number of Arabic translations of the Bible have also been available for sale in a few bookshops for use in university religion courses. The authorities confiscate Bibles they believe are intended for use in proselytizing.

Block 5 - additional information

Expatriate churches are not hindered in establishing and managing schools, or charitable, humanitarian, medical, social or cultural organizations, but these organizations must refrain from any activities that could be construed as proselytizing. Any perception of being evangelistic will lead to problems. Therefore, although they enjoy more freedom than churches in other countries in the region, churches in Morocco operate under substantial restrictions.

Violence

Violence is defined in WWL Methodology as the deprivation of physical freedom or as bodily harm to Christians or damage to their property. It includes severe threats (mental abuse). The table is based on reported cases as much as possible, but since many incidents go unreported, the numbers must be understood as being minimum figures. The following 5 points should be considered when using the data provided in the Block 6 table:

1. Some incidents go unreported because the Christians involved choose not to speak about the hostility being faced. Possible reasons for this may be:

- Doing so would expose them to more attacks. For example, if a family member is killed because of his/her faith, the survivors might decide to keep silent about the circumstances of the killing to avoid provoking any further attacks.
- In some circumstances, the reticence to pass on information may be due to the danger of exposure caused by converts returning to their previous faith.
- If persecution is related to sexual violence - due to stigma, survivors often do not tell even their closest relatives.
- In some cultural settings, if your loved one is killed, you might be under the obligation to take revenge. Christians not wishing to do that, may decide to keep quiet about it.

2. Other incidents go unreported for the following possible reasons:

- Some incidents never reach the public consciousness, because no one really knows about it; or the incident is simply not considered worth reporting; or media coverage is deliberately blocked or distorted; or media coverage is not deliberately blocked, but the information somehow gets lost; or the incidents are deliberately not reported widely for security reasons (e.g. for the protection of local church leaders).
- In situations where Christians have been discriminated against for many years, armed conflict can make them additionally vulnerable. Christians killed in areas where fighting regularly takes place are unlikely to be reported separately. Examples in recent years have been Sudan, Syria and Myanmar.
- Christians who die through the deprivation of basic necessities such as clean water and medical care (due to long-term discrimination) are unlikely to be reported separately. Christians are not always killed directly; they can be so squeezed by regulations and other oppressive factors that they die – not at once, but in the course of years. This often includes the deprivation of basic necessities such as clean water and medical care, or exclusion from government assisted socio-economic development projects. These numbers could be immense.

3. For further discussion (with a focus on the complexity of assessing the numbers of Christians killed for their faith) please see World Watch Monitor's article dated 13 November 2013 available at:
<https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/2013/11/number-of-christian-martyrs-continues-to-cause-debate/>.

4. The use of symbolic numbers: In cases where it has been impossible to count exactly, a symbolic round figure (10*, 100* etc.) is given and indicated with an asterisk. A symbolic number of 10* could in reality even be 100 or more but the real number is uncertain. A symbolic number of 100* could go well over 1000 but the real number is uncertain. A symbolic number of 1,000* could go well over 10,000 but, again, the real number is uncertain. The same applies for symbolic numbers 10,000*, 100,000* and 1,000,000*: Each could indicate much higher numbers, but WWR chooses to be cautious because the real number is uncertain.

5. The symbol "x" in the table: This denotes a known number which cannot be published due to security concerns.

Morocco: Violence Block question		WWL 2022	WWL 2021
6.1	How many Christians have been killed for faith-related reasons (including state sanctioned executions)?	0	0
6.2	How many churches or Christian buildings (schools, hospitals, cemeteries, etc.) have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down, closed or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.3	How many Christians have been detained for faith-related reasons?	11	12
6.4	How many Christians have been sentenced to jail, labor camp, sent to psychiatric hospital as punishment, or similar things for faith-related reasons?	0	0
6.5	How many Christians have been abducted for faith-related reasons (including Christians missing in a persecution context)?	7	3
6.6	How many Christians have been raped or otherwise sexually harassed for faith-related reasons?	12	10
6.7	How many cases have there been of forced marriages of Christians to non-Christians?	4	5
6.8	How many Christians have been otherwise physically or mentally abused for faith-related reasons (including beatings and death threats)?	34	21
6.9	How many houses of Christians or other property (excluding shops) have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	6	2
6.10	How many shops or businesses of Christians have been attacked, damaged, bombed, looted, destroyed, burned down, closed or confiscated for faith-related reasons?	1	3
6.11	How many Christians have been forced to leave their homes or go into hiding in-country for faith-related reasons?	20	12
6.12	How many Christians have been forced to leave the country for faith-related reasons?	7	0

In the WWL 2022 reporting period:

- **Christians attacked:** Several Christians have faced abuse, with female converts especially being vulnerable to sexual harassment and rape. This abuse took place mostly in the family sphere, although there have also been reports of police abuse. In addition to the reported cases, many other incidents remain unknown as they often happen in the domestic sphere and are an issue of shame.
- **Christians arrested:** Several Christians were detained and questioned for possessing a Bible, Christian materials or engaging in evangelism.

- **Christian-owned houses and shops attacked:** Several Christian properties, including houses and businesses, have been attacked and vandalized, both by family members and members of the wider community.
- **Violence against female Christians:** Several incidents of forced marriage, sexual abuse and forced relocation of female converts from Islam to Christianity were reported. Those incidents all took place in the family sphere.
- **Christians forced to leave:** Several Moroccan Christians had to find refuge elsewhere in the country to escape from family pressure, while several expatriate Christians were forced to leave the country after accusations of proselytism.

5 Year trends

The following three charts show the levels of pressure and violence faced by Christians in the country over the last five WWL reporting periods.

5 Year trends: Average pressure

Morocco: WWL 2018 - WWL 2022 Persecution Pattern history	Average pressure over 5 Spheres of life
2022	12.9
2021	12.8
2020	12.5
2019	12.3
2018	10.1

The table above lists the average pressure on Christians and shows that the overall level of pressure on Christians has gradually crept up since WWL 2018 and increased to a very high level.

5 Year trends: Pressure in each sphere of life

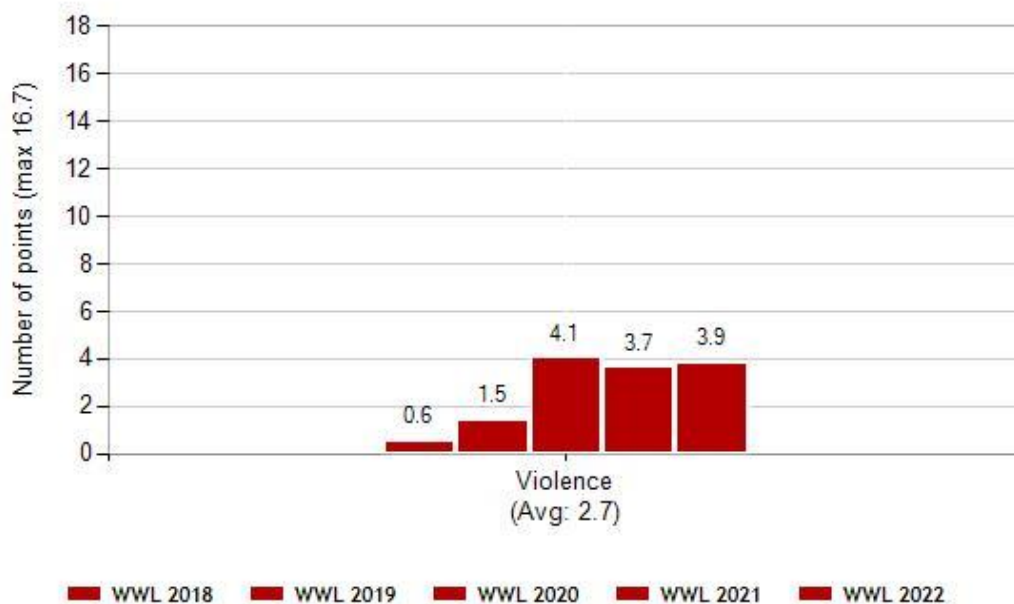
The chart below shows that pressure in all *spheres of life* increased sharply in WWL 2019. The levels appear to have more or less stabilized over the period WWL 2020 - WWL 2022, except for slight increases in the *Private*, *Family* and *National* spheres of life. Pressure has been at an extreme level in the *Church sphere* for the last four reporting periods.

WWL 2018 - WWL 2022 Persecution Pattern for Morocco
(Spheres of life)



5 Year trends: Violence against Christians

WWL 2018 - WWL 2022 Persecution Pattern for Morocco
(Violence)



The number of violent incidents recorded in the period WWL 2018 - 2019 was (very) low. After a sharp rise in WWL 2020, the score has stabilized at a fairly high level with a point range of 3.7 - 4.1.

Gender-specific religious persecution / Female

Group	Female Pressure Points
Economic	Denied inheritance or possessions
Political and Legal	Denied access to Christian religious materials, teachings and rites; Denied custody of children; Denied legal ability to marry Christian spouse; Forced divorce; Forced marriage
Security	Abduction; Incarceration by family (house arrest); Violence – physical; Violence – sexual
Social and Cultural	Denied access to social community/networks; Enforced religious dress code; Violence – psychological; Violence – Verbal
Technological	-

According to reports, most people in Morocco who declare their Christian faith are men, because they are less vulnerable to pressure than women. Although women's rights in Morocco have developed over the last sixteen years, which has given women more legal equality, women in Morocco remain in a generally less advantageous position than men (HRW 2021). For example, they have few economic opportunities, as highlighted in Georgetown's "[Women, Peace and Security Index 2019/20](#)" (p.15), making them dependent on men. Cultural expectations bind women to the home and domestic duties, especially in rural areas.

Converts from an Islamic background are most vulnerable to religious persecution. While all Christians from an Islamic background can, in practice, be denied their rights to inheritance or family affiliation, this is a particular risk for women. They are also more vulnerable to arbitrary divorce and the denial of access to their children. A country expert comments: "Often women do not reveal their faith due to the seriousness of the type of persecution they may be subjected to. If she is married to a Muslim, she can be divorced, beaten, expelled, or denied custody to her kids." Personal status law follows the country's Maliki-Ashari Sunni interpretation of Sharia which enables such persecution.

Christian converts also at risk of domestic confinement, forced marriage to a non-Christian and being expelled from the home. In some instances, the pressure is simply so intense that the girl relents and agrees to a marriage to someone who does not share her faith in order to escape the pressure of her family. As these pressures demonstrate, religious persecution against women characteristically takes place within the private sphere, in the family home. Family members fear the scandal of their daughter's conversion, particularly if she is bold enough to demonstrate it in public. Considering these pressures, it is extremely difficult for converts to grow in their faith. Gaining access to Christian religious materials is extremely difficult. If found with a Bible, she will be severely beaten. Christian women using the Internet as a way to counter isolation, risk experiencing cyber harassment for their faith and self-expression.

Although Moroccan society is relatively liberal in some respects, Christians from an Islamic background in rural areas must adhere to the religious form of clothing and way of life and may suffer harassment if they change these customs, especially during Ramadan.

Additionally, rape, or the threat of rape, is a taboo area that is socially associated with a woman’s personal honor, which is linked to her family’s honor. The high level of stigma attached makes it a powerful tool for religious coercion. This is the case both for Moroccan women and for the numerous female Sub-Saharan migrants in Morocco, of whom a proportion are Christian; their rape is not just motivated by exploitation but also by religious intolerance.

Gender-specific religious persecution / Male

Group	Male Pressure Points
Economic	Discrimination/harassment via education; Economic harassment via business/job/work access
Political and Legal	-
Security	Forced out of home – expulsion; Violence – physical
Social and Cultural	Violence – psychological
Technological	-

In general, converts to Christianity are among the most vulnerable in Moroccan society, although typically face fewer pressures than female converts. As a country expert comments: “Most converts are from an Islamic background to Christianity, and most of them are men, because the margin of freedom for men is wider, and because our society is patriarchal, men are less persecuted.” Nonetheless, by leaving Islam, they are perceived to bring shame upon their families and will face a wide variety of pressure.

Within the domestic sphere, they will likely be ostracized by their families. If young and unmarried, a male convert will likely be denied financial support. If already married, he risks abandonment by his wife, whose family will also place pressure on the couple in order to ensure she is freed from his influence. Additionally, a convert can, in practice, be deprived of his inheritance. If single, he will also face pressure to marry a Muslim, although this pressure affects women more. If he reaches the age of 40 however and is still single, the pressure will mount.

Christians, particularly converts, also face difficulties in the public sphere. They are more likely than women to be targeted for government interrogation, beatings or imprisonment. However, the severity of the backlash after conversion depends on their social position and political standing within the local community.

Employment is also a key area of pressure for men, as they are usually the main providers in their families. They may lose their jobs or be harassed at their workplace, throwing them into economic uncertainty. It will be harder for them to secure new employment if their faith is known. Christians are sometimes accused of having converted for financial gain, since Christianity is associated with opulent Western society. Discrimination and harassment have also been reported in educational settings.

Every year, there are reports of a handful of arrests of Christian men. These arrests can occur for nothing more than having a Bible in their possession, or for discussing Christian faith with a Muslim. Fines can accompany the harassment. The pressure from families and society can be so sustained that male converts leave their homes, particularly those who are threatened with death. This makes Christian fellowships harder to form or sustain.

Persecution of other religious minorities

Judaism is the only minority religion officially recognized in the Constitution and Jews have their own religious courts for family matters. Although Islam is the official religion of the state, de facto only Sunni (Maliki) Islam is socially acceptable. Shia Muslims, Ahmadiyya Muslims and adherents of Bahai are religious minorities in Morocco facing government restrictions that make it nearly impossible for them to engage in public acts of worship.

According to the US State Department's IRFR 2020:

- **Shia Muslims:** "[T]he government's refusal to allow Shia Muslim groups to register as associations continued to prevent these groups from gathering legally for public religious observations. There were no known Shia mosques. According to Shia community members, they were able to pray in Sunni mosques, but they risked criticism from other worshippers for their religious practices. Shia representatives reported they did not attempt to register during the year because they feared security forces would harass them, as had been the case in previous years. ... There was continued societal harassment of Shia and Shia beliefs and practices in the press and through Friday sermons. Shia reported they observed Ashura in private to avoid societal harassment. Shia Muslims said that many avoided disclosing their religious affiliation in areas where their numbers were smaller" (p.8, 13).
- **Bahai:** "In contrast to previous years, Baha'i leaders said they did not experience harassment during the year. Members of the Baha'i Faith said they were open about their faith with family, friends, and neighbors" (p.13). However, a local human rights activist reported that several adherents of Bahai have been questioned by the police, but that their leadership does not speak up for them and does not offer them support.
- **Judaism:** "Jewish citizens continued to state that they lived and attended services at synagogues in safety. They said they were able to visit religious sites regularly and to hold annual commemorations" (p.13).

Atheists and atheism are suppressed by both society and the government. Several known atheists and other citizens have received death threats and were harassed by the government in the recent past. In May 2020, a Moroccan actor was arrested and fined on charges of blasphemy after mocking Islam in a social media post ([Morocco World News, 26 May 2020](#)). The Freedom of Thought Report states that a Moroccan court upheld a 6 months prison sentence in July 2020 for Mohammad Awatif Kachchach for 'insulting Islam' after he had shared a satirical cartoon ([Humanists International, 22 October 2020](#)). In June 2021, a 23-year old Moroccan-Italian woman was sentenced to a three and a half years prison sentence for 'insulting Islam'. In 2019, she had re-written verses from the Quran on Facebook in praise of alcohol ([Morocco World News, 30 June 2021](#)).

Future outlook

The outlook for Christians as viewed through the lens of:

Islamic oppression

Converts from Islam to Christianity are likely to keep facing pressure, mostly from the side of their families and society. Ongoing modernization in urban areas might change the attitudes towards converts in the long term. It is unlikely that the government will change its approach towards converts, especially so long as the king remains "the Commander of the Faithful, [who] sees to the respect for Islam" ([Constitution of Morocco](#), Art. 41).

Dictatorial paranoia

Morocco remained one of the more peaceful countries during the Arab Spring uprisings of 2011. Morocco's strong security apparatus plays an important role in keeping the peace. It will keep monitoring all activities that can create unrest, looking especially for any acts of proselytization by Christians. In the past, it has shown it can effectively paralyze the (convert) church. It will probably keep doing so, also to appease Islamists who might otherwise cause unrest.

External Links - Persecution Dynamics

- Gender-specific religious persecution Female description: Women, Peace and Security Index 2019/20 - <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/WPS-Index-2019-20-Report.pdf>
- Persecution of other religious minorities: Morocco World News, 26 May 2020 - <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2020/05/303884/police-arrest-moroccan-actor-rafik-boubker-for-blasphemy-against-islam/>
- Persecution of other religious minorities: Humanists International, 22 October 2020) - <https://fot.humanists.international/countries/africa-northern-africa/morocco/>
- Persecution of other religious minorities: Morocco World News, 30 June 2021 - <https://www.moroccoworldnews.com/2021/06/343170/moroccan-court-convicts-woman-for-publicly-insulting-islam>
- Future outlook: Constitution of Morocco - https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Morocco_2011.pdf

Further useful reports

A selection of in-depth reports and smaller articles are available on World Watch Research's Open Doors Analytical website (password: freedom) and on the World Watch Monitor website:

- <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/reports/>
- <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/?s=Morocco>
- <https://www.worldwatchmonitor.org/countries/Morocco>
- [North Africa – Freedom of religion since the Arab Spring – 2016](#)

External Links - Further useful reports

- Further useful reports: North Africa – Freedom of religion since the Arab Spring – 2016 - <https://opendoorsanalytical.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/North-Africa-Freedom-of-religion-since-the-Arab-Spring-WWR.pdf>