CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX FOR MOROCCO

Analytical Country Report

International Version

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CIVICUS CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX ANALYTICAL COUNTRY REPORT FOR MOROCCO

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FOREWORD

The completion of the Civil Society Index in Morocco was made in accordance to the methodology and steps recommended by CIVICUS. The overall approach is participatory and based on different sources of information: a literature review, extensive case studies, direct surveys, and focus groups, which were used as a means of validation and ownership of results. Furthermore, apart from these sources, the National Implementation Team constructed three major surveys: the Population survey, External Perceptions survey, and Population survey. Below we present information on the samples, methodologies and characteristics of the surveys. It is worth noting that the Advisory Committee of the study was associated with the discussion of the methodology, the definition of civil society, and the resulting adaptations to the country context retained.

It is important to note that two data matrices, and two reports were completed during the implementation of the CSI. First, the standard international version of the data matrix was constructed, which enables cross-country comparison and complies fully with the international standard for comparative analysis. This report, the international version of the CSI Morocco Analytical Country Report, is based on this data-set. However, at the same time, a national version contains some additional characteristics of particular national relevance, such as the inclusion of additional local development associations. Overall, it is important to note that the two data sets show very few differences, and that this does not change the analysis in either report.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

EA   Espace Associatif
MDSFS   Ministry of Social Development Family and Solidarity
CSO   Civil society organisations
INDH   Initiative Nationale de Développement Humain
CC   Consultative Committee
NGO   Non-governmental organisation

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Civil Society Index (CSI) was carried out in Morocco through a comparative and participative approach, guided throughout by an Advisory Committee which worked with the National Implementation Team.

The Civil Society Diamond resulting from the CSI gives a visual expression of the five dimensions that the CSI studies, presenting a more optimistic picture than the initial perceptions of the Advisory Committee. In the diamond, the perception of impact dimension gets the highest score (61.8%), ahead of the practice of values dimension (59.2%). The external environment for civil society is slightly worse ranked (57%), while the level of organisation (50.5%) and civic engagement (43.1%) get the lowest scores. In absolute terms, when compared to the maximum theoretical score of 100%, these performances remain modest. However, they must be compared with other countries in similar situations and their development over time must be taken into account.

Figure 1

Morocco Civil Society Diamond
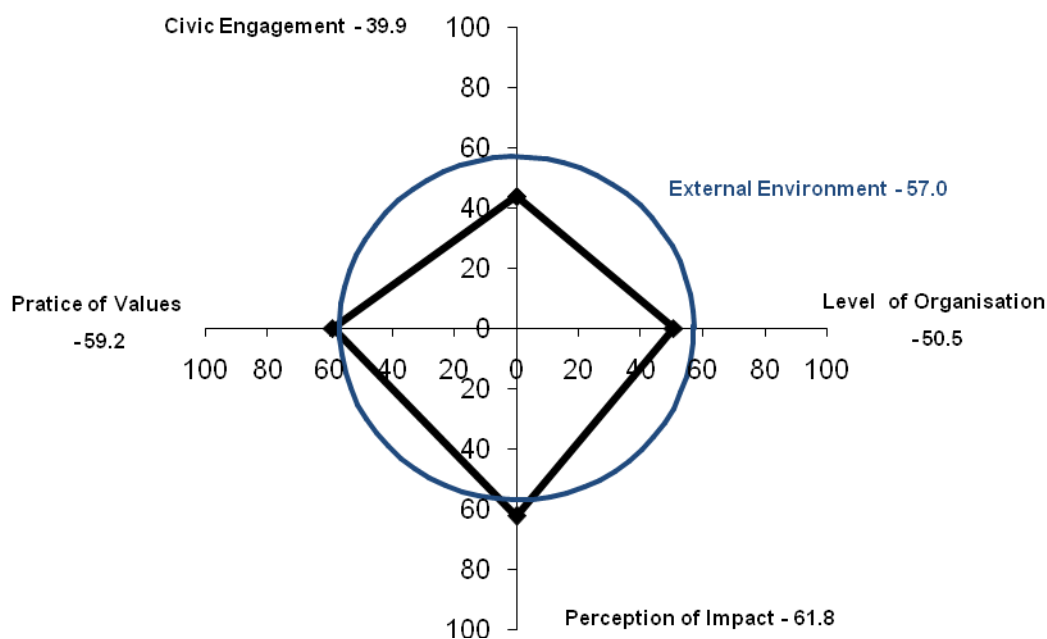
Key findings from the five dimensions discussed in detail in this report are outlined below.

Civic Engagement

People spend most of their time with their family and friends, and although some people make a significant time commitment to CSOs, civic engagement is not widespread. Sports, educational and cultural organisations represent the most common vehicles for civic participation, with CSO membership lower for women and higher for young people, and a potential decline in membership being suggested by a comparison between 2005 World

Values Survey data and the 2010 CSI data. Small numbers of people say that they have taken part in individual activism, such as signing a petition, but the figures also suggest a high latent potential for more people to do so in future. Volunteering remains essential to sustaining civil society, with an average of over 20 volunteers per CSO.

Level of Organisation

Alongside a reliance on volunteers sits a lack of paid staff, with 62% of CSOs not having any paid employees. Funding seems limited to closed circles, with half of CSOs not receiving any state support and over 90% not receiving funding from foreign donors. Expenditure seems to be rising faster than income, and the search for funding to be skewing CSOs' missions and objectives. The granting of the public utility status required to receive state funding is opaque and liable to favouritism. The diversity of the civil society sector is however seen as one of its key values.

Practice of Values

There is a reasonably high perception that civil society stands against violence and intolerance. CSOs themselves demonstrate a high level of internal democracy, which adds weight to their role as promoters of participative democracy. CSOs are, however, challenged to do more to apply high standards of employment practice, not least in promoting equal opportunities for women in the sector.

Perception of Impact

Impact is reported most in the fields of education, social development and assistance to the poor. External stakeholders from the public sector support an assessment of impact as being of medium to high level. There are a number of examples of successful advocacy for policy change. There is good public trust in CSOs, particularly charities and environmental and local development organisations, compared to much lower levels of trust in political parties and parliament. A little more than a third of the public say they are aware of a CSO, although this is strongly tilted towards local rather than national CSOs. Around three quarters of people surveyed say that CSOs are important and useful.

External Environment

Data on the socio-economic context highlights that the involvement of civil society is probably impeded by low levels of education, high illiteracy rates and widespread poverty. Social tolerance presents a mixed picture, with a reasonably high level of tolerance towards foreigners and racial and religious differences, but far less of socially marginalised groups, while there is a widespread condemnation of anti-social actions. Views are also mixed on the favourability of the legal framework, with over 40% of CSOs finding it unduly restrictive, and almost half of CSOs working in the fields of development and human rights finding it so. Contradictory trends are seen, with an evolution towards greater political openness since the 1980s, but more recent reports of a decline in liberties and the effectiveness of laws.

Turning to the strengths and weaknesses of civil society, the report finds that the three main assets CSOs have are proximity and involvement in citizenship, a track record in social and human development, and credibility, independence and a willingness to engage. The key deficits reported are inadequate financing, opportunistic behaviour, and lack of independence and favouritism.

In addressing these obstacles, CSOs suggest they need to improve their efficiency in searching for financing, improve human resources skills and bases, and promote more active civic engagement. Improvement in the legislation for civil society is also needed.

In concluding, the CSI has revealed a picture of a Morocco civil society which has experienced huge and diversified development and which is very deeply based on participation and volunteer work, with its purpose and impact highly valued by both the population in general and key external stakeholders. This high potential for development is however held back by lack of finance, lack of workforce, and the barriers these present to autonomy and professionalisation. While there are steps CSOs themselves can take to strengthen their internal democracy and governance, to initiate debate on the role, missions and the practice by civil society of its values, to address the barriers also requires a significant change in the relationship between civil society and public authorities, backed by real and demonstrated commitment by the state to implement a genuinely participative approach. This would be demonstrated by public funding and the lifting of remaining restrictions on public liberties.

The focus of global attention shifted to North Africa and the Middle East while this report was being prepared. The way forward in Morocco is through an emphasis on collective work, shared structures and democratic partnership.

I. THE CIVIL SOCIETY INDEX PROJECT AND APPROACH

Civil society is playing an increasingly important role in governance and development around the world. In most countries, however, knowledge about the state and shape of civil society is limited. Moreover, opportunities for civil society stakeholders to come together to collectively discuss, reflect and act on the strengths, weaknesses, challenges and opportunities also remain limited.

The Civil Society Index (CSI), a participatory action-research project assessing the state of civil society in countries around the world, contributes to redressing these limitations. It aims at creating a knowledge base and momentum for civil society strengthening. The CSI is initiated and implemented by, and for, civil society organizations at the country level, in partnership with CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation (CIVICUS). The CSI implementation actively involves and disseminates its findings to a broad range of stakeholders including civil society, government, the media, donors, academics, and the public at large.

The following key steps in CSI implementation take place at the country level:

1. **Assessment**: CSI uses an innovative mix of participatory research methods, data sources, and case studies to comprehensively assess the state of civil society using five dimensions: Civic Engagement, Level of Organisation, Practice of Values, Perception of Impact and the External Environment.

2. **Collective reflection**: implementation involves structured dialogue among diverse civil society stakeholders that enables the identification of civil society's specific strengths and weaknesses.

3. **Joint action**: the actors involved use a participatory and consultative process to develop and implement a concrete action agenda to strengthen civil society in a country.

The following four sections provide a background of the CSI, its key principles and approaches, as well as a snapshot of the methodology used in the generation of this report in Morocco and its limitations.

1. PROJECT BACKGROUND

The CSI first emerged as a concept over a decade ago as a follow-up to the 1997 *New Civic Atlas* publication by CIVICUS, which contained profiles of civil society in 60 countries around the world (Heinrich and Naidoo 2001). The first version of the CSI methodology, developed by CIVICUS with the help of Helmut Anheier, was unveiled in 1999. An initial pilot of the tool was carried out in 2000 in 13 countries.[1] The pilot implementation process and results were evaluated. This evaluation informed a revision of the methodology. Subsequently, CIVICUS successfully implemented the first complete phase of the CSI between 2003 and 2006 in 53 countries worldwide. This implementation directly involved more than 7,000 civil society stakeholders (Heinrich 2008).

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[1] The pilot countries were Belarus, Canada, Croatia, Estonia, Indonesia, Mexico, New Zealand, Pakistan, Romania, South Africa, Ukraine, Uruguay, and Wales.

Intent on continuing to improve the research-action orientation of the tool, CIVICUS worked with the Centre for Social Investment at the University of Heidelberg, as well as with partners and other stakeholders, to rigorously evaluate and revise the CSI methodology for a second time before the start of this current phase of CSI. With this new and streamlined methodology in place, CIVICUS launched its current phase of the CSI in 2008 and selected its country partners, including both previous and new implementers, from all over the globe to participate in the project. Table 1 below includes a list of implementing countries in the current phase of the CSI.

Table 1: List of CSI implementing countries 2008-2011[2]

1. Albania	14. Ghana	29. Niger
2. Argentina	15. Italy	30. Philippines
3. Armenia	16. Japan	31. Russia
4. Bahrain	17. Jordan	32. Serbia
5. Belarus	18. Kazakhstan	33. Slovenia
6. Bulgaria	19. Kosovo	34. South Korea
7. Burkina Faso	20. Lebanon	35. Sudan
8. Chile	21. Liberia	36. Togo
9. Croatia	22. Macedonia	37. Turkey
10. Cyprus	23. Madagascar	38. Uganda
11. Djibouti	24. Mali	39. Ukraine
12. Democratic Republic of Congo	25. Malta	40. Uruguay
13. Georgia	26. Mexico	41. Venezuela
	27. Morocco	42. Zambia
	28. Nicaragua	

2. PROJECT APPROACH

The current CSI project approach (2008-2010) continues to marry assessment and evidence with reflections and action. This approach provides an important reference point for all work carried out within the framework of the CSI. As such, CSI does not produce knowledge for its own sake but instead seeks to directly apply the knowledge generated to stimulate strategies that enhance the effectiveness and role of civil society. With this in mind, the CSI's fundamental methodological bedrocks which have greatly influenced the implementation that this report is based upon include the following:[3]

Inclusiveness: The CSI framework strives to incorporate a variety of theoretical viewpoints, as well as being inclusive in terms of civil society indicators, actors and processes included in the project.

Universality: Since the CSI is a global project, its methodology seeks to accommodate national variations in context and concepts within its framework.

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[2] Note that this list was accurate as at the publication of this Analytical Country Report, but may have changed slightly since the publication, due to countries being added or dropped during the implementation cycle.
[3] For in-depth explanations of these principles, please see Mati, Silva and Anderson (2010), Assessing and Strengthening Civil Society Worldwide: An updated programme description of the CIVICUS Civil Society Index Phase 2008-2010. CIVICUS, Johannesburg.

Comparability: The CSI aims not to rank, but instead to comparatively measure different aspects of civil society worldwide. The possibility for comparisons exists both between different countries or regions within one phase of CSI implementation and between phases.

Versatility: The CSI is specifically designed to achieve an appropriate balance between international comparability and national flexibility in the implementation of the project.

Dialogue: One of the key elements of the CSI is its participatory approach, involving a wide range of stakeholders who collectively own and run the project in their respective countries.

Capacity development: Country partners are firstly trained on the CSI methodology during a three day regional workshop. After the training, partners are supported through the implementation cycle by the CSI team at CIVICUS. Partners participating in the project also gain substantial skills in research, training and facilitation in implementing the CSI in-country.

Networking: The participatory and inclusive nature of the different CSI tools (e.g. focus groups, the Advisory Committee, the National Workshops) should create new spaces where very diverse actors can discover synergies and forge new alliances, including at a cross-sectoral level. Some countries in the last phase (2003-2005) have also participated in regional conferences to discuss the CSI findings as well as cross-national civil society issues.

Change: The principal aim of the CSI is to generate information that is of practical use to civil society practitioners and other primary stakeholders. Therefore, the CSI framework seeks to identify aspects of civil society that can be changed and to generate information and knowledge relevant to action-oriented goals.

With the above mentioned foundations, the CSI methodology uses a combination of participatory and scientific research methods to generate an assessment of the state of civil society at the national level. The CSI measures the following core dimensions:

(1) Civic Engagement
(2) Level of Organisation
(3) Practice of Values
(4) Perceived Impact
(5) External Environment

These dimensions are illustrated visually through the Civil Society Diamond (see Figure 1 below), which is one of the most essential and well-known components of the CSI project. To form the Civil Society Diamond, 67 quantitative indicators are aggregated into 28 sub-dimensions which are then assembled into the five final dimensions along a 0-100 percentage scale. The Diamond's size seeks to portray an empirical picture of the state of civil society, the conditions that support or inhibit civil society's development, as well as the consequences of civil society's activities for society at large. The context or environment is represented visually by a circle around the axes of the Civil Society Diamond, and is not regarded as part of the state of civil society but rather as something external that still remains a crucial element for its wellbeing.

Figure 2: The Civil Society Index Diamond
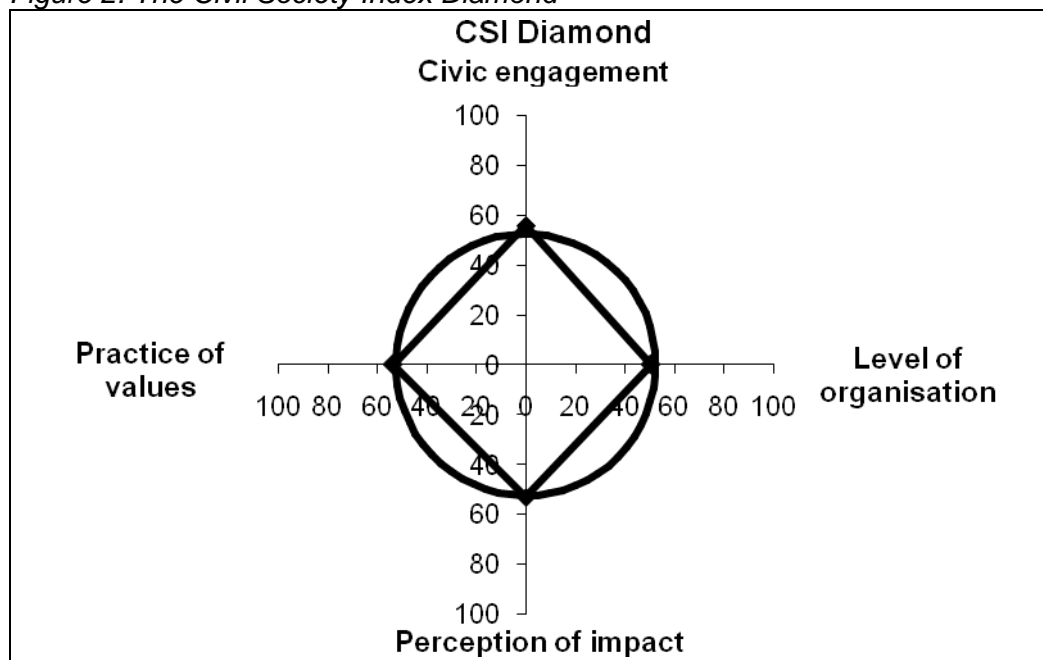
3. CSI IMPLEMENTATION

There are several key CSI programme implementation activities as well as several structures involved, as summarised by the figure below:[4]

Figure 3: CSI implementation process

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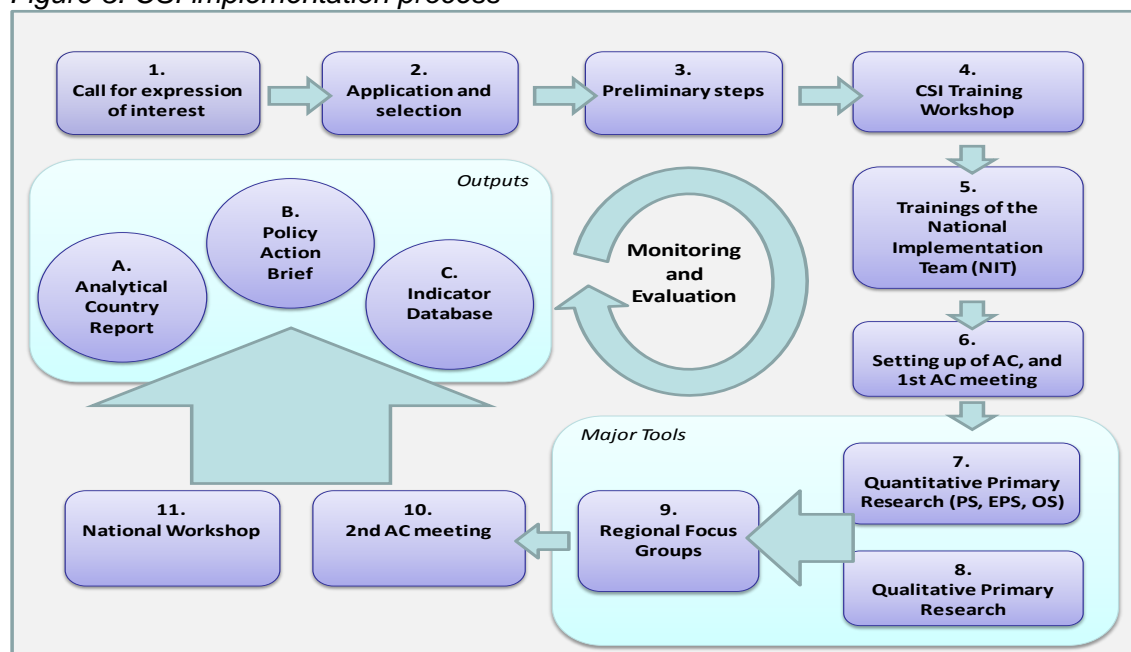
[4] For a detailed discussion on each of these steps in the process, please see Mati et al (cited in footnote 3).

The major tools and elements of the CSI implementation at the national level include:

- Multiple surveys, including: (i) a **Population Survey**, gathering the views of citizens on civil society and gauging their involvement in groups and associations; (ii) an **Organisational Survey** measuring the meso-level of civil society and defining characteristics of CSOs; and (iii) an **External Perceptions Survey** aiming at measuring the perception that stakeholders, experts and policy makers in key sectors have of civil society's impact
- Tailored **case studies** which focus on issues of importance to the specific civil society country context.
- **Advisory Committee** (AC) meetings made up of civil society experts to advise on the project and its implementation at the country level
- Regional and thematic **focus groups** where civil society stakeholders reflect and share views on civil society's role in society

Following this in-depth research and the extensive collection of information, the findings are presented and debated at a **National Workshop**, which brings together a large group of civil society and non-civil society stakeholders and allows interested parties to discuss and develop strategies for addressing identified priority issues.

This **Analytical Country Report** is one of the major outputs of the CSI implementation process in Morocco, and presents highlights from the research conducted, including summaries of civil society's strengths and weaknesses as well as recommendations for strengthening civil society in the country. This report, prepared as an English language international version of the report as part of an international set of around 30 CSI country reports CIVICUS published between January and April 2011, is complemented by a fuller national version of the report in French, which it is also planned to make available in Arabic, along with a report for each specific CSI survey and a report on the CSI case studies

4. IMPLEMENTATION IN MOROCCO

The Civil Society Index Project for Morocco was carried out with reference to the CIVICUS methodology and advised procedures as outlined above. It is useful to add that the **Advisory Committee** was included in discussions on methodology, defining civil society and adapting the study to the country's specificities.

Given the lack of ready knowledge on civil society, the approach used for all **case studies** was exploratory and qualitative, aiming not only to derive a better understanding of the main favourable factors for the development of civil society, but also to identify elements that prevent its development. Studies were carried out, one for each CSI dimension, so as to complement quantitative data and to improve the understanding of the surveys' outcomes. As part of the case study process, five focus groups of stakeholders from several types of CSOs were organised, one for each dimension.

The **Population Survey** was based on a representative sample that took into account the demographic weight of Morocco's regions and the population's features (gender, age and level of instruction). The 18 to 24 year old age group accounted for 16.5% of the sample and the 25 to 34 year old group for 35.3%, which means that the majority of the population (51.8%) belong to young age groups. We took into account the background of participants and the size of the city they live in. The number of interviewed people, face to face, was 1,297. This survey

aimed to collect information on the population, its features, its assessments of civil society and civic engagement. It also explored the extent to which some values are shared among society, in particular tolerance towards certain phenomena and social categories.

For the **Organisational Survey,** we surveyed 212 CSOs in 15 regions, in cities of various sizes and rural districts and in the various fields of action of civil society. To constitute the sample, the national team in charge of the implementation used a range of sources of information to develop a list CSOs. The questionnaires were done face to face. The sample was randomly drawn from the list developed, with reference to theme and region.[5]

The **External Perceptions Survey** was carried out amongst key civil society stakeholders and people with recognised expertise. 51 people or institutions answered and returned the questionnaire they were sent.

In accordance with the participative approach, the Advisory Committee was invited to participate in the drafting of the initial Civil Society Index Perception Diamond. This was done to capture initial perceptions, and to give a point of comparison with the CSI Diamond eventually resulting from the study. The perception diamond showed that the Advisory Committee members were quite pessimistic about the state of civil society, particularly in their assessment of the civic engagement and practice of values dimensions, which they scored at only 11.2% and 9.8% respectively. The level of organisation and perception of impact dimensions got slightly higher scores of 22.3% and 27.9% respectively, while the external environment dimension got a 41.7% score. Thus, environment is comparatively perceived as more positive, while civic engagement and practice of values seem to be problematic and unfavourably assessed. We will later compare this perception diamond with the one established from the quantitative data compiled for this study.

It should be noted that the CSI methodology demands an international dataset based on standard indicators for cross-country comparability. However, it was agreed that data should be collected on some specific types of organisations in Morocco that were outside the usual CSI categories, and these are reflected in some indicator scores on which this report is based. The CSI indicator matrix in the annex to this report presents the international data only, to enable comparison with other reports, and hence the reader may notice some discrepancies between numbers in the next and numbers given in the indicator matrix. These differences are minor and do not affect the analysis in the text.

For the purposes of this report, CSOs surveyed were clustered into four broad organisation types to enable a comparative analysis. The four organisation types and their proportions are as follows:

Table 2 : Organisations surveyed by broad category types

	Number	Percent
Culture, sport, recreational and youth organisations	77	36.5
Human rights and women's organisations	19	9.0
Professional associations and labour unions	16	7.6
Local development, health and proximity organisations	99	46.9

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[5] Report step 2, data collection, simple tabulation report (population and organisation), September 2010.

Total	211	100.0

5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

On the question of the assessment of civil society impact, some participants expressed methodological concerns: they wondered if CSI should assess the impact with regard to impact on public policies or assessment of civil society practice and implementation. It was said that civil society impact remains moderate, since the success of undertaken actions is dependent on the state's attitude and the opportunities it may offer, and also that impact grows in the medium and long run, and so it is still too early to be able to tell. It is therefore necessary to take into account the timeframe for assessing the impact of advocacy. In addition, in order to assess the success of advocacy and to measure its outcome, it is also necessary to know the objectives being pursued and the benchmarks that have been chosen. These are some of the common methodological interrogations that have to be kept in mind while attempting to assess civil society impact.

II. CIVIL SOCIETY IN MOROCCO

1. CONCEPT AND DEFINITION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

François Rangéon developed an analysis of the concept of civil society and its historical evolution.[6] To him, civil society is one of the most ambiguous notions of the current political debate.[7] To some people, civil society is defined by opposition to the state. To others, it is not the inverse to the state but on the contrary "the place where private and public areas permeate." According to this author, the expression 'civil society' appears in the French language in the seventeenth century, at the same time as its opposite, 'the state of nature'. To the conceptual dichotomy of nature/civil society follows the conceptual opposition between civil society and state that we are still using today.

To Locke[8] civil society has a dimension of political society taking care of citizens' safety. It is also an economic order, guarantor of private property, legal order, and the protection of individual rights. To Hegel, civil society is conceived as a lack of universality and unity with regard to the state. In civil society, the bourgeois manage to organise themselves and to achieve relative universality. In merchant society, civil society institutions (such as organisations, corporations.) are able to combine individuals' own interests and, through legal action, manage conflicts of interest.

Marx links and articulates civil society to social relations.[9] To him, civil society means individuals' material conditions of existence. He agrees on the existence of a separation between civil society and the state, but sees this as an illusion. Thus, civil society represents the real and material foundation of state, whilst being its opposite. After enduring this long evolution in its form and meaning, the expression of 'civil society' seems to have disappeared during the twentieth century before reappearing in that century's latter decades, often still presented as the contrary to the state, a positive and valorised notion.

Today, several definitions are proposed to specify the meaning and delineation of civil society.

Wikipedia, perhaps the most contemporary of sources, defines civil society as "the domain of organised civil social life that is voluntary, widely self-sufficient and independent from the state"; it is the expression of the social body, as opposed to the political class. To UNESCO, civil society is "the self-organisation of society outside of the state and commercial domains, that is a set of organisations or groups constituted more or less formally and that do not belong neither to government sphere nor to commercial sphere." To the European Union,[10] civil society "groups together labour unions and employers' associations (the 'social partners'), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs),[11] professional associations, charities, basic organisations, and organisations involving citizens in local and municipal communities, with a

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[6] Dictionaries refer to the etymology of the word *societas civilis*. The Latin *civitas* designates both the city, that is to say the politically organised group, and the society of individual people it gathers (p.11).

[7] François Rangeon, a lecturer at Amiens University. 'Civil society: the history of a word', in *Civil Society*, university research centre on public and political action, PUF, 1986, pp.9-32.

[8] Classical authors' points of view on civil society have been studied in: 'Civil Society in Questions.' Study realised by Michel Offérlé, in Political and Social Problems, # 888, May 2003.

[9] Namely: 'Bourgeois society and civil society', Karl Marx. German ideology, p.19 (see other authors pp. 20-27).

[10] White Paper on European Union governance. La Documentation Française, Paris.

[11] Organisations are often considered as being at the heart of civil society. The 1958 law on organisations in Morocco underlines this: "the organisation is the convention through which two or more people are pooling, on a permanent basis, their knowledge or activities, with a non pecuniary purpose."

specific contribution of churches and religious communities." State organisations and political parties are excluded from this conception of civil society.

The CIVICUS working definition of civil society employed in CSI, which national partners are encouraged to debate and adapt, is as follows:

The arena, outside of the family, the state, and the market, which is created by individual and collective actions, organisations and institutions to advance shared interests. [12]

Some participants expressed their surprise at this and to a certain extent contested the CIVICUS definition of civil society since it also takes into account political organisations and even uncivil elements. As they are in the whole in favour of democratic development, they showed at reluctance to including uncivil elements in the definition of civil society.[13] They point out the national context, with many actors not being autonomous. In addition, the notion of shared interest seems to be problematic. Some members of the Advisory Committee have insisted on the importance of the notion of general interest (or common interest) and the existence of a voluntary approach. But they are not included in the notion of shared interest. To some participants, those who make use of violence (for instance violence against women) must be put aside. Moreover, they wondered how to measure the influence of social forces and its members: within their own field or in relation to general interest?

When it comes to the civil society environment and the relations between stakeholders, a very large majority of participants underline the importance of civil society's diversity and heterogeneity. It has been said that labour unions differ from NGOs in the sense that their logic is different. They usually maintain privileged relations with political parties; their logic towards relationships with the state and other partners is different (encompassing demands, lobbying, negotiation). They take advantage of legal frameworks for the presentation of demands or to engage in dialogue with the state. They may also threaten to enter into strike in case of conflict. The situation of NGOs strongly differs from that of labour unions because of their purposes, demands, orientations, means and resources.

In addition, the classification of organisations such as *Al Adl Wal Al Ihssane* (see below) as religious organisations has been contested. To some interviewees, this should be considered as a political organisation.

The definition proposed by CIVICUS was considered by some participants as vague or difficult to pin down. To some Advisory Committee members, civil society is linked with democratic development in Morocco. It refers to 'civic spiritedness'. This appropriation of 'civic spiritedness' by Moroccan people defines their contributions. They wish that this aspect was clearly put in the CIVICUS definition instead of being diluted. They wonder how non-civil elements can be included in the definition of civil society while extremist movements reject a plurality of views. The inclusive approach is accepted, but it should be limited by refusing elements that are linked to the political sphere and that would not respect democratic principles.

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[12] CIVICUS (2008), 'Civil Society Index toolkit: Introduction and conceptual structure. Evaluating civil society'. pp. 17-19.
[13] However, it has been suggested to take into account professional associations and the specificity of organisations representing professions (such as colleges of lawyers or physicians), and also universities and think tanks.

2. MAPPING OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN MOROCCO

In Morocco civil society has experienced great development during the last decades. There are between 30,000 and 50,000[14] CSOs, depending on sources. This illustrates the existence of loopholes in the knowledge of civil society, even in its core definition.[15] The significant development of civil society can partly be seen as the result of the population's lack of confidence in structures of traditional representation, as well as state disengagement from public services with a concomitant increase in the population's needs. Thus, out of necessity people would turn to civil society to fill the gap left behind by the state.[16]

Studies on development organisations[17] also bring to light a significant burgeoning of non-governmental groups. This relates to an emancipation in traditional social structures, which reflects a new vision of civic engagement. This major development was noticed in the middle of the 1990s as civil society took advantage of the opening up and development of public liberties, which began in the 1980s and continued into the 1990s. As a result of a new government coming into power in 1998, the mind-set and attitude towards civil society have evolved positively.

There are numerous and varied CSOs. According to the CIVICUS definition, above, any organisation that does not belong to the state or the private sector and that was created to advance shared interests belongs to civil society. This definition means that all kinds of organisations (even informal ones) may be part of civil society. No judgment is made on the moral nature of the actions pursued. Of course, based on this definition, civil society is not only composed of non-governmental organisations. Foundations, some kinds of corporate organisations and labour unions are within the scope of civil society. CIVICUS would tend to include in that definition non governing political parties. However, the national implementation group of the CSI following discussion considered political parties to either be in power or aiming for power and thus it was decided to exclude them from the scope of civil society in the case of Morocco. Keeping them, in the national context, would have made the analysis and the survey much more difficult to carry out and the outcomes much harder to analyse. In addition, we put aside all organisations close to power and state. However, ten types of organisations were identified by members of the Advisory Committee depending on the level of their influence and the nature of their actions. They are split depending on the following categories:

1. Human rights and advocacy organisations;
2. Development and services organisations;
3. Educational and cultural organisations;
4. Labour unions;
5. Church or religious organisations;
6. Social movements;
7. Zawayat (religious brotherhood);
8. Private media;
9. Professional associations;

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[14] See in particular, the Government General Secretariat and the website of the Tanmia organisation.
[15] In the Paola study, we propose an estimate of around 40,000 organisations, but this figure has not been confirmed. Likewise, the number of people involved in organisations is totally unknown.
[16] Carrefour Associatif: Study on voluntary engagement of young people and organisational activities in Morocco. Provisional report, June 2010.
[17] MSDFS – Department of Social Development: 'Study on Moroccan development organisations: diagnosis, analysis and prospects'. Final report of stage III. May 2010.

10. Foundations.

Within those categories, there are organisations with varying weight and influence. Some have advocacy missions, while others do not go beyond providing services or raising awareness. Some have a national scope while others work locally and intervene in precise domains and areas. It is difficult to measure their influence. There is no known study on that area. It is, for example, easy to tell the difference between the influence of the Moroccan Human Rights Organisation (MHRO) and other human rights-oriented organisations, or between the General Confederation of Moroccan Entrepreneurs (GCME) and the association of notaries. But it is far more difficult to assess certain aspects of the influence of the various categories of organisations. For example, the GCME has some influence on some aspects of taxation or the provisions of finance law but there are probably structures or foundations closer to power that have much more influence, especially on finance law. It may be more relevant to wonder if CSOs as a whole manage to make a difference, even if it is only to ameliorate measures that affect citizens in their everyday life and their interests. Indeed, as civil society is much diversified when it comes to the way actions are undertaken and the interests pursued, the notion of influence also has several diversified meanings that may even be contradictory from one another.

Advisory Committee discussions led to the identification of about 20 stakeholders and social forces that have a more or less important influence on the national scene.[18] The institution of the monarchy is at the top of the social and political forces. It is headed by the King, who is the main political force. The military apparatus and state security structures are considered to be the second source of influence by participants. Sovereign secretaries of state and King's advisors were put at a comparative level to the monarchic institution. The huge diversity of Consultative Councils are quite high positioned in this ranking of influence. However, all above mentioned institutions or structures to a large extent derive their strength and legitimacy from their dependence and submission to the monarchic institution and more specifically to the King.[19]

In a secondary circle of influence are the Prime Ministerial administration and the government, certain public institutions and state agencies, such as the Caisse de Dépôt et de Gestion, an institution set up by the state to manage certain public funds. We must however admit that it is difficult to establish a precise hierarchical ranking of these institutions and powers. But it is quite clear that the executive power (the government) is far more powerful in comparison with the representative institutions that are the two chambers of parliament. This is for instance illustrated by the limits put on the budgetary procedure and the restrictions put on the implementation of investigative committees.

As far as political parties, political organisations and labour unions are concerned, those interviewed have described these institutions as weakened by their division and the decrease in popular support. The latter is corroborated by the outcomes of the latest elections and the absence of a stimulating political and social project.[20]

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[18] Those are the participants in the Survey Consultative Committee's perceptions and representations. There is no pretention that this can be objective and thorough.
[19] The 2009 Survey on the National System of Integrity in Morocco, carried out by Transparency Morocco seems to reach the same conclusions: the monarchic institution dominates all other key aspects of the state system (executive, representation system, legal system, etc.)
[20] According to the survey '50 years of human development. 2025 Prospects', the level of interest in politics is low: 26.7% on average and 21.6% in cities. Membership in political parties is even lower: 1.7% of the general population and 1.6% of people living in cities.

Institutions such as the Professional Grouping of Moroccan Banks (PGMB) and the North African Omnium-National Investment Company (NAO-NIC), along with other areas of the finance sphere, play an important role that is often related to their privileged relationship with central power and their common interests. But globally, the private sector has limited influence and is reduced to economic lobbying. For example, the GCME is able, as said above, through lobbying to have decisions changed to follow its interests. The role of professional associations is more limited. The electoral process and representation in the House of Representatives is also far from being democratic, as the voting system is such that almost only notables and specific individuals are elected, without real representation.

The media develops and diversifies. Whereas an independent press emerged in the 2000s, today the tendency is going backwards, following a series of trials, severe fines and closures. Control has been regained, either through direct intervention and censure or through selective financing and publicity. As for public media, they are still strongly controlled by central power (albeit not necessarily by the government).[21] The impact of the recent experience of new private radio stations needs to be evaluated over time. For the time being, radio stations are more open towards civil society in its diversity. Themes tackled by the press are restricted by the narrow room to manoeuvre that they operate within. Freedom of speech is limited by 'red lines' imposed on all kinds of media (from written press to mass media). Those 'red lines' are the King's sanctity, Western Sahara and Islam. There is much room for interpretation of the executive and legal powers in this regard. Numerous prosecutions, severe sentences and closure of independent newspapers are the reflection of the limits freedom of speech is subject to and the prominence of monarchic powers.[22]

In a specific way, the judiciary also has significant role and power. However, its dependence on the executive and the monarchic institution – especially through appointments and other mechanisms of control of judges' careers – considerably limits its role and its independence, as is the case for many other public institutions such as the Constitutional Council and the audit court.

The assessment of the role and the influence of many organisations should often be linked with their closeness to central power. For instance, within the religious movement, the majority of *zawayas* and brotherhoods have a very limited role of spiritual influence and try to maintain a good relationship with powers. There also other religious movements and organisations that belong to the political opposition. Examples of the first case are the *Tijania* and *Boutchichiya zawayas*. *Adl Wal Al Ihssane* is a religious association opposed to existing powers. Those movements are generally considered as having huge influence but we do not have precise knowledge of their capacity to mobilise people.

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[21] According to the personal accounts of participants in a focus group, the attitude of official media is biased: "Official media, both national TV channels are selective, but it is also the case in print media." They believe official TV channels' coverage of organisations and their activities is done according to official political orientation. In addition, the organisations that get the most coverage are the national organisations; the large majority of organisations, in particular, local and proximity organisations, get little or no media coverage.
[22] The 2009 Survey on the National System of Integrity in Morocco, carried out by Transparency Morocco, includes a precise and factual analysis on media in relation with the other powers of integrity. In the part dedicated to media (pp. 91-95), it is written that "Justice is ever more used by political power to regulate the media sphere so as to "settle scores with certain media." Disproportionate fines have become much more useful weapons than custodial sentences against "embarrassing journalists". One newspaper was sentenced to a 3 million dirham (390 000 dollars) fine" (p. 91). Other examples of attacks against press freedom follow.

Social movements are developing on practical, material and protest grounds. These include the *Tansikiyat* against the high cost of living and other more or less spontaneous mobilisations in Sefrou, Sidi Ifni and many other villages in rural areas. The movements have significant potential for mobilisation. Their success is partly due to the importance of social needs and the loss in credibility of traditional institutions (such as political parties and representative institutions).

The most important NGOs and CSOs are perceived as relatively influential through their role of resistance and by reporting abuses. This is particularly the case in the human rights and advocacy spheres. NGOs that work on the local level or participate in providing access to services (education, water, literacy) that address expectations and needs are usually highly thought of by the targeted population. However, their influence generally remains moderate and their impact only local. A less developed part of civil society that has an invisible impact is constituted of NGOs and consumer organisations.

According to those interviewed, local authorities, towns and villages have acquired significant powers when it comes to service provision to citizens. However, they remain to a certain extent under the tutelage and supervision of the Ministry of Interior and subject to the authority of governors and *walis*.

Last, surveys show that the interviewees consider that international organisations and United Nations organisations play a modest role. Thanks to their financial support and the orientations towards more political and social openness – guided by the intensification of globalisation – they could become more active. The economic interests of partner countries and country cooperation could be impeding this influence.

III. ANALYSIS OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN MOROCCO

1. CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

In this section, we will address the question of civic engagement, presenting the outcomes of the CSI surveys and the case study commissioned for this dimension.

Table 3: Civic Engagement indicator scores

Sub-dimension	Name	Score
1.1	Extent of socially-based engagement	24.9
1.2	Depth of social engagement	41.2
1.3	Diversity of social engagement	87.6
1.4	Extent of political engagement	12.9
1.5	Depth of political engagement	22.9
1.6	Diversity of political engagement	74.1
1	**CIVIC ENGAGEMENT**	**43.9**

The civic engagement dimension attempts to measure the extent, depth and diversity of social and political engagement.

The **focus group** on civic engagement emphasised that in the 1960s and 1970s, civic engagement was mainly limited to 'engaged citizens' coming from the political or trade union areas. After independence (1956), the socio-political environment was hostile to civic engagement, and engagement was for the most part reduced to active members engaged in political parties, mainly from the opposition or in organisations people were leading themselves. During the 1990s, society experienced greater openness and more tolerance from public authorities. This helped civil society activities and encouraged an increase in the number of NGOs and their diversification. Participants' personal accounts relate the development of civil society to better recognition of human rights during this period and to several important socio-political changes, including state disengagement from several social areas and increase in social deficits, parallel to an increase in rural depopulation and urbanisation.[23]

The focus group pointed out a more recent paradox in civic engagement: there is a decrease in motivation on one side and an increase in the number of CSOs on the other. Civic engagement seems to be limited to immediate interest. As we shall address later in this report, civil society members seem to attach little importance to transparency, the requirement to present accounts and accountability, and without those requirements, the leaders of those organisations act in the interests of few individuals, causing a cycle of demotivation and disconnect

1.1 AND 1.4 EXTENT OF ENGAGEMENT – SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

The CSI Population Survey showed that in general respondents who declare they are active or inactive members of a CSO account for a rather low proportion of the whole population. A vast majority of people are not involved in CSOs. Depending on the type of organisation, non-members account for between 91.7% and 99.9% of the surveyed population. However, in the

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[23] The mid 1980s saw the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme that had fallouts on a social level with, for instance, an increase in unemployment and social deficits.

context of relatively recent social and political opening, even limited membership percentages are significant and relevant for civic engagement.

In 2010, CSOs with the highest membership rates are, in decreasing order, sport organisations (8.3%), educational and/or cultural organisations (6.8%) and development organisations (4.8%). The membership rate of human rights organisations amounts to 1.3%. In comparison with the 2005 World Values Survey (WVS), membership levels seem to have decreased for almost all organisational categories, including sport organisations (down from 12.7% to 8.3%), labour unions (down from 8.1% to 1.4%), professional associations (down from 6.3% to 2.3%), and humanitarian organisations or charities (down from 5.1% to 2.2%).

Figure 4: CSOs membership comparison, WVS 2005 and CSI 2010
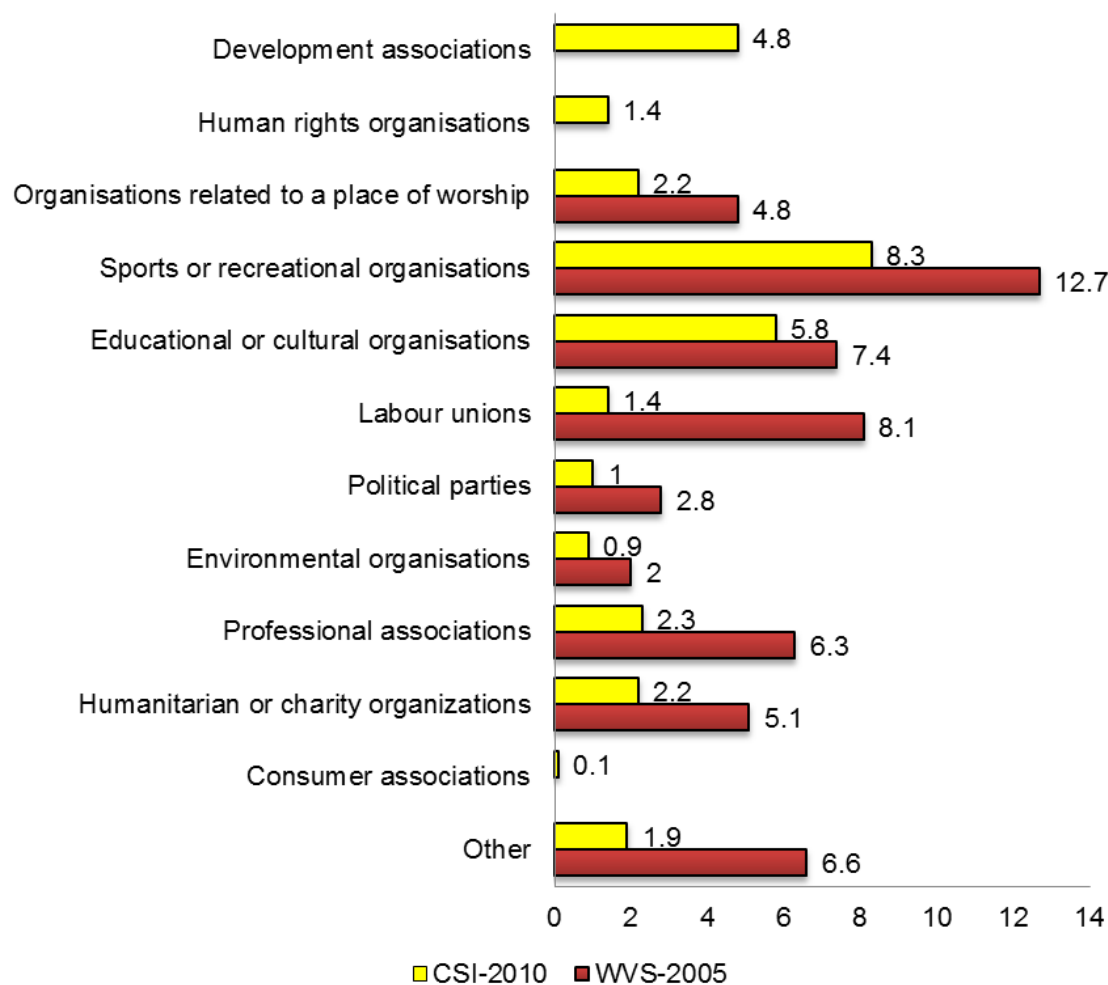
Source: WVS, 2005 and CSI Population Survey, 2010

According to focus group respondents, bad time management, meetings set at inappropriate hours and lasting too long (especially a problem for women's participation) and low efficiency are the most important reasons that account for the low level of involvement of members in CSOs. Thus, civic engagement seems to be hampered by an environment that sometimes works against participation.

The WVS 2005 figures tell us that there are some significant areas of involvement by citizens in civil society. But they also show a gap between the 2000 WVS answers (20% of people said they were "active in the humanitarian area") and the 2005 answers (11.3% of those surveyed "(were) active members in a civil society organisation"). The gap and the decrease are probably also caused by the change in concept.

The National Survey on Values 2004-2005, through applying a more expansive measure, tells us that 10% of citizens are members of an organisation (12.8% in rural areas and 8.4% in urban areas). An interesting finding is that about one third of the population say they wish to become members of a human rights organisation.[24] This suggests a considerable potential for development of civil society if appropriate conditions are gathered.

Table 4: Current and latent organisation membership

	Urban	**Rural**	**Total**
Is a member of a political party	1.6%	1.8%	1.7%
Wishes to become a member of a political party	8.4%	12.8%	10.1%
Is a member of an organisation	5.6%	10.3%	7.4%
Wishes to become a member of an organisation	34.9%	33.3%	34.3%

Source: Synthesis report on the National Survey on Values, 2004-2005.

As part of CSI we also examined the reasons why people become engaged in civil society. According to those surveyed (2010), defending rights (49.1%), intellectual interest (31.8%) and interaction with other people (27.1%) are the leading factors to becoming a member of a CSO. Those motivations are consistent with the classical purposes of civil society. We can also find among the answers financial interest (37.2%) and only marginally, political interest. As for active members, the importance and ranking of the motivations are different. Defending rights is still leading with a much higher score (64.0%), followed by interaction with others (44.9%) and then intellectual interest (32.4%). Financial interest is placed at a lower level (11.8%). Finally, political interest draws a little more attention (11.8%). Thus the answers of the active constituent part of civil society may be considered positive. They correspond with the assumed object of a civil society motivated to serve shared social interests.

Figure 5: Reasons for involvement in civil society

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[24] In this survey lack of interest in politics is higher for women than for men: 35.8% versus 17.2%. Further, organisational membership rates and the wish to become a member of a human rights organisation is higher for men with respectively 13.6% and 38.5% than for women with respectively 1.4% and 30.5%.

Financial interests	0.367
Intellectual interests	0.316
Political interests	0.028
Defense of my rights	0.483
Interaction with other people	0.271
Other	0.015
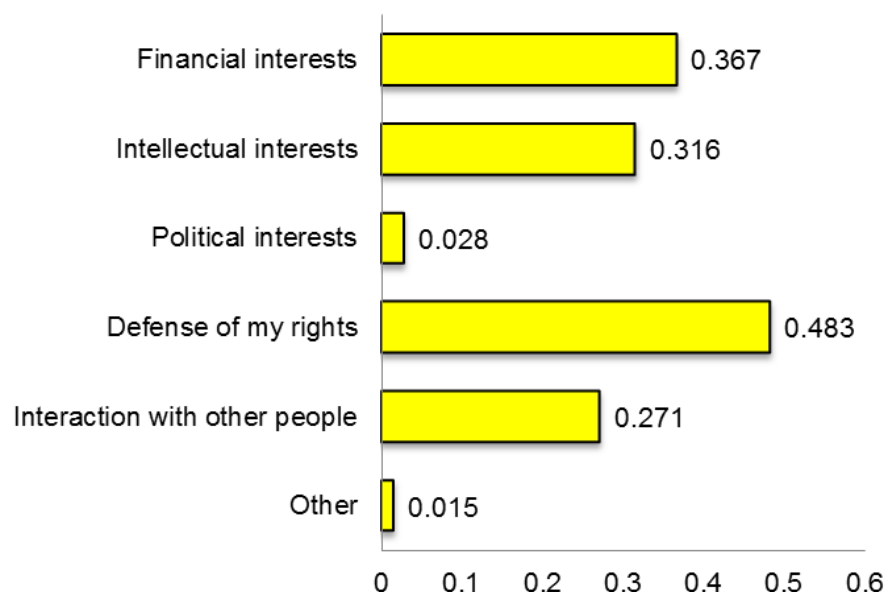
Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

Turning to volunteering, in Morocco organisations are mainly led by unpaid voluntary workers. Volunteering is associated with traditional forms of solidarity, namely the practice of Twiza.[25] Voluntary work refers to M'ajaania in Arabic (free work) and voluntary service to Tatoua'e (act of voluntary service, also often free).

Unpaid volunteering is an important pillar of the functioning of most organisations.[26] Political parties have the lowest rate of volunteering (0.8%) and sport and recreational organisations the highest (7.6%). Educational and cultural organisations come second (6.2%), followed by development (3.9%) and humanitarian organisations (2.2%). We must highlight that the latter resort very much to volunteering but their volunteering rate is low because of their proportionally limited weight with regard to all the CSOs. A significant proportion of members volunteer without any reimbursement. This is the case for 86 out of 104 members of professional associations, for 46 out of 70 members of development organisations and for 40 out of 49 members of environmental organisations.[27]

A study carried out by Carrefour Associatif on volunteering points out that membership of organisations is usually first caused by support for a civil society project and the ideal of "coming to the aid of others." This unpaid voluntary involvement in Morocco is a sign of strong civic engagement.

Table 5: Voluntary work by organisation type

Organisational categories	% of voluntary workers
Sport or recreational organisations	7.6%

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[25] In Morocco, volunteering is a very old practice. The Twiza is one of the first expressions of communal and collective solidarity. This is a widely spread practice, especially in rural and agricultural areas where they are part of an approach of mutual support and group survival.
[26] With the exception of consumer organisations that have no significant existence.
[27] Part of those organisations' activities relate to rural and community development.

Educational and/or cultural organisations	6.2%
Development organisations	3.9%
Humanitarian organisations and charities	2.2%
Religious or church organisations	1.9%
Human rights organisations	1.2%
Professional associations	1.2%
Labour unions	1.1%
Environmental organisations	1.0%
Political parties	0.8%
Other	1.9%

Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

Signing a petition, participating in a boycott and taking part in an authorised demonstration are actions undertaken by respectively 23.9%, 14.8% and 21.7% of those surveyed. However, a larger proportion of the population declared that they did not ever take such actions.

Figure 6: Participation in individual political activism
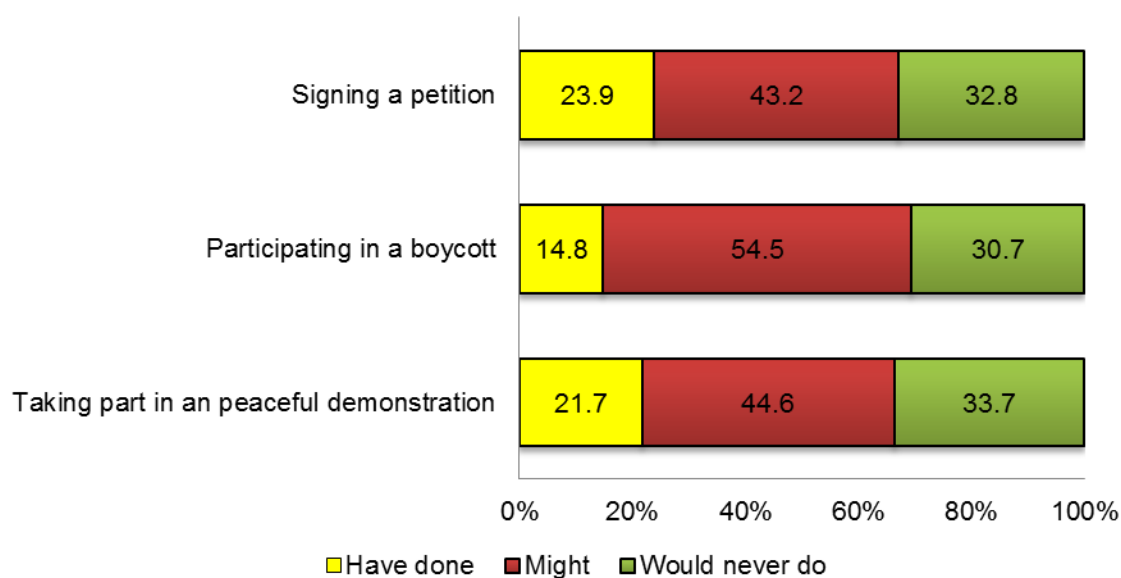
Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

Between 30.7% and 33.7% of respondents declare they do not execute those classical acts of organisational action. However, it is interesting to observe that the vast majority of participants declare they could in future be willing to sign a petition (45.2%), participate in a boycott (54.5%) or take part in an authorised demonstration (44.5%). This is a clear indication of the relatively significant potential for engagement that deserves to be mobilised in civil society activities.

In the WVS, from a political engagement point of view, 226 people (18.8%) declared they had been "politically engaged" while affirmatively answering the questions related to the same three behaviours assessed above. This group is subdivided between members considered as less active from a political engagement point of view (125 members or 55.3%) and those assessed as very active (44.7%).

1.2 AND 1.5 DEPTH OF ENGAGEMENT – SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

Indicators here attempt to assess the frequency and intensity of people's participation.

In the 2005 WVS, only 31 people surveyed or 2.6% of valid answers are active in more than one organisation.

The CSI Population Survey shows us that people devote their time to several uses. Among time use in relation to civic activity are 'spending time in social relations with co-workers' and 'spending time in social activities in a sports club or a voluntary or services organisation'. We observe that the first activity gets a high percentage of answers for 'every week/almost every week' while the percentage corresponding to 'never' is relatively low. More men (49.9%) than women (39.5%) answer 'every week/almost every week'.

Table 6: Uses of people's social time

People's time devotion	Time devotion frequencies	Total	Men	Women
Spending time in social relations with co-workers or people in the same profession	Every week/almost every week	44.70%	49.90%	39.50%
	Once or twice a month	17.20%	16.00%	18.40%
	Only a few times a year	10.20%	11.60%	8.80%
	Never	16.70%	14.60%	18.80%
Spending time in social activities in a sports club or a voluntary or services organisation	Every week/almost every week	24.70%	27.70%	21.80%
	Once or twice a month	19.80%	21.70%	17.90%
	Only a few times a year	5.00%	5.90%	4.20%
	Never	50.40%	44.70%	56.20%

Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

On a day to day basis, spending time with family and friends is the most time-consuming frequentation. 67.6% of Moroccans spend time with their parents or other members of their family on a daily basis; 49.8% spend time with friends and 32.9% with co-workers (or people with the same profession). Moreover, 15.5% of respondents spend time daily with other people in a place of worship. Only 5.3% of people spend time in social activities (in a sports club or in voluntary or services organisation) every day. This shows that activities close to or in civil society's scope are in fifth position in the ranking of daily time devotion. Nevertheless, on a whole those figures show a significant presence of civil society (and similar activities) in people's time devotion.

As for voluntary time devoted to activities, volunteer workers spend an average of 38.5 hours a year working in CSOs.[28] This is a significant contribution.

1.3 AND 1.6 DIVERSITY OF ENGAGEMENT – SOCIAL AND POLITICAL

The diversity of engagement indicators attempt to assess the extent to which distinct and generally marginalised groups – such as women, younger and older persons and people of minority ethnic groups participate in civil society and CSO activities. It is also interesting as part of this to consider the geographical location of CSOs.

The CSI Population Survey shows there are significant discrepancies in the membership rates of active CSO members depending on gender. In the case of development organisations, the difference amounts to 1.1% between men and women. Discrepancies are also considerable on the grounds of location and age. In development organisations the active membership rate is 3.6% in urban areas and only 0.6% in rural areas. Young people (people under 35 years old) seem to be more involved in development organisations with a 2.8% membership rate versus a 0.8% membership rate for people over 35.

In human rights organisations, we observe a gap between women's and men's active membership rates, 0.8% and 0.2% respectively, and between total membership rates (not only active membership), 1.3% and 1.4%. In this category of organisations which are mainly located in big cities, active membership of young people is twice as high as that of the over 35s (0.6% versus 0.3%). When it comes to sport and recreational organisations, the female

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[28] Percentage computed by type of organisation on the basis of active members and unpaid voluntary members.

active membership stands at 2.2% and male active membership equals to 3.7%. There is also a significant gap here between men and women for inactive membership (6.6% versus 4.2%).

In the case of educational and/or cultural organisations, men and women are equal regarding active membership (4.3%). The specificity of educational and cultural organisations lies in the fact that they are present in towns and villages, as well as cities. The active membership rate even reaches 20% in towns of 2,000 to 5,000 people. Young people are more likely to be active members of educational and cultural organisations (5.4%) than people over 35 years old (2.9%).

However, women are less involved than men in labour unions since they account for 0.2% of active members versus 0.9% for men. No active membership in rural areas has been observed for unions.

In political parties[29] active membership is more significant in towns than in rural areas (0.8% versus 0.6%). Women are almost absent and the members belong mostly to the over 35 year old age-group (0.8% versus 0.3% for people under 35).

Within professional associations, men and women enjoy the same active membership rate (0.6%). The active membership rate in rural areas is higher than in urban areas: 1.8% versus 0.6%. The situation is reversed for the inactive membership rate: 2.5% in urban areas versus 0.6% in rural areas. The weight of young people is more significant in this type of organisations: 2.8% for the under 35 year olds versus 1.7% for the others (for both active and inactive membership).

According to the 2005 World Values Survey, men are relatively more present when it comes to civic engagement, with 59.3% of those involved versus only 40.7% for women (an 18.6 point difference). For those involved in several organisations, the gap between men and women is slightly reduced, with respectively 54.8% and 45.2%. Thus there are a larger proportion of men among people who are members of civil society, even though women's participation is also significant.

The majority of active members are in the 24-65 years old age group and a very tiny proportion (0.7%) is older. However, one fifth of active members are less than 24 years old, which highlights young people's interest in CSOs.

When it comes to social class, the distribution of the 1,193 valid answers (99.4%) in WVS 2005 shows that 51.5% and 21.6% respectively belong to the lower middle class and the working class, that is a total of 71.3% for the two groups. If we add the 5.2% members that belong to the lower class, and given the Moroccan social context, we can see that civic engagement in civil society is to a large extent the concern of modest to poor social categories. Those who are involved in several organisations, however, mostly belong to the lower middle class (58.1%) and the higher middle class (22.6%).

Table 7: Distribution of involvement in civil society by social class

	Upper class	Upper middle class	Lower middle class	Working class	Lower class

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[29] Political parties have been excluded from the definition of civil society but in order to maintain comparison, the surveys collected the same information following the same CIVICUS nomenclature.

Inactive members	0.2 %	5.6%	31.1%	51.5%	11.7%
Active members	0.7 %	20.9%	51.5%	21.6%	5.2%
Total	3.0 %	7.3%	33.4%	48.1%	11.0%
Members active in more than one organisation	3.2%	22.6%	58.1%	9.6%	6.5%

Source: WVS, 2005

As part of the CSI research, we also took a look at the newly published WVS 2010 data. In this, volunteering in development organisations also significantly varies depending on gender: 4.6% for men and 2.9% for women. Young people under 35 have a 4.3% rate while the rate of the over 35 year olds is 3.1%.

Women are more involved than men (1.4% versus 0.9%) in human rights organisations. The weight of the young group is more significant in these organisations than in the CSOs working in other domains (1.3% versus 1.0%). As for educational and cultural organisations, female voluntary membership is placed at a relatively high level, with 5.4% versus 6.9% for men. Young people are also clearly present in those organisations.

In sport and recreational organisations voluntary rates are relatively higher, with a significant gap between men and women (9.1% versus 6.2%). Voluntary workers here are clearly predominantly young people: 10.7% for the under 35s and 4.2% of the others. In professional associations, voluntary rates are at similar levels depending on gender and age (1.1% for women and 1.2% for men). However, women are less present in trade unions with 0.2% versus 2% for men. Likewise, the weight of young people is smaller (0.6% versus 1.6% for the others). Political parties experience the same situation.

Thus when it comes to volunteering and membership, the weight of young people (under 35 years old) is often more significant than the weight of others.[30] This is a positive indication of renewal of a large part of civil society's demography. The optimistic findings diverge from the more pessimistic views of organisational executives expressed within the framework of focus groups.

Table 8: Unpaid volunteering rates according to organisation type, gender and age

	Total	Men	Women	Under 35	Over 35
Development organisations	3.80%	4.60%	2.90%	4.30%	3.10%
Human rights organisations	1.20%	0.90%	1.40%	1.30%	1.00%
Religious or church organisations	1.90%	2.00%	1.90%	1.80%	2.10%
Sport or recreational organisations	7.60%	9.10%	6.20%	10.70%	4.20%
Educational and/or cultural organisations	6.20%	6.90%	5.40%	7.60%	4.40%
Labour unions	1.10%	2.00%	0.20%	0.60%	1.60%
Political parties	0.80%	1.50%	-	0.70%	0.80%
Environmental organisations	1.00%	1.10%	0.90%	1.50%	0.50%
Professional associations	1.20%	1.20%	1.10%	1.20%	1.10%

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[30] Sources: CSI Population and Organisational surveys carried out for this study.

Humanitarian organisations and charities	2.20%	2.20%	2.30%	1.60%	2.90%

Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

When it comes to political engagement, men are more willing than women to sign petitions (28.4% versus 19.6%). But when it comes to the possibility of doing so, women are closer to men: 41.7% versus 44.5%. It can also be noted that members of organisations in rural areas are less likely to sign petitions than city-dwellers (16.8% versus 33.1%).

Taking part in an authorised demonstration is an action carried out by 16.5% of women and 26.8% of men. Again, the potential for women to do so in the future (43.1%) is close to men's (46.1%).

The above figures on classical acts of civic engagement show us that people behave differently depending on gender. There would seem to be high potential for engagement to be mobilised among women, but also among young people and men.

Features of social capital are of course important when it comes to intensity and quality of civic engagement, and we note that in Morocco, civic engagement seems to differ from one region to another. Social categories coming from regions where the social capital is more developed (thanks to specific histories and long standing traditions of solidarity) are more likely to show higher civic engagement. For example, according to personal accounts, in the Souss region (and in Tafraut in particular) social capital is more developed. There are for instance organisations with real development projects that require large mobilisation and solidarity between various regional social categories (such as immigrants and Souss business people). This trend, although not much studied in Morocco, can be observed in other regions (especially in the Alhuceima region) and can partly explain the local development of civil society.

2. LEVEL OF ORGANISATION

The second dimension that CSI examines is the level of organisation, which aims to build up a picture of the institutional strength, maturity and coordination of the sector. The overall score for this dimension is 50.5%.

Table 9: Level of Organisation Indicator scores

Sub-dimension	Name	Score
2.1	Internal governance	100.0
2.2	Structure	50.7
2.3	Communications within the sector	64.3
2.4	Human Resources	8.3
2.5	Financial and technological resources	70.3
2.6	International linkages	9.6
2	**LEVEL OF ORGANISATION**	**50.5**

In assessing these findings it is worth bearing in mind the composition of the Organisational Survey. Presidents of organisations and general secretaries account for a vast majority of the sample (respectively 58.3% and 12.3%), while directors account for barely 5.7% of all those surveyed. This shows a major involvement of elected representatives, and the survey can be considered as more reflective of the views of this category.

Local development organisations constituted the largest group with 19.4% of all surveyed organisations, followed by social services and health organisations (17.5%), cultural organisations (13.7%) and youth organisations or organised groups (10.0%); this makes a total of 50.6% for those four categories. We must mention the quite significant presence of sport (7.1%), women's (6.6%), human rights (2.4%) and educational (5.7%) organisations. We must also bring out the absence of organisations that declare acting in the religious, spiritual, ethnic and community fields. Of course, it is understood that CSOs may act in two or more domains. There are religious organisations but they are much likely to declare they intervene in the social or cultural areas, not least for political reasons.

The CSI case study prepared for this sector presents an overview of the numerous organisational problems CSOs face. These include the weakness of structures,[31] the absence of organisational plans, the very small number of employees, the lack of financial resources and the consequences of all this on the missions of civil society. To one witness with a long experience in the organisational sector and in administration, there are several kinds of organisational practice, some of which differ from their original missions. CSOs also manifest problems related to isolation, lack of connections and the existence of fragmented work.

Organisations depend a lot upon volunteering but the study highlights the challenge of turnover here, combined with the difficulty in renewing executives. They report other major risks such as the loss of autonomy; dependence on partners that provide funds for projects; low board turnover; low transparency in functioning and the tendency by funders to treat CSOs as service providers.

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[31] Composition of general assemblies and the administrative board is written into statutes but the other organs often operate in informal manner. Functioning of organisations is therefore not well formalised.

A separate study undertaken by MSDFS[32] was devoted to development organisations. It observed a low interest in the organisational aspects of the voluntary sector and noted that CSOs overwhelmingly concentrate their actions at local and communal levels. The lack of human and material resources was considered to be among the main failure factors of planed actions: a majority of organisations operate without any reference points or action plans. According to the sample surveyed for this particular study, organisations comprise an average of 132 persons, members and voluntary workers (48 voluntary workers). They had few salaried human resources at their disposal (2.6 persons on average) but there were huge discrepancies. Women's presence in management was, however, significant: 222 organisations were headed by women (18% of the sample). On the other hand, people under 25 years old accounted for barely 8% in the organisations' management structures. A vast majority of organisations operated only with their founding members, who often constituted the board. In 50% of the surveyed organisations, the current president has already been elected three times to office. However, a positive sign is that 80% of organisations hold their general assembly according to statutory periodicity and the meetings of the organisations' boards and working meetings are frequent and held almost on a weekly basis.
(Source: MSDFS study)

2.1 INTERNAL GOVERNANCE

This CSI sub-dimension measures how many CSOs have formal management structures, and the figure, 100.0%, is encouragingly high. All of the consulted organisations have a national council or a structure with the same function (such as executive board or official management board). For that reason the CSI indicator scored a maximal 100%. Three thirds (75.4%) of them have an executive board, 21.3% have a management board or a members' assembly and 16.6% have a central or national office. General assemblies and executive board meetings are considered to be statutory meetings by 92.9% of the surveyed organisations. However, committees or working groups (36.0%) and national council meetings are less mentioned (15.2%). In 52.1% of the cases general assemblies are held once a year, in 18.9% of the cases once in two years and in 14.2% once in four years. Executive board meetings are usually relatively frequent: 64.9% meet at least once a month and in 16.1% of the cases meetings are held at least once a week. Meetings are held quarterly for 9.8% and at least once a year for one fifth of them.

Table 10: Frequency of executive board meetings

	Number	Percentages of valid answers
At least once a week	34	17.8%
At least once a month	103	53.9%
At least once a quarter	13	6.8%
At least once a year	41	21.5%
No answer	20	
Total	211	

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

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[32] Axe Etudes – Consulting firm. MSDFS – Department of Social Development: 'Study on Moroccan development organisations: diagnosis, analysis and prospects'. Final report of stage III. May 2010.

According to 26 answers, national councils are held with changing periodicities. 46.4% of the surveyed organisations organise them at least once every four months; 21.4% at least once every two months and 7.1% at least once a month. Lastly, in the case of 10.7% of respondents, meetings are held on a quarterly basis. As for the frequency of committee meetings, the response rate is 64.9%. For the 74 cases with valid responses, 86.5% declare committee meetings' occur at least once a year and 10.8% say they meet at least once a quarter.

2.2 INFRASTRUCTURE

The Organisational Survey sample divided neatly into two almost equal parts between CSOs that are part of a network (49.8%) and those that are not (48.3%). The indicator score, 50.7%, reflects this divide, and it is noted that this is at the low end of the spectrum for countries in this phase of CSI.

When asked about networks and partnerships, the interviewees named about a hundred structures of various forms and natures: networks, joint committees, federations, unions and on several occasions, public entities and foundations. Networks clearly came top of the list, while federations, unions and leagues came second. Many networks and joint committees centred on precise regions and territories, as well as local development. Education and culture, childhood, youth, health and sport are also important themes that those networks are working on.

Professional associations and labour unions have the lowest rate (31.3%) of affiliation to a network. Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations get the highest network affiliation rate (59.7%).

Table 11: Frequency and consistency of CSO network meetings

Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	Human rights and women's organisations	Professional associations and labour unions	Local development, health and proximity organisations	Total
59.7%	42.1%	31.3%	46.5%	49.8%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

The idea of uniting CSOs is old – perhaps as old as social movements themselves – but it has remained elusive. For some associative players it is even antithetical to the conception they have of civil society organisations.[33] Instead of talking about a national council or a national order of civil society, some participants in the focus group on this dimension suggested the establishment of an institution that provides strategic oversight (to follow the practice of common values and rules of good governance). It has been suggested that this institution could be called the National Council of Associative Life, but what matters more than the name, of course, is the powers and functions it would have, as well the levels of adherence and ownership it would have from the different components of civil society.

2.3 SECTORAL COMMUNICATION

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[33] Since its creation the Associative Arena seems to promote the development of networks and coordination between NGOs and to be against the implementation of federations.

The score for this indicator is 64.3%. It is made up of two measurements.

Within the last three months preceding the Organisational Survey, 68.7% of the CSOs held meetings (such as working sessions and telephone conferences) with other organisations. On average, 5.8 CSOs were involved in the meetings. In 39% of cases the meetings gathered more than 4 organisations, 2 in 23% of cases and only 1 other organisation in 13% of cases.

Second, 59.2% of the surveyed CSOs exchanged information with other CSOs in the three months preceding the survey (three times on average). This seems to indicate that there is a high level of exchange and collaboration between CSOs that are involved in partnerships.[34] As for the principle reasons for partnerships, CSOs report that they aim to carry out common projects (36.5%) or concern advocacy and mobilisation (16.6%).

Organised partnership still seems relatively undeveloped within civil society. A study by Carrefour Associatif identified 1,126 actions of partnership, which is 0.93 actions per association; two thirds of these actions were carried out with the state, 14% with associative partners and 8% with private companies and donors.

Many networks and groups of organisations have emerged with different shapes: coordination bodies, federations, groups of organisations, networks, and member support organisations. However, networking is still severely limited. In addition, 80% of organisations have no partnership strategy.

Further, two thirds of those surveyed believe that partnership could jeopardise the identity of an association, its prerogatives and autonomy. They think that some government departments view them as subcontractors. In terms of substance, the involvement of organisations (and their role) in projects initiated by government departments[35] is often considered symbolic or as an accessory.

A partnership with the state requires a balanced relationship in terms of access to information, skills and acceptance by the state of an effective role for civil society. This does not seem to be the case. In addition, few organisations know the rules of the game or are sufficiently equipped in terms of organisation and human capital to ensure this role properly.

2.4 HUMAN RESOURCES

The CSI calculates sustainability of human resources on the measure of how many CSOs have a workforce comprised of only 25% or less of volunteers. It is of no surprise that this reports a low figure of 8.3%.

When it comes to workforce, the major finding of the Organisational Survey is that a large majority of organisations do not have any salaried employees (62%) whereas 30% have fewer than 10 salaried employees. A small minority of organisations employ more than 10 people (8%). On the whole, the average number of salaried employees is low (3.8 people). Thus we

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[34] The intensity of the meetings also varies according to organisational categories: 56.3% for the professional organisations and labour unions and 79.9% for the human rights and women's organisations. There are also discrepancies in the exchange of information: 37.5% for human rights and women's organisations and 63.6% for the local development, health and proximity organisations.
[35] The partnership between the government and the CSOs is governed by the act n° 7 / 2003. However, apparently few CSOs are aware of this act.

face an uneven situation: a huge majority of CSOs do not have permanent human resources whereas a minority (8 organisations or 4%) have an average of 53.4 salaried people. This minority is composed of cooperatives and established organisations providing social services.

Table 12: Distribution of salaried employees in CSOs

Number	Frequency	Percentage	Average
None	131	62%	0.0
Less than 10	64	30%	3.7
11 to 20	8	4%	17.0
More than 20	8	4%	53.4
Total	211	100%	3.8

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

The important if not crucial role played by volunteer workers, combined with the absence of salaried employees in most CSOs is of course related to financial constraints and in particular the lack of regular and steady own resources.

Looking at the grouping of CSOs into four categories, as outlined in the methodology section, local development, health and proximity organisations are assessed the strongest, with 46.9% of the salaried employees. They are followed by cultural, sport recreational and youth organisations (36.5%). Human rights and women's organisations come third (9%), while professional associations and labour unions come last with only 7.6% of the workforce.

Table 13: Distribution of CSOs by average members, employees and volunteers

Main categories of CSOs	Members (average)	Salaried employees (average)	Active voluntary workers (average)
Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	79.65	1.79	22.10
Human rights and women's organisations	136.95	2.74	21.89
Professional associations and labour unions	259.06	7.81	47.75
Local development, health and proximity organisations	214.71	4.92	16.40
Overall average	161.78	3.80	21.36

Source: CSI organisational Survey, 2010.

Turning to the role of volunteers, the Organisational Survey tells us that the general average of voluntary workers in all CSOs is 41 people, while 14% of the participating CSOs do not benefit from any voluntary contribution. 28% of them have fewer than 10 voluntary workers (6.8 volunteers on average in this group) and 19% between 11 and 20. In contrast, 14% declare more than 60 voluntary workers (187.3 people on average in this bracket). Thus, we observe a large variety of situations (from 0 to 187) but in general volunteer work is essential to CSOs. The high number of volunteers in the last bracket is limited to a couple of cases and is related to the nature of their activities (in particular, with cooperatives).

Barely 9% of CSOs declare they have no have active voluntary workers; the largest proportion (44%) have fewer than 10 people (6 on average) and 23% between 11 and 20 people (15.9 on average). However, a substantial proportion (6%) mobilise more than 60 voluntary workers (141.2 on average). The global average number of voluntary workers in the surveyed CSOs is 21.4 people.

Based on the Organisational Survey it is possible to make a calculation of the hours of labour supplied by voluntary workers. Calculating an average working week of civil society of 38.5 hours, the total number of working hours of volunteers of 23,546 hours reported in the survey, extrapolated to apply to the 38,000 CSOs declared by Government General Secretariat (SGG) gives a total of 18.2 million days of work, with is equivalent to 68,946 permanent jobs on the basis of 265 workdays per year. Based on the 55,000 CSOs identified by the Attanmia Organisation, voluntary workers would work 26 million days a year. An alternative method is to extrapolate the figures reported in the Population Survey, which, applying the same method, suggests volunteers work 17.33 million days a year. We can convert those working days into a financial contribution: on the basis of the national disposable per capita income, this amounts to 1,624 billion Dirhams or 0.24% of the 2009 GDP. On the basis of monthly household income, the estimate of the voluntary workers' contribution rises to 4,080 billion Dirhams, or 0.59% of GDP.

These figures highlight the importance of voluntary work and volunteers' involvement in civil society. Voluntary work is crucial, especially since a vast majority of CSOs do not have any salaried employees. The development of civil society therefore strongly continues to rely on voluntary workers' contributions. With CSOs lacking in their own financial resources, voluntary workers are a vital source to the development of civil society. However, the downside is of course that voluntary workers may often be lacking in skills and expertise, which affects the work and impact of CSOs. Further, mobilising voluntary workers seems to be becoming difficult due to potential volunteers' lack of time and competition with paid activities.

According to the report by Carrefour Associatif,[36] organisations have significant needs but find it difficult to define them, organise them and then mobilise the required human resources. We must state in this study that the reception arrangements for voluntary workers are generally very weak or even non-existent. Voluntary workers are often left by themselves, not backed and rarely receive any positive feedback from their work.

2.5 FINANCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL RESOURCES

The score here combines two measurements, of financial sustainability and access to technology, and records an encouraging 70.3%.

The CSI indicator of financial sustainability is based on a measurement of the change of CSO income over expenditure in the two previous years. In comparison with the year before, CSOs' revenues were reported to have stabilised or slightly increased. In the case of regular revenues, 38.4% of the CSOs declared a stabilisation of their revenues; they had decreased for 23.2% while for 35.5% they had increased. As for general revenues, the distribution is comparable, with respectively 30.8%, 27.5% and 38.9%. On the expenses side, a large number of CSOs declared they had increased in comparison with the year before: 69.2% for general expenses and 62.1% for regular expenses. The percentage of the organisations that had experienced a

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[36] Carrefour Associatif: Study on voluntary engagement of young people and organisational activities in Morocco. Provisional report, June 2010.

decrease in their expenses was very low. Those figures could mean that CSOs had developed their activities. They probably also show that many organisations suffer from financial flux.

The organisations that experienced the least favourable development of their general revenues were the cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations: for 28.6% of them they increased, they remained stable for 32.5% and they decreased for 35.1%. However, 52.6% of the human rights and women's organisations experienced an increase in their regular revenues and only 10.5% a decrease. As far as regular revenues are concerned, professional associations and labour unions experienced a better development since 50% of them reported an increase in revenues and 18.8% a decrease.

Table 14: Evolution of regular CSO expenses

Regular expenses have…	Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	Human rights and women's organisations	Professional associations and labour unions	Local development, health and proximity organisations	Total
... increased	61.0%	63.2%	43.8%	65.7%	62.1%
... remained stable	28.6%	31.6%	43.8%	24.2%	28.0%
... decreased	6.5%	.0%	12.5%	8.1%	7.1%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010.

Local development, health and proximity organisations were much affected by expenditure increases (65.7%) and professional associations and labour unions were less affected (43.8%). Very few CSOs declared their regular expenses had decreased.

More generally on funding, the Organisational Survey tells us that many funding sources are closed to a huge proportion of organisations. 49.5% do not receive any governmental funding, 88.9% do not receive funding from the local private sector and 90.9% do not receive any foreign donors' funding. 18.8% of CSOs do not collect their membership subscriptions. In addition, only 15.4% of the surveyed CSOs received more than 51% of their total funding coming from the government. This may be seen as a positive sign that illustrates low dependence on state funding. But it also shows that a large majority of the organisations do not get any public funding. Moreover, the financial contribution from the local private sector is also very limited.

Funding through members' subscription is the most accessible method for most CSOs. 16.3% of the organisations receive their entire funding through this source, and this is followed by donations from individuals. On the other hand, foreign funding (foreign donors, NGOs and international organisations) still accounts for a small proportion of overall funding. It is highly concentrated on a limited number of organisations: in only 9.6% of the CSOs, this source accounts for more than 51% of their funding.

Public funding is very rare, or very modest. The state refuses, as indeed do donors, to provide for the operating costs of CSOs. Given that most of the population have a severely restricted income and are not able to donate much to the sector, the situation makes it possible to wonder if public authorities might even be aiming to keep civil society in precarious and dependent conditions.

The CSI case study for this dimension reports that the lack of financial resources that characterises the situation in most CSOs results in considerable diversion of energy on organisational matters rather than topics related to organisations' strategies and implementation of missions. Some consulted people say there is at some point a switch between the organisations' objectives and missions: CSOs no longer exist with the aim for accomplishing their missions, but instead slip towards searching for financing to maintain themselves.

The case study further reports that foreign financing of NGOs has considerably increased during the last decade, and this has enabled some national organisations to grow, benefiting them in such areas as: development of training; diagnosis development; and conception and formulation of strategies and action plans. It also helped introduce good practice such as follow-up, formulation of objectives and reporting. Foreign donors were the first to demand financial audits. However, external financing also produced negative effects, such as:

a) Tendency to direct and frame civil society's agenda according to foreign donors';
b) Dependence, sometimes too high, on external financing;
c) Development of high financial remuneration that is unsustainable through non-external financing, combined with tension between voluntary work and paid work;
d) Development of waste due to the availability of foreign financial resources;
e) Slackening in the search for own funding and larger difficulty in adopting sustainable organisational solutions.

The lack of secured resources seems to direct the activities of a part of civil society and subject their autonomy to strict constraints. In some problematic cases, political opportunism (or personal positioning) and tendencies to bargain participation in organisations come along with it. A limited and recurrent search for projects has taken priority over a search for long-term funding, necessary to carry out an organisation's original mission. This results in more difficulty in stabilising and developing loyalty among employees, who were often introduced on the occasion of the implementation of specific, funded projects.

More generally, the surveyed organisations reported that members' subscriptions are often paid with difficulty because of people's poverty, their modest means and the pressure of other needs. Some national organisations with local branches point out these difficulties. They sometimes give up part of their members' contribution in favour of local branches in order to lessen local branches' financial difficulties. This viewpoint on difficulties with subscriptions must be balanced. In some cases, participants stated that if citizens were convinced that the proposed activities were interesting – especially when they could take advantage of them – they would not hesitate to dig into their pockets.[37] Religious organisations were also set as examples since they manage to mobilise funds for charitable activities or actions people can directly benefit from. Nevertheless, we must add that financial contributions within the framework of Zakat[38] are of a different nature.

Participants in the CSI process also discussed issues around the granting of public utility status in Morocco, describing the system of the granting of this status as unclear,

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[37] Some participants put forward the example of boy scouts: the members of this movement pay before participating in a holiday camp.
[38] Zakat is an annual religious tax or alms-giving based on the financial statements of commercial and agricultural activities.

discriminatory, limited to a small number of 'favourites' and not related to the importance of the social contribution of organisations. Whereas the granting of public utility status generally takes several years, since there are many reports and other documents to provide, it was observed that some organisations and foundations are granted public utility as soon as they are founded. In those conditions, public utility procedures prevent CSOs from obtaining funding, since they cannot receive public funding without this status and authorisation from public authorities. This is a real political barrier against the free financing of civil society.

Turning to technological resources, the Organisational Survey results tell us that the rate of CSOs which have computers is relatively low at 55.5%, even though this is likely higher than the rate for society. 47.9% of CSOs have an internet connection, of which 68.2% use it on a regular basis (14.2% do not and 17.5% use it sporadically), while 82.5% have regular use of a telephone line).

Figure 7: Access to technological resources
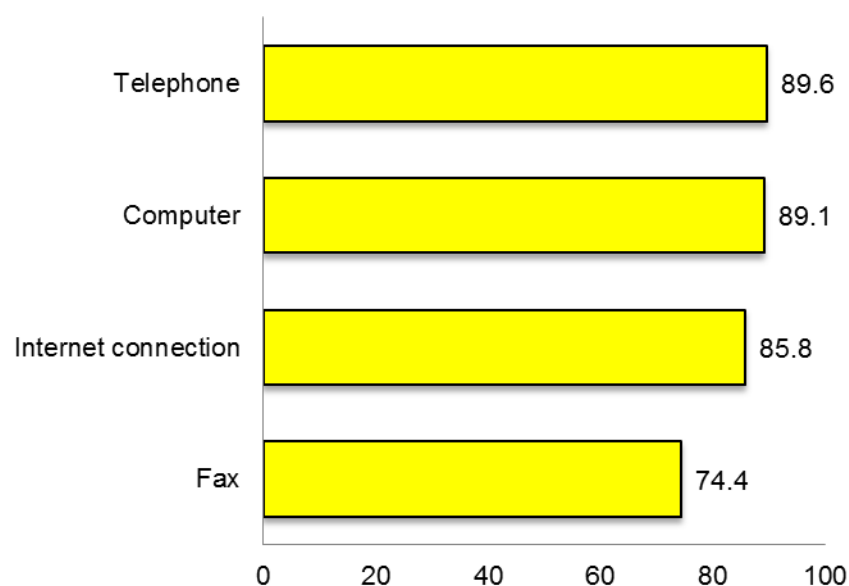
Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

CSOs are thus relatively well equipped and have at their disposal rather good means of communication. However, a small proportion of them do not have access to the minimum means of communication to work in suitable conditions. There are also large discrepancies depending on categories of CSOs. Indeed, 89.5% of human rights and women's organisations have regular access to a telephone line whereas in the case of cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations, only 75.3% also have regular access to a telephone line, while 15.6% do not at all, above the average for all CSOs of 10.4%).

Table 15: Access to a telephone line

	Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	Human rights and women's organisations	Professional associations and labour unions	Local development, health and proximity organisations	Average
No	15.6%	0.0%	6.3%	9.1%	10.4%

Yes, but only sporadically	9.1%	10.5%	6.3%	5.1%	7.1%
Yes, on a regular basis	75.3%	89.5%	87.5%	85.9%	82.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

There are also large discrepancies in the use of computers. Human rights and women's organisations enjoy the best situation (84.2%) while cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations have the lowest rate (64.9%). 16.9% of the latter do not have any access to computers; this rate is only 5.3% for human rights and women's organisations. We observe the same differences in the access to an internet connection on a regular basis.

2.6 INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES

The CSI international linkages sub-dimension is based on one indicator: the percentage of all known international NGOs (according to the Union of International Associations) which are represented in Morocco. Only 9.6% of international organisations operate in Morocco, suggesting that international linkages are extremely weak[39].

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[39] Espace Associatif and CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation would like to thank the Union of International Associations for their collaboration with the CSI project in providing this data.

3. PRACTICE OF VALUES

The third CSI dimension, Practice of Values, aims to assess the extent to which CSOs embody and live out the progressive values that many CSOs espouse. It is considered an important factor in trust in CSOs, which ultimately affects CSOs' ability to develop and retain legitimacy, increase their reach and resource base and achieve impact to deliver on their missions, ensuring that CSOs are seen to practice what they preach. This indicator therefore examines CSOs' internal democracy, commitment to labour rights and gender equality, public transparency, stance on environmental issues and attitude on tolerance and peace.

A wide range of scores were recorded for this dimension, with encouraging scores for internal governance and modelling of values countered by lower scores for labour and environmental practices. Overall, the dimension scored 59.2%.

Table 16: Practice of Values indicator scores

Sub-dimension	Name	Score
3.1	Democratic decision making	87.7
3.2	Labour law	40.5
3.3	Code of conduct and transparency	55.3
3.4	Environmental standards	49.8
3.5	Overall perception of civil society values	62.9
3	**PRACTICE OF VALUES**	**59.2**

Focus groups convened for the purposes of the CSI, as well as the CSI case studies, pointed out failures in relation to practice of values and the implementation of CSOs' missions. As a possible cause, participants suggested the general educational environment. As one participant put it, "the education we received is not always favourable to the development of democratic values; it is strongly influenced by authoritative relations, obedience requirements from the young and clear-cut judgments." Some of the consulted civil society members pointed out that debates and confrontation of partisan viewpoints sometimes result in disincentives, especially for those who are not initiated into political matters, or who are not members of a CSO for those reasons. To those various factors, we must add other factors related to poor organisational abilities, such as lack of professionalism and sometimes lack of rationality in mobilisation activities. Members' poor involvement in decision making and the closing down of many organisations as leaders have to be renewed are also mentioned as factors that inhibit the development of civic engagement, suggesting that large parts of civil society are not democratic enough. Participants also drew attention to potential conflicts of interests in CSOs, which could be related to the status of salaried employees who are also members, and also in the case of members becoming salaried employees. According to other points of view, the problem in such cases lies in the absence of safeguards and mechanisms against the risks of conflicts of interests. The latter are increasingly important.

In one of the focus groups a professional woman from a CSO shared her experience while underlining the existence of a gap between the missions of CSOs and what they actually carry out. She described the opportunistic behaviours she had witnessed working in the sector. This point of view was corroborated by several participants who deplored the lack of coherence between what many organisations implement and their original missions. This supports some of the low indicator scores, which suggest there is still a gap to be addressed.

3.1 DEMOCRATIC DECISION MAKING GOVERNANCE

On the whole, the Organisational Survey reports that key decisions are mostly taken by an elected manager (52.1%), the members' elected assembly (24%) or members (23.7%), which generates a high score for this indicator of 87.7%, given that turning to appointed people remains limited (12.4%). Thus, decision making seems to be involving to a very large extent elected and representative structures and CSOs' members, and the predominance of the role of the elected council in decision making is confirmed, regardless of the nature of the decision (management, strategic or financial). The general assembly is even more important, which is *a priori* a positive sign of democratic functioning. The outcomes of the Organisational Survey also indicate that participation of salaried employees and appointed managers in the several forms of decision-making remains rather limited. Beyond decision making by elected management, we may raise the question of the real participation of members in decision-making, deliberating and more generally the normal functioning of CSOs. Members who do not belong to the elected management seem to have a very limited role, except if we assume that their involvement in decision-making is really taken into account by the elected management.

The general appraisal of statutory elected management of the surveyed organisations and the frequency of meetings is generally positive and in accordance with good practice in that matter. This shows a remarkable level of civic engagement. However, limited proportions of CSOs seem to be moving away from this practice, especially when executive boards and working group or committee meetings and meetings in general are held too rarely. Often elected managers dominate decision-making, regardless of the nature of the decision. The real participation of ordinary members is uncertain and little known.

Critiques of existing practices need to be acknowledged. According to some participants in a CSI focus group, it is not unusual to observe that the role of the members is limited to formally attending the General Assembly and paying an annual subscription. Thus, many observers note that in many cases there is a serious lack of real participation from members of voluntary organisations.

A pertinent related question to ask here is that of the frequency of renewal of the elected management. Various periodicities are reported. For general assemblies, the most frequent interval is every four years (30%), followed by every two years (24.2%) and every three years (23.7%). Yearly renewal is done by a minority of organisations (10.5%). As for national councils, renewal occurs mostly once in four years (46.4%) and once in two years (21.4%). The most frequent timings of renewal of the elected management in executive committees are, in decreasing order: every three years (28.7%), every 2 years (26.3%) and every year (11.1%).

The linked issues of the rotation of organisational executives must also be discussed. Today, organisational executives are generally in the 45-55 year-old age group and renewal is often made through co-optation. While there is a high level of participation of young people in civil society, as this report demonstrates, the question remains: what possible pathways do they have to power?

3.2 LABOUR REGULATIONS

Looking at a batch of related questions, on the extent to which CSOs have labour policies and policies for equal rights for women, the level of labour rights trainings CSO provide and the

extent of trade union membership of CSO personnel, a score that suggests grounds for further action, 40.5%, is derived.

Equal opportunity and to a lesser extent equal pay have not reached the provisions and statutes of CSOs. 64% of the questioned organisations do not have policies for equal opportunities and equal pay for women; only 30.8% do. The highest percentage here is professional associations and labour unions (37.5%) and the lowest is cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations (26.0%).

Table 17: Attitude towards equal opportunity and equal pay for women

	Categories of CSOs				
	Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	**Human rights and women's organisations**	**Professional associations and labour unions**	**Local development, health and proximity organisations**	**Average**
No	71.4%	57.9%	50.0%	61.6%	64.0%
Yes	26.0%	31.6%	37.5%	33.3%	30.8%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

On the question of unionisation, among the 80 organisations in the sample that have salaried employees, only 14 have unionised personnel. The number of unionised members is thus very low. 56 CSOs, that is 70% of those that have salaried employees, have not had staff join a union. In 26 cases (32.5%), personnel are affiliated to the National Social Security Fund (NSSF). In 75 cases (93.3%) they are entitled to annual leave and in 25 other cases (31.3%) they are covered by labour insurance. 63.8% declare their organisation has a policy regarding labour standards.

These indications seem to bring to light a low level of compliance to legal labour provisions and to social protection within civil society. This is due not only to the small number of salaried employees and low numbers of permanent staff, and certainly to the low level of financial resources, but also to the predominance of voluntary spirit among managers and employees.

3.3 CODE OF CONDUCT AND TRANSPARENCY

The Organisation Survey tells us that in general, statutory documents (minutes, reports and financial statements) are archived (95.7%) and accessible to members (95.7%). This apparently happens in generally satisfying conditions or even very satisfying conditions (72.4%). But public accessibility to those documents is partial (47.3%) and, generally speaking, we cannot express an opinion on the quality of that accessibility and on available information.

Concerning codes of ethics, 67.5% of the respondents declare that their personnel have one at their disposal, and 78.2% that they have a code of ethics for members. Those are surprising answers since they are not consistent with the low level of compliance to legal labour provisions above, but there would seem to be a misunderstanding or a very broad interpretation of the notion of code of ethics. It seems that to some respondents, the code of ethics was synonymous with the general provisions incorporated in the organisations' legal statutes.

62.6% of the CSOs also put forward that financial information is at the public's disposal. 37.4% did not answer the question. To a large majority (62.1%), they are written down in the organisation's and management reports or available from the treasurer and the president of the organisation (31.8%). This begs a question of whether this is an adequate level of making public.

3.4 ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS

Only a little less than half of CSOs surveyed - 49.8% - report having a publicly available policy on environmental standards. This indicator, of course, does not paint the entire picture. On the one hand, many organisations have policies on environmental standards but do not practise or implement these standards. On the other hand, there are organisations in Morocco which take environmental issues seriously, but which do not have written or formalised policies.

3.5 PERCEPTION OF VALUES IN CIVIL SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

As we have seen, the CSI definition of civil society allows for there to be uncivil and regressive groups as part of the sector. But at the same time it applies a normative framework where it assumes CIVICUS and its CSI partners, and the networks and people they serve, to be engaged in the pursuit of progressive values. In practice it is impossible to directly gather the views of those uncivil CSOs, so instead through the Organisational Survey, CSI takes the temperature of cooperative CSOs about the presence and weight of intolerant, violent and corrupt forces within the sector, and more positively, on civil society's role in the promotion of democracy and peace. On this front, CSOs score a reasonable 62.9%.

The Population Survey was also used to gather views from the public on the composition and ethos of civil society, and reports an encouraging perception that the use of violence by civil society is perceived as rare or limited. The majority of those surveyed considered the use of violence by civil society members to be extremely rare (58.8%). 14.2% thought isolated groups may resort to it marginally or occasionally, while only 7.7% though there was large-scale use of violence and 6.6% believe there are isolated groups that sporadically resort to it. Those figures bring to light that practice of violence by civil society is a very rare phenomenon. Systematic use of violence in civil society is exceptional.

Also in the Population Survey, racism on a whole was considered as quite insignificant. However, almost 32% of those interviewed answered "I do not know," in response to question on racism, a high level which may hide some embarrassment about admitting to racist views. That being said, the majority of those who shared their opinion (28.8%) consider that racist movements are highly isolated and disapproved by civil society and usually have a marginal presence in society (17.3%). Civil society's role in favour of non-violence is globally assessed positively, with many 'significant' (36.5%) and 'moderate' (33.6%) answers.

However, frequency of corruption within CSOs is a source of concern for respondents. They assess it as very frequent (44.1%) to frequent (33.2%) in CSOs (75.3% for both). Barely 9% of respondents believe it is 'rare' and only another 9% 'occasional'.[40]

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[40] This finding is not consistent with several editions of the Global Corruption Barometer (2006, 2009 and 2010) produced by Transparency International. They indicate a low level of corruption within NGOs.

The efforts expended by civil society to encourage democratic decision-making by modelling this in their own organisations and groups are rather positively rated in the Organisational Survey (78.8%): to 24.2% of the respondents they are significant and to 34.6% they are moderate. However, 13.3% of the respondents consider those efforts to be negligible and to 24.2% they are limited. Thus, a majority of those interviewed within the sector make a positive assessment of the efforts expended towards developing democratic-decision making within civil society.

Different types of CSOs do however take variable views on the question of the role played by civil society in encouraging democratic decision-making. The most optimistic point of view is shared among professional associations and labour unions (0% consider it to be 'negligible' and civil society plays a 'moderate' role to 50% of those organisations). They are followed by human rights and women organisations (5.3% chose the 'negligible' answer and 36.8% chose the 'moderate' answer).

Table 18: the role of civil society in encouraging democratic decision-making

	Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	Human rights and women's organisations	Professional associations and labour unions	Local development, health and proximity organisations	Average
Negligible	24.7%	5.3%	0.0%	8.1%	13.3%
Limited	18.2%	36.8%	25.0%	26.3%	24.2%
Moderate	31.2%	36.8%	50.0%	34.3%	34.6%
Significant	20.8%	21.1%	25.0%	27.3%	24.2%
Don't know	5.2%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%	3.8%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

4. PERCEPTION OF IMPACT

Ultimately, the civil society sector can be said to live or die by its impact. Impact will drive its legitimacy, its participation and resource base, the respect it earns amongst government and other stakeholders who wield power, and thereby its ability to win further influence. Impact brings continuity and renewal, and speaks to what CSOs exist to achieve: improvement of the lives of citizens. Yet proving impact is often elusive. The tools of the CSI cannot claim to demonstrate impact. Rather they seek to assess perceptions of impact, including of activity directly aimed at policy change, from the point of view of the sector itself, through the Organisational Survey, and also from the viewpoint of an informed group of onlookers, from executive, legislature, judiciary, academia, private sector and the media, who are consulted through the External Perceptions Survey.

It should be noted that two times out of three, when a direct comparison is made, voices within the sector have a higher estimation of impact than those outside it. However, the overall score of 62.3% for perceived impact is higher than many other countries which have taken part in CSI.

Table 19: Perception of Impact indicator scores

Sub-dimension	Name	Score
4.1	Responsiveness (internal perception)	78.3
4.2	Social impact social (internal perception)	75.2
4.3	Political impact (internal perception)	65.0
4.4	Responsiveness (external perception)	66.4
4.5	Social impact (external perception)	64.0
4.6	Political impact (external perception)	67.6
4.7	Impact of civil society on behaviours	19.8
4	**PERCEPTION OF IMPACT**	**62.3**

4.1 RESPONSIVENESS – INTERNAL PERCEPTION

This section measures civil society's perception of its ability to respond to, and achieve impact on, particularly pressing concerns of the day.

Two specific themes among those chosen by the study's monitoring committee were agreed on in order to be explored among the surveyed civil society organisations: schooling and access to rights. The questioned organisations declared they had a medium to high impact in those fields. In the case of access to rights, 43.1% considered the impact of their organisation to be medium and 30.3% considered it to be high (73.4% for both).

As for schooling, those percentages respectively amount to 45.5% and 36.5% (82.3% for both). Those who believe civil society has no impact account for barely 1.9% in both cases. The impact is limited to respectively 24.2% and 15.2% of surveyed organisations.

Figure 8: Internal and external perceptions of civil society impact
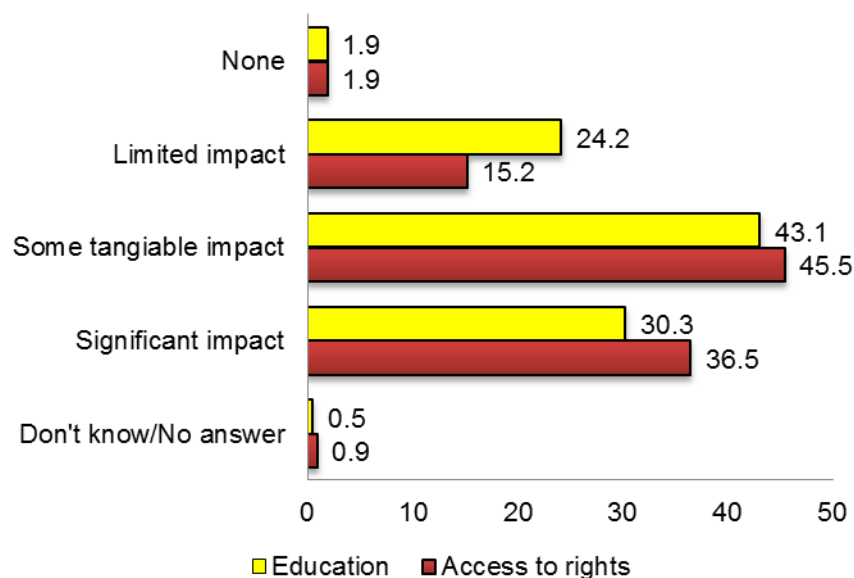
Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

The importance lent to schooling is confirmed by the answers given at a broader level. On a social point of view, the domains in which consulted organisations believe they have most impact are education (53.6%), social development (42.7%) and providing help to the poor (24.6%). However, housing (1.4%), food support (0.9%) and employment (2.9%) are very seldom mentioned. We are surprised to note that human rights are mentioned by only 6.6% of those questioned. But we may wonder if the importance lent to access to healthcare and education does not also imply that protecting human rights and advocacy are of great significance.

According to respondents' answers, the main problems that have affected population within the last three years are 'poor facilities' (36.7%), followed by 'employment and economic problems' (32.7%) and in third position 'poverty and marginalisation" (22.7%). To those topics related to infrastructure and basic needs of the population, respondents added notably insecurity (19.1%), environmental problems (15.3%), and drugs and prostitution (10.6%). Lastly, a third category of problems gathered poor civic spirit (11.6%) with corruption, favouritism and problems related to public governance (11.8%). a challenge for civil society is whether these problems brought to focus by civil society are addressed by civil society.

Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations have the lowest impact and human rights and women's organisations the highest (47.4% of 'high impact' answers).

Table 20: Impact of civil society concerning access to rights

	Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	Human rights and women's organisations	Professional associations and labour unions	Local development health and proximity organisations	Average
No impact	5.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%
Low impact	28.6%	26.3%	12.5%	22.2%	24.2%

Medium impact	37.7%	26.3%	43.8%	50.5%	43.1%
High impact	28.6%	47.4%	43.8%	26.3%	30.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

4.2 SOCIAL IMPACT – INTERNAL PERCEPTION

When asked about their own impact, surveyed organisations have an even more favourable opinion: 64.9% believe they have a major impact and 23.2% they have a tangible impact. Only 11.4% believe their impact is limited.

Table 21: Domains in which the impact of your organisation has been the most important

	Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	Human rights and women's organisations	Professional associations and labour unions	Local development health and proximity organisations	Total
Help to the poor and to marginalised communities	7.8%	10.5%	12.5%	39.4%	23.2%
Education	66.2%	36.8%	25.0%	32.3%	44.5%
Housing	1.3%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	0.9%
Health	1.3%	0.0%	6.3%	11.1%	6.2%
Social development	11.7%	31.6%	12.5%	14.1%	14.7%
Humanitarian aid	0.0%	5.3%	6.3%	2.0%	1.9%
Employment	0.0%	0.0%	6.3%	0.0%	0.5%
Human rights	1.3%	10.5%	12.5%	0.0%	2.4%
Other	10,4%	5,3%	12,5%	1,0%	5,7%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

The ranking by domains is led by education, help to the poor and social development. However, there are huge discrepancies depending on the categories of CSOs.

4.3 POLICY IMPACT – INTERNAL PERCEPTION

64.5% of the surveyed organisations declare they have campaigned for the adoption of public policies within the last two years. However, the overall assessment of the impact of civil society on the public policies pursued in Morocco varies. 40.8% of those questioned consider the impact to be limited and 31.3% consider it to be tangible, whereas those who believe they have a major impact account for barely 18%. In addition, to almost 10% there is no impact at all (9.6%). Yet, there are discrepancies among categories of CSOs. Human rights and women's organisations, as well as local development, health and proximity organisations declare the highest impact ('medium impact' + 'high impact' answers).

Table 22: Overall policy impact of civil society

	Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	Human rights and women's organisations	Professional associations and labour unions	Local development, health and proximity organisations	Average
No impact	2.6%	0.0%	6.3%	1.0%	1.9%
Low impact	42.9%	21.1%	31.3%	34.3%	36.0%
Medium impact	36.4%	63.2%	18.8%	43.4%	40.8%
High impact	18.2%	15.8%	37.5%	19.2%	19.9%
Do not know	0.0%	0.0%	6.3%	1.0%	0.9%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010.

Thus, CSOs globally have a positive opinion on their impact. It seems to vary depending on domains, dimensions and level of knowledge of what the others are doing.

The most mentioned examples of actions (when allowed to make three possible suggestions) are, in decreasing order: strengthening organisational stakeholders' abilities (37.5%), access to basic services (28.7%), the Palestinian question (18.4%) and job creation (13.2%). Among the little mentioned initiatives are providing effective information on the Euromed programme (0.7%), the National Human Development Initiative (NHDI) (1.5%) and strengthening human ties (2.9%).

The CSI focus group on impact pointed to notable recent advocacy successes, on amending the law on organisations (for example, as a result of advocacy, the requirement to provide police records on registering an organisation was dropped) as well as on recent bills on street children and emigration, amongst others. There was concern that civil society did not receive the credit it deserved for a long campaign to reform the Mudawa (family code), along with an acknowledgement that there was still a need to play a role in ensuring that the changed law was adhered to, given the significant discretionary powers of the judiciary. A large campaign against a free trade agreement with USA was however seen as a failure, and the reasons for this were seen to be lack of detailed knowledge, unrealistic demands and insufficient targeting of messages, compared to the sound research and widespread adoption of common civil society positions that underpinned the advocacy on the law on organisations.

Participants in the focus group also discussed the new potential to achieve impact through social media, with an estimated 1.85 million Facebook users in Morocco, 92% of them under 35,[41] and bearing in mind the recent impact of social media in mobilising populations by enabling the rapid spread of protest against corrupt regimes in adjacent countries, such as Egypt and Tunisia. They pointed out that recent web campaigns had seen the release of civil society activists who had been imprisoned for infringement of 'sacred values'. [42]

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[41] Source: Statistics of the Internet: News about Facebook. Dated 19 July 2010. This figure increased significantly since July 2010.
[42] Narjis Rerhaye, 'Morocco is still imprisoning for political reasons'. Source: Libération newspaper. 18 February 2008. Taken up by the Internet website Biladi.

Field research conducted in 2002 by Paola Ghandolfi[43] also observes the proliferation of NGOs and a growing interest in democracy. She draws attention to the work of organisations active in the defence of human rights, women's rights, in child advocacy, the fight against corruption:

"One assesses that one of the major events characterising Morocco at the beginning of the 21st century is the arrival of major mobilisations and spectacular collective actions..." She goes on to argue that "Morocco witnesses the proliferation of organisations which involve many social actors. This associative movement concerns large cities, small and medium-sized cities and rural villages. All of this emanates from the empowerment of the population to take care of their own issues, facing the vacancy and/or disengagement of the state in certain areas."

As for the outcomes, a huge majority of surveyed CSOs declare that their suggestions have been approved (76.8%) or are under discussion (14.3%). A minority suggest there are no results (2.5%) and the suggestions have been rejected (5.9%). But the examples of actions listed seem to show that generally civil society organisations are not really included in the development, modification and even implementation of public policies. At the very most, they are involved in activities or projects.

4.4 RESPONSIVENESS – EXTERNAL PERCEPTIONS

The external perceptions survey was carried out on a population made up of resource persons in public administration, experts and civil society stakeholders. 51 people or institutions answered the questionnaire they were sent or took part in a face to face interview.

The largest part of the sample is made up of people working in the executive (45.1%), followed by experts and academics (17.6%) and people holding positions in the legislature (13.7%).[44]

The perception by external actors of the impact of civil society is generally positive. We made a focus on two fields of action: access to rights and to schooling. The impact in the first field was considered to be high by 13.7% of respondents and medium by 49.0% of them, that is a total of 62.7% for both. Against this, according to 35.3% of those questioned, the impact is low. Concerning schooling, those percentages are respectively 25.5% (high impact) and 45.1% (medium impact), that is 68.6% for both. However, only 21.6% considered the impact to be limited. We also observed that the proportion of those who declare civil society has no impact at all is very little.

Table 23: External perceptions of civil society impact in the fields of access to rights and schooling

Fields of action	No impact	Low impact	Medium impact	High impact
Access to rights	2.0%	35.3%	49.0%	13.7%
Schooling	7.8%	21.6%	43.1%	25.5%

[43] Paola Ghandolfi, 'Civil Society in Morocco: Meaning and outcome of the processes of social and political changes'. European University Institute, Fourth Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting. 19-23 March, 2003. University, CAFoscari Venice. Workshop 4.
[44] Donors accounted for 6% of the sample. The private sector, the media and the judiciary are represented by one person each.

Source: CSI External Perceptions Survey, 2010

As for the impact on particular domains, civil society's impact is considered to be much more important in social development (52.9%) and human rights (41.2%). Education (27.5%) comes third, followed by help to the poor and to marginalised communities (25.5%). However, they consider the impact to be limited in the fields of housing, employment, food support and even health.

4.5 AND 4.6 SOCIAL AND POLICY IMPACT – EXTERNAL PERCEPTION
The carrying out of local development projects by civil society is considered to be generally useful by 64.7% of external respondents (very useful by 23.5% and useful by 41.2%). A minority of participants consider it to be moderately useful (23.5%) and useless to moderate (9.8%).

Participants were also asked for their opinion on the global impact of civil society. Most of them (52.9%) chose the answer 'a certain tangible impact' and 15.7% 'a major impact'. In contrast, 27.5% of respondents consider the global impact of civil society to be limited.

From a social point of view, the assessment of the impact of civil society is rather divided. A majority of respondents believe there is 'a certain tangible impact' (52.9%) and a small proportion believes there is a 'major impact' (3.9%). In contrast, a significant part of them (42.2%) think the impact is limited. Thus, on the whole the impact of civil society is considered by external resource people to be clearly positive and favourable. The answers 'a low impact' and 'a very limited impact' are rare and limited to precise domains: employment, housing, food support and health. It can be noted that those domains require services that depend on the implementation of public policies, that is, that are not in the field of action and the responsibility of civil society.

The overall impact of civil society is considered to be 'tangible' by 50% of respondents and 'major' by 6%, while 44% consider it to be 'limited'. On various occasions, the diversity of civil society was highlighted by external stakeholders. The variety of assessments of the impact by those questioned is likely to connect with the diversity and segmentation of civil society.

On the policy front, external respondents consider civil society to be most active, first in the area of women's rights (women's political participation and access to their rights, representation of women and their integration in development) (65.3%). The second area identified concerns human rights in general (55%) (human rights, access to civil and political leadership and public awareness, freedom of speech). According to respondents, the activism of civil society then manifests itself in the field of elections (development of the municipal charter, revision of the constitution, political participation) (44.9%). Other areas are listed much less frequently: children's status and rights (14.3%), relations with international NGOs and human development (14.3%), the fight against corruption (4.1%)[45] the defence of territorial integrity (2%) and the environment (2%).According to the respondents, areas where civil society initiatives have been approved include the defence of territorial integrity (100%), the environment (100%), women's rights (74%), elections (64%) and human rights (56%). Civil society initiatives are under discussion in the areas of the fight against corruption (100%), the

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[45] The percentage allocated to the fight against corruption is surprising, especially since it comes from opinion leaders who are supposed to be well informed. But one wonders if the question was interpreted as the effectiveness of the action in the fight against corruption. If so, then clearly results do not meet expectations. Moreover, the action of civil society remains limited in the area of constitutional reform and quite active in monitoring and observing elections.

rights of people with disabilities (100%) and road traffic (50%). On the other hand there has been a rejection or a lack of listening in the field of consumers' protection. Thus according to the external stakeholders, the attitude of public authorities vis-à-vis the proposals of civil society varies from one area to the other: in some cases it is favourable and in others more or less negative.

In general, the work of civil society is seen by external stakeholders to have helped advance social gains and achieve progress in terms of human rights, but clearly transforming, consolidating and implementing these gains is still fragile, and setbacks are observed.

On the whole the above sections showed that the perception of CSOs, as well as the perception by external actors – in particular opinion-makers and experts – is generally positive. However, assessments vary depending on domains and sometimes type of organisations.

4.7 IMPACT OF CIVIL SOCIETY ON ATTITUDES

On one of the key areas examined in this section is the public trust in civil society, which can act as an indicator both for the impact civil society is making on citizens and its space it has to achieve impact, trust being a key part of the working capital of civil society. The Population Survey data tells us that concerning the confidence of the population in social groups or institutions,[46] religious leaders enjoy a high level of confidence. They gather 72.3% of trust, scoring 44.3% 'great trust', 31.2% 'some trust' and 24.4% 'little or no trust' (24.4%). High levels of trust are accorded to the army, the police and community environmental organisations. In contrast, political parties, parliament, trade unions, the UMA (Maghreb Arab Union), the EU and United Nations organisations benefit from little trust from the surveyed population. The low trust enjoyed by certain international institutions and organisations such as UMA (29.8%) and the UN (29.7%) can be explained, at least partly, by lack of awareness; the majority of the population as a whole is not involved in their work.

Among the categories of organisations belonging to civil society, charitable or humanitarian organisations benefit from the highest level of trust (74.4%), followed by environmental organisations (71.6%) and women's organisations (62.3%), while unions enjoy a low level of trust (41.8%). It is even lower for political parties (31.6%). This low faith in certain national institutions (such as parliament and political parties) suggests an opportunity for civil society to capitalise on higher public standing, while suggesting it will be harder to develop the potential cooperation and positive relations that should exist between civil society and other sectors.

Figure 9: Trust in institutions comparison, WVS 2005 and CSI 2010

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[46] The question is to identify the level of trust concerning a list of organisations. For each one, the respondent is invited to attribute one of the following qualifications: great trust, some trust, little trust, no trust.
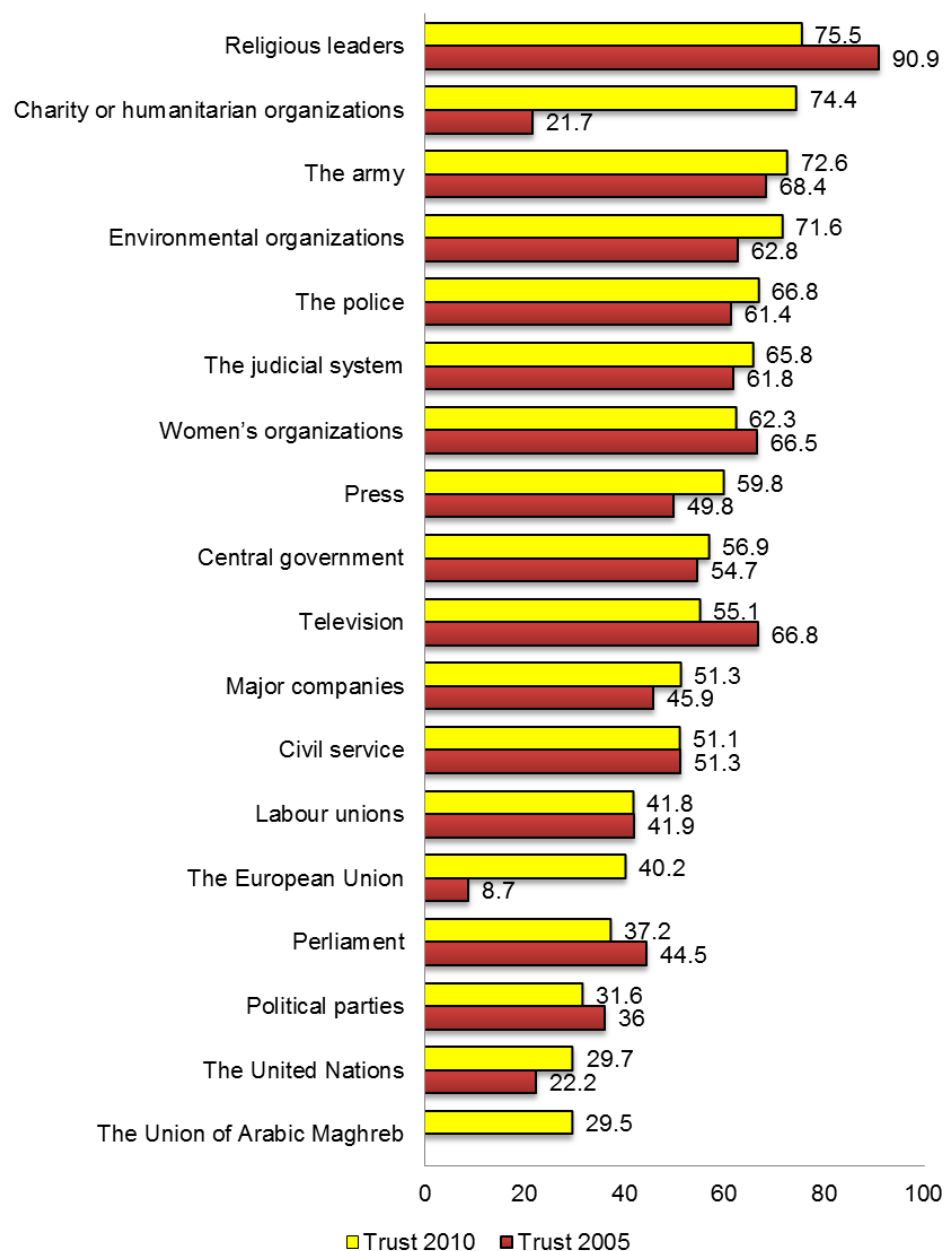
Source: WVS, 2005 and CSI Population Survey, 2010

In comparison with the results of the WVS (World Values Survey) 2005, certain categories of organisations would seem to have improved the trust they inspire in the public, while others have instead degraded their 'capital' of trust. Among the organisations that inspire little or no confidence in WVS are unions (58.3%), political parties (68.5%), public services (48.9%) and television outlets (44.9%), which occupy similar positions in CSI, suggesting a degree of accuracy. A loss of trust can be identified in religious leaders (75.5% instead of 90.9%) and parliament (37.2% instead of 44.5%). Institutions that would seem to have improved the trust they inspire in the population are charitable and humanitarian organisations (from 68.4% to 72.6%), environmental organisations (71.6% instead of 62.8%) and newspapers (59.8% instead of 49.8%).

Going into the question of the public's knowledge of civil society in a little more depth, 34.7% of Population Survey respondents report that they are familiar with CSOs, and in a vast majority of cases, these are local ones (84.2%). Knowledge of national organisations seems to be more limited (25.4%) and even more limited in the case of international organisations (5.1%). 316 people declared they knew a local organisation, of whom 76.4% consider they are important and useful. 8.5% see them as very useful to young people in particular, while 1.2% ascribe them a very important role towards women and the fringe elements of society (1.2%). On the other hand, 4.4% of interviewees consider they are not important, which may be justified in view of the lack of resources.

The three areas the population reports it is highly interested in and civil society should take charge of, according to respondents, are health (91.6%), education (88.7%) and defending rights (69.4%). Advocacy is also important but is considered as such by far fewer respondents (32.4%). The ranking of human rights organisations with regard to other organisations is inevitably low statistically speaking, which accounts for the third position. However, 'defending rights' (for example access to health, education and water) is in third position and depends on advocacy activities. As a result, we may consider advocacy as being part of 'defending rights'.

5. EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

The national and international environments seem to play an important if not decisive role in the development of Moroccan civil society. The External Environment dimension assesses the context in which civil society operates, and tries to ascertain the extent to which that context is a supportive one.

This dimension derives its numerical indicators largely from a range of secondary data sources in well-known international indices.

Table 24: External Environment indicator scores

Sub-Dimension	Name	Score
5.1	Socio-economic context	61.9
5.2	Socio-political context	51.4
5.3	Socio-cultural context	57.8
5	**EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT**	**57.0**

The analysis was also informed by a focus group which was established to understand better how stakeholders perceive the effect of the external environment on their development.[47] Participants were invited to express their views on the legal framework, the roles of the different actors and the restrictions on organisations' activities, and on individual and public freedoms. The discussion focused in particular on the participants' experiences and their views on the theme of control versus autonomy of civil society. Participants pointed to a real evolution civil society has been registered since the 1990s, in connection with a decline in the audience for traditional political parties, and also to the transformative role of new technologies.

5.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

The external data sources from which the score for this section was derived are outlined below.

Table 25: Key external indicators for socio-economic context

Source	Criteria	Score for Morocco
Social Watch Basic Capabilities Index(BCI) 2008	The Index is comprised of the following three criteria covering health and basic educational provision: the percentage of children who reach fifth grade at school, the percentage of children who survive until at least their fifth year (based on mortality statistics), the percentage of births attended by health professionals. It applies the following scale: very low level of BCI (70-79 points), low BCI (80-89 points), middle BCI (90-96 points) and acceptable level (97 and more points).	79.4

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[47] Focus group held on 16 July 2010 in the offices of the Associative Arena in Rabat.

Transparency International Corruption Perception Index 2008	The index measures corruption through perception of corruption levels in the public sector. The higher the score, the lower are perceived levels of corruption	35.0
World Bank Gini Coefficient 2008	The index measures income inequality in countries where 0 signifies absolute equality and 100 signifies absolute inequality. The scores are reversed for CSI methodology such that 0 represents absolute inequality, and therefore the higher the score, the higher the level of equality	60.5
World Bank Development Indicators 2007	The country's macro-level economic health is measured through the ratio of the external debt to the GNI. A higher score represents a more sustainable level of debt.	72.5

As part of this context, it is also worth understanding the levels of income in Morocco. The declarations on global monthly household income in the Population Survey point out that 29% of surveyed people earn 2,000-2,999 Dirhams a month, 13% earn 1,000-1,999 Dirhams (about the level of the guaranteed minimum wage) and 7% less than 1,000 Dirhams. 23% of households have a monthly income between 3,000 and 4,000 Dirhams and 12% of households earn between 4,000 and 5,000 Dirhams. Only 16% earn more than 5 000 Dirhams (on average the exchange rate was 1US$ for 8.5 Dirhams during 2010).

Figure 10: Average monthly household income in Morocco
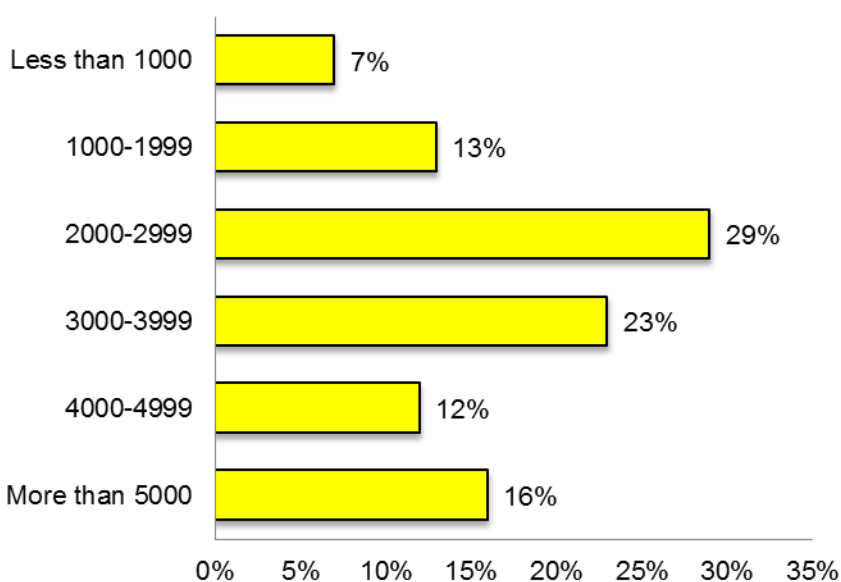
Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

This distribution highlights the fact that a vast proportion of households have very low (or even precarious) income, whereas a very small proportion of the population enjoy quite comfortable income levels. When asked on their perception of their own socio-economic status, respondents underlined the existence of social discrepancies: the three lower deciles account for respectively 16.6%, 28.9% and 32.0% (a total of 77.5%). On the contrary, upper deciles account for 1.2%. This corresponds to a very high concentration of income, at least according to respondents' perception on their income situation.

Surveyed people also widely believe they belong to lower or poor social categories. The 'lower class'[48] accounts for 10.6% and the working class accounts for 46.1% (56.7% for the two). Adding the 'lower middle class' group (38.1%) makes a total of 94.8% for those three social groups. The higher social groups represent only just 5.2%: 0.5% for the 'upper class' and 4.7% for the 'upper middle class'.

Among factors that foster civic engagement and the development of civil society, material conditions and people's level of income play an important role. Given the survey's data, it seems that Morocco is facing unfavourable conditions.

It would seem safe to make the assumption that people with very limited incomes, who daily face the worry of economic survival, have little scope to participate widely in the kinds of civic activities the CSI seeks to examine. Similarly, we can assume that when people are grappling with illiteracy, they are unable to access the sources of information that would enable them to participate in an informed way, and that lack of education denies people civic opportunities just as much as it denies them economic opportunities. On the education front, the findings of the Population Survey also suggest a challenging landscape for CSOs seeking to increase active citizenship amongst the people civil society most exists to serve. . The Population Survey's confirm the wide spread of illiteracy and in general the low level of training of the population. Illiterate people and people with no experience of school account for 41.5% of the population[49], while people who began but did not complete primary school account for 9.9%. Those two categories account for slightly more than half of the population (51.4%).[50] Those who attended university represent 3.4% and 6% of people. People who attended school complete their studies at a premature age (training not included): 39% of young people left school before turning 15 and 12% before turning 10. These statistics give some idea of the challenges faced in mobilizing the population on Morocco.

5.2 SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

The external data sources for this section are as follows:

Table 26: Key external indicators for socio-political context

Source	Criteria	Score for Morocco
Freedom House Index of Political	**Political Rights and Freedoms** The index measures the state of	40.0

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[48] This is a standard classification adopted by the World Values Survey and this survey.

[49] This proportion is far more important than official figures that are based on declared beneficiaries of literacy programmes. This is not satisfactory since we know that only few people go through the two to three year programme and the success rate on the tests taken upon completion of the programme is low.

[50] The distribution of population according to level of instruction is close to the values survey. The illiteracy rate is 40%. See the survey '50 years of human development. 2025 Prospects'. Synthesis report on the national survey on values. Raporteur: Hassan Rachik. Scientific Committee: Rahma Bourquia, Abdelatif Ben Cherifa, Mohamed Tozi.

Rights 2008	political rights and freedoms through election processes, political pluralism and participation. It is converted onto a 0-100 scale for CSI, with a higher figure indicating more political rights and freedoms.	
Freedom House Index of Civil Liberties 2008	**Rule of Law and Civil Liberties** The index provides a comparative evaluation of levels of civil liberties through freedoms of religion and expression, rule of law, personal freedoms and autonomy. It is converted onto a 0-100 scale for CSI, with a higher figure indicating greater rule of law and civil liberties	50.0
Freedom House Index of Civil Liberties 2008	**Associational and Organisational Rights** Placed under Freedom House's Index of Civil Liberties, this indicator examines the state of associational and organisational rights which are vital for civil society. It is converted onto a 0-100 scale for CSI, with a higher figure indicating more associational and organisational rights.	50.0
World Bank Governance Dataset 2007	**State Effectiveness** The World Bank dataset evaluated state effectiveness in terms of public services, policy-making processes and perception of government attitude towards the rule of law.	48.6

This sub-dimension also considers data from the Organisational Survey on civil society's subjective experience of the legal framework, which received a score of 72.4%. In the survey, the laws and regulations governing civil society in Morocco are considered moderate (41.2%) to fully facilitating (15.6%). Nevertheless, the percentage of those who qualify the situation as restrictive is significant: 7.6% say it is very restrictive and 32.7% rather restrictive. Further, 13.7% say their organisation has met with unfair restrictions in the past, which perhaps indicates that the situation used to be worse.

Figure 11: Civil society assessment of the regulatory framework in Morocco
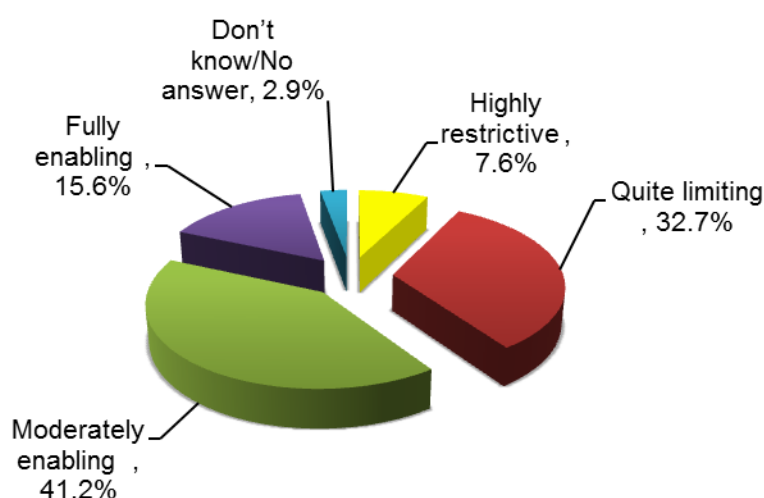
Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

Opinions vary on the legal framework depending on organisation type. Human rights and women's organisations see the framework as more severe (with 10.5% saying it is very restrictive), while this judgment is not cited by any professional association or trade union. There is also a clear difference between those human rights organisations (21.1%) and professional organisations (12.5%) that consider the legal framework fully facilitating.

Table 27: Views on laws and regulations governing civil society

	Cultural, sport, recreational and youth organisations	Human rights and women's organisations	Professional associations and labour unions	Local development, health and proximity organisations	Average
Very restrictive	11.7%	10.5%	.0%	5.1%	7.6%
Rather restrictive	32.5%	36.8%	31.3%	32.3%	32.7%
Rather facilitating	36.4%	31.6%	56.3%	44.4%	41.2%
Completely facilitating	16.9%	21.1%	12.5%	14.1%	15.6%
Don't know	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	3.0%	2.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: CSI Organisational Survey, 2010

According to some participants in the focus group on this dimension, the legal framework for organised community life has not changed since 1958, with the most important elements not having changed in 2002.[51] The public interest is a discretionary provision that is source of unfairness. According to another view, the legal framework is not a major obstacle. Currently, it is easier to create an organisation. Another view is that the allocation of public utility status, as discussed earlier, is selective, but that obtaining it or not does not make a big difference for the beneficiaries of this status, except for a small minority.

One recent change in the relationship between the state and civil society came in the form of the launch of the National Human Development Initiative (NHDI) by the state in 2005 with the aim of fighting poverty and promoting local development through a participative approach, which involves CSOs as partners. But many CSOs which took part in CSI focus groups criticised the power dynamics of the NHDI. About 30% of interviewed CSOs are involved in the NHDI programme, a significant proportion. Among them, 42.3% considered the NHDI to be very useful, whereas only 8.5% believed it is of little (38.3% of CSOs did not answer). 24.6% said the NHDI is very effective and has positive outcome. But 34.6% and 19.2% of respondents believed its efficiency was moderate or low respectively. Many participants in the focus group drew attention to involvement deficiencies for CSOs in NHDI processes at every stage of proceedings, from conception of programme to implementation and evaluation. They also believe the NHDI has flawed governance and weak decision-making processes.

5.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

Here the CSI considers questions of trust, tolerance and public spiritedness. It is first worth noting that here that in the CSI population survey a vast majority of respondents express a primary national sense of belonging, characterised as, "Before anything, I am a Moroccan" (80.9%). They seldom refer at first to their regional belonging (8.9%) or to the place they live in (9.7%). 30% of the parents of those interviewed are immigrants in the region in which they live. Further, it should be noted from the Population Survey that 99.6% of the population of Morocco are Muslims, while 0.3% are Jews and 0.1% do not belong to any religion. 66.9% declare they practise their religion. The outcomes of the 2005 World Values Survey show that people practising their religion accounted for 91.8%, while 8.2% declared they did not practise a religion. This suggests there might be a significant decrease in the levels of people practising religion in Morocco. We can also observe a decrease when comparing to the outcomes of the survey carried out in the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Morocco's independence ('50 years of human development: 2025 Prospects') since that survey mentioned that 72.4% of those interviewed declared they prayed on a regular basis (68.7% in rural areas). In addition, according to the 2010 CSI Population Survey the proportion of women who are not practising their religion is higher than men, while and the under 35 years old practise even less than women.

Table 28: Current practice of religion

|	Total	Men	Women	Under 35 years old	Over 35 years old
You are a religious person practising your religion	66.90%	68.70%	65.10%	56.5%	78.7%
You are a religious person	33.00%	31.10%	34.90%	43.3%	21.3%

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[51] This opinion is however questionable, as several dispositions were modified in 2002, although some limitations remained.

not practising your religion					

Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

Within the Population Survey, suspicion prevails. Only 20.7% of those surveyed declare that most people can be trusted and 79.3% believe that one must be careful in dealing with people. People that respondents would not like to have as a neighbour are, in decreasing order of intolerance, homosexuals (89.6%), drug addicts (88.4%), heavy drinkers (82.9%), people with a criminal record (80.2%), people with HIV/AIDS (66.5%) and unmarried couples living together (63.3%). In contrast, people getting a low score and who would therefore be relatively well tolerated are people speaking a different language (14.3%), immigrants/foreign workers (19.7%) and people of a different race (21.9%).

Figure 12: Intolerance levels towards different groups
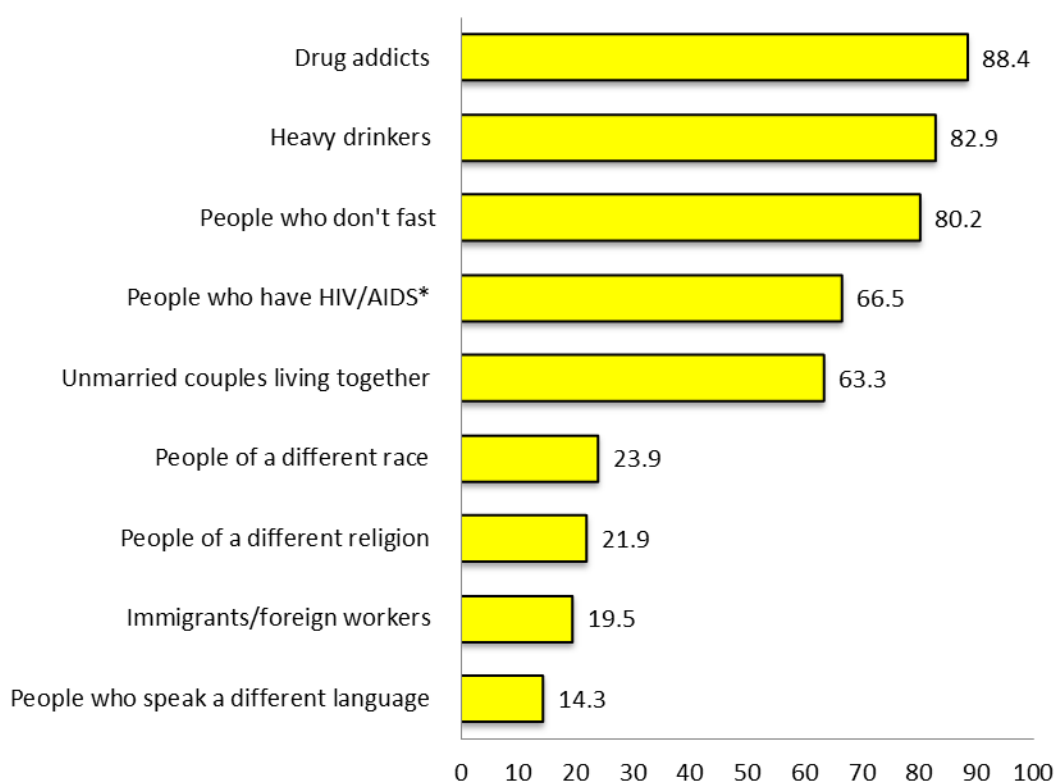
Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

Those answers seem to express a relatively high level of tolerance towards foreigners and racial differences but a very level of tolerance when it comes to socially stigmatised behaviours and ways of being.

Table 29: Tolerance by age and gender

Intolerance of:	Total	Men	Women	Under 35	Over 35
Drug addicts	88.50%	89.10%	88.00%	87.50%	89.50%
People of a different race	23.90%	25.30%	22.50%	20.40%	27.90%
People with HIV/AIDS	66.40%	66.10%	66.70%	62.20%	71.50%
Immigrants/foreign workers	19.50%	19.30%	19.80%	16.70%	22.60%
Homosexuals	89.60%	92.80%	86.40%	87.50%	91.80%

People of a different religion	22.00%	26.30%	17.60%	18.50%	25.80%
Heavy drinkers	83.00%	84.30%	81.60%	80.80%	85.20%
Unmarried couples living together	63.30%	67.60%	59.00%	54.40%	72.90%
People speaking a different language	14.30%	14.20%	14.50%	12.80%	16.00%
People with a criminal record	80.20%	83.80%	76.50%	76.80%	83.90%

Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

While sharing comparable levels of intolerance with regard to some socially stigmatised phenomena, women and young people display far more tolerant levels, for example towards homosexuals and unmarried people living together.

The Population Survey also examines social attitudes. Phenomena that receive high scores for being 'never justified' and that receive a high level of affirmative answers are homosexuality (98.2%), suicide (96.4%) and accepting a bribe (93.6%). In contrast, divorce is more acceptable, with only 30.7% of interviewed people refusing to justify it. There are more people refusing to justify 'beating one's wife' (60.9%) and abortion (66.0%).

Figure 13: Social attitudes comparison, WVS 2005 and CSI 2010
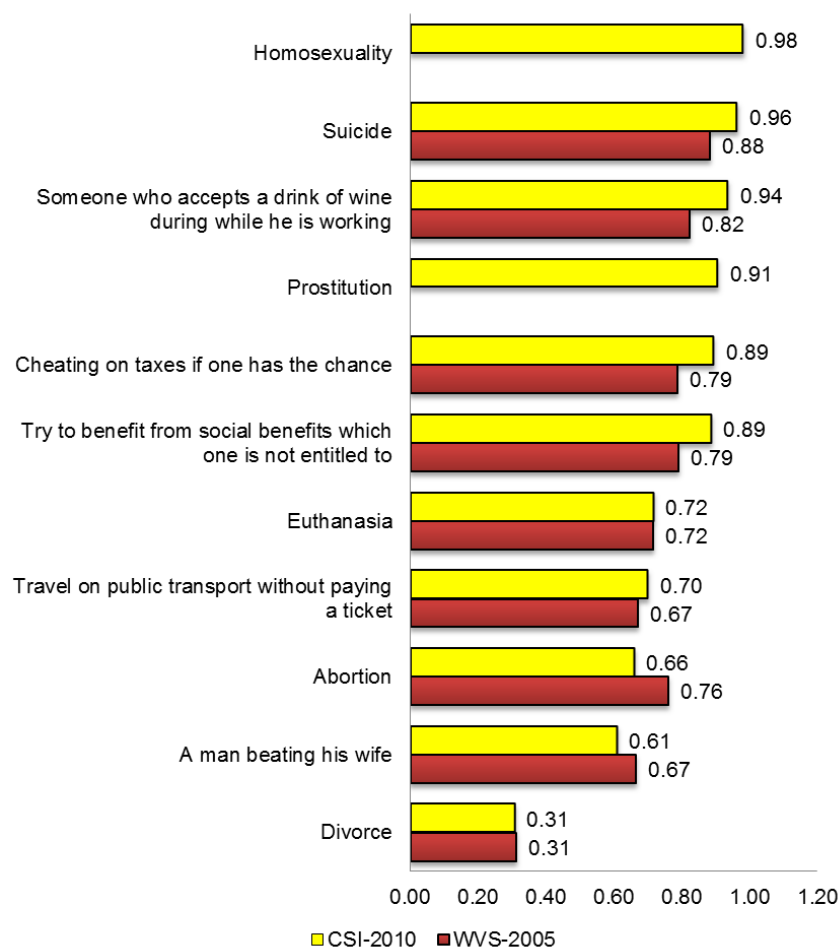
Source: WVS, 2005 and CSI Population Survey, 2010

Those outcomes require being put into context. The non-justification rates of those social phenomena are very high compared to other contexts. They are particularly high in domains associated with social or religious taboos. However, we must underline the discrepancies between what people declare and what they practice. Widely spread practices of corruption, tax evasion and also use of prostitution are examples that perfectly illustrate this gap between reality, taboo and declared moral attitude.

When looking at the tolerance of the population, a gender divide seems to occur. While being at comparable levels of tolerance to men, women sometimes seem to be more open-minded. The difference is clear, for instance, in the case of prostitution, with a 5 point gap between women and men. The attitude towards abortion shows a similar difference depending on gender. Yet, it is striking that both genders express high levels of intolerance, and this is also remarkable when considering the attitudes of young people on an issue such as abortion.

Table 30: Breakdown of attitudes by gender

From 1: never justified to 10: completely justified		Total	Women	Men
Claiming government benefits of which you are not entitled to	1	88.40%	87.80%	88.90%
	2	7.40%	6.50%	8.30%
Avoiding a fare on public transport	1	69.50%	69.50%	69.60%

	2	10.40%	8.90%	11.90%
	1	89.10%	90.60%	87.70%
Cheating on taxes if you have a chance	2	7.20%	6.00%	8.50%
Accepting a bribe in the course of one's	1	93.30%	93.70%	92.90%
duties	2	4.20%	4.30%	4.00%
	1	97.80%	98.20%	97.50%
Homosexuality	2	1.20%	1.10%	1.20%
	1	90.30%	92.30%	88.30%
Prostitution	2	3.60%	3.50%	3.70%
	1	65.70%	68.70%	62.70%
Abortion	2	8.20%	7.70%	8.60%
	1	30.50%	25.90%	35.10%
Divorce	2	8.80%	8.50%	9.10%
	1	96.50%	96.50%	96.40%
Suicide	2	1.40%	1.20%	1.50%
	1	60.60%	50.40%	70.80%
A man beating his wife	2	4.60%	5.10%	4.20%

Source: CSI Population Survey, 2010

Turning to the World Values Survey, there is a very high amount of valid answers here, except for the question on homosexuality, which was not asked. In the WVS, roughly between two thirds and three quarters of respondents say they do not have anything against being the neighbour of people of a different race (76.8%), people of a different religion (61.6%) or immigrants (75.4%). However, two thirds of interrogated people (66.6%) express a lack of tolerance towards people with HIV/AIDS.[52]

To the question that aims to assess attitudes towards unethical behaviours (claiming non-entitled government benefits, fare-dodging, cheating on taxes and accepting a bribe), the average answer varies between 8.7% and 9.4%, on a 1 to 10 scale where 1 means acceptable and 10 means always unacceptable. This means there is a strong stance towards never accepting anti-social behaviours.

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[52] This presents outcomes of the surveys carried out by the team in Morocco.

IV. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF MOROCCO CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society's main strengths as reported by CSOs who took part in the process are strongly associated with three dimensions: first, 'proximity and citizenship' (42.2%); second, 'social and human development' (30.3%) and third 'credibility, independence and engagement' (28.4%). Those are important qualities for a sound development of civil society. On the contrary, partnership was rarely mentioned (0.9%), nor the diversity of civil society's fields of action (6.2%).

Figure 14: Civil society strengths
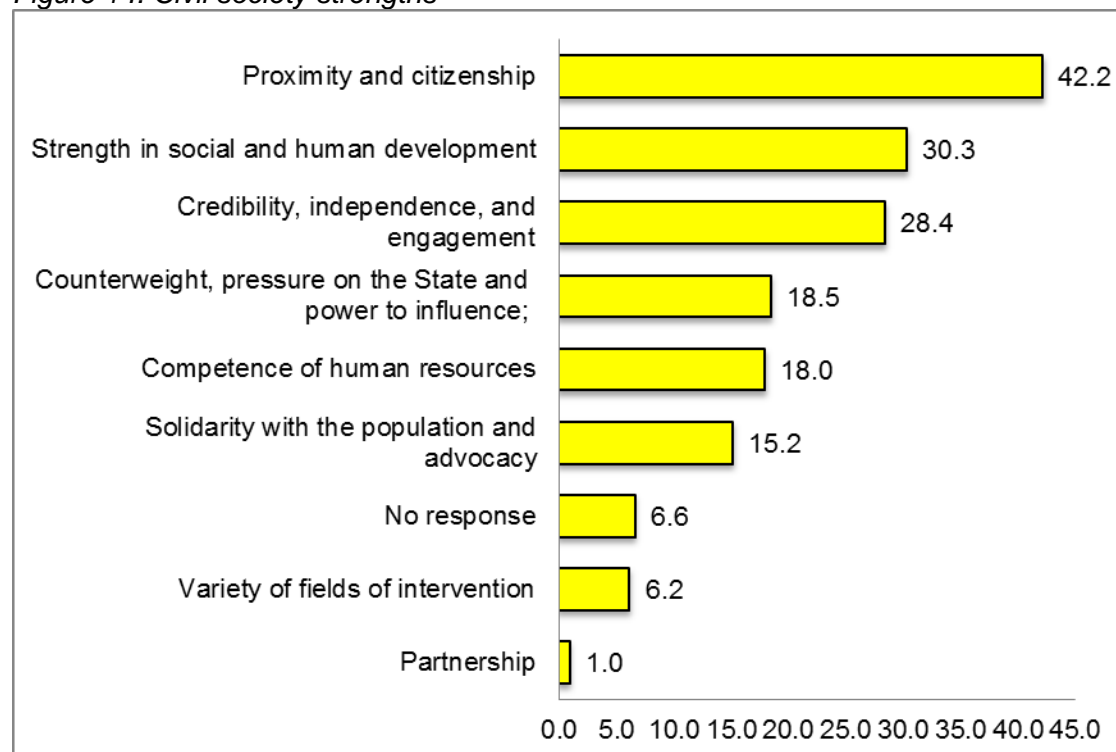
As for civil society's weaknesses, the most mentioned problems are financing (35.3%), behaviours that may be described as unsatisfactory[53] (27.0%) and poor communication and coordination (25.1%). To those problems, respondents add lack of organisation, expertise and professionalism (23.2%). Other items are brought to light but much less frequently: the absence of adapted legislation, and pressure from the authorities (9%). Financing is also at the top of the obstacles encountered by civil society organisations in their everyday functioning (54% mention it as their first obstacle). The second obstacle is limited participation and civic engagement (23.4%), followed by the lack of skilled human resources (17.2%) and non-specialisation (15.3%).

CSO interviewees also warned about risks that affect civil society's functioning (they were allowed to name more than one). The most significant risks are exploitation and internal governance (both 52.1%), followed by practice of values (43.6%) and civic engagement (40.3%). Even if civic engagement comes last, it is still mentioned by two fifths of respondents. Those risks may be, to a certain extent, interdependent from one another. They are a main

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[53] Described as 'opportunism, lack of independence and favouritism'.

concern. They require in-depth analysis and appropriate responses, matching the risks they expose the functioning of civil society to.

Table 31: Risks identified as affecting the functioning of civil society in Morocco

	Number	**Percentage**
Civic engagement	85	40.3%
Values	92	43.6%
Exploitation	110	52.1%
Internal governance	101	52.1%

Echoing the identified obstacles, the surveyed CSOs suggest that first, in order to increase effectiveness, it is required to act on national and international financing (51.7%), to improve human resources skills (16.1%) and develop self-financing (8%), as well as participation and civic engagement (8.1%). When asked about the second most important action they identified first improving human resources skills (33.5%), followed by improving the legislation for civil society (15.5%) and then encouraging participation and civic engagement (15.0%).

As well as the CSO participants, the external stakeholders interviewed in the External Perceptions Survey were asked to name in order of importance civil society's three main strengths. Three series of qualities stand out of their answers. Firstly, 56.9% of them highlighted diversity, independence and autonomy. They also added openness, in particular in international relations, as well as civil society's ability to mobilise financing and its good organisation. A second set of main strengths identified by 51% underlined engagement and involvement, particularly in the fight against poverty and in social projects. Amongst the highlighted main strengths were on-the ground experience, project leadership and the ability to go beyond political divisions. A third series of qualities were highlighted by 39.2% of the respondents. They mentioned not only dynamism, motivation, active participation and continuity of civil society's actions, but also the importance of volunteer work and the support of educated young people to civil society's actions. Other qualities were also brought up by fewer people. Civil society is given credit for initiating actions and for its advocacy qualities 'ability to propose and stand up for' and 'great culture of claiming'), carrying out of awareness and proximity actions, and involving intellectuals. Some respondents also consider the fact that some political activists went from being involved in political parties to becoming members of political organisations to be a strength of civil society ('capitalising on and hijacking politicians').

Amongst civil society's weaknesses, a large majority of respondents (60%) underlined the lack of qualification of its members, the weakness of internal organisation and the employees' lack of professionalism. They also added the lack of recruitment of young academics. 46% of the respondents called attention to another series of weaknesses, among which "wide-ranging and ill organised development" and the existence of centralism, and corresponding rivalry in the management on one side, and a lack of coordination and poor development of networking and partnerships on the other side.

Quite a large number of the respondents (44%) also highlighted other weaknesses relating to poor standards in advocacy (lack of strategy and weakness of advocacy, inability to mobilise the population) and in organisation. Weaknesses mentioned by fewer people were related to the risk of exploitation, the lack of vision and development of the role of CSOs as forces of

opposition, the lack of leadership, the risks related to opportunism and to individuals' interests. Only a few external respondents mentioned the lack of financial and human resources and the fact that civil society relies very much on volunteer work.

We observe that some items can be considered as both significant strengths and weaknesses. This is because civil society is not homogeneous: what can be a strong point in some cases (e.g. organisation, professionalism, dynamism) may also be considered as a weak point to another section of civil society.

When asked in their survey about the risks civil society is exposed to, external actors clearly put at the top internal governance (72.5%) and danger of exploitation of civil society (70.6%). Respecting democratic values and civic engagement are significantly but less often mentioned, respectively 54.9% and 31.4%.

In response to the question what are the three main obstacles to civil society's development, the items most mentioned by opinion-makers are the lack of skilled human resources (58.8%), participation and civic engagement (45.1%) and self-financing (43.1%). CSO respondents gave the same first priority (31.4%) to the lack of permanent human resources and the non-specialisation of human resources. Other obstacles mentioned here are relations with public authorities (19.6%) and the legislation ruling civil society (17.6%).

Figure 15: Obstacles to the development of civil society
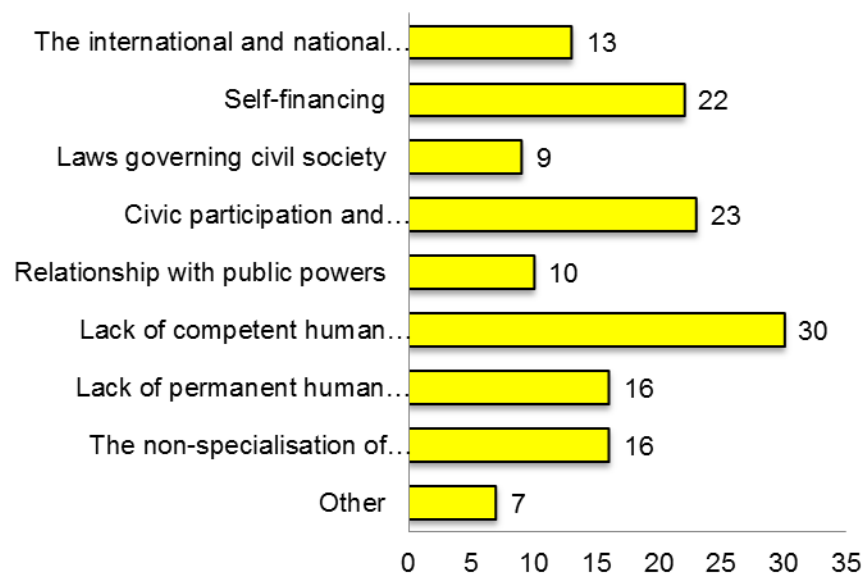
According to the perception of external actors, developing Moroccan civil society's effectiveness first requires improving human resources training (68.6%) and improving relations with public authorities (54.9%), followed by financing (49.0%) and encouraging engagement and civic participation (35.4%).

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The surveys carried out within the framework of the CSI showed that civil society has experienced a significant development within the last two decades and that it has a large diversity of constituent parts. The research also showed that civil society still has huge growth potential but that its development is for the moment hindered by a series of weaknesses and its unclear relations with public authorities.

1. Increased participation and partnership in development

The participative approach is often mentioned by public authorities in speeches, but is actually rarely implemented. In order to ensure real progress in relations between the state and civil society, the participative approach should be inserted into rules and regulations as an obligation in the political decision-making process. Civil society, for its part, should also introduce it as a central claim, aiming to institutionalise participation and consultation in public projects. Thus, CSOs must ask for their rightful place in cooperating with public authorities and act towards extending the area of public liberties. Those are essential conditions of success and better effectiveness of civil society's interventions.

Within this framework, it is important to act towards clarifying the attitudes of and relations with public authorities when it comes to partnerships and to strengthening civil society's autonomy. Moreover, public authorities need to guarantee more transparency and broad access to public information, in particular for information related to public projects and criteria of access to public funding.

In the present situation, a majority of CSOs do not get any public funding. The statute of public utility is granted in unclear and discriminatory. This is a real political obstacle preventing social and private funding, and which is neither sound nor democratic. There is an extreme risk of civil society being dependent of external funding and donors' agendas if this is not addressed.

2. Increased transparency by public authorities

For those reasons, the state and public authorities are being called on to raise public resources intended for the funding of CSOs, to 1% of the state's general budget (or 0.5% of GDP) and to allocate it in a transparent, democratic and rational way. This requires the following conditions:

- Access to general, financial and budget information related to civil society and working towards designing, in a participative way, and passing a bill that guarantees citizens' access to public information;

- Granting of public resources based on precise, clear and open criteria that are known to everyone. This requires stopping current practices and procedures that are often discretionary.

We also recommend the drafting and the publication by public authorities of an annual report on civil society that presents in particular:

  o Public authorities' orientations and policies aiming for the promotion of CSOs;

    o   An annual assessment of achievements, relations and partnerships with CSOs;

    o   Statements of accounts of the activities and partnerships carried out with CSOs. This should include awarded financial aids and grants and the criteria for their allocation.

3. Increased responsiveness of civil society to public needs and trends

The Population Survey showed that the Moroccan population is experiencing specific problems that are not always taken into consideration by civil society's actions (in particular those related to housing and employment). Thus, it is essential that civil society be ready to listen to the population's expectations by developing structures for exchange and debate and also by carrying out regular surveys in order to accurately understand their issues. This does not mean that civil society is responsible for meeting those expectations but it means that civil society must consider them in its advocacy. Moreover, civil society should clarify the direction to be followed: should it favour advocacy or provision of services? This requires thinking, debating, maturing of viewpoints and taking into account the diversity of opinions.

The question of the population's needs more and more requires that CSOs clarify their roles and their leanings. It is important that options between advocacy and service provision be knowingly chosen. Very often, the needs of the population require resources and skills that civil society does not have. We must also be aware of the risks of attempting to substitute and transpose the roles of state for civil society.

4. Increased defence of citizens and consumers

Defending consumers is among the domains in which civil society currently acts very rarely. Promoting this domain is crucial so that civil society may intervene at a significantly larger scale (all citizens are multiple consumers exposed to all kinds of abuses). Its development is dependent on the passing of a legislation that would provide real guarantees and set up institutions that would effectively protect consumers (in particular through radical revision of the role and the remit of the Competition Commission). In order to make progress in that direction, it is necessary to consult civil society on the content of the legislation and to involve CSOs since they must organise themselves and attract competences in various domains and citizen service areas.

5. Increased measures aiming to strengthen volunteering

Volunteering plays an essential role in the functioning of CSOs. Among possible measures to make it attractive, we may suggest:

    o   Developing and adopting a status that would specify the duties and the rights of the active voluntary worker;

    o   Clarifying the intervention process and procedures of the voluntary worker while specifying the reception arrangements, the follow-up mechanisms and the ways of expressing gratitude towards voluntary contribution, in particular by keeping records of the time they devote to civil society;

o Preparing certificates recognising voluntary workers', volunteers' and trainees' contribution. Their contribution could be taken into account in the development of their professional careers and in their social development;

o Consolidating and developing the lending by the state of skilled and voluntary personnel to CSOs to contribute to their activities;

o Developing the practice of professional supervised and valuable internships and promoting the carrying out of studies on civil society by young researchers;

o Developing collaborations and partnerships with universities, research centres and training institutions;

o Creating and promoting a kind of civil service within CSOs;

o Bringing CSOs' missions closer to the needs and the expectations of the various constituent parts of society.

6. Increased financing as a keystone for the development of CSOs

In order to overcome the outlined weaknesses and to improve the organisational situation of civil society, we strongly advise on strengthening the permanent management structures of CSOs, in particular through favouring the recruitment of skilled permanent employees.

This strengthening requires a significant improvement of CSOs' financing, apart from financing allocated to specific projects. This also requires going beyond or making more flexible the rule shared by almost all donors and financing institutions not to support CSOs' salaries and functioning costs.

Connected to the above, the Moroccan experience shows that developing partnerships with external sponsors and donors gives positive outcomes. Concerned CSOs made a special effort to improve their organisational functioning, to better assign tasks and to design performance indicators. And yet, the various actors are called on to make an effort to go beyond the project approach since it results in fragmented functioning and sometimes CSOs moving away from their original missions. A special effort is required to ensure sustainability of CSOs' structures, regardless of the projects that are carried out.

Among the possible options to ensure financing not related to specific projects and to strengthen the sustainability of CSOs' structures, we suggest as possibilities:

o Set up a Special Fund for the Funding and Promotion of Civil Society (SFFPCS), with CSOs actively participating in the management of the fund. Part of the fund should be devoted to financing the administrative costs of the CSOs that have raised funds for specific projects;

o Design clear mechanisms and procedures for the allocation of public funding;

o Ensure the financing of activities as well as management costs of CSOs, based on conditions of eligibility that remain to be defined.

As for support, we advise to:

- o Set up collective and mutual structures for the support of CSOs. Those structures could support CSOs in various areas such as counselling, organisation and management. Such structures could also help CSOs design strategies and action plans in keeping with their missions. They could also help CSOs in the fields of searching for financing, bookkeeping and auditing.

- o Set up structures that support good governance and the adoption of transparency standards (such as shared bookkeeping and shared auditing structures).

7. Increased training for civil society

In order to address the important needs in training within civil society and to do this on a larger scale, it is necessary to:

- o Devise an annual training scheme for civil society competencies and set up an Open University (using the model of the British Open University) and decentralised training institutions in charge of contributing to the development of civil society competencies. The training may cover in particular organisational management, advocacy and negotiation and lobbying techniques.

- o Design such an open university and a training scheme with the participation and active involvement of civil society. This would be open to various categories of people wishing to work within civil society and to those who have already gained experience and competencies within civil society. It could enable them to put their knowledge and their experience to good use by attending classes and ultimately obtaining diplomas that recognise their competencies.

8. Increased transparency in civil society

Consulted resource persons believe it is advisable to undertake auditing. This practice has the advantage of clarifying the relations between public authorities and organisations and at the same time of improving the accountability of decision-making. Some CSOs manage important budgets, often in conditions of insufficient transparency. Relying only on people's will to ensure ethical practice is not enough. Two directions are worth considering: the law and regulations approach on one side, and self-discipline to be promoted within civil society on the other. Indeed, it is necessary that the law should ensure and implement mechanisms of accountability and for the presentation of accounts, as well as internal management tools.

It is also required to implement internal safeguards that make people and organisations accountable to members, partners and beneficiaries. The organisations that have national missions (in such fields as human rights, fighting against corruption, promotion of democratic practice) must promote and encourage exemplary behaviours.

Progress should be achieved in promoting internal democracy and good governance, as well as professionalism of management, through the following:

- o Improvement of the transparency of CSOs' budgets and finances that would also foster members', partners' and donors' trust and prompt them to increase funding to civil society.

- o Make public calls for candidates against lists of specifications that define the required qualifications and the conditions in which requested work will be carried out. This will help meet needs in competencies and human resources, while enabling CSOs to avoid situations of conflicts of interests.

- o In order to manage conflicts that may arise, it is advisable to develop information sharing and communication within organisations, between members and the management; to promote structures of exchange and debate and to implement rules and procedures for management and arbitration that are agreed on.

Among the practical measures that may contribute to the strengthening of CSOs' governance are the following:

- Setting up a database of activities and financial reports;

- Respecting the renewal of elected management according to schedule;

- Drafting financial and other reports and bringing them up for discussion before holding general assemblies;

- Developing monitoring tools and mechanisms of assessment and control of CSOs' functioning. In this direction, a pilot accreditation mechanism may be introduced in a progressive way.

9. Increased practice of values within and by CSOs

Promoting ethical practice may be considered a major objective and an essential constituent part of the healthy functioning of civil society. It is also an asset and a positive element to be taken into consideration by civil society members and partners.

Stabilising the situation in some sections of civil society requires introducing and promoting ethical practices, and in particular:

- o Drafting a code or an ethical charter in participative ways that preserve autonomy from the state;

- o Setting up a structure in charge of the observation and the monitoring of non-ethical behaviours within CSOs and of the implementation of the charter;

- o Adopting a progressive policy of compliance with labour legislation (including declaring personnel, applying the legal minimum wage, complying with social obligations);

- o Promoting access to information and communication within organisations;

- o Developing vigilance towards potential political capture in relations with communal institutions and local authorities.

Improving internal democracy and good governance within civil society requires the progressive implementation of transparent management standards and encouraging measures to support their implementation. In that direction, CSOs will have to encourage the drafting of

financial and organisational audits, depending on the sizes and the specific situations of organisations. Ensuring the publication of the accounts and the audit reports for all organisations is a guarantee and a protection against malpractice. We also advocate the implementation of programmes and funding schemes that support the promotion of internal democracy and good governance.

As for the legal framework, it is necessary to strengthen the development of CSOs' independence, to save them from being exploited, and to implement mechanisms for legal control.

Members and beneficiaries should be in the position to exert vigilance and control on the elected management of CSOs. Among the mechanisms that enable to reduce this risk, we suggest submitting to the elected collective management all decisions that involve the organisations' liability.

10. Increased initiatives to promote effective advocacy

The actions carried out by civil society have produced effects that are directly observable and recognised by civil society experts. However, the effects are not always perceptible in the short run since civil society also has impacts that only appear in the medium and long run. According to the experience of the Moroccan civil society, the culture of questioning government that inspired numerous organisations, in particular human rights organisations, played a fundamental role in the accumulation of gains over time. In accordance with this assessment, we suggest there is now a need to:

- Consolidate the impact of civil society's actions by strengthening and promoting the culture of questioning government since we consider it to be at the heart of the achievements of advocacy;

- Promote advocacy while developing the capacity to analyse and design alternative proposals;

- Develop capacities for the technical nature of mobilisation and of the organisation of advocacy campaigns.

The development of advocacy and the improvement of its effectiveness would be better carried out through the implementation of collective structures for coordination between the numerous constituent parts of civil society and those specialised in social mobilisation.

11. Increased activity to enhance the environment for the development of civil society

The development of social mobilisation and its effectiveness are also dependent on the actions undertaken to improve the institutional and social environment and to promote synergies among CSOs.

Public authorities are encouraged to make a greater effort to guarantee the integration of local and regional organisations into national programmes and to develop information sharing on state programmes to make them understandable and accessible to civil society.

Concrete expression of this orientation may be made through:

- o The setting up of focal points that shall be civil society's interlocutor in central and decentralised public administrations;

- o The setting up of an official website devoted to civil society that can extend transparency in the relations with public authorities. Among the information to be issued on this website, we suggest information related to new directions and measures in favour of civil society, the government's action plan, adopted rules and regulations, the list of registered CSOs and the methods of funding.

In addition to the previously mentioned measures, CSOs should:

- o Lobby public authorities for the application of existing rules and regulations regarding organisations and for the abandonment of manoeuvres and obstacles that hinder the setting-up and the activities of organisations (such as limitations on gatherings and public demonstrations);

- o Seek a widening of public liberties, in particular through placing in the list of specifications CSOs' right to free access to public media.

Moreover, the state of Morocco and its civil society can take advantage of the development of regional media and the proximity of media on North Africa and the Middle East.

Civil society should also be attentive to the population. This should materialise through:

- o The strengthening of structures for exchange, debate and communication;

- o The carrying out of regular surveys to precisely know the expectations and the issues of various categories of the population.

In practical terms, progress may be made in that direction through:

- o Strengthening the structures of coordination;

- o Setting up an annual conference or forum of civil society;

- o Engaging in a debate on the major policy issues and the problems civil society is facing.

Promoting the relevant structures and activities that best meet the population's expectations and needs will most certainly result in promoting, at the same time, participation and civic engagement.

12. Increased education, human rights awareness and promotion of knowledge of ethical values

The development of civil society, its protection of civil society from the risks of malpractice and the improvement of good practices would benefit from:

- o The promotion of programmes for citizen and human rights education. This should be carried out in various ways, including at school and through public media;

- o The development of information and awareness on the laws and regulations related to organisational life, principles of good governance, accountability and responsibility;

- o The development of programmes on public television on civil society activities, good practice, experiences and the promotion of volunteer work;

- o The setting up of a prize for the best civil society project.

VI. CONCLUSION[54]

The diagram and diamond that come out of the findings of the various surveys are clearly more favourable than those that were drafted in the beginning of the study, based on the perceptions of the Advisory Committee members. In this new diamond, civic engagement gets a 43.9% score, followed by level of organisation with a 50.5% score. Those two dimensions are the least most deficient ones. Compared to this, perception of impact gets the highest score (62.3%), followed by practice of values (59.2%). The external environment is slightly lower rated (57.0%).[55]

Figure 17: CSI dimension scores

Dimension	Score
Civic Engagement	43.9%
Level of Organisation	50.5%
Practice of Values	59.2%
Perception of Impact	62.3%
Environment	57.0%

In absolute terms and with regard to the maximum score (100%), those performances are modest. But they need to be seen in a comparative perspective with other countries with similar situations and their development over time must be taken into account. For the time being, that points to a key difficulty for future analysis: there is a an absence of adequate reference points, for tracking the future progress of Moroccan civil society; as a next action, these need to be developed.

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[54] As noted in the foreword, it is important to point out that two data sets, and two reports were completed during the implementation of the CSI. First, the standard international version of the data set was constructed, which enables cross-country comparison and complies fully with the international standard for comparative analysis. This report, the international version of the CSI Morocco Analytical Country Report, is based on this data-set. However, at the same time, a national version contains some additional characteristics of particular national relevance, such as the inclusion of additional local development associations. Overall, it is important to note that the two data sets show very few differences, and that this does not change the analysis in either report.

[55] These figures represent the Moroccan dataset (see methodology section) rather than the CIVICUS international standardised dataset. The differences are however small and do not affect the overall analysis.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: CSI INDICATOR MATRIX

Sub-dimension	Indicator	Name	Data Result
1) Dimension: Civic engagement			***43.9***
1.1		Extent of socially-based engagement	24.9
	1.1.1	Membership to social organisations 1	8.3
	1.1.2	Social volunteering 1	16.7
	1.1.3	Community engagement 1	49.6
1.2		Depth of social engagement	41.2
	1.2.1	Membership to social organisations 2	18.2
	1.2.2	Social volunteering 2	15.6
	1.2.3	Community engagement 2	89.9
1.3		Diversity of social engagement	87.6
	1.3.1	Diversity of social engagement	87.6
1.4		Extent of political engagement	12.9
	1.4.1	Membership to political organisations 1	2.1
	1.4.2	Political volunteering 1	4.1
	1.4.3	Individual political activism 1	32.6
1.5		Depth of political engagement	22.9
	1.5.1	Membership to political organisations 2	14.8
	1.5.2	Political volunteering 2	5.7
	1.5.3	Individual political activism 2	48.2
1.6		Diversity of political engagement	74.1
	1.6.1	Diversity of political engagement	74.1
2) Dimension: Level of organisation			***50.5***
2.1		Internal Governance	100.0
	2.1.1	Management	100.0
2.2		Structure	50.7
	2.2.1	Support organisations	50.7
2.3		Communications within the sector	64.3
	2.3.1	"Peer-to-peer" communication 1	69.0
	2.3.2	"Peer-to-peer" communication 2	59.5
2.4		Human Resources	8.3
	2.4.1	Stability of Human Resources	8.3
2.5		Financial and technological resources	70.3
	2.5.1	Financial stability	56.1
	2.5.2	Technological resources	84.4
2.6		International relations	9.6
	2.6.1	International relations	9.6
3) Dimension: Practice of Values			***59.2***

3.1		Democratic decision making	87.7
	3.1.1	Governance with democratic decision making	87.7
3.2		Labour law	40.5
	3.2.1	Equal opportunity	32.5
	3.2.2	Unionisation rate	22.4
	3.2.3	Labour rights training	51.3
	3.2.4	Working standards	55.9
3.3		Code of conduct and transparency	55.3
	3.3.1	Code of conduct at the public's disposal	47.9
	3.3.2	Transparency	62.6
3.4		Environmental standards	49.8
	3.4.1	Environmental standards	49.8
3.5		Overall perception of civil society values	62.9
	3.5.1	Perception of nonviolence	67.6
	3.5.2	Perception of internal democracy	61.1
	3.5.3	Perception of corruption	9.5
	3.5.4	Perception of intolerance	79.2
	3.5.5	Perception of the weight of groups showing intolerance	84.2
	3.5.6	Perception of the promotion of nonviolence and peace	75.9
4) Dimension: Perception of Impact			*62.3*
4.1		Reactivity (internal perception)	78.3
	4.1.1	Impact on the first preoccupation point	73.8
	4.1.2	Impact on the second preoccupation point	82.8
4.2		Social impact social (internal perception)	75.2
	4.2.1	General social impact	62.1
	4.2.2	Social impact of one's organisation	88.2
4.3		Political impact (internal perception)	65.0
	4.3.1	General political impact	49.8
	4.3.2	Political activity of one's organisation	65.4
	4.3.3	Political impact of one's organisation	79.9
4.4		Reactivity (external perception)	66.4
	4.4.1	Impact on the first preoccupation point	62.7
	4.4.2	Impact on the second preoccupation point	70.0
4.5		Social impact (external perception)	64.0
	4.5.1	Social impact on precise matters	70.0
	4.5.2	General social impact	58.0
4.6		Political impact (external perception)	67.6
	4.6.1	Social impact on precise matters	79.2
	4.6.2	General social impact	56.0
4.7		Impact of civil society on behaviours	19.8
	4.7.1	Difference between the level of trust put in civil society members and that put in those who do not belong to civil society	0.0

	4.7.2	Difference between the level of tolerance put in civil society members and that put in those who do not belong to civil society	7.1
	4.7.3	Difference between the level of civic spiritedness put in civil society members and that put in those who do not belong to civil society	0.0
	4.7.4	Credibility given to civil society	72.1
5) Contextual Dimension: Environment			*57.0*
5.1		Socio-economic context	61.9
	5.1.1	Index of basic abilities	79.4
	5.1.2	Corruption	35.0
	5.1.3	Inequality	60.5
	5.1.4	Economic context	72.7
5.2		Socio-political context	51.4
	5.2.1	Political rights and liberties	40.0
	5.2.2	Law authority and individual liberties	45.8
	5.2.3	Organisational rights	50.0
	5.2.4	How they experience the legal framework	72.4
	5.2.5	State effectiveness	48.6
5.3		Socio-cultural context	57.8
	5.3.1	Trust	20.9
	5.3.2	Tolerance	55.7
	5.3.3	Civic spiritedness	96.8

APPENDIX 2 -STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES RELATED TO LEVEL OF ORGANISATION, ACCORDING TO AN EXTERNAL STUDY

WEAKNESSES	STRENGTHS
Organisation: 1. Little formal organisational development: a third of the organisations do not have organisation charts 2. Very few salaried employees 3. Very poor networking: only 20% of organisations belong to a network 4. Improvisation of programming and the carrying out of activities of 5. organisations 6. Very limited visibility **Financing:** 1. The majority of organisations have very moderate budgets 2. Poor self-financing capacities and dependence on the state 3. Inefficient bookkeeping: one third of organisations do not keep accounts and do have accounting expertise **Governance:** 1. In most cases there are no limitations of electoral mandates 2. Poor communication of the minutes and documents of organisations 3. There are not enough young people holding management positions	**Development:** 1. Significant increase in the number of organisations and growth of organisations 2. Importance of proximity and educational organisations 3. Members of organisations devote on average of seven days a month to organisational work 4. Organisations specialise by domains of activity 5. Two thirds of organisations have an organisation chart 6. Increase in resources: 20% of organisations have assets **Governance:** 1. 80 % of organisations hold yearly general assemblies 2. Two third of organisations regularly keep accounts 3. Development organisations devote most of their budget to the beneficiaries 4. Organisational engagement is significant among educated people and academics 5. Important presence of women: a third of the voluntary workers are women 6. Voluntary work gives prospects of integration through employment 7. Organisations are independent from traditional organisations (political parties and labour unions) 8. Large organisations have great experience in internal and external communication
OPPORTUNITIES	**RISKS**
1. Relatively favourable environment to organisational actions 2. Favourable state predispositions	1. The State is the organisations' principal financier: partner in two thirds of the carried out actions 2. Loss in autonomy and exploitation 3. Low turn board turnover 4. Dependence towards the partners that finance the projects

	5. Loyalty is the main criterion for recruiting new members and salaried employees 6. Often absence of code of ethics 7. Poor transparency in functioning 8. Tendency to treat organisations as service providers

Source: MSDFS study on Moroccan development organisations

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