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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20523

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NEAR EAST ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEETING

DATE: July 5, 1979  
TIME: See Agenda  
PLACE: 6439 NS

SUBJECT: Morocco - Title II Strategy

The Near East Advisory Committee will meet as scheduled above to discuss the attached Morocco Title II Program Strategy.

An issues paper will be distributed prior to the discussion.

Attachments:

USAID/Rabat Program Analysis Statement

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UNCLASSIFIED

June 19, 1979

TO : Mr. Joseph Wheeler, Assistant Administrator, AA/NE  
Ms. Kathleen Bitterman, Coordinator, PDC/FFP

FROM : Harold S. Fleming, Director, USAID/Morocco

*Handwritten initials:* C-1  
LHSE

SUBJECT : Analysis of the Title II Morocco Program

The Title II program in Morocco<sup>2</sup> can be described as one of the more successful efforts AID has undertaken in the realm of food aid programming. In some developing countries (particularly in the case of the Sahel), food aid is dispensed year by year, in quantities great or small, simply as a stop-gap, finger-in-the-dike gesture. In still others (India being a case in point), the food aid program has become nothing more than a means of prolonging a school feeding activity which for political reasons has been allowed to survive, despite the fact that it had long since fallen out of favor under AID's constantly changing priorities. In Morocco, Title II can at best be likened to a crucible where different kinds of vessels undergo a continuous testing process, and where through successive modifications these achieve a final durability or permanence. At worst, the program can be compared with a holding operation, whose raison d'être is to buy time while development is taking place.

A frequently heard criticism of the program is contained in the question: 'How has it come about that a country whose population barely exceeds 19 million and which in per capita GNP terms is almost of middle income status is nonetheless the fourth largest recipient, world-wide, of Title II assistance?'

But Morocco's relative state of well being is misleading. It is not only that in common with many other middle and higher than middle income countries Morocco has pockets of poverty or even regions where poverty is the rule. Morocco is perhaps the best example we have of an LDC split in twain between a modern sector and a traditional one; a country in which the modern sector, for a variety of reasons, gets the bulk of attention and to which the bulk of government services and allocation is devoted; and thus a country in which the poor continue to get poorer and the rich richer, increasing relative disparities. Moreover, these disparities affect geography, class, ethnic and cultural groups, and the sexes. The separation is not between rural and urban and not precisely between south and north, for there are huge numbers of the poor living in squalor in the cities and parts of the north are as

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This statement addresses the CRS/Entraide Nationale program which constitutes 98.5% of the total Morocco program.

poor as anything in the south. In a paper in concurrent preparation USAID estimates that more than eight million Moroccans live below a poverty line (almost half the population), or more Moroccans than the population of several of the African Sahel states.

Notwithstanding any of its other virtues or faults, Title II, which permits the Extraide Nationale program to exist, is the one exception to the pattern of skewed-to-the-rich resource allocation. We maintain, and hope to demonstrate, that our Title II program focuses on that very population otherwise neglected and on the huge number of poor. We recognize that this in itself is not an argument for Title II much less for a particular level of Title II, but it is an argument for maintaining a Title II program at least at present levels for as long as that program is part of a larger strategy for change in Morocco. The whole present AID program in Morocco is a gamble that the mood of the country is changing, and that our programs, by interesting the Moroccans, creating funding patterns and needs in some of the more developmentally focussed Ministries and thus drawing attention to needs in certain sectors, and subsectors will help that change and will be influential in moving Morocco from a development strategy which is essentially trickle-down to one which comes nearer to using all of the resources of the country and focussing directly on the development of all of its people.

At best, the kind of development strategy we would like Morocco to pursue will not manifest itself in any short period of time or without major effort. Aside from all other developmental consideration, Title II serves us as an underpinning, as a force for stability, and as a net to save the poor from the most extreme rigors of poverty while other things happen. We do not see how we can simultaneously pursue the above strategy with the GOM while telling it we can no longer support at historic levels the programs which, while perhaps not as developmental as we would like to see them, do precisely focus on the groups for which we demand greater focus. We believe our assistance to these groups must continue until we deem there is no chance for our strategy to succeed and we adopt a different strategy.

The present program is three-pronged. The first prong is nutrition education-oriented, aiming at bringing about a greater awareness of the importance of improved nutrition for their children, among 150,000 mothers whose economic status puts them among the poorest of the country's poor; and better health, through this increased awareness and Title II supplements, to 300,000 children aged from 2 to 5 years. (b) The second prong is labor-intensive and employment-generating, and focusses on the imparting of saleable skills (and a modicum of literacy besides) to underprivileged young women, again from the poorest sector, being trained in handicrafts, and whose technical formation is in part subsidized by a food ration for themselves and their families.

(N.B. The gardenies or kindergartens and cooperatives are outgrowths of (a) and (b) respectively and account for a further total of 135,700 beneficiaries).

The third prong is "humanitarian": assistance to orphans, the blind, handicapped, and pre-schoolers in kindergarten from poor families.

From a standpoint of levels of food aid per category and for any projection of how we visualize the program in the five years ahead, it may be useful to take a look at how the same program has measured up to the projections of the last three or four. (our source is the ABS for FY 1979).

MCH: From FY 1978 to FY 1980, the recipient level for the MCH category was to have remained steady at 375,000. In FY 1981, the requested level is 450,000: a gain of 20%. While the original planning called for a descent from the original level of 375,000 to an eventual 300,000 by FY 1981, the increase is partially offset by an estimated population gain of 16% in the past five years.

OPW:(Ouvroirs/Cooperatives/support for the blind and handicapped)

As a category, 'Ouvroirs' or work-shops (which accounted for 160,000 beneficiaries in FY 1978-1980) were originally to have been phased out entirely by FY 1979. The Ouvroirs were, in turn, to give way to (a) cooperatives formed by Ouvroir graduates, and (b) cooperatives constituted by abandoned/divorced wives & women who were also heads of families. Since the Ouvroirs were already performing yeoman service in the imparting of marketable skills to girls enrolled, and since without them, in any case, the supply of graduates to staff the cooperatives under (a) would have quickly dried up, it was decided that the structuring of the one should not be at the expense of the other. In FY 1981, if one includes the 4,000 blind/handicapped receiving rehabilitative training through the OAPAM/Yousseoufia movements, this category accounts for a cumulative total of 269,000 beneficiaries.

FPW: (Chantiers de self-help or work-projects): The 11,250 recipients constituting the projected level of beneficiaries for FY 1978 through 1980, were to have increased to 100,000 in FY 1981, doubling in FY 1982 to 200,000. Instead, however, this program was terminated in mid-1978 when Entside was unable to move the food to its programmed destinations up-country.

OCF: In FY 1978-1979, 22,000 orphans under the aegis of the SMB were assisted with a Title II food supplement to their daily diet. Projections for FY 1980 and thereafter called for no increase. At the present time, because of increased enrollments, the number of beneficiaries has risen, slightly, to the present level of 23,000. No further increase is anticipated.

OCF (day-care): A level of 3,000 recipients for FY 1978 and FY 1979 was to be increased to 7,000 in FY 1980, and to 15,000 in FY 1981. However, the requested level for FY 1981 under study by AID/W is only 11,700, well short of the total projected level for that year as per the FY 1979 ABS.

For the past eight years, the Title II program has moved to support activities generated by Entraide Nationale, a component of the GOM's Ministry of Social Affairs. These activities, health and nutrition-oriented in the case of one, and labor-intensive and income-producing in the case of another, have in common with the third, a social welfare bias. On the other hand, the Ministry, like its protegee Entraide, has shown little enthusiasm for a possible involvement in 'chantier' type or public works/agrarian development-oriented projects. However, these two GOM entities, together with CRS as co-sponsor of the Title II program in Morocco, have responded positively to injunctions by AID/W and USAID to move away from primary school feeding, in order to concentrate on the needs of the pre-school child, through an increased involvement with the MCH activity and its more recent out-growth, the garderie or kindergarten movement.

It can be seen from this that the use of the Entraide vehicle carries with it certain limitations, stemming from the way it perceives itself and the role it is expected to carry out. As pointed out, there has been little interest in the area of developing EPW projects outside the narrow context of ouvroirs/cooperatives. Against the back-drop of increasing unemployment (leading to eventual social unrest), this lack of interest can only be termed short-sighted. 'Development', in the MSA/Entraide view, means 'social' development; any generalized improvement in economic well-being is possible only in the context of the social development of the individual, and through the individual, the society. This is precisely the type of trickle-down bias one expects to find in a social welfare-oriented organization well to the right of center, and among social workers who are not coincidentally (as most social workers are not) development planners with a tilt toward urban and/or agrarian reform. Given this particular bias and its limitations, the program has done very well, though it has functioned in a somewhat narrower compass than might otherwise have been attempted. A sow's ear, however, is not the stuff of which silk purses are made.

What can be done to spur on greater development content? Other GOM ministries lack the ready-made vehicle which the Ministry of Social Affairs has in Entraide, with its operating experience and its infrastructures painstakingly built up over a period of years. The Ministries of Planning and Agriculture can be dismissed as potential bail-carriers; neither has the will or the capability to develop Title II-supported projects and/or programs aimed at economic/agricultural development. The Ministry of Health, which might otherwise have been considered a logical distributor, some years ago, is not interested in the distribution of PL 480 commodities because of its medical responsibilities and lack of personnel to perform other activities connected with the distribution of the food. In any case this Ministry is already more than fully occupied with other programs, many of them USAID engendered.

That leaves only the Ministry of Youth and Sports, and Promotion Nationale. In the former case, projects similar in type to those engendered by Entraide's Ouvroir activity exist in urban centers only, though these are fewer in number and aggregate enrollments are smaller. (Youth and Sports is not set up to receive or distribute food, nor does it hanker after such

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an involvement.) In the case of Promotion Nationale, which is a logical vehicle for food-supported self-help projects of the 'chantier' or works type, Title II was used innovatively and to good effect for several years before being phased out of a program which is now able to function effectively without such support. (Promotion Nationale now has its own development budget under the current Three-Year Plan. To reintroduce Title II food inputs to this program years after they were last phased out is not considered desirable; such an initiative is only likely to encourage graft, which ultimately led to the decision to terminate these inputs.)

Given the lack of responsible interest on the one hand and the absence of an infrastructure equal to a task of this kind on the other, and given the kind of track record Entraide already has in development and implementation of the programs in which Title II food has played such a vital part, it would appear that there is no intelligent alternative to the continued use of Entraide in its present function.

If we accept, therefore, the postulates (a) that our vehicle is the only GOM vehicle which is capable of implementing a Title II program of this or similar magnitude, and that (b) the vehicle has certain conceptual and programmatic limitations, we must - if the program is to develop beyond its present parameters - exploit Entraide's strengths while working around, as best we can, its weaknesses. Closer links with the GOM's Ministry of Health, at least at local levels, and the Ministry of Youth and Sports, must be forged. The forging of such links has in fact already begun, but much remains to be done.

Health and Nutrition: The years ahead should witness a gradual expansion of the training now being given to MCH 'Monitrices' or Supervisors at the Marrakech School, with more emphasis on outreach. There does not appear to be any good reason why Entraide and the MCH should not cooperate to bring the message to rural families with no easy access to the urban centers to which this gospel is now restricted. While the 1971 National Consumption Study showed adequate urban and rural per capita protein and calorie consumption, calcium, vitamin A and vitamin C dietary requirements do not appear to be met. In addition there is a clear imbalance in the daily regimen which is weighted toward cereals and low in animal protein and fats.

The rural areas deserve a concentration of the nutrition education effort, since (a) food accounts for an estimated 64% of family expenditures; and (b) because of the prevalence in such areas of disease attributable to poor weaning practices, undernutrition, and unsanitary conditions.

This type of coverage, at the outset at least, will require the deployment of mobile MCH teams. Concurrent with such an effort, or preceding it, Entraide/MCH should collaborate to provide a cycle of orientation/training

for Caidats or Sub-divisional Officers in each of the Caidats or Sub-divisions where these teams will operate. A subsequent development might be the positioning of a social aide with nutrition training, in the Caidat or Sub-division, with the responsibility for covering a given number of villages. The technical support for the teams/aides should be derived from (a) Rabat, and (b) the School of Nutrition in Marrakech, while recruitment for the social aide should be restricted to the area where she is to be positioned after training.

The same period should see the strengthening of the MCH program itself, and the present scatter-shot focus narrowed considerably. This can be done by restricting the enrollment of children to (a) those in the age bracket of 2 to 5 who are malnourished, and (b) non-malnourished infants from 10 months to 1 year of age who thus fall into the 'most vulnerable' category. Also sought should be the structuring of the nutrition education program in the MCH centers and the Title II donation to a fixed, non-renewable, 2 year enrollment period.

Ouvroirs/Cooperatives (FTW): The Ouvroir is currently perceived as (a) providing an alternative to formal academic/technical education, (b) a means of employment for young women with little or no training with which to gain a profitable access to the job market. Clearly, for many drop-outs from an educational system unresponsive to their needs, the Ouvroir - and in the case of divorced/abandoned women, the Cooperative of Abandoned women - are places where they can pick-up the pieces, and where a limited, practical, subsidized training is available to them.

Currently, that training is almost exclusively in handicrafts. While handicrafts constitute the fourth largest foreign currency earner in the country, and while until now, the Ouvroirs have had them as their stock-in-trade, in the long run this becomes too narrow a base from which to operate.

The promise of the Ouvroirs, as seen from here, lies in the development of their potential as a tool for the liberation of the Moroccan woman from the limited role which tradition has thrust upon her; this transcends the concept of the Ouvroir as a place where limited domestic skills can be acquired or up-graded. Even now, new ground is being broken in Marrakech, where the curriculum (in the case of at least one Ouvroir) has been enlarged to include training courses for women in metal-working and carpentry. Undoubtedly, the need for training in handicrafts will survive, if for no other reason than as a means of improving domestic abilities perennially in demand in the home. The Ouvroirs will also continue to offer courses in literacy for those enrollees who have yet to learn to read and write.

While a practical, (though more variegated) orientation, and courses in literacy, will characterize the substance of the 'new' Ouvroir, it is anticipated that the next five years should also witness a more formalized expansion of the Ouvroir curriculum to include courses in nutrition,

personal hygiene, preparation for motherhood, and an approach to the problems of personal adjustment to the complexities of living in a changing society. By 1984 or 1985, it is hoped that the Ouvroir will have become a vital factor in the improvement in the quality of life in the Moroccan townships where it is established.

It is anticipated that the Cooperatives of Abandoned women may likewise be able to expand the kind of training available to enrollees, and offer a personal adjustment course to boot. Here, however, the Cooperative will largely remain a place where a limited number of the poor - women who are also heads of families - will be given an opportunity to improve domestic skills and acquire, to the extent possible, some marketable ones as well.

FFW (Works projects)

(a) Where rural food-assisted and agriculture-oriented activities are concerned, Entaide and CRS are being encouraged to develop contacts with provincial governors who have expressed an interest in implementing projects as well as with those who have demonstrated an ability, in the past, to implement such activities successfully. Provinces receiving priority consideration for this type of involvement will be those in which the number of unemployed is on the increase. Modest at the outset, this program will be fueled with food made available from the current Ouvroir/Cooperative des Filles des Ouvroirs program; however, as the latter activity develops and in the process becomes less dependent on Title II food inputs, such inputs will be further reduced, and the food used to fuel a correspondingly larger number of activities of the 'works project' variety. Some kinds of projects which may be envisaged are: Well-digging; clean-up (improvement of public sanitation); construction/improvement of existing dirt roads; construction of catchment areas for water storage; other civic improvement, such as repair of buildings, digging of drainage ditches; and tree planting.

(Urban renewal)

(b) This is another area where there is still untapped potential for the use of Title II rations in a developmental context, as payment or part-payment for the manual (unskilled) labor component of urban renewal activities. The most obvious application of this is in the bidonvilles around Casablanca and other urban centers, not excluding Rabat. Provided that food inputs remain at least at their present level, Title II has a role to play in the building or upgrading of housing units within the bidonville perimeter. There is no reason, for example, why whatever portion of Title II is destined for this type of use cannot be integrated into other Mission projects involving urban renewal, such as the proposed involvement in Ben M'Sil: (HIG).

We see, also, in the years ahead an opportunity for Title II inputs to be used as a catalyst to slow the exodus from rural to urban areas; with rural families being offered a bonus of fertilizer, seeds, and technical assistance by GOM and the US, in an effort to reverse this trend. A part of such a bonus could well be a Title II ration, provided in the form of an incentive to rural families to remain and till the soil.

### Additional inputs from the GOM?

The importance of the Government of Morocco's contribution in real terms to the Title II program should not be underestimated. The putting into place of the considerable storage, transport, and personnel infrastructures capable of handling in excess of 50,000 MT/annum has involved an investment of several million dollars (equivalent). The equipping of each locale where the food is dispensed with the necessary furnishings and equipment also adds up. Put the two together with the recurring costs, and one comes up with a total expenditure which must outweigh the cost to the U.S. government, of the food itself.

We believe that this GOM contribution to the Title II program is more than adequate, indeed commendable. Obviously, however, we cannot continue our contributions at the present level for ever. The real issue, however, is not the proportion of contributions between the GOM and the U.S. for the present program but the nature of the future program and its scope. The real question is not what the GOM contributes to Title II but what the GOM does for its poor. It is this question that we're seeking to address in a number of ways as part of our overall strategy. It is what Morocco does in the coming years in addressing the developmental problem of the poorer parts of the country which will ultimately affect what happens to Title II, who pays for what, and how programs are to be improved/altereD/phased out/eliminated.

The orientation the Title II program will increasingly take in the years ahead is developmental. MCH Centers will narrow their focus to the malnourished Child, and to health outreach in the rural areas. Ouyroir curricula will on the other hand be expanded beyond the present, narrow base of handicrafts to include practical training in other disciplines (e.g. metalworking, carpentry, drafting) buttressed by instruction in nutrition, preparation for motherhood, and civics. Cooperatives of former Ouyroir enrollees should also no longer be restricted to handicrafts alone. As Title II inputs are gradually phased out of the Ouyroir/cooperative systems there will be an equally gradual phasing in of the same inputs to support via FFW self-help efforts in both the rural and the urban sectors, in the one case working through provincial governors and in the other, the Entraide Delegate & Responsible 'Habitat' or Housing Department, officials. To the fullest extent possible, such activities will be integrated into other Mission-funded efforts in these areas.

Do all parts of the program, as we see it, make sense? We believe so, viewing the present infrastructure as providing an excellent springboard for development. It is an infrastructure, however, whose parts are still sufficiently delicate that an immediate phase-out of food support to any of these, or even a substantial reduction, in the short-term, of its overall Title II inputs, would have a severely weakening effect on the whole.

A re-ordering of priorities is in order, and there is little doubt but that Title II support for the program must diminish in some areas, while increasing in others. The actual implementation of this re-ordering must be orchestrated with great care over a period of several years. In the long haul, Title II support to the Ouvroir system and the Cooperatives which are its out-growth must be reduced and, in the end, phased out. This phasing down of support to the Ouvroir/Cooperatives must be accompanied by a corresponding phasing-in of PFW inputs to agrarian/urban development-oriented projects. MCH, however, will continue to retain its place of prime importance in the Title II program.

It is expected that the humanitarian elements of the program, viz. OCF through the SMB, and the garderies, will continue at about the same level as at present (34,500). Beneficiary support levels for the OAPAM and Youssoufia movements - training of blind and handicapped - should not be reduced from their present 4,000, over the next five years. Again, can one make a distinction between 'humanitarian' and 'developmental' in the case of the SMB, which intends to use Title II food in the estimated 100 Centres de Formation Technique which will eventually train 1,500 orphans annually for employment in the trades?

For the program to succeed and for it to serve its larger strategic purposes, we must have clout. The size of the current program (59,000 MT) gives us that clout. It is therefore recommended that Title II food inputs remain at or near the present level during the next five years or until the present USAID strategy is judged to be beginning to work or to have failed. Title II must be viewed not only on its own merits but as part of a larger whole.

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N.B.: CRS/Morocco is privy to this paper. However, this does not mean that it does not contain elements with which the VoiAgency may not be in complete agreement.

Drafted by: <sup>GG</sup>FFPO:GGWood:am:6/18/1979

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