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pour la démocratie et les droits humains



Prometheus Index On Freedom of the Press and Expression in Morocco

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Prometheus Index
**On Freedom of the Press
and Expression
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Index

- 04 Preface**
- 06 Introduction**
- 08 On the meaning of freedom of the press and expression**
- 09 Methodology adopted**
- 12 Indicators for Assessing Freedom of the Press and Expression in Morocco**
- 12 Political and Legal Indicator: **42.37/100**
- 14 Censorship and Self-Censorship Indicator: **48.34/100**
- 18 Pluralism and Independence Indicator: **37.05/100**
- 22 Financial Support and Transparency Indicator: **24.18/100**
- 26 Prosecutions and Violations Indicator: **31.35/100**
- 30 Recommendations**
- 31 Annexes**

Preface

On behalf of the Executive Board of the Prometheus Institute for Democracy and Human Rights

This report represents a new intellectual and reference milestone in the trajectory of the Prometheus Institute for Democracy and Human Rights; an institute which, since its establishment, has set before itself the goal of laying the foundations for rigorous scientific research traditions and of providing objective and analytical tools for assessing the state of fundamental rights and freedoms in Morocco.

This work emerges within a national and international context marked by major challenges facing freedom of the press and expression, which are two cornerstones of any democratic system and essential guarantees for the protection of the other indivisible human rights.

Over the past decade, Morocco has witnessed weak institutional responsiveness in its relationship with press freedom and freedom of expression. While the Constitution of July 2011 constituted a quantum leap in the consecration of rights and freedoms, the process of aligning laws and public policies with these constitutional provisions has faltered, resulting in a clear gap between the texts and their implementation. This situation has been accompanied by an increasing number of judicial prosecutions targeting journalists, bloggers, and human rights defenders, raising fundamental questions about the extent to which international standards are being respected, particularly those enshrined in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Based on these considerations, the Institute, through a participatory approach, undertook the preparation of the Prometheus Index for Freedom of the Press and Expression in Morocco for the year 2024 as both a quantitative and qualitative measurement tool. The index is founded on precise criteria, research surveys, and qualitative analyses, with professional journalists, representatives of civil society, legal experts, and institutional actors, all involved in shaping a collective vision that identifies areas of strength and weakness and foresees practical, actionable reform pathways.

The Institute reaffirms, through the publication of this index, that it is committed to renewing this research exercise annually as part of its ongoing executive mandate, rather than treating it as an isolated initiative, considering that building rigorous scientific indicators constitutes a strategic tool to place knowledge and evidence at the service of democracy and human rights. This institutional approach is reflected in its future programs, which aim to develop objective measurement tools on the various issues the Institute studies

and engages with. Through this process, the Institute seeks to establish a solid research infrastructure that makes the practice of indicator-based evaluation a participatory national exercise involving all stakeholders, while providing an intellectual reference for anyone wishing to engage in public debate on these fundamental issues.

Unlike reports that merely catalogue violations or negative practices, this one seeks to go further, analyzing the legal, political, and economic frameworks that influence press freedom, highlighting both overt and implicit forms of censorship, and scrutinizing the structural imbalances that affect the transparency and fairness of public support. It also explores the limits of pluralism and independence in the national media landscape, and provides precise quantitative indicators based on statistical samples and scientific analyses, allowing for a comprehensive and realistic picture of the state of freedom of expression and the press.

This index serves as a vital reference tool for researchers, civil society actors, and policymakers, enabling them to evaluate public policies and advocate for substantive reforms. This work also constitutes a building block in the accumulation of institutional knowledge that the Institute strives to consolidate in service of democracy and human rights. It thus forms part of our commitment to promoting transparency, disseminating a culture of rights and freedoms, and providing a scientific database that contributes to the public debate on democratic reform.

The Prometheus Institute emphasizes, through the presentation of this report to public opinion, that safeguarding press freedom and freedom of expression is not the sole responsibility of the state, but a shared duty among official institutions, the judiciary, civil society, professional organizations, and journalists themselves. Building a free, independent, and pluralistic media space requires a shared awareness that freedom of expression is not a privilege granted, but an inherent right to be preserved and defended.

The Executive Bureau of the Institute hopes that this report will make a meaningful contribution to enriching public debate and serve as a source of knowledge and advocacy, thereby fostering a more open and freer Morocco, one that reflects the aspirations of its citizens and upholds its international human rights commitments.

Executive Office

The Prometheus Institute for Democracy and Human Rights

Introduction

Over the past decade, Morocco’s record on rights and freedoms has been marked by an ambivalent institutional approach to freedom of the press and expression, often reflecting a gap between discourse and practice. While the Constitution of July 2011 raised expectations with its explicit guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms, progress in reforming the relevant legislation has been uneven, at times slow, and at other times misaligned with constitutional standards. Public policies have likewise fallen short in implementing Morocco’s human rights commitments, even as prosecutions have become more frequent. The result has been a persistent disconnect between the legal framework, policy initiatives, and actual practice.

Civil society organizations and coalitions working in the field of human rights have documented in their annual reports and public statements¹ that “Moroccan authorities continue to arrest, prosecute, and impose prison terms and heavy fines on journalists, bloggers, human rights defenders, and other citizens for peacefully expressing critical views. Such opinions have often been shared through publications or audiovisual content posted on social media platforms, including Facebook and YouTube”.

In its 2024 annual report on the human rights situation in Morocco, the National Human Rights Council issued a series of recommendations aimed at safeguarding the right to practice journalism and the freedom of expression. Among the most significant were:

- Amend all provisions of the Criminal Code related to freedom of expression, in accordance with Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and ensure that any restriction imposed on this freedom is specified by law;
- Ensure that journalists, human rights defenders, and other individuals are not prosecuted or detained because of their exercise of their rights to freedom of expression, and ensure that all individuals enjoy fair trial guarantees; call on the judiciary to adhere to the principles of necessity and proportionality in a way

¹ Reports issued by human rights and international organizations have documented a number of cases in which journalists, bloggers, as well as human rights defenders, were subjected to trials or coercive judgments because of their peaceful expression of opinion through social media platforms such as Facebook and YouTube. Below are selected examples from the last five to seven years:

The report of the Adala Association (published in November 2021) stated that “the criminal law system is still considered one of the means used in the field of journalism, which threatens freedom of expression and the press,” placing press freedom in the position of a “fragile right,” while also highlighting cases of civilians and bloggers being prosecuted under provisions of the Criminal Code instead of the Press and Publishing Law.

The Mediator for Democracy and Human Rights Association focused in its reports—particularly in the report related to 2019—on several human rights aspects concerning freedom of expression, assembly, organization, and the press, as well as the challenges facing fundamental freedoms. Although the report did not dwell in detail on cases of judicial prosecution of journalists and bloggers due to their peaceful expression on digital platforms, it clearly noted the existence of a general approach of restricting freedom of opinion through the use of criminal provisions to pursue cases of peaceful expression, including on social media.

The Moroccan Association for Human Rights (AMDH), in its press statement presenting its 2022–2021 activity report, recorded the “recurrence of judicial prosecutions against commentators and human rights defenders because of critical content posts,” pointing to a “restrictive context similar to that exercised in moral and media cases.”

The Moroccan Coalition of Human Rights Bodies (CMIDH), in several communiqués and recommendations issued by this coalition (including statements in ,2020 2021, and 2023), condemned the prosecutions of journalists and activists due to posts or peaceful expressions on the internet, and considered that: the authorities continue to employ the Criminal Code to prosecute peaceful critics, in a way that contradicts constitutional guarantees and the standards of fair trial and freedom of expression.

that does not infringe on the right to freedom of expression, the press, and opinion, and to keep them safe from any custodial sentence;

- Distribute public support in a way that guarantees the expansion of publication, the strengthening of pluralism and diversity, the modernization of press companies, and the guarantee of their sustainability;
- Develop a strategic plan for the advancement of regional journalism in general, aiming to increase the number of professional journalists, improve their conditions, strengthen opportunities for practice and training, build the capacities of press and media companies, and establish press houses in the regions, in addition to strengthening mechanisms of support for the regional media system and advancing its role;
- Encourage women journalists to report gender-based violence and call on regulatory bodies and press companies to establish special protocols for handling every complaint concerning such violence².

In the same context, a number of international organizations concerned with monitoring and documenting violations of freedom of expression and opinion, during the past ten years, have documented the prosecution of individuals and Moroccan journalists because of their exercise of their right to express their opinions or to criticize public figures. Human Rights Watch, in a report, documented eight cases of harassment targeting Moroccan dissident activists, and two cases targeting independent media institutions between September 2019 and June 2022³.

Reporters Without Borders, in its 2024 report, ranked Morocco 129th instead of 144th in 2023, considering in its analysis of the media landscape that “press pluralism is merely a façade, as media outlets do not reflect the diversity of political opinions in the country, where independent journalists and critical media outlets face heavy pressure, and the right to access information is violated in the face of a propaganda machine that exerts its full weight, while media disinformation has become a tool to serve the political agenda of circles of power.”⁴

This report, issued by the Prometheus Institute for Democracy and Human Rights, seeks, through a participatory methodology, to establish an index of freedom of expression and the press in Morocco, relying on both quantitative and qualitative indicators. These indicators aim to analyze the reality of journalism, be measurable, and reflect the actual state of media and press freedom in Morocco. This is achieved through broad consultation with a group of media professionals, officials responsible for the press and publishing sector, as well as experts and researchers in the field.

2 Establishing the Foundations of a National System for the Protection of Economic and Social Rights: Annual Report on the State of Human Rights in Morocco for the Year 2024). 2023). Rabat: National Human Rights Council. Link: https://www.cndh.ma/sites/default/files/cndh_-_rapport_annuel_-2023ar.pdf

3 See the report “So This is the Way it Works: The Tools of Repression of Dissent in Morocco” (2022). Human Rights Watch. Link accessed on 16 July 2024: <https://www.hrw.org/ar/report/382474/28/07/2022>

4 Reporters Without Borders Report. 2024. Link accessed on 17 July 2024: <https://rsf.org/fr/pays/maroc-sahara-occidental>

On the meaning of freedom of the press and expression

In this report, by freedom of the press and expression, and in line with the universal human rights system, we refer to the definitions adopted in General Comment No. 34 on Article 19 – Freedom of Opinion and Freedom of Expression. The Comment considers that “freedom of opinion and freedom of expression are indispensable conditions for the full development of the person. They are essential elements of any society, and constitute the foundation stone for every free and democratic society. Freedom of opinion is closely linked to freedom of expression, since the latter provides the vehicle for the exchange and development of opinions.⁵”

As clarified in paragraph 13 of the General Comment, no society can function without a free press or other media that operate independently, without censorship, and without obstacles, in order to guarantee freedom of opinion and expression and the enjoyment of other rights enshrined in the Covenant. It adds that the press or other media form the cornerstone of a democratic society. The Covenant guarantees the right of the media to receive the information on which they rely to perform their functions. The free exchange of information and ideas concerning public and political affairs between citizens, candidates, and elected representatives is essential. This presupposes a free press and other media capable of commenting on public issues without censorship or restriction, and of informing public opinion. The public also enjoys the corresponding right to receive what the media produce⁶.

8 According to paragraph 44 of the same Comment: “Journalism is a function shared by a wide range of actors, including professional full-time reporters and analysts, as well as bloggers and others who engage in forms of self-publication in print, on the Internet, or elsewhere. General State systems of registration or licensing of journalists are incompatible with paragraph 3. Limited accreditation schemes are permissible only where necessary to provide journalists with privileged access to certain places and/or events. Such schemes should be applied in a non-discriminatory manner, compatible with article 19 and other provisions of the Covenant, based on objective criteria, and taking into account that journalism is a function shared by a wide range of actors.⁷”

According to the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression of the United Nations, “journalists are individuals who observe and describe events, documents, analyses, policies, statements, and any proposals that may affect society, with the aim of placing this information in an organized framework and gathering facts and analyses in order to inform a specific segment of society or society as a whole. This definition of journalists also includes all those working in community media, who are referred to as citizen journalists when they temporarily assume this role.⁸”

Therefore, this report, in formulating its index on press and expression, is based on the United Nations definitions, which emphasize that journalism must not be subject to any kind of restrictive or discriminatory measures, including self-regulation of the profession of journalism, which must be founded on objective criteria and in respect of Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

5 General Comment No. 34, Article 19 – Freedom of Opinion and Freedom of Expression, Human Rights Committee. One hundred and second session, Geneva, 29–11 July 2011. Available at the following link: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/715606?ln=ar&v=pdf>

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, Mr. Frank La Rue. Human Rights Council, twentieth session. Document available at: <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/g85/137/12/pdf/g1213785.pdf>

Methodology adopted

This report contains an assessment conducted by the Prometheus Institute for Democracy and Human Rights on the state of freedom of the press and expression in Morocco, based on precise indicators developed within a participatory research methodology. Two focus groups were organized: the first brought together institutional and trade union actors as well as representatives of civil society active in the field of press freedom, and the second was dedicated to professional journalists. Through this participatory process, the initial indicators were identified, including: (1) the political and legal framework, (2) pluralism and independence, (3) censorship and self-censorship, (4) financial support and transparency, and (5) prosecutions and violations related to freedom of the press and expression.

After determining the general indicators that could be used to assess the situation of freedom of expression and the press in Morocco, a set of measurable and classifiable sub-indicators was developed, with the aim of discussing them within the focus groups and using them as a basis for building multiple analytical tools. This included preparing a qualitative analysis grid of the political and legal framework regulating the profession of journalism and freedom of expression, in addition to a questionnaire directed to professional journalists, intended to assess the reality of journalistic practice according to indicators derived from the general indicators.

The methodology adopted varied according to the nature of each indicator, combining both quantitative and qualitative tools within a participatory approach. For the indicators that required qualitative analysis, an analysis grid was used based on a reading of the legal texts and the political and constitutional contexts, with a scoring system ranging from 0 to 100, used to evaluate the extent to which constitutional and legal guarantees exist to protect the right to freedom of expression and the practice of journalism.

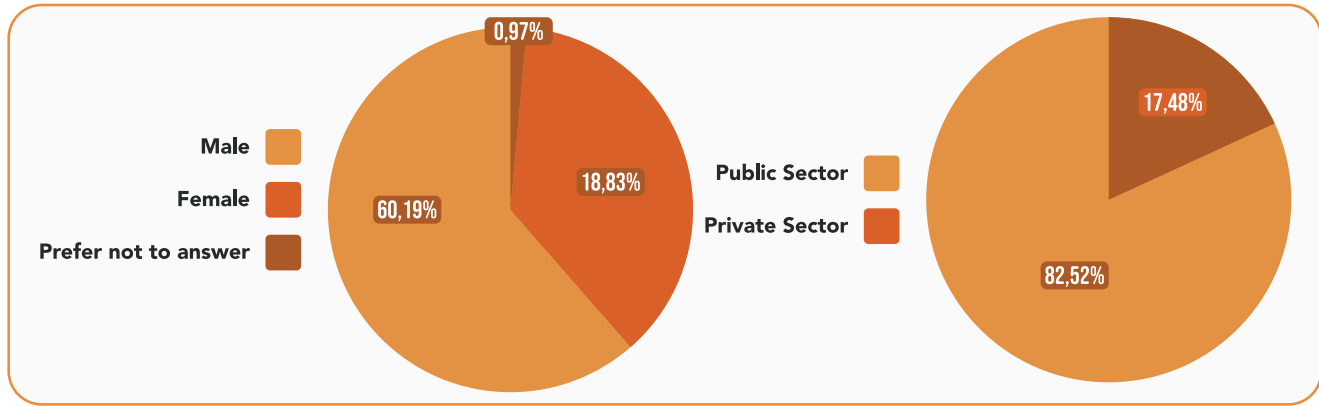
As for the indicators requiring quantitative analysis, they were developed through the analysis of the questionnaire addressed to a representative sample of journalists and professionals in the field of journalism and media (103 journalists). The questions linked to each indicator were analyzed using the statistical program SPSS version 25, which made it possible to calculate a general average for the responses to the questions of each indicator, and then to convert the general average of each indicator into a general score ranging from 0 to 100, in order to establish the overall index according to the following equation:

$$\text{(Overall Index = Average obtained in each indicator / Number of indicators)}$$

The sample adopted in this research is representative of journalists, whose number according to the latest statistical data published by the National Press Council in 2022 amounts to 3,492 journalists. They are distributed across the press categories as follows: 1,417 journalists working in electronic press, 1,086 working in audiovisual press, 650 working in print press, 153 honorary journalists, 132 freelance journalists, and 54 journalists in agencies. Without providing new details on a set of variables concerning gender, the statistics of 2021 show that the number of female journalists was 953, compared to 2,441 male journalists.

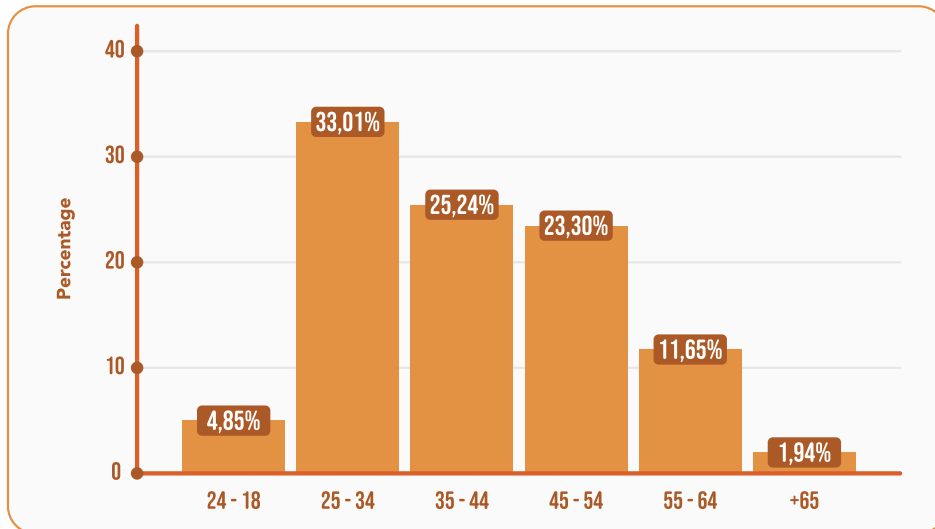
In order for the sample to be representative of the diversity of press outlets, as well as of the representation of women journalists, the questionnaire was distributed in a way that targeted specific categories of journalists, especially those working in public and semi-public outlets, whose number is higher compared to the private sector. The same applies for women journalists, whose number was increased compared to male journalists. The distribution of the surveyed sample is therefore as follows:

Graph 1: Distribution of the surveyed sample according to gender and sector of work



As for the age of the respondents, the age groups of female and male journalists were distributed as follows:

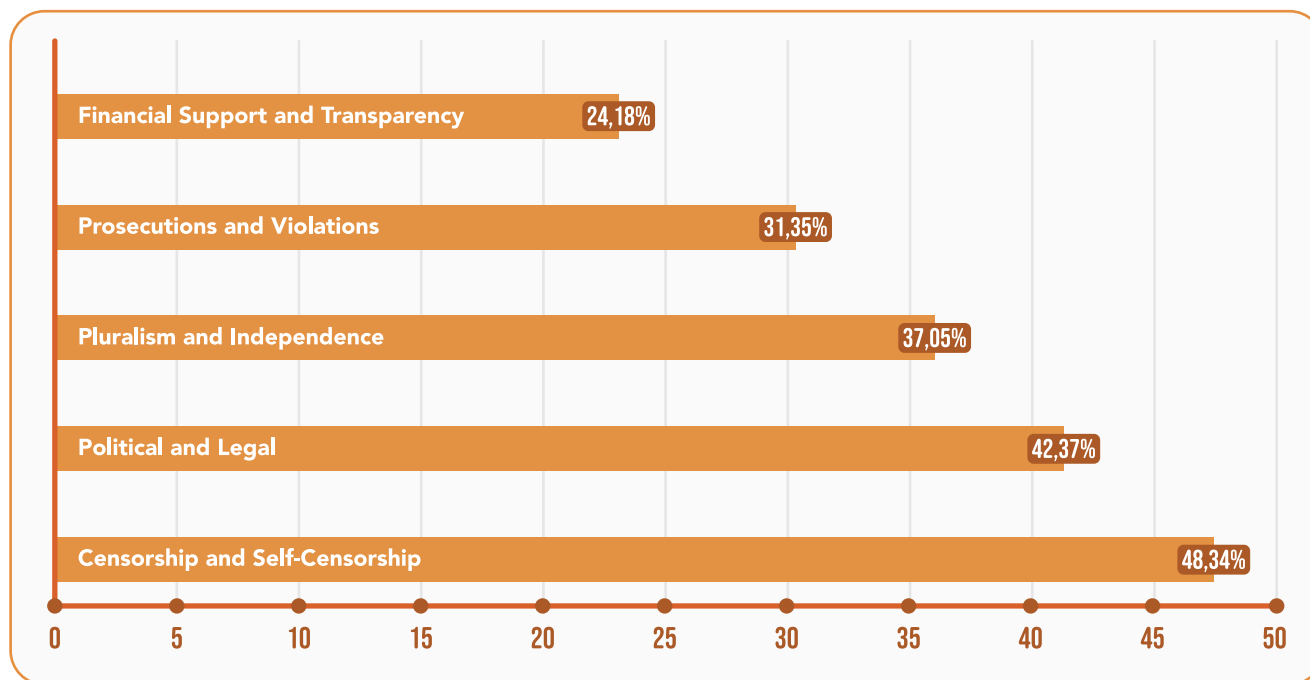
Graph 2: Distribution of the surveyed sample according to age groups



In order to convert the research results, whether qualitative or quantitative, into a measurable index on a scale from 0 to 100, the average of the answers to the questionnaire questions in each of the indicators identified in the focus groups was calculated, as well as a score extracted from the qualitative analysis grid out of 100. The scores of the political and legal indicator were combined by adding the score of the qualitative analysis grid (53100/) and the score obtained from the questions included in the questionnaire directed to journalists (31.73100/), which was obtained by adding the averages of the answers to the questions of the political and legal indicator and converting the general average into a score out of 100. Thus, the score obtained in the political and legal indicator, qualitatively and quantitatively, is 42.37100/.

The scoring of the remaining indicators was evaluated by relying on the average answers of journalists to the questions of the four other indicators, which were in turn converted into percentage scores. This resulted in a score of 48.34100/ for the indicator on censorship and self-censorship, a score of 37.05100/ for the indicator on pluralism and independence, a score of 24.18100/ for the indicator on financial support and transparency, and a score of 31.35100/ for the indicator on prosecutions and violations.

Graph 3: Average of the indicators of freedom of the press and expression in Morocco



Indicators for Assessing Freedom of the Press and Expression in Morocco

Political and Legal Indicator: 42.37/100

In the context of the constitutionalization of press freedom and the affirmation that it shall not be restricted by any form of prior censorship, the 2011 Constitution stipulated the guarantee of freedom of expression and of the media. Within this framework, Law No. 88.13 on the press and publishing was issued, among its most notable provisions the abolition of custodial penalties stipulated in the previous Law No. 77.00 of 2002⁹.

This legislative process was completed by the promulgation of the statute of professional journalists (Law No. 89.13) and the establishment of the National Press Council (Law No. 90.13), which constituted progress at the institutional and regulatory level of the journalism profession.

However, despite this advanced legal framework, in recent years judicial prosecutions were recorded against a number of journalists, in which the provisions of the Criminal Code were resorted to instead of the Press and Publishing Law, on the grounds of their expression of opinions or positions related to their professional work. These cases raised observations from national and international human rights organizations, which considered some prosecutions as unprofessional or disproportionate, before a number of journalists were later released under royal pardon procedures¹⁰, which was considered a positive step toward de-escalation and confidence building.

Despite the availability of a legal arsenal that enshrines the principles of freedom of practicing journalism, practice on the ground revealed the persistence of certain legal and regulatory problems, in particular those related to the ambiguity of some provisions, which does not fully align with the constitutional requirement that explicitly prohibits restricting press freedom by any form of prior censorship.

Mohtat Rakass, President of the Moroccan Federation of Newspaper Publishers, explained¹¹ during his participation in the conclusions of the discussion held within the first session of the focus group, which included professional officials in the press and publishing sector, some of the shortcomings that still affect the legal environment of the profession.

At the legal level, there were three laws regulating the press issued in 2016, containing ambiguous provisions that require revision, citing as an example the article related to the conditions of access to the profession, which stipulates the possibility of joining the profession for those who have continuous training in exchange for the requirement of holding a bachelor's degree, knowing that such training is not practically available in Morocco,

⁹ This legal amendment only completed the provisions of the 1958 Dahir on public freedoms related to the practice of the journalism and publishing professions.

¹⁰ For more details on the release of detained journalists on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary, see:

<https://thevoice.ma/صحافيون-ونشطاء-أبرز-الفرج-عنهم-بعفو-م/>

¹¹ Mohtat Rakass, President of the Moroccan Federation of Newspaper Publishers: during his participation in the discussion held within the first sessions of the focus group, which included professional officials in the press and publishing sector, organized by the Institute in September 2024.

creating a problem in implementation.

He also pointed to some remarks related to the system of state support for the press, which was previously limited to party press, before the support later included non-partisan media institutions, such as *Al Ahdath Al Maghribia* newspaper, considering that this shift requires clearer regulation to ensure fairness in the distribution of public support.

Participants in the first focus group also discussed another legal issue related to private press, particularly regarding the conditions for obtaining a professional press card and assuming the duties of publishing director. Attention was drawn to the requirement of holding a bachelor's degree, which has become legally required for exercising certain press functions, a condition that sparked broad debate among stakeholders.

This requirement was considered by a number of parliamentary groups as inconsistent with the reality of the profession, given the presence of many professionals who accumulated long experience without holding the required university degree. In an attempt to overcome this problem, the National Press Council undertook an effort to adopt an alternative rule taking into account a minimum of ten years of professional seniority as a criterion for granting the press card, within a flexible approach that considers the specificities of professional paths in the sector.

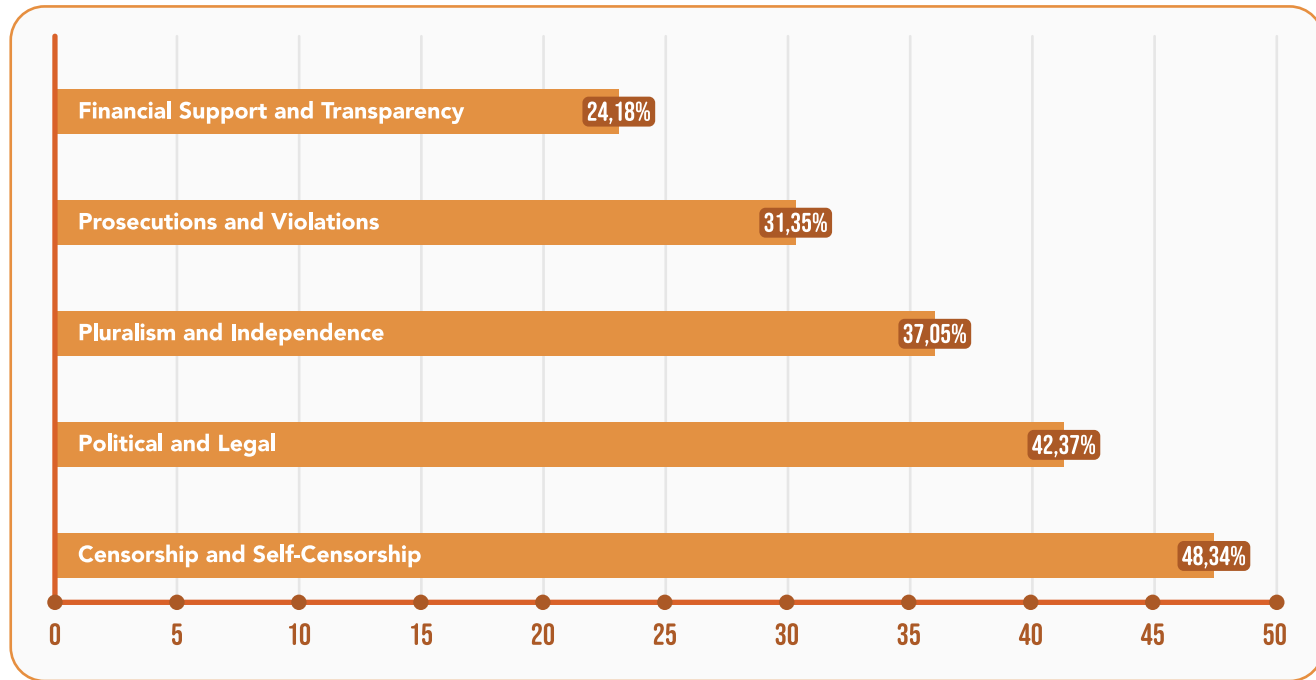
Within the ongoing debate on the legal and institutional regulatory trajectory of the journalism profession over the last decade, recurring questions emerged regarding the future of self-regulation, particularly concerning the National Press Council, whose members' mandate ended on 22 June 2022, without elections being held to renew its composition.

While awaiting the preparation of suitable conditions to organize these elections, Decree-Law No. 2.22.770 was adopted, extending the mandate of the Council members for an additional six months, until 4 April 2023. With the expiration of this deadline without being able to hold new elections, the government on 17 May 2023 presented a draft law establishing a "temporary committee for managing the affairs of the press and publishing sector," entrusted with the competences of the National Council on a transitional basis for two years, to end once the new Council members are elected and begin exercising their functions.

A number of actors in the sector, along with human rights organizations, expressed their concern that this temporary process might limit the independence of self-regulatory mechanisms, calling for ensuring respect for the principles of governance and professional representation in managing the affairs of the sector, and for preserving the independence of the press as one of the pillars of the democratic system.

In response to the question: Does the Moroccan political context assist in the exercise of press freedom and freedom of expression?, included in the questionnaire distributed to Moroccan journalists (103), 22.55% answered "Never," 42.16% answered "To some extent," 27.45% answered "Yes, to a small degree," and only 7.84% answered "Yes, to a large degree."

Graph 4: Distribution of responses regarding whether the political context assists in the exercise of press freedom and expression according to type of media outlet



Censorship and Self-Censorship Indicator: 48.34/100

Rarely do the rankings and indicators used to evaluate press freedom take into account professional practice within media institutions, as they mostly focus on the impact of political, legal, and economic contexts on freedom of expression and the working conditions of journalists.

In this regard, most participants in the two focus groups, which were organized with professionals in the field of journalism and publishing within the preparation of this index, emphasized the importance of integrating the dimension of professional practice into the evaluation, especially with regard to the phenomena of censorship and self-censorship.

A number of participants pointed out that: *"The economic model of media institutions, and the relationships of funding and partnerships with ministerial sectors associated with it, may lead to forms of self-adaptation to the general lines of those funding these institutions, which affects editorial independence. Talking about independent journalism necessarily requires thinking about an independent economic model."*¹²

¹² Khaoula Jaifri: journalist, during her participation in the discussion held within the first sessions of the focus group, which included professional officials in the press and publishing sector, organized by the Institute in October 2024.

A number of journalists participating in the focus group discussions noted that methods of censorship over the press no longer take the same traditional forms as before. While certain censorship practices used to be exercised in a direct and visible manner, today they take more flexible and undeclared forms.

“There is no longer direct and institutional censorship of journalistic content as in the past, when newspapers were subject to prior authorization from official authorities. Today, despite the absence of this type of censorship, forms of directives and unified editorial lines appear, which may limit the margin of initiative for journalists.”¹³ ”

“The journalist provides a service connected to the public interest and needs compensation for his work. Therefore, he should have protection from the state and society, and be financially comfortable in a way that allows him to live with dignity, in order to escape self-censorship.”¹⁴ ”

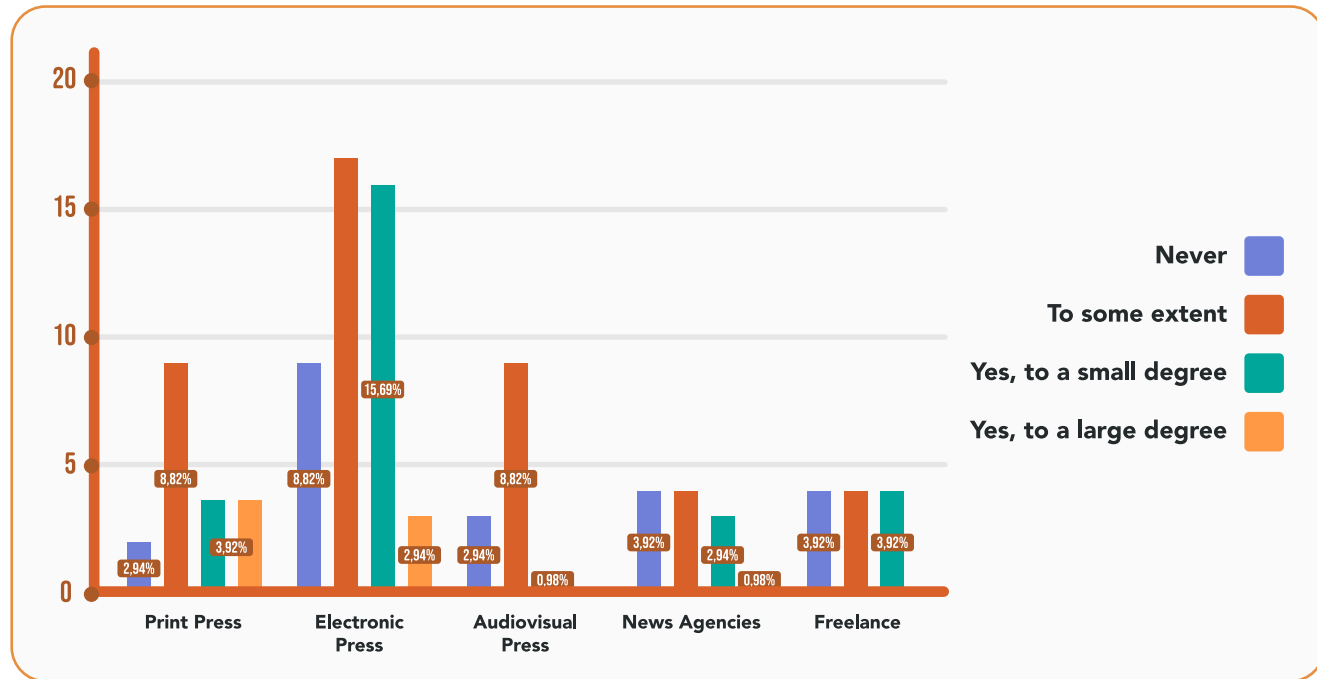
In the quantitative research results, more than 66% of the surveyed journalists declared that they had been subjected to forms of censorship from outside the editorial boards to which they belong, whether permanently, occasionally, or rarely, during their professional career. Among the examples mentioned by some: intervention with requests to modify or withdraw published information, or to reframe the content of articles or statements in a “neutral” way to avoid provoking any entity, whether governmental, administrative, or judicial.

One journalist also referred to the influence of non-editorial determinants on editorial independence, such as advertising or public support, considering that some media outlets may find themselves restricted in their critical coverage to avoid losing essential funding sources.

¹³ Maria Moukrim: publishing director of www.febrayer.com, during her participation in the discussion held within the first sessions of the focus group, which included professional officials in the press and publishing sector, organized by the Institute in October 2024.

¹⁴ Abdelmounaïm Elamrani: journalist correspondent for Al Jazeera in Morocco, during his participation in the discussion held within the first sessions of the focus group, which included professional officials in the press and publishing sector, organized by the Institute in October 2024.

Graph 5: Distribution of responses regarding journalists' exposure to censorship from outside editorial boards according to type of media outlet



On the subject of the overlap between censorship practiced within editorial boards and the influence on their editorial orientations from outside the media institution, a journalist working in a news agency explained: *"I feel as if the people who practice censorship inside the institution on my articles are directed by other people outside the institution who exercise censorship over all that the agency broadcasts."*¹⁵

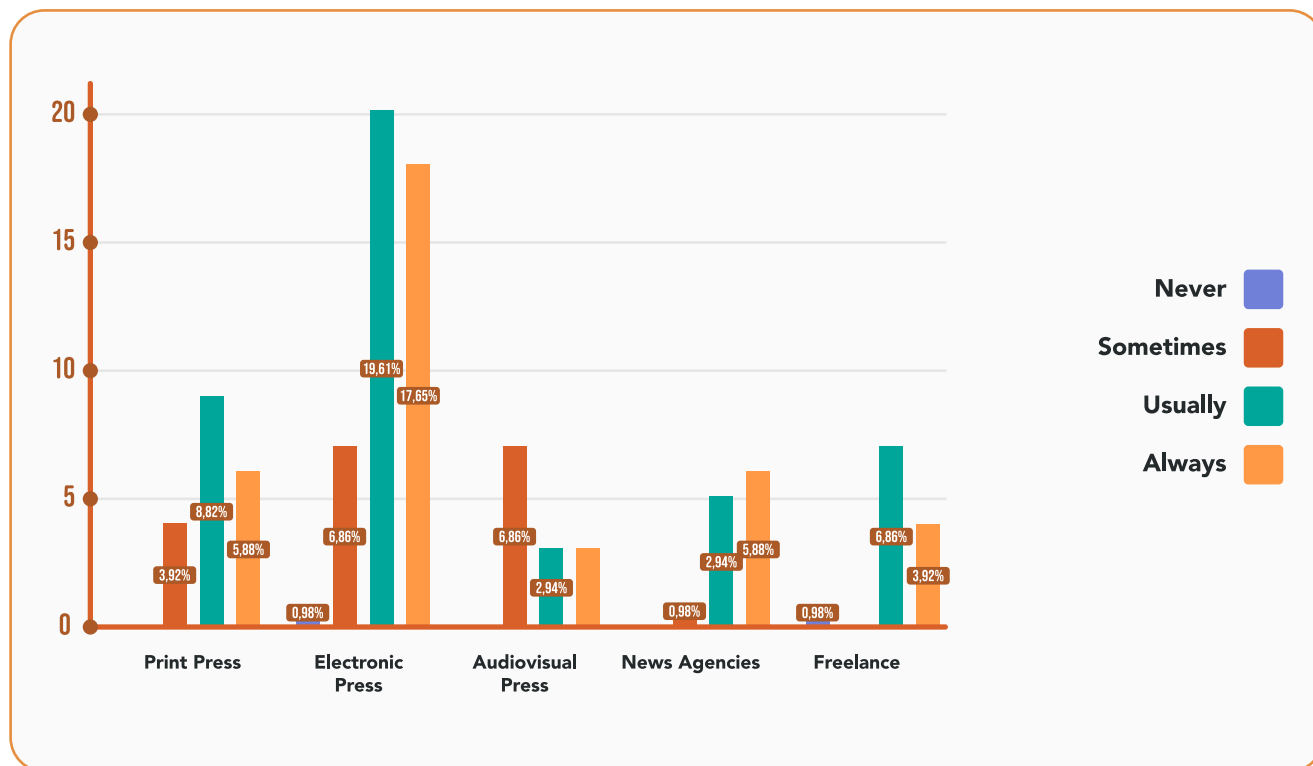
As for exposure to censorship within the media institution, more than 64% of the surveyed journalists stated that they faced interventions by editorial board officials or media management, consisting of withdrawing or modifying their editorial materials, whether permanently, occasionally, or at least from time to time.

15

Answer of a female journalist working in a news agency, age group between 55 and 64 years.

In the details of this indicator, the majority of the surveyed journalists, in the questionnaire of the indicator, considered that journalists always practice self-censorship out of fear of judicial prosecutions (fines, imprisonment...), at a rate of 35%. More than 41% considered that journalists usually practice self-censorship for fear of prosecutions. Meanwhile, 19% considered that self-censorship is practiced sometimes out of fear of judicial prosecutions.

Graph 6: Distribution of responses regarding the practice of self-censorship out of fear of judicial prosecutions according to type of media outlet



In the same context, 34% of the surveyed journalists indicated that self-censorship is always practiced out of fear of harming their professional careers, while 38% considered that it is usually practiced for the same reason, and 23% saw that it is sometimes practiced in this regard.

40% of journalists also expressed fear that certain media content could pose a threat to their physical safety or the safety of their relatives, which drives them to practice a form of self-censorship in anticipation of such risks.

Pluralism and Independence Indicator: 37.05/100

According to a number of the surveyed journalists, it has become difficult to speak of actual independence for many media outlets, given the financial dependence imposed by the conditions of the pandemic, especially after the government decision to have the state treasury cover the wages of journalists working in institutions benefiting from public support.

In this context, journalist **Maria Moukrim**, during the focus group, considered that the media landscape has come to suffer from a weakness in pluralism, saying: *“Any citizen can notice the similarity of headlines, whether in print or electronic press, where the latter often adopts the same style of the official press and radio. As for investigative journalism, it is in decline, and lacks inquiry and the uncovering of facts.”*¹⁶

For his part, **Sami El Moudni**, president of the Moroccan Forum of Young Journalists¹⁷, pointed out that the rise of what is known as “buzz journalism” has weakened the level of pluralism and led to the publication of content that sometimes lacks professionalism, expressing his reservations about the phenomenon of YouTube journalism and content development outside the recognized journalistic genres.

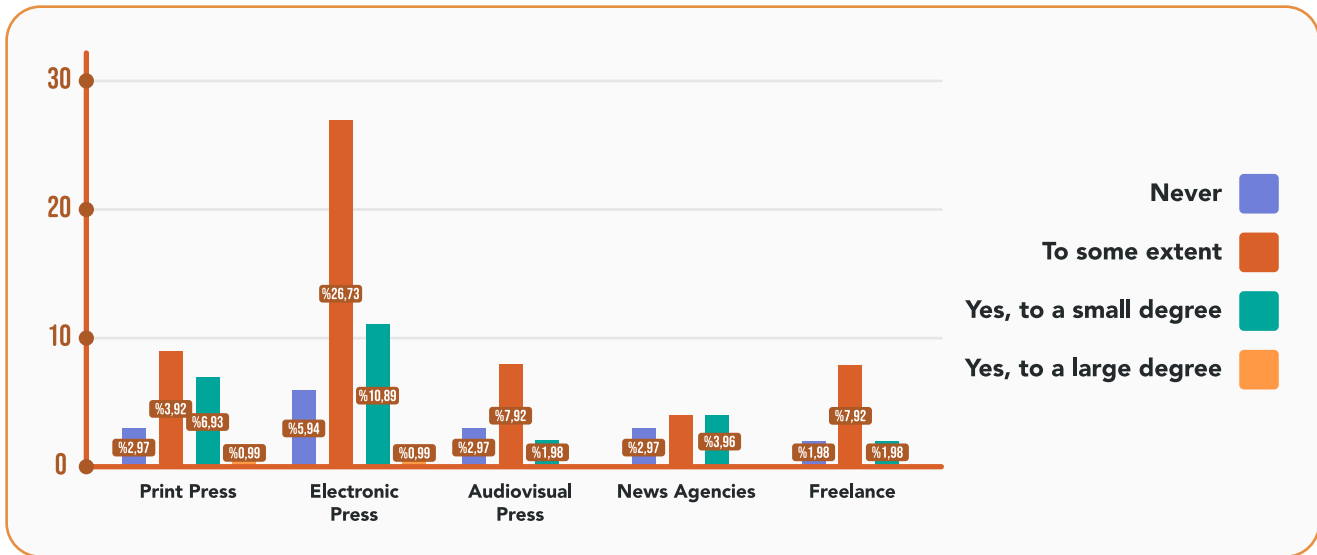
In response to a question regarding the extent of genuine pluralism in journalism and media in Morocco, 21% of the surveyed journalists stated that there is no actual pluralism, while 37% considered that there is pluralism to some extent, and 31% saw that pluralism is limited. In contrast, only 7% of the sample expressed their conviction of the existence of significant pluralism in the Moroccan media landscape.

With regard to the extent to which political thought and opinion pluralism are respected in the media outside electoral periods, 53% considered that it does not exist. Those who expressed their conviction that there is a high level of respect for this pluralism did not exceed 2%, whether in public or private media.

¹⁶ **Maria Moukrim**: publishing director of www.febrayer.com, during her participation in the discussion held within the first sessions of the focus group, which included professional officials in the press and publishing sector, organized by the Institute in October 2024.

¹⁷ **Sami El Moudni**, President of the Moroccan Forum of Young Journalists, during his participation in the discussion held within the first sessions of the focus group, which included professional officials in the press and publishing sector, organized by the Institute in October 2024.

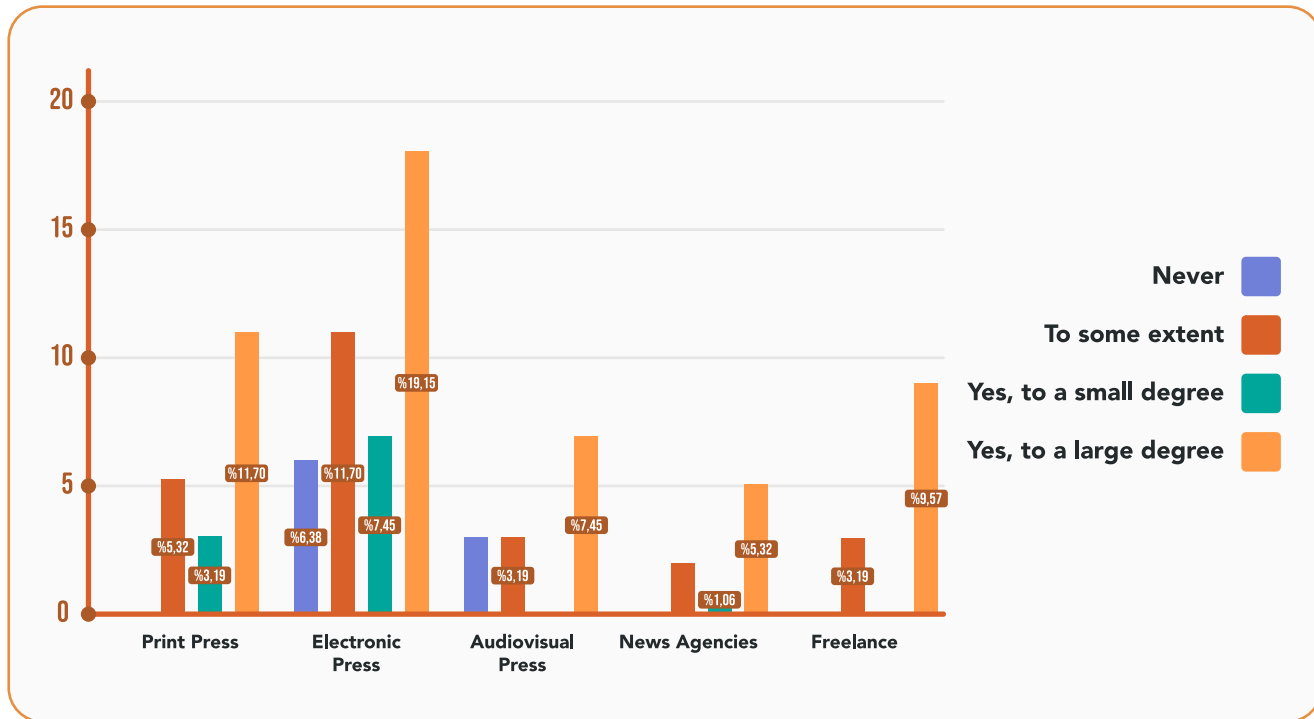
Graph 7: Distribution of responses regarding the existence of pluralism of opinion and thought outside electoral periods according to type of media outlet



As for the independence of private media outlets, despite the openness witnessed in the broadcasting sector and the diversification of outlets with the emergence of electronic journalism, a significant part of the media landscape remains subject to the influence of limited economic actors.

46% of the surveyed journalists indicated that the ownership of media outlets is clearly concentrated in the hands of a limited number of individuals or companies, while 23% considered that this concentration exists to some extent, and 12% saw that there is some concentration in media ownership. Only 8% stated that they do not notice any concentration in this field.

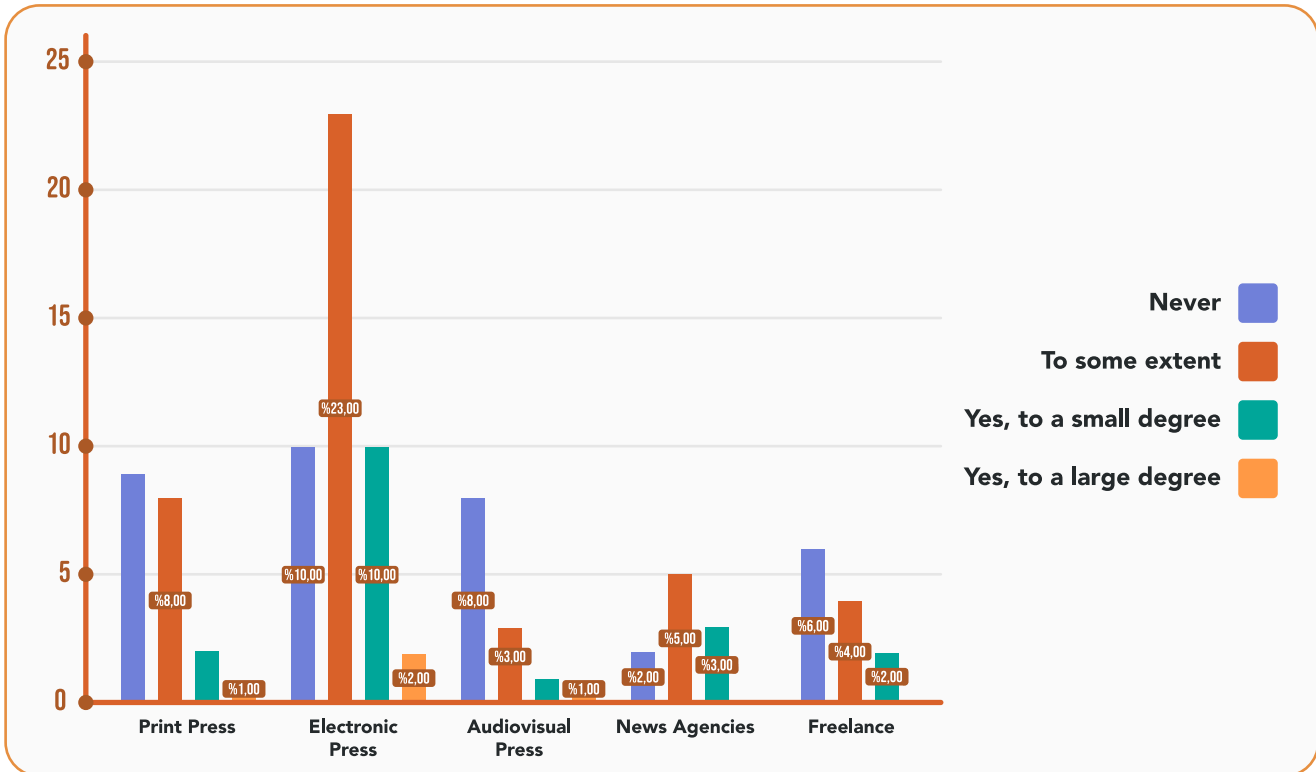
Graph 8: Distribution of responses regarding the existence of concentration of media ownership in the hands of a limited number of individuals and companies according to type of media outlet



With regard to the independence of private media outlets in their editorial management from political authority, more than 33% of the surveyed journalists stated that these outlets are not independent, while 41% considered that there is partial or some independence.

18% considered that editorial independence from political authority is limited, while only 3% expressed their conviction of the existence of editorial independence from political authority in private media outlets.

Graph 9: Distribution of responses regarding the independence of private media outlets in their editorial management from political authority according to type of media outlet



In linking the issue of pluralism and independence with the self-regulation of the journalism and publishing profession, through the model of the National Press Council, 39% of the respondents in the research questionnaire on the Press Freedom and Expression Index considered that the current form of self-regulation does not contribute to providing mechanisms that ensure pluralism and independence. Meanwhile, 41% explained that this form of self-regulation contributes to ensuring pluralism and independence. 7% of the surveyed journalists considered that this form of self-regulation of the journalism profession contributes to a small extent to ensuring pluralism and independence. Only 5% considered that the National Press Council contributes significantly to ensuring the pluralism and independence of media and journalism.

Financial Support and Transparency Indicator: 24.18/100

The year 2020, in the context of the repercussions of the COVID-19 pandemic, constituted a revealing stage of the fragility of the press sector in Morocco, especially private press. In this context, the Ministry of Culture and Communication decided to provide direct support to press institutions by the state covering the wages of journalists working in them. This measure continued until March 2025, after which a new decree¹⁸ was issued to regulate support for the sectors of press, publishing, printing, and distribution.

A number of professionals and observers pointed out that the continuation of this type of public support has affected the independence of some media outlets, and contributed, in one way or another, to unifying part of the journalistic discourse, especially after the disappearance of a number of independent newspapers and websites, or their transition to the category of outlets benefiting from official support, which was reflected on the pluralism of the media landscape.

In the details of the public support decree for the press, it is required for media institutions to obtain public support that “they must be in the form of a company subject to Moroccan law and have been practicing their activity for at least two years.¹⁹” This is in contradiction with Article 8 of Law No. 88.13 on press and publishing, which explicitly stipulates: “A press institution, within the meaning of this law, is any natural or legal person who practices all or some of the activities mentioned in Article 2 (of the same law) and undertakes for this purpose the publication of a periodical or an electronic newspaper, as owner, tenant, or manager of one or both.”

Additional conditions include respect for professional ethics stipulated in Article 2 of Law No. 90.13 establishing the National Press Council; compliance with the provisions of specific agreements concerning professional journalists, if they exist; and not having been subject to any of the penalties provided for in the provisions of the aforementioned Law No. 88.13.

In the context of the implementation of the decree on support for press institutions, Joint Decision No. 2345.24 of the Minister of Youth, Culture and Communication and the Minister Delegate to the Minister of Economy and Finance in charge of the budget set the ceilings of management support and investment support for the sectors of press, publishing, printing, and distribution. For press institutions, the support amounts were set as follows:

- 30% of the total production cost and wage cost for press institutions that publish a periodical in print and employ a publishing director and at least 12 professional journalists, and institutions that publish an electronic newspaper and employ a publishing director and at least 14 professional journalists, with a minimum total of production and wage costs of 5 million dirhams and a minimum turnover of 10 million dirhams in the year prior to the year of benefiting from the support;
- 40% of the total production cost and wage cost for press institutions that publish a periodical in print and employ a publishing director and at least 6 professional journalists, and institutions that publish an electronic

¹⁸ Decree No. 2.23.1041. For consultation, see: Official Gazette.

¹⁹ Article 4 of Decree No. 2.23.1041.

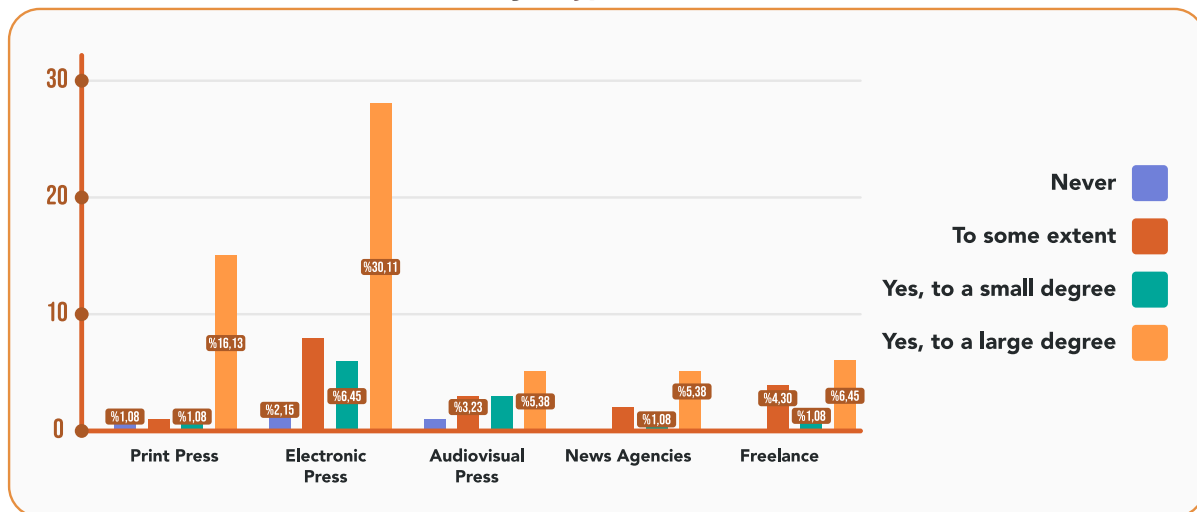
newspaper and employ a publishing director and at least 9 professional journalists, with a minimum total of production and wage costs of 1 million dirhams and a minimum turnover of 5 million dirhams in the year prior to the year of benefiting from the support;

- 50% of the total production cost and wage cost for press institutions that publish a periodical in print and employ a publishing director and at least 3 professional journalists, and institutions that publish an electronic newspaper and employ a publishing director and at least 4 professional journalists, with a minimum total of production and wage costs of 900,000 dirhams and a minimum turnover of 2 million dirhams in the year prior to the year of benefiting from the support;

Article 2 of the joint decision referred to above set the ceiling of the total amount of both management support and investment support for each press institution at 15 million dirhams, with 80% of the public support amount allocated to management support and 20% to investment support²⁰.

For its part, the Prometheus Institute included specific questions on the subject of financial support and transparency within the research questionnaire directed to Moroccan journalists. 56% of the respondents reported the existence of a tangible influence of economic forces on the editorial boards of public media outlets, while this percentage rose to 79% when speaking about private media outlets, which indicates a wider perception of the influence of economic interests on editorial lines in the private sector compared to the public sector²¹.

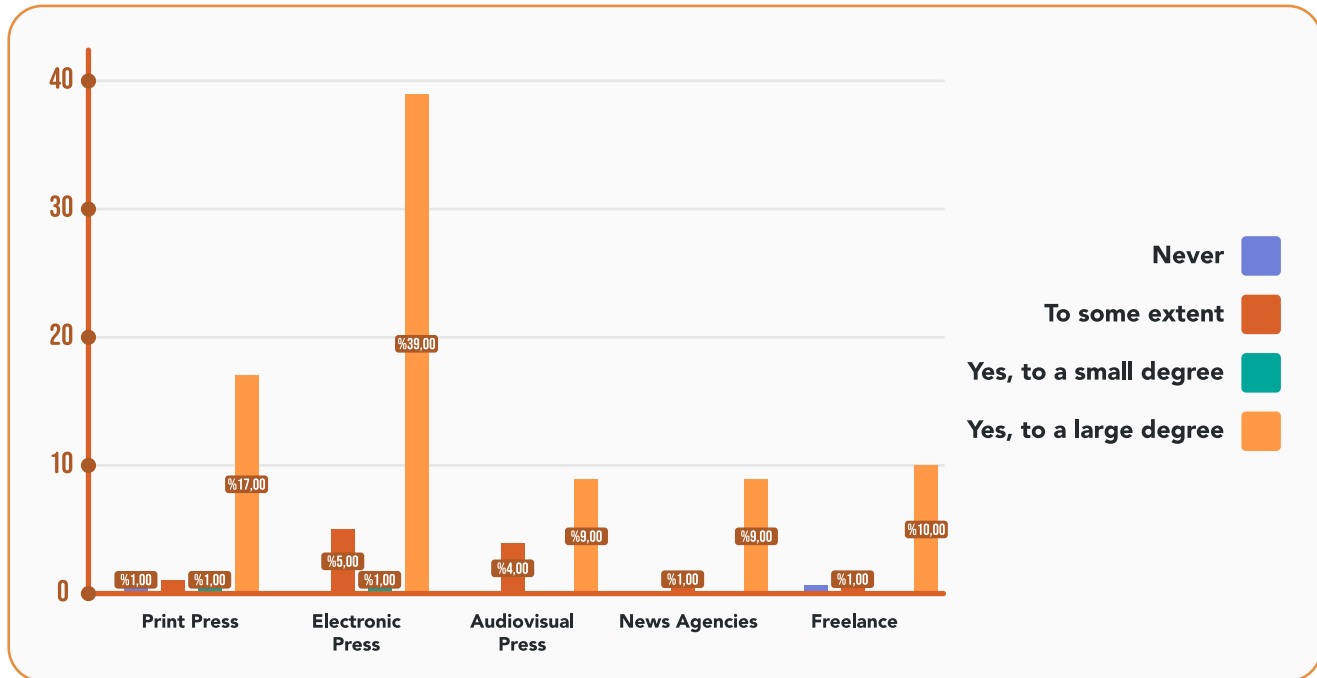
Graph 10: Distribution of responses regarding the influence of economic forces on public media according to type of media outlet



²⁰ For more details on the conditions and ceilings for media institutions to obtain support starting from 2025, see Joint Decision No. 2345.24 published in the Official Gazette No. 7353 on 18 November 2024, as well as Decree No. 2.23.1041 referred to in the previous footnote.

²¹ The results of the quantitative research conducted on freedom of the press and expression can be consulted in the annex of this report.

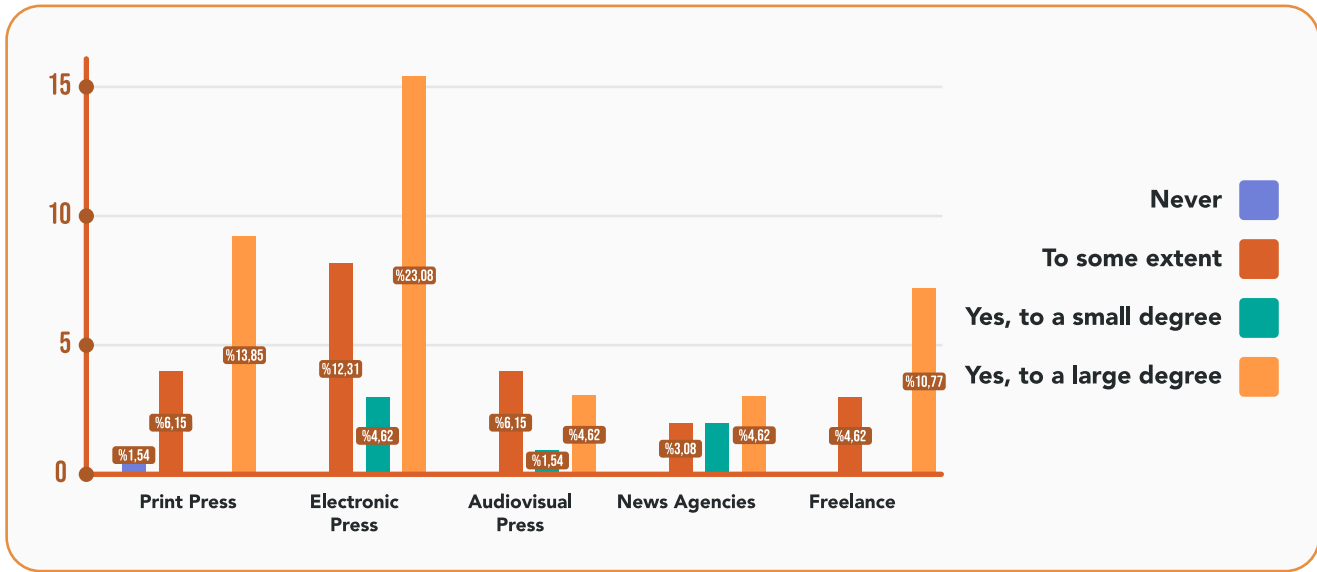
Graph T1: Distribution of responses regarding the influence of economic forces on private media according to type of media outlet



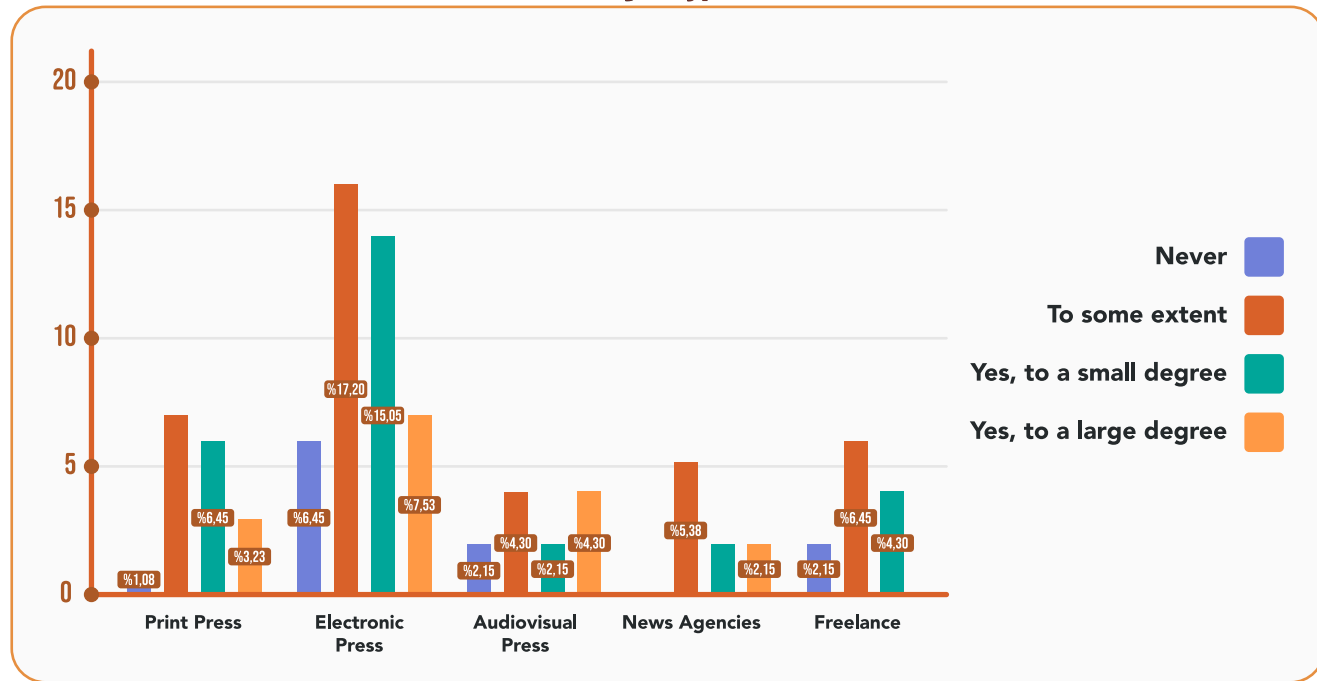
With regard to the distribution of administrative and advertising announcements by state institutions, 52% of the surveyed journalists indicated that this distribution is not carried out fairly between the different media outlets, while 24% considered that it is carried out fairly to some extent. Only 5% considered that the state distributes its administrative and advertising announcements fairly among media outlets.

Concerning the issue of the influence of political authority on advertisers to support some media outlets over others, 35% of respondents declared that there are strong pressures in this direction, while 38% chose the answer "I do not know," and 20% considered that pressures are exerted to some extent.

Graph 12: Distribution of responses regarding the exercise of political authority pressures to support certain media outlets over others according to type of media outlet



With regard to the issue of transparency, especially the distinction by media outlets between editorial content and commercial content, 36% of the surveyed journalists considered that Moroccan media outlets distinguish, to some extent, between editorial and commercial content. 26% considered that there is a small degree of distinction between editorial and commercial content, while only 16% considered that there is a strong distinction in the media between editorial and commercial content.

Graph 13: Distribution of responses regarding the distinction between editorial content and commercial content according to type of media outlet**Prosecutions and Violations Indicator: 31.35/100**

Although signs of a relative easing appeared, marked by the release of several journalists who had been imprisoned after final judgments against them, the same year also witnessed new judicial prosecutions of journalists under provisions of the Criminal Code, following complaints lodged by public officials.

Among these cases, on 11 November 2024, a first instance judgment was issued against journalist Hamid El Mahdaoui, sentencing him to one and a half years of effective imprisonment, and a financial fine of 150 million centimes, based on a complaint filed by the Minister of Justice, Abdellatif Ouahbi.

The ruling separated between the professional journalistic activity of El Mahdaoui, and his publication of content on the "YouTube" platform, considering that the videos concerned did not fall within journalistic practice as framed in Moroccan law, but rather fell within "digital content development" in the framework of public communication through the internet, according to the reasoning of the first instance judgment.

Accordingly, the court, in its first instance ruling, rejected all procedural defenses raised by Hamid El Mahdaoui's defense team, and interpreted the publication of videos on the YouTube platform, without their presence on the electronic newspaper Badil.info, as justifying the rejection of defenses calling for the application of the provisions

of the Press and Publishing Law, and the application instead of Articles 442, 443, and 447 paragraph 2 of the Criminal Code.

On December 5, 2024, the Court of Appeal in Rabat upheld the first instance judgment against journalist Hanan Bakour, sentencing her to a one-month suspended prison sentence, a financial fine of 5,000 dirhams, and symbolic compensation of one dirham in favor of the National Rally of Independents Party, which leads the current government. The prosecution in this case was also based on provisions of the Criminal Code.

The first instance ruling was issued on 12 February 2024, considering that the posts subject to prosecution had been published on a personal Facebook account, and do not fall within the journalistic forms covered by the protection stipulated in the Press and Publishing Law.

The court based its reasoning on the fact that these posts, despite their informational nature, do not meet the formal conditions related to legally recognized means of publication, such as a newspaper or a periodical, as stipulated in paragraph 2 of Article 2 of the aforementioned law. On this basis, the ruling considered that the applicable legal framework in this case is the Criminal Code, and not the Press and Publishing Law.

Amid the continuation of some judicial prosecutions of journalists based on complaints filed by political officials or elected representatives, the Court of First Instance in Oujda, on 23 May 2024, sentenced journalist Abdelmajid Amyaï, publishing director of the website Chams Post, to two months' suspended imprisonment and a financial fine of 5,000 dirhams, following a complaint filed by the Wali of the Oriental region.

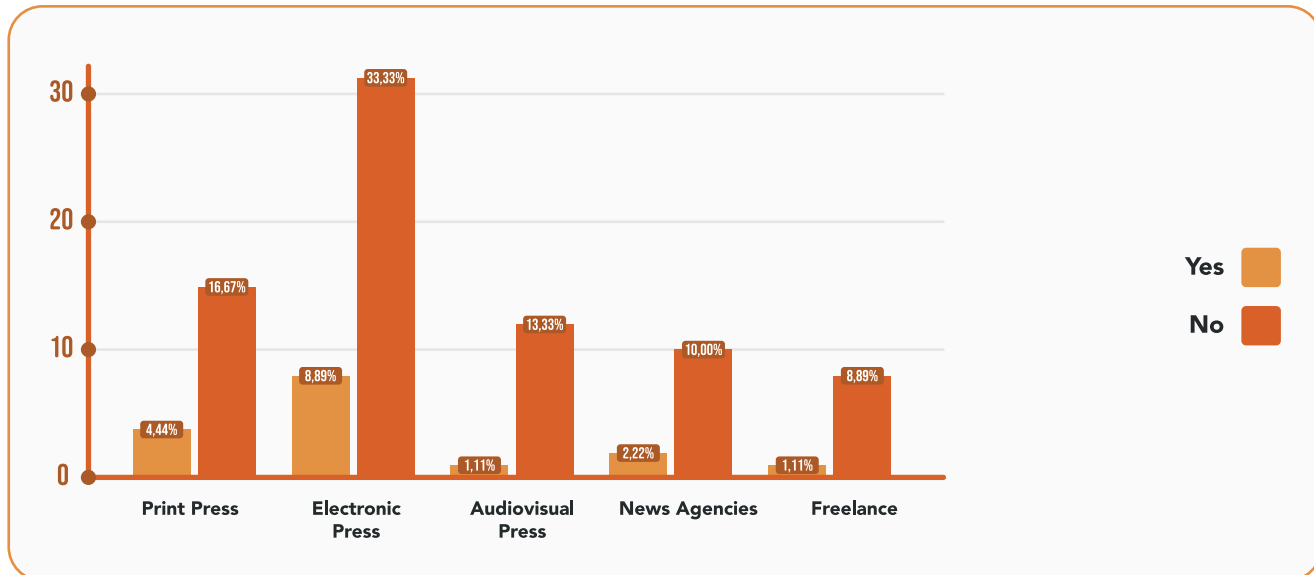
In December 2024, journalist Yassine Zeroual, working for the regional website Larache News, was prosecuted on the basis of a complaint filed by Member of Parliament Mohamed Simo from the National Rally of Independents Party, before he announced his withdrawal of the complaint on 6 January 2025.

This case revived a legal and rights-based debate in some professional circles concerning the legal framework applied in the prosecution of journalists, especially in cases where the issue is raised of distinguishing between criminal provisions and the provisions of the Press and Publishing Law. The case ended with an acquittal ruling issued on 13 January 2025, following the official withdrawal of the complainant.

The Criminal Court of First Instance in Casablanca, on 9 December 2024, issued a judgment against journalist Yassine Hasnaoui, publishing director of the website Zone24, sentencing him to pay an enforceable fine of 10,000 dirhams, with costs and enforcement at the minimum. The court also ruled, in the civil aspect of the case, that he pays symbolic compensation of one dirham to the civil plaintiff, Younes Moujahid, President of the National Press Council, and additional compensation of 600,000 dirhams to the Council itself, with costs and enforcement at the minimum. This judgment came after prosecuting the journalist on charges of defamation, based on a complaint filed by Mr. Younes Moujahid in his capacity as representative of the temporary committee managing the press and publishing sector, in connection with the committee's rejection of the request to renew the journalist's professional press card for the year 2024.

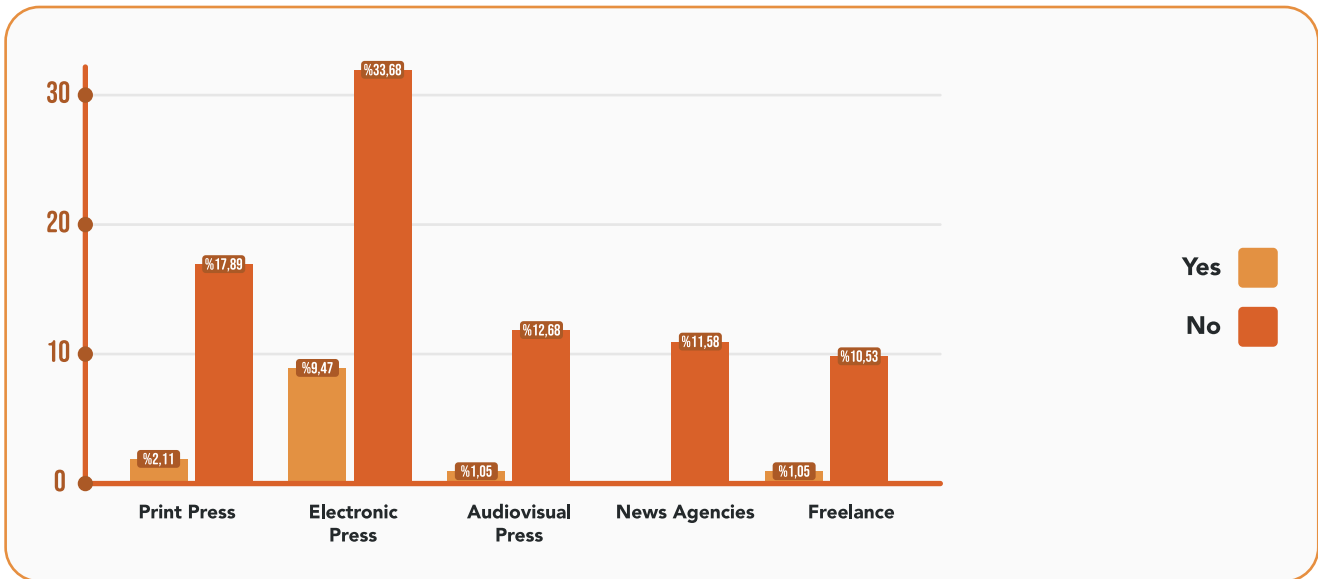
In the responses of journalists to the quantitative research questionnaire, 15% of the surveyed sample stated that during the past 12 months they had been subjected to harassment or threats due to articles or journalistic work, or as a result of their identity, race, orientation, or personal opinions. Meanwhile, 13% of journalists preferred not to answer this question, compared to 71% who denied having been subjected to any assaults or harassment during the past 12 months of 2024.

Graph 14: Distribution of exposure of journalists to harassment due to articles or journalistic work according to type of media outlet



As for journalists being subjected to assaults while performing their journalistic work in the field, 12% of the surveyed sample reported that during the past 12 months they had been subjected to assaults or harassment while covering events in the field, while 8% of respondents preferred not to answer this question, compared to 79% who denied having been subjected to any assaults or harassment while performing their journalistic work.

Graph 15: Distribution of exposure of journalists to assaults or harassment in the field according to type of media outlet



Recommendations:

On the basis of the reference frameworks structuring the relevant legislation and laws, and based on the outcomes of the various monitoring stages in relation to the application of the indicators, as well as the inventory and analysis of cases and incidents, the following recommendations can be highlighted:

- Review and amend the current laws related to restrictions on freedom of the press and expression, such as the Press and Publishing Law and the Criminal Code, with the aim of abolishing custodial penalties in cases of expression and publication, and ensuring the protection of journalists and bloggers from arbitrary prosecution;
- Bring the self-regulatory body of the journalism profession out of the legal stagnation in which it currently exists, while ensuring the holding of periodic elections for the National Press Council;
- Apply the principle of proportionality in determining compensation for journalists and bloggers in press and publishing cases;
- Limit the recourse of the Public Prosecution and the judiciary to the Criminal Code in cases of press and expression, by ensuring that criminal protection also covers press and expression cases;
- Ensure the application of the right to access information and facilitate procedures for obtaining it from governmental sources, obliging these sources to adopt the principle of proactive publication;
- Provide the necessary protection for journalists who are exposed to threats or assaults because of their work, including providing security protection, as well as legal and psychological support;
- Support independent media outlets without discrimination, and encourage pluralism of the press and media in accessing support and public advertising contracts;
- Liberalize the broadcasting sector to cover all regions of Morocco, while simplifying the procedures for establishing audiovisual media outlets;
- Establish procedures to respect the pluralism of opinion and thought in media and press during election periods and outside them;
- Provide training programs for journalists as well as law enforcement officers on journalistic ethics, human rights, and freedom of expression.

Annexes

Annex No. 1: Record of Judicial Prosecutions of Journalists during 2024

Case	Subject of Prosecution	Degree of Court	Judgment	Comments
Abdellatif Ouahbi vs. journalist Hamid El Mahdaoui	Defamation and public insult, dissemination and distribution of false allegations and facts for the purpose of defaming persons.	First Instance	One and a half years of effective imprisonment and a financial fine of 150 million centimes.	The Court of First Instance in Rabat convicted journalist Hamid El Mahdaoui for journalistic acts by referring to provisions of the Criminal Code instead of the Press and Publishing Law.
National Rally of Independents Party vs. journalist Hanan Bakour	Distribution of false facts with the intent to infringe upon the private life of individuals through the use of information systems.	Appeal	Upholding of the first instance judgment against journalist Hanan Bakour sentencing her to one month suspended imprisonment, a financial fine of 5,000 dirhams, and symbolic compensation of one dirham in favor of the National Rally of Independents Party.	Despite her journalist status, the prosecution relied on provisions of the Criminal Code, and the posts were considered outside the protection of the Press and Publishing Law.
Wali of the Oriental Region vs. journalist Abdelmajid Amyaï	Dissemination and distribution of false allegations and facts through information systems with the intent of infringing upon the private life of persons and defaming them.	Appeal	Two months suspended imprisonment and a financial fine of 5,000 dirhams.	Upholding of the first instance judgment which was based on the Criminal Code without applying the Press and Publishing Law.

Younes Moujahid and the National Press Council vs. journalist Yassine Hasnaoui	Insult, defamation, slander, and use of content without authorization.	First Instance	Enforceable fine of 10,000 dirhams with costs and enforcement at the minimum; in the civil case, symbolic compensation of one dirham to the civil plaintiff Younes Moujahid, President of the National Press Council, and additional compensation of 600,000 dirhams to the National Press Council, with costs and enforcement at the minimum.	The court applied Article 108 of the Criminal Code regarding compensation, without applying the provisions of Article 91 of the Press and Publishing Law.
Member of Parliament Mohamed Simo vs. journalist Yassine Zeroual	Insult, defamation, and slander.	First Instance	Acquittal of journalist Yassine Zeroual after MP Mohamed Simo withdrew the complaint he had filed.	The local journalist was prosecuted under the Criminal Code, but the case ended in acquittal after the withdrawal of the complaint.

Annex 2 : Questionnaire on the State of Freedom of the Press and Expression in Morocco - For Journalists

As part of its project to develop a Moroccan index for assessing freedom of expression and the press, the Prometheus Institute for Democracy and Human Rights is conducting this survey with professional journalists working in various media outlets, whether as employees or freelancers.

This initiative aims to collect objective data on the state of freedom of expression and the press in Morocco, by identifying the challenges and obstacles journalists face in their work, as well as the factors that contribute to either promoting or restricting press freedom.

We affirm that all information collected through this questionnaire will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and used exclusively for research purposes. No personal information or identities of participants will be disclosed.

Your participation in this survey represents a valuable contribution to the development of an evaluation tool that can help improve the working conditions of journalists in Morocco and support the promotion of freedom of expression, in line with best practices and international standards.

1. Full Name (Optional)

2. Gender:

- Male
- Female
- Prefer not to say

3. What is your field of journalism?

- Print journalism
- Online journalism
- Broadcast journalism
- News agency journalism
- Freelance journalist

4. Age:

- Between 18 and 24 years old
- Between 25 and 34 years old
- Between 35 and 44 years old
- Between 45 and 54 years old
- Between 55 and 64 years old
- Over 65 years old

5. Are you currently working in the public or private sector? Public sector Private sector**Political and Legal Framework****6. In your opinion, does the current political context in Morocco support the exercise of freedom of the press and expression?** Not at all To some extent Yes, to a small extent Yes, to a large extent I don't know**7. Do current political practices promote free press and expression in the public sphere?** Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent Yes, to a large extent I don't know**8. Do you think public officials (ministers, heads of councils, administrations, etc.) act in a way that guarantees freedom of the press and expression?** Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent Yes, to a large extent I don't know**9. Do you believe that the constitutional provision for freedom of the press and expression (Article 28) is sufficient to ensure full freedom?** Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent Yes, to a large extent I don't know**10. In general, are the provisions of the Press and Publication Law sufficient to guarantee freedom of the press and expression?** Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent Yes, to a large extent I don't know

11. Do the current laws regulating the press and publication contain restrictions or sanctions that limit press freedom as understood internationally?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

12. Do you think the current legal framework for the journalism profession allows for the establishment of media outlets without constraints?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

13. In your opinion, does the current legal framework allow journalists smooth access to information?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

14. Based on your experience, do authorities or actors in power support certain media outlets (those aligned with them) while pressuring others?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

Censorship and Self-Censorship

15. In the context of your journalistic work, do you feel that you are subjected to external censorship beyond the editorial team?

- Never Sometimes Often
 Always I don't know

16. If your answer was anything other than «Never» or «I don't know», please describe briefly how this occurs:

17. Do you feel that you are subject to editorial censorship by those in charge of the editorial or publishing team at your media outlet?

- Never Sometimes Often
 Always I don't know

18. In your journalistic work, do you feel that there are certain topics you cannot cover?

- Never Sometimes Often
 Always I don't know

19. If yes, please provide examples of topics you feel you cannot suggest or cover:

20. In your opinion, do journalists practice self-censorship out of fear of legal prosecution (fines, imprisonment, etc.)?

- Never Sometimes Often
 Always I don't know

21. Do journalists practice self-censorship out of fear of harm to their career path?

- Never Sometimes Often
 Always I don't know

22. Do journalists practice self-censorship out of fear of harm to their physical safety or that of their relatives?

- Never Sometimes Often
 Always I don't know

Pluralism and Independence

23. In your opinion, is there genuine pluralism in the Moroccan press and media?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

24. Outside of election periods, is political and ideological pluralism respected in both public and private media?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

25. Do you think media ownership is concentrated in the hands of a limited number of individuals or companies?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

26. Are private media outlets editorially independent from political authority?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

27. Do the current media and press laws ensure media pluralism and editorial independence?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

28. Does the current model of self-regulation through the National Press Council provide mechanisms to ensure pluralism and independence?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

29. Does the current form of state financial support to journalists affect the independence of journalists and media outlets?

- Never To some extent Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent I don't know

Financial Support and Transparency

30. In your opinion, do economic powers influence the editorial decisions of public media outlets?

- Never
 To some extent
 Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent
 I don't know

31. In your opinion, do economic powers influence the editorial decisions of private media outlets?

- Never
 To some extent
 Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent
 I don't know

32. Do you think the state distributes its public and commercial advertising fairly among media outlets?

- Never
 To some extent
 Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent
 I don't know

33. Does political authority exert pressure on advertisers to support certain media outlets over others?

- Never
 To some extent
 Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent
 I don't know

34. Based on your experience, do media outlets clearly distinguish between editorial content and commercial content?

- Never
 To some extent
 Yes, to a small extent
 Yes, to a large extent
 I don't know

35. To your knowledge, has any media outlet shut down in the past 12 months due to financial difficulties?

- Yes
 No
 I don't know

36. If yes, please provide details or any links related to the outlet that closed in the past 12 months:

Prosecutions and Violations

37. In the past 12 months, has any politician prosecuted a journalist under the Press and Publication Law?

Yes

No

I don't know

38. If yes, please provide examples of such prosecutions and links to relevant articles or sources:

39. In the past 12 months, has any government official or politician prosecuted a journalist using criminal or penal law outside of the Press Law?

Yes

No

I don't know

40. If yes, please provide examples and links to relevant materials:

41. To your knowledge, has any journalist or media outlet been subject to administrative sanctions (e.g., suspension, license withdrawal, withdrawal of press cards)?

Yes

No

I don't know

42. If yes, please provide examples and any links explaining these sanctions:

43. In the past 12 months, have any journalists been prosecuted under anti-terrorism laws, separatism, or treason charges?

Yes

No

I don't know

44. If yes, please provide examples and links to relevant materials:

45. Have you ever been harassed or threatened due to your journalistic work, identity, gender, ethnicity, orientation, or personal views?

Yes

No

Prefer not to answer

46. If yes, can you provide an example?

47. In the past 12 months, have you been physically assaulted by public forces or any individual while carrying out your journalistic work in the field?

Yes

No

Prefer not to answer

Preparation and Coordination

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Contribution to Discussion and Evaluation

In its first version, this report included organizing sessions dedicated to discussion and identifying indicators, in addition to a special session devoted to reviewing its content and discussing its findings.

These sessions were marked by the participation and contribution of a group of journalists, academics, civil society actors, and representatives of media institutions, which enriched the discussion and helped improve the final version of the report.

Those who took part in the evaluation session of the first version of the report are:

- › Younes MASSKINE
- › Abderrahmane ALLAL
- › Khadija MAROUAZI
- › Ali ANOUZLA
- › Rachid ELBELGHITI
- › Amina BOUGHALBI
- › Saida EL KAMEL
- › Sami ELMOUDNI
- › Mahtat RAKAS
- › Mehdi SEJJARI
- › Khaoula JAIFRI
- › Ghassan EL KECHOURI
- › Abdelmounaim EL AMRANI
- › Maria MOUKRIM
- › Salaheddine LEMAIZI

We apologize in advance for any name that may have been unintentionally omitted, and we affirm our appreciation and gratitude to everyone who contributed—whether closely or from afar—to the completion of this report.

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