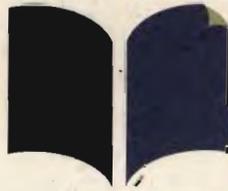


ABEL 2



Advancing Basic
Education and Literacy
Phase 2

**PROMOTING GIRLS' EDUCATION
IN MOROCCO
AN ASSESSMENT**

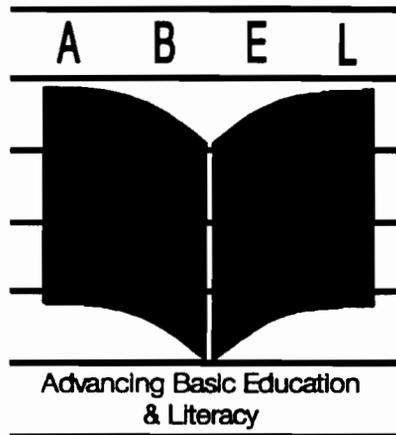
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Advancing Basic Education and Literacy Project (ABEL2)



PROMOTING GIRLS' EDUCATION IN MOROCCO

An Assessment

Submitted by:

**May Rihani, Creative Associates International, Inc.
Paul Hebert, Florida State University**

**Under contract from the United States Agency for International Development Global
Bureau, Human Capacity Development Center, Washington, D.C.**



PROMOTING GIRLS' EDUCATION IN RURAL MOROCCO

An Assessment

Submitted by:

May Rihani
Paul Hebert

Submitted to:

USAID/Morocco

Prepared for:

Project Advancing Basic Education and Literacy (ABEL)
Contract No.: HNE-5832-C-00-4075-00

4 May 1995

Consortium: Academy for Educational Development; Creative Associates International, Inc.; Education Development Center, Inc.; Florida State University; Harvard Institute for International Development; Research Triangle Institute **Collaborators:** Abt Associates Inc.; Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Educación (CIDE), Chile; Clark Atlanta University; Educational Research Network in Eastern and Southern Africa (ERNESA), Kenya; Educational Research Network for West and Central Africa (ERNWACA), Mali; Fundación Volvamos a la Gente, Colombia; Institute for International Research; Juárez and Associates, Inc.; National Center on Adult Literacy, University of Pennsylvania; Regional Center for Educational Innovation and Technology (INNOTECH), Philippines; Research, Educational and Development Initiatives Ltd. (REDI), Sierra Leone; Save the Children; World Education

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Morocco, a middle income country, has a population of approximately 26 million. The population is nearly equally divided into urban and rural residents. The trend in the rapid increase of urbanization has been constant. At present, the urban population is estimated to be between 51 and 52 percent. It is useful to note that the average annual population growth rate was 2.26 percent between 1982 and 1991, and that the population is predominantly youthful, with more than 50 percent under the age of 20. This immediately indicates that the need for human resource development services, specifically in education, are great. It is imperative to state that Morocco has accomplished significant achievements on the economic front; however, it still lags behind in education.

B. Objective

USAID Morocco is concerned that a lack of adequate basic education, particularly for girls and for rural children, may constrain the achievement of several of the country's sectorial objectives as well as the Mission's strategic objectives. As stated by the Scope of Work document: "Broad based sustainable economic growth will depend, in part, upon the ability of Morocco to engage the rural poor in the nation's overall economy. Moreover, significant research has shown that sustainability of fertility and child survival objectives depend, in part, upon the level of educational attainment of the female population."

In addition, the Ministry of National Education (MNE) is in the midst of planning a new reform of the entire system of

education. MNE is aiming at, among other objectives, decreasing the disparities in educational access between the urban milieu and the rural milieu, as well as between rural girls and rural boys.

Given the above objectives and concerns, USAID Morocco requested that project ABEL (Advancing Basic Education and Literacy) field a team of two expatriate educational specialists to assist the mission in further assessing Morocco's basic education sector and to recommend options that, if implemented, would improve the rural participation in basic education -- and specifically the participation of rural girls.

The Scope of Work also states:

"The contractor is required to produce a report that details the current status of basic education. After providing an overall portrait of the basic education system, its accomplishments and its shortcomings, the report will focus upon specific education problems that impede rural development.

"...The report should assess opportunities for and the feasibility of donor assistance to improve basic education in Morocco, particularly with reference to girls' education. In addition, the report should also make recommendations pertaining to actions that need to be taken specifically by USAID in order to assure that critical human capacity problems affecting USAID's program are overcome."

C. Methodology

This paper is the outcome of (1) a review of available research and statistical data, (2) observations during field trips, and (3) interviews of major educational stakeholders.

- (1) the review focused on relevant indigenous and international documentation dealing with basic education, and in particular on the latest statistics of the MNE, specifically the "Statistiques Scolaires, 1er Cycle Fondamental, 1993-94." (see annex A, Bibliography).
- (2) the field observations were based on visits to three different Delegations: Ben Slimane, Sidi Kacem, and El Hajeb. In the three delegations the team visited 12 schools representing the three types of schools usually found in the rural areas: autonomous, nucleus, and satellite. While visiting several of these schools the team was able to observe a number of multi-grade classes. The field visits served to confirm many of the findings already identified through relevant documentation.
- (3) the interviews were conducted with many of the principal actors in basic education: MNE officials, donor agencies involved in basic education, parents, school principals, teachers, students, and independent consultants.

D. Organization of the Paper

In keeping with the USAID's recommended approach, this paper assesses the primary education subsector and recommends priority areas for USAID's intervention. The assessment is dealt with in sections II, III, IV, and V; these sections provide the background and analysis of the policies, the indicators, and the efficiencies of basic education in Morocco, particularly the analysis of the conditions in the rural milieu with a focus on issues related to the education of the rural girl. The recommendations are discussed in section VI, aiming at offering USAID possible areas of interventions that can, within five years, impact in a measurable way, on the participation of rural girls in the basic educational system in Morocco.

II. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE STATUS OF BASIC EDUCATION IN RURAL MOROCCO

Since independence, the Government of Morocco (GOM) has committed itself to expanding and improving the educational system. The main objective of the GOM has been to provide universal free education for all Moroccan children. Records quoted by Driss Sbai, from the *Centre de l'Orientation et de Planification de l'Education* confirm that widespread public education, especially for girls, is relatively new in Morocco. In 1942, only 22 girls were completing their primary education, a number that increased to 156 in 1951.¹ By scholastic year (SY) 1992-93, the number of girls participating nationwide in primary education was 1,058,834. Despite this encouraging progress, it is important to note that up to the early 1990s, the percentage of girls attending primary school remained skewed towards the urban milieu while the rural milieu was seriously lagging behind.

To address several quantitative and qualitative educational issues -- among them the regional inequities -- the MNE designed and implemented an educational reform starting 1985. The following are among the stated objectives of the reform.

- * Ensuring that by 1994-95 that at least **90 percent** of the Moroccan children are participating in the basic education system;
- * Revising the **curriculum** in order to render it more responsive to the objectives of basic education;

¹ "La Scolarisation de la Fille Rurale dans la Region de Tiflet," *Centre de l'Orientation et de Planification de l'Education*, Driss Sbai, June 1994.

- * **Retraining** the teaching corps and diversifying the teaching methods; and
- * Decreasing the disparities between the rural and the urban milieus by **increasing access** through expanding the number of satellite schools and multi-grade classes.

Within the framework of the reform, the MNE restructured the educational system and introduced the concept of the *Enseignement Fondamental*, a compulsory phase of nine years. This phase is divided into two cycles: the first one of six years, corresponding to the regular primary school in other countries; and the second cycle of three years, corresponding to the intermediate school in other educational systems. These nine years are followed by a three-year phase that constitutes the secondary system.

Even though the full impact of the 1985 reform is still being analyzed, some of the results are the following:

- * **Quantitatively**, although the objective of the reform was to attain a 90 percent participation rate in compulsory basic education by 1994-95, only **58 percent** was achieved by 1993-94. Once this percentage is broken down, the low participation rate of certain regions becomes obvious and the **disparities between urban and rural** areas are highlighted. There are also **significant disparities between different rural areas** as well.
- * The disparities are most obvious for the rural children, particularly girls. A comparison of the total number of children that attend primary school with the total number of children that are in the age bracket 7-to-12 leads to the following conclusions: (1) that **89.4 percent of the urban children** were enrolled in primary school while only **36.7 percent of the rural children** were enrolled; and (2)

that **22.3 percent of the rural girls** are enrolled compared to a rate of **50.4 percent of rural boys**.

- * Regarding **qualitative** issues, the reform is aimed at revising the curriculum and retraining teachers to render both activities more responsive to national and regional realities and to the needs of primary education. Evidence suggests that the qualitative objectives were also not fully achieved. An illustrative example of how the reform falls short of achieving its objectives is the non-responsiveness of training to the changing realities of the rural areas. According to a study done by Said Jamil of the *Centre d'Orientation et de Planification de l'Education*, "...The rural teachers were not trained for the multi-grade class approach even though the reality of the primary rural classes indicates that the increase in the numbers of multi-grade classes was a continuous trend and that, as a result of the reform, the percentages of the multi-grade classes increased from **6.63 percent** in 1985/86 to **21.60 percent** in 1993/94.

In summary, by the beginning of the 1990s, the MNE was aware that despite the efforts to reform the educational system in Morocco and specifically to narrow the gap between rural and urban areas, the reform did not fully achieve its purposes. Schools continued to experience low enrollments, disparities in enrollment, low retention rates, disparities in the retention rates, maladjustment in the curricula, lack in supportive educational materials to the specific national and regional needs, and the inability to train teachers to meet the challenges of the emerging realities of rural classes.

In fact, the reform's policies -- consisting of what was called by MNE *la refonte*, or the recasting -- did not produce the expected results, and lagged seriously behind the quantitative and the qualitative objectives set by the educational planners.

To complement the reform efforts and ensure greater achievements of the objectives of the reform, several **new initiatives** were taken at the beginning of the 1990s. Two of these efforts are: (1) the **mobilization campaigns** in the rural areas, and (2) the strategy of "**completing**" the **satellite schools**.

Regarding the mobilization campaigns, the MNE urged the Delegations to carry out systematic information campaigns in the rural areas under their geographic jurisdiction to raise the awareness of rural parents about the value of educating their children. Based on the ministry's awareness of the trends of enrollments and drop-outs in many of the rural areas, the campaigns focused on both access and retention issues. The need to increase the number of rural enrollees and the number of students who stay in the system was, and remains, critical. The organizers of the campaigns were aware that the numbers of students at the beginning of the scholastic year in any given grade, and specifically in the first grade, is often larger than the number of students in that same grade in the month of March; hence, importance is also given to targeting the retention issues in those campaigns. The campaigns have been going on for approximately three years and the initial results seem promising.

The second initiative, the strategy of "completing" the satellite schools, also seem to be yielding promising results. In the hopes of enabling the rural students to at least complete the primary cycle, the MNE has initiated an effort to restructure the satellite schools. The restructuring is aimed at ensuring that those satellite schools in villages with more than 300 inhabitants would be able to offer all six primary grades. This restructuring is based on a formula that the MNE describes as: $2 \times 3 = 6$; i.e., a basic structure of **two** classrooms, with **three** teachers, for **six** grades. In addition to recognizing that this approach might help the ministry attain its objective of increasing school participation in the rural areas, the MNE is also fully aware that this strategy coincides with the parents strong desire of having

"complete" primary schools.

At present, in April 1995, the GOM is in the process of deciding on the need and nature of new educational reforms. There are ongoing debates, preparation, and planning aimed at formulating the objectives of the new reform. A **national committee** of 330 members was created to discuss and draft the National Charter of the New Reform of the educational system as a whole. The following are two actions specified in the preliminary draft of the National Charter of the New Reform:

- * Several **educational councils** and/or boards will be formed at the national, regional, community, and school level to increase the involvement in, and the commitment to, education.
- * Basic **education services**, both at the first-cycle level (primary) and at the second-cycle level (intermediary) need to be expanded and reinforced in the rural areas. In addition, promotion between the two cycles (i.e., grades 6 to 7) should become easier than it presently is.

The national committee continues to debate other major issues relevant to the reform such as the correlation between education and the socio-economic development of Morocco in general and the rural areas in particular; reconsideration of the distribution of educational expenditures between the urban and rural milieus; re-evaluation of the enhancement of girls' basic education given the social and economic benefits that are gained as a result of the increase in the percentages of girls completing at least the primary cycle; reinforcement of the compulsory nature of education in order to enhance the possibility of education for all; and the arabization and other languages policies. It is expected that by June 1995 an official document will clarify the MNE's strategies regarding all of the above issues.

III. ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES THAT IMPACT RURAL EDUCATION

The role of the **national budget** in the successful implementation of the activities of the various national ministries is critical. The allocations of the national budget reflect the policies of the government vis-a-vis each of its sectors; e.g., education, health, and agriculture. In this context, the budget allocation by the GOM to the education sector should reflect the policies and priorities that guide the activities of that sector at its various levels (i.e., Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education). It is evident that these same policies and priorities exercise an important impact at each of these respective levels.

This report looks to describing the **impact of the GOM's national budget** on the policies and priorities of the education sector, and particularly at the primary level. Furthermore, it seeks to give priority attention to the work in the country's rural areas at this level. At this rural primary level, a more specific focus on the **education of girls** is maintained.

The allocation of the national budget to education and its distribution to the latter's different sub-sectors will be examined and analyzed, with particular concern for its impact on the efforts of the MNE on behalf of girls in the rural areas studying in primary schools. The study and analysis will make possible the formulation of recommendations concerning the distribution of the national budget to education by the GOM.

In addition to studying in some detail the budget allocations themselves, two other relevant components of the educational system are examined: teachers -- particularly their required qualifications and the cost of their training -- and the

infrastructure associated with the educational process. Suggestions for the effective utilization of these vital resources are subsequently presented.

A. Budget Allocations at the Primary Level

In an in-depth study of the overall GOM national budget and the evolution of its patterns of distribution spanning a decade (1980-81 to 1990-91), the World Bank concluded that in terms of the education sector budget a relative stability existed (7 percent of GNP). The education sector budget in 1990-91 was DH 10.7 billion, divided as follows: Primary (1st Basic Cycle): DH 3.9 billion (36.6 percent); Secondary: DH 5.0 billion (47.0 percent) for both early secondary i.e. (2nd Basic Cycle) and the last three years of secondary; and Higher Education: DH 1.7 billion (16.3 percent). The 1990-91 allocation is close to that of 1980, when the distribution among levels of the MNE's operating budget were 35.4 percent, 46.3 percent and 18.3 percent. A consideration of the respective levels demonstrates a clear priority in favor of secondary education (the 2nd Basic Cycle + the last three years of secondary). Yet, 62.9 percent of the sector's total student enrollment was in primary (the 1st Basic Cycle), as compared to 29.5 percent in the secondary. In comparison, the large share of operating expenditure allotted to the secondary education (47.0 percent) is considerably larger than the average 23.1 percent in other countries of the same level of economic development.²

In examining these budget allocation sector, closer attention is paid to the primary level (grades 1 to 6) -- 1er Cycle Fondamental. In 1990-91 it received 36.6 percent (DH 3.9 billion) of the overall Education budget, up from 35.4 percent in 1980-81,

² *Kingdom of Morocco: Costs, Financing and Efficiency of the Education System; The World Bank, Report No. 11937-MOR, January 1994.*

a reflection of the relative stability of funding and of a relatively stagnant average of 36 percent that was committed over the decade. It should be noted for comparative purposes that in other countries with a similar GNP per capita, an average of a 43.7 percent of the Education budget is committed to primary education. The question can be legitimately put concerning the priority that the GOM actually placed on primary education (1st Basic Cycle) when **65 percent** of the national school population was enrolled at this sub-sector level. The poignancy of the inequality is even more dramatic when **45 percent** of the children did not enjoy access to primary education over the same period. The question of national priorities is equally pertinent when the budget data for the Higher Education sub-sector demonstrate a **7.2 percent** budgetary increase annually during the decade in question. In general, it could be surmised that the education in Morocco is hampered by inequitable budget allocation. There exists a disproportionate amount of resources committed to the urban areas and the wealthy class.

B. Budget Allocations for the Rural Milieu - Primary Level

While the pattern of annual funding for the decade of 1980-81 to 1990-91 for primary education (1st Basic Cycle) demonstrates a relative stability, a review of the resources committed to the **rural areas** is also revealing. Unfortunately and for a variety of reasons, the study of the World Bank already mentioned does not provide financial data differentiating the urban from the rural in its presentation of data about the 1st Basic Cycle. Further search for such data with the MNE was not successful. The difficulty in identifying these data arises from the manner in which the Ministry of Finance organizes its budget -- no particular attempt is made to segregate budgets of the different national sectors by urban and rural line items. However, another World Bank study describes relevant data of another order that serves to illustrate the imbalance. In 1989 approximately 22 percent of villages with a population of less than 1,000 people had

virtually no access to primary education. Furthermore, only 100 from among the 682 schools of the 2nd Basic Cycle in the country were situated in rural areas. More startling is the fact that all of the 340 secondary schools throughout Morocco were located in urban areas. Moreover, in the 1980s even though 52 percent of the population lived in rural areas, the GOM allocated only 10 percent of its total investment in Education to the rural areas.³

As part of its thrust toward decentralization, the GOM is looking to place more and more emphasis on the role of the political/geographical Delegations in the utilization of the funds allocated to the various sectors of the nation's economy. This is especially the case in terms of the Education sector. Planning for the expansion of school facilities, particularly in the rural areas, is ostensibly the responsibility of the respective Delegation sector officials. Even though decentralization is a GOM priority, decentralization's benefits are occasionally inhibited by bureaucratic delays that do not permit local educational priorities to be effectively implemented.

The local communities are now also being asked to assume a greater responsibility for education in their geographic areas, with the burden being particularly evident in primary education in the rural areas. Local communities are principally expected to support new school construction.⁴ Appropriate sub-sectoral decentralized budget allocations should be made available to assist the communities to provide this input. Again, effective involvement is frequently jeopardized by seemingly unnecessary bureaucratic intervention from the central office of the MNE. In addition to the direct financial input of the local communities, the latter are also being encouraged to involve themselves in a closer relationship

³ *Schooling and Cognitive Achievements of Children in Morocco: Can the Government Improve the Outcomes?* World Bank Discussion Paper No. 264, The World Bank, 1994.

⁴ *Op.cit.*, The World Bank, January 1994.

with the local school and its program of educational activities. Such support would encourage the local communities to look to a partnership relation with the local school beyond the provision of physical facilities.

The participation of parents and families in the support of the educational system is important -- principally in meeting the costs of textbooks, and in some cases transportation and lodging. For primary education in rural areas this can be a considerable burden. It is estimated that parental support amounts to **10.5 percent** of system expenditures.⁵ Budgetary provisions at the Delegation level can greatly assist by reducing certain direct educational costs to parents.

C. Budget Allocations for Teacher Training in Rural Areas

In terms of overall Education sector budget allocation, teaching personnel salaries account for approximately **96 percent** of the recurrent expenditures at the primary level. With such a high level of expenditure to support permanent teaching personnel, it is imperative that the need for in-service training be budgeted for and appropriately implemented. It should be noted that recent research conducted in several countries shows that in-service training is usually more effective than pre-service training. Furthermore, given the exacting working conditions under which teachers in rural areas must carry out their duties, in-service training takes on even more urgency, particularly at the 1st Cycle stage.

Teacher **training** in Morocco is carried out within the broader scope of professional training. As such, it finds itself striving to obtain an appropriate share of budget resources. The MNE must compete with other ministries for training funds. **Pre-**

⁵ *Ibid.*

service training for teachers of the 1st Basic Cycle takes place within a network of 32 Teacher Training Centers (TTCs) in a program structure involving one or two years of full-time study of general education and pedagogical theory combined with field practice periods in actual classroom settings. MNE policy calls for assignment of the new graduates to rural areas for a period of two years. Subsequently, a teacher may request for a re-assignment to another school. Should another position not be available, another proposal for transfer can be submitted two years hence. The greater portion of available training funds for primary education is committed to the pre-service training in the TTCs.

The developments in the field of pedagogy and the academic disciplines are such that no teacher, even at the primary education level, can do without periodic in-service training. Experience and seniority alone cannot compensate for coping with continuous developmental changes. Meeting such up-dating needs requires a formal program of activities involving intensive day-long/week-long workshops and seminars gathering teachers from a particular locality or region. The allocation of funds for such programs, especially for rural area teachers, should be a priority. While pre-service formation is important in launching a teaching career, in-service training is necessary to assure the long-term professional input of a teacher. Paradoxically, the latter training is frequently relegated a low priority due to lack of budget funding.

D. Qualifications Required to Become a Primary-Level Teacher

As mentioned above, a **network** of 32 TTCs is responsible for the training of primary school teachers. Admission to a TTC is obtained in either of two ways: (1) degree qualification -- the Diploma of General University Studies (earned at the end of the two-year 1st Cycle University Program), and (2) competitive examination -- after obtaining the Baccalaureate diploma from secondary

school. However, in both instances the degree qualification and the eligibility for the competitive examination are limited to those meeting the requirements in the year of seeking candidacy. The candidate admitted with a university qualification is required to follow a full-time **one-year program** of intensive study of pedagogical theory and methodology. Those candidates selected via the competitive examination (holders of a Baccalaureate diploma) take a **two-year program** composed of general education courses and course offerings in pedagogical theory. In addition to the formal academic course work, both programs also provide for fixed periods of classroom observation and practice in the field. The MNE believes that experience has demonstrated that the young Baccalaureate holder is more open and susceptible to training. Once these candidates finish their training and are hired by MNE as primary school teachers they start at a Level 8 salary, which is equivalent to DH 1,700-1,800. This salary is comparable to other civil servant entry-level salaries.

Presently, the 32 TTCs are located only in urban centers. For SY 1994-95 there were 9,858 students enrolled, of whom 2,241 (22.8 percent) are women. The competition for admission to the TTCs is very keen and selection is based on the ranking of performance in the national competitive examination or on performance ranking at the university. Consequently, the TTCs are always at full capacity. Enrollees in the two program streams follow separate courses, in both the theory and practical phases. Until recently, all TTCs enrolled male and female students, but 5 Centers are now reserved exclusively for women -- Tangier, El Jadida, Fez Madina, Marrakech El Menara, and Safi. The MNE clarified that the decision to designate five centers for women was not based on cultural or traditional grounds, but rather on a pragmatic and economic evaluation of providing gender-specific amenities. The MNE decided that devoting five centers for women is more cost-effective than adjusting all 32 TTCs to meet the needs of both women and men, e.g., providing separate dormitories. However, while the decision might be financially more beneficial, its draw-

back is that **it limits women's access to teacher-training** to only five localities.

The graduates of the TTCs are assigned primarily to the rural areas and preferably to their region of origin. On the average, **90 percent** are sent to rural schools annually. Assignment of graduates to specific rural areas is based both on final academic ranking and personal expressed preferences. First priority is given to married women to minimize family disruption, then single girls to encourage closer geographical proximity to family, and lastly to men.

The preparation of teachers of the 2nd Basic Cycle (grades 7-9, *2^{ème} Cycle Fondamental*) is carried out via a network of Regional Pedagogical Centers (*Centres Pédagogiques Régionaux*, or CPRs). Access to the CPRs is by competitive examination only. The CPRs offer two program cycles: Regular Cycle and Pedagogical Cycle. The **Regular Cycle requires two years of study** in specific academic disciplines, especially Mathematics and French, involving courses in theory and field experience in a classroom. The candidates of the **Pedagogical Cycle**, who must be holders of the university two-year Diploma, spend **one year** studying pedagogical theory.

To meet increasing enrollment pressures the MNE has expanded the teacher cohort significantly over the past five years, especially at the primary level in both the urban and rural areas. A total of 14,871 new teachers were recruited -- an increase of **17.5 percent**. The rural areas benefited from an increase of 8,110 additional teachers or **19.9 percent**. The female component of the teacher corps increased by 7,103, or 24.7 percent in both urban and rural. The number of women teachers in the rural areas increased by 2,511, or **32.0 percent**. This figure represents a positive sign of MNE's interest in increasing the number of female teachers in rural areas.

The participation of women in the overall teaching staff

at the primary level over the years 1989-90 through 1993-94 has averaged **36.2 percent**. The presence of female teachers in the rural areas has remained steady -- **20.9 percent** average annually for the same period. Given the stated aim of MNE to promote the access of girls to the primary level, increasing the number of women teachers in the rural areas will need to remain a priority.

E. Requirements and Availability of Multi-Grade Teacher Training

In 1989, in a move intended to increase access to primary grades and to effect economies by improving student/teacher ratios, the MNE decided to expand the Multi-Grade System (MGS), where several grades are offered in the same classroom by the same teacher. MNE policy limited the system to **two grades** per class. MGS was to be used when fewer than 15 students are enrolled in a grade. This situation arose mostly in the rural areas where **new satellite schools were established**. Though well intentioned, MGS was introduced without adequate planning and lacked appropriate financial resources. The specialized teacher training required for effective utilization of the MGS was not provided. The TTCs had not been equipped with teacher trainers who were experienced in MGS methodologies and who could prepare pre-service teacher candidates. Nor were the TTCs prepared to train in-service teaching staff in the new methodology. Again, experience and seniority were not sufficiently adequate to meet the challenge. The availability of trained personnel to implement effectively the MGS is at present lacking. If the MNE continues to maintain the implementation of the MGS, budget allocations for the required specialized training must be provided.

While the teacher preparation for the MGS was inadequate, a second deficiency was the unavailability of appropriate teaching and learning materials. Teachers were expected to make-do with the standard available materials that existed for teacher and student.

This second factor jeopardized the effective use of the MGS. The overall increase in the number of multi-grade classes in the rural areas rose from 6.63 percent (2,738 classes) in 1985/86, to 21.6 percent (10,536 classes) in 1993/94 representing an annual average growth of 18.35 percent.⁶ The growth of primary enrollment followed a similar pattern: from 5.10 percent (53,278 students) to 16.51 percent (186,497 students), by 193/94. If the MNE continues to utilize and increase the number of multigrade classes, provision needs to be made for the preparation of appropriate teaching and learning materials.

F. Nature and Infrastructure of Rural Schools

In collaboration with the World Bank and the African Development Bank, the GOM in 1989 engaged in a 5-year program that targeted the construction of new classrooms (11,600), school canteens (1,450), and teacher lodgings (2,900).⁷ This project contributed significantly to the strengthening of schooling infrastructure and to increasing access countrywide. According to the World Bank:

*There has been a 50 percent increase (from 60 to 90 percent) in the school attendance rate in urban Morocco since the introduction of several World Bank-financed school projects in 1989. In rural areas, there has been a 20 percent increase (from 40 to 48 percent), with an overall national increase of 30 percent. This is a significant increase by any measure.*⁸

⁶ Kingdom of Morocco: *Literacy and Schooling in Rural Areas*. 2 vols., The World Bank, Report No. 12382-MOR, December 1993.

⁷ *Le Mouvement Educatif au Maroc Durant la Periode 1990-1992*, Ministere de l'Education Nationale, Rabat, 1994

⁸ *Op. cit.*, page 6, World Bank, 1994.

Between 1989 and 1994, the evolution of the nature and infrastructure of the national school system for the primary level was enhanced. A total of **280 new autonomous schools** were established countrywide. Only **24** were located in the rural areas. Because of the rising demand in the rural areas, **469 new nucleus schools** (*secteurs scolaires*) were established. The nucleus school is an institution that is established in a particular locality and serves as center for a number of smaller satellite schools. The director or principal of the nucleus school is responsible for coordinating the activities between the nucleus school and the satellite institutions within the given geographical area.

The satellite schools succeeded in meeting the rapid rise in the demand for primary education, particularly in the rural areas. In 1993-94, **1,594 new satellite schools were established**, raising the total number to 8,807. As for **classrooms in the rural areas**, an additional **6,947** were provided, representing an increase of 12.5 percent. The additions raised the total number of classrooms to 36,883.

Since many children must walk long distances to attend class, **the presence of a school canteen is an important infrastructural amenity**. While the World Bank/African Development Bank project had targeted an additional 1,450 school canteens, the MNE -- in collaboration with the Delegations, local communities, and parents -- established **5,948 new canteen facilities**. The new canteens permitted to raise the number of student beneficiaries of a food assistance program to 701,927. The food distributed to the children in the canteens is provided by the World Food Program (WFP). WFP has advised the MNE that WFP's support of the food assistance program will end soon. MNE has begun to encourage the Delegations to discuss with the local communities the feasibility of supporting the food assistance program of the school canteens. Comparative data on the numbers of canteens and the numbers of beneficiaries is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1 **INSTITUTIONAL INFRASTRUCTURE**

	SCHOOL CANTEENS	STUDENT BENEFICIARIES		SCHOOL CANTEENS	STUDENT BENEFICIARIES
1989-90			1992-93		
URBAN	907	160,592	URBAN	1,154	269,098
RURAL	1,850	318,535	RURAL	6,501	621,415
TOTAL	2,757	479,127	TOTAL	7,655	890,513
1990-91			1993-94		
URBAN	994	228,622	URBAN	1,154	236,550
RURAL	1,637	515,836	RURAL	7,798	701,927*
TOTAL	2,631	744,458	TOTAL	8,952	938,477
1991-92					
URBAN	692	252,036			
RURAL	2,375	565,639			
TOTAL	3,067	817,675			

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

*231,313 girls (31.5 percent of the rural student population and 62.2 percent of the countrywide student population in primary)

As important as such amenities as water and electricity are to a school, only **1,749 schools have an available water supply** and about **571 schools have electricity**. Municipal funding of such infrastructure items is dependent on other GOM ministries, which may not accord educational institutions a high priority.

The availability of appropriate lodging facilities is considered an important asset for recruiting women teachers to the rural areas. In 1993-94, there were 6,545 rooms available to lodge teaching staff. The success of efforts being exerted by MNE to encourage the recruitment of female teacher for the rural areas depends to a significant extent on the possibility of providing living accommodations within reasonable distance from the particular institution.

NOTE: In SY 1993-94, the schools of the rural areas benefited from the following amenities:

Water Supply: 1,749 schools
 Power Supply: 571 schools
 Teacher Lodgings: 6,545 rooms
 Student Dormitories: 3

IV. ASSESSMENT AND ANALYSIS OF MAJOR EDUCATIONAL INDICATORS THAT REFLECT THE STATUS OF GIRLS' SCHOOLING IN RURAL MOROCCO

Despite the government's commitment to achieving universal primary education and the MNE's 1985 educational reform, primary enrollments declined steadily from **2.4 million in 1983** to **2.0 million 1988**. It started picking up in 1989, reaching **2.6 million** for the SY 1992-93, and **2.7 million in 1993-94**. In addition, statistics show that in 1991 the 58 percent net rate of enrollment in primary education in Morocco remains much lower than the average rate of the Arab countries as a whole (81 percent in 1991). The rate is also lower than that of lower-middle income countries in general (87 percent in 1991). More importantly, these low rates do not reflect Morocco's level of economic development.

These low figures are the result of acute disparities between the urban and rural milieus. The Minister of Education recently stated: "In Morocco there are two worlds, the urban and the rural, and our responsibility is to bring the rural world closer to the developmental level of the urban world." In addition to those disparities, educational indicators point to a serious gender gap in the rural areas.

These disparities, on one hand between the urban and the rural milieus and on the other hand between the two genders in the rural areas, can only be the result of a combination of inadequate supply and demand that can be identified in various family-, school-, community-, and development-based factors and constraints that result in low educational rates. According to a 1993 World Bank study, the poor performance of primary education is due to two factors:

(i) a very low attendance rate in rural areas compared to urban areas, and (ii) a lower rate of enrollment for girls than that of comparable countries. In urban areas schooling is almost universal and characterized by a moderate differentiation between genders, while in rural areas the overall schooling rate is low and the gender gap is high: only half of the boys and **barely one-fourth of the girls between 7 and 13 are schooled.** (Based on 1990-91 statistics)⁹

A. Conditions that Impact Access, Retention, and Attainment

The supply and demand factors that create these differences between the urban and the rural milieu and between the genders could be organized into four categories of constraints:

1) **Family-based constraints:** Rural Moroccan girls, more than Moroccan boys in general and more than Moroccan urban girls, are likely to be out of school for family reasons. Research reveals that girls' participation in domestic activities is greater than that of boys. Girls are more needed and participate to a greater extent than do boys in domestic chores such as fetching water and wood, caring for siblings, and other domestic activities. Research also shows that these activities become essential once the children reach 7 years of age, the age when children are expected to enroll in first grade primary. These home-based chores hamper girls' access to school. Studies have demonstrated, for example, that the need to fetch wood represents a handicap of 7 percent for girls' access rates and that it has no effect on boys.¹⁰

⁹ *Op. cit.*, World Bank, December 1993.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

In addition to the home-based activities that are related to family needs, girls have to perform certain activities outside the home. Rural girls might be expected to participate in remunerated economic activities outside the house to supplement the income of the household. A large number of rural girls migrate to the urban areas at a very young age to work as domestic help in urban households, thus missing their opportunity to go to school. Another large number of young girls work as rug makers and also miss their schooling chances. Even though rural boys are sometimes expected to work outside the home for remunerated activities, studies have indicated that boys are less active than girls between the ages of 7 and 12.

2) **School-based constraints:** A major factor that has considerable impact on girls' access to schooling is the distance of the school from the community. A 1993 World Bank study states:

Girls are less likely to enroll in school if the distance to school is greater than 500 meters, and for boys when it is greater than 2 kilometers. When the distance to school is greater than 4 kilometers, 63 percent of the boys continue to have access to school as opposed to only 20 percent of the girls. This latter proportion is about the same as for distances of 2-to-4 kilometers, which suggests that the corresponding families are highly motivated about sending their girls to school.

A second distance factor might reflect specifically the Moroccan reality. The distance to intermediate schools plays an important role with regards to the enrollment of both boys and girls to primary schools. When intermediate schools do not exist within a certain distance, or if they exist and their location is at **15 kilometers or more** from the community, then enrollment to primary schools becomes very limited.

School facilities play a significant role regarding enrollment. Studies show that in Morocco, school facilities such as the presence of water, electricity, and latrines impact on girls' enrollment to school. Enrollment of girls is **higher by 11 percent** where schools have all the amenities. Boys' enrollment is **less influenced** by the existence of these facilities. In addition, the presence of canteens improves both boys' and girls' enrollment to school, but studies also indicate that girls' enrollment is more positively influenced by this than that of boys' enrollment.

Finally, a school-based factor that has apparently not been carefully studied in Morocco (at least based on all the research reviewed for this consultancy) is the correlation between the presence of women teachers and the access and retention of girls. In other Arab countries, Tunisia for example, the **presence of female teachers in the primary system is positively and strongly associated with improved girls' access and retention** in the primary cycle. Furthermore, there is a correlation between the number of female teachers and girls' access and retention. In Morocco, the Ministry of National Education statistics show for SY 1993-94: out of the **98,487 total** number of the teaching personnel countrywide, only **36,197 are women**; and out of **49,437 teachers** in the rural areas, only **10,330 are women**. This low rate of only **21.09 percent** of women teachers in the rural milieu, might be one of the factors that compounds the complexity of primary education and impacts negatively on the willingness of at least a certain percentage of parents to send and keep their daughters in school. This low percentage of women teachers in the rural areas might be a contributing factor to the low demand for girls' education. (see Table 2)

TABLE 2**TEACHING PERSONNEL AT THE PRIMARY LEVEL**

	U+R	WOMEN	%	RURAL	WOMEN	%
1989-90	83,616	29,094	34.9%	41,327	7,819	19.0%
1990-91	88,242	31,700	35.7%	44,753	9,537	21.4%
1991-92	91,346	33,779	36.8%	46,663	10,357	22.1%
1992-93	94,951	35,058	37.0%	46,409	9,826	21.4%
1993-94	98,487	36,197	36.7%	49,437	10,330	21.0%
			AVERAGE 36.2%	AVERAGE 20.9%		

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

3) **Community-based constraints:** Socio-cultural factors can have a significant influence on girls' access and retention in schools. In Morocco, many of the rural communities do not value the importance of education for its own sake and the poor educational quality only complicates the matter, particularly for girls. The majority of the parents still value education for an anticipated result that is not always realized: employment. When their expectations are not fulfilled, when education does not culminate in employment, the parents do not see the necessity of sending their children in general and their daughters in particular to school.

What complicates the situation further in rural Morocco is the fact that parents do not consider primary education alone as a sufficient base for social mobility or for securing employment. Therefore, the existence of primary schools alone in a "douar", without the existence of the intermediary school (2^{ème} Cycle Fondamental) is not convincing enough to all the parents to send their children to school. Furthermore, the existence of satellite schools (incomplete schools) in large numbers in the rural areas,

8,807 in 1993-94, versus a very small number of autonomous schools (complete schools), 143, does not encourage the communities and the parents to send all of their children and in particular the girls to those schools. The parents are aware that sooner or later their children will have to either walk to another school further away, or drop out altogether.

4) **Development-based constraints:** It is safe to state that, in Morocco, the low educational indicators are strongly linked with slow rural development. Many rural regions in Morocco lack basic infrastructures, many areas and "douars" do not have electrification, paved roads, safe drinking water, and irrigation. The existence of such infrastructure in rural areas is found to contribute to the increase in the participation of children in schools, specifically of girls. These rural infrastructural elements are critical and should be recognized as separate from school infrastructure. Driss Sbai indicates in his study "*La Scolarisation de la Fille Rurale dans la Region de Tiflet*" that the absence of infrastructure in the rural areas creates within the communities a sense of marginalization and is one of the causalities of girls' low access to schools. The World Bank study "The Schooling and Cognitive Achievements of Children in Morocco" states:

The presence of a paved road in the community especially influences the schooling outcomes of rural children. Thus, in the absence of a paved road, 21 percent of rural girls as compared to 58 percent of rural boys ever attend school. If a paved road exists, the school participation rate increases to 48 percent for girls and 76 percent for boys.

This same study indicates that when complete electrification takes place in a rural community, the enrollment rate of girls almost doubles, and that the gain is almost as dramatic when running water becomes available in a community. The gains for boys are larger when rural communities have irrigation and new crop varieties.

These research findings highlight the need for more government investment in rural development. Greater investment in basic rural infrastructure will improve the overall rural situation and particularly educational access. Investment in roads, electricity, clean drinking water, irrigation, and new high-yielding crop varieties, would add value and complement the investments of educational infrastructure.

The above analysis confirms that both supply and demand factors have an impact on rural/urban disparities and on gender inequities in schooling. On the **supply side**, the presence of a primary school within a given distance, the presence of an intermediate school within a certain distance, the presence of paved roads, water, electricity, and latrines all impact on the enrolment percentages of children, particularly girls. On the other hand, the **demand side** factors are equally critical. Parents perceptions of the utility of education remains a key factor in boys' and girls' participation in school. The existence, nature, and quantity of a supply factor, such as complete or incomplete primary schools, or the presence of a regular canteen versus an informal canteen, influence tremendously the nature of the parental demand. **Most importantly, then, the interplay between the supply factors and the demand factors is what influences heavily the different aspects of participation in the educational system.**

B. Status of Primary Student Access, Retention, and Attainment

1) Access Indicators

The performance of an educational system is measured by many indicators. The main access indicators are the following:

- * Gross enrollment rate of the first year of primary, which in Morocco compares the number of students enrolled in the first year with the total number of 7-year-old children.
- * The net rate of the first year of primary, which captures only those first year students who are actually 7 years in age, and not those who may be younger or older, to form an exact comparison with the total number of 7-year-olds in Morocco.
- * The gross participation rate in primary, or the first cycle, which is the total number of students in the primary compared with the total number of children between 7 and 12 years of age.

The analysis, in this report, of the access issues at the primary level is dependent upon the available statistics in one or more of these indicators.

2) Access Issues

In 1987, the gross enrollment rate of the first grade of primary at the national level was **64.2 percent**. It is important to note that the net enrollment was estimated at a much lower rate, and that the **gap between urban and rural enrollment** is quite large and is in excess of **30 percent** -- which is revealed by the fact that the gross urban enrollment rate is **83.5 percent** while the rural rate is **51.7 percent**. In 1991, the gross enrollment rate at the national level improved, reaching **70.8 percent**. However, despite this improvement, the differences between urban and rural remained significant. In the urban areas, the rate became **82.7 percent** compared to a **61.8 percent** for the rural areas. These disparities between urban and rural are even more significant when we compare the gross enrollment rate of the two genders. While the

gross rate of **girls enrollment** in urban areas in 1991 was **80.4 percent**, the rural rate was only **45.1 percent**; i.e., a difference of **35.3 percent** in the gross enrollment rate of girls, indicating a significant access problem for girls in the rural areas.

After examining the Ministry of National Education's statistics from 1987 to 1993, it became clear that even though progress is taking place, the access disparities at the level of the first grade primary as well as at the participation level remain significant. The following three tables provide a comparison of first-grade access in the rural milieu versus the urban milieu.

TABLE 3

Number and Percent of Students in 1st Grade, 1992-1993		
601,056	Countrywide	100%
325,481	Urban	54.15%
275,575	Rural	45.85%

Source: Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993

TABLE 4

Number and Percent of Boys vs Girls in 1st Grade, 1992-1993		
601,056	All students	100%
350,260	Boys	58.27%
250,796	Girls	41.73%

Source: Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993

TABLE 5

Number and Percent of Boys vs Girls in Rural Areas in 1st Grade, 1992-1993		
275,575	All Rural Students (45.85% of the total number of 1st grade students)	100%
169,730	Boys	61.59%
105,845	Girls	38.41%

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

It is clear that with all the progress made to date, there still exists a serious gap when comparing rural girls' access to primary school, to rural boys' access. From the total rural student body that enters the first grade, **girls represent only 38.41 percent, while boys are at 61.59 percent, a difference of 23.18 percentage points.** This difference is considered quite high compared to the first-grade access differences in other Arab countries. Reviewing the enrollment rates for SY 1989-90 and 1993-94, it becomes apparent that even though there is an increase in absolute numbers of students enrolled, the progress in narrowing the disparities between urban and rural, and between boys and girls, remains very slow. (See Table 6 below.)

TABLE 6

A. STUDENT ENROLLMENT

Years	U+R	GIRLS	%	BOYS
1989-90	2,085,105	816,744	39.2%	60.8%
1990-91	2,394,615	947,615	39.6%	60.4%
1991-92	2,485,034	992,388	39.9%	60.2%
1992-93	2,627,628	1,058,834	40.3%	59.7%
1993-94	2,769,323	1,131,457	40.6%	59.4%

B.

Years	RURAL	GIRLS	%	BOYS
1989-90	834,086	238,711	28.6%	71.4%
1990-91	961,164	282,224	29.4%	70.6%
1991-92	1,020,428	310,922	30.5%	69.5%
1992-93	1,019,208	312,817	30.7%	69.5%
1993-94	1,129,630	367,001	32.5%	67.5%

Source: Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993

Examining further the participation in all six grades of the primary cycle, it is noticed that the rural girls' percentage drops to a **32.49 percent** compared to a **67.51 percent** rate for boys, an even greater difference of **35.02 percentage points**. (see Tables 7, 8, and 9 on primary participation).

TABLE 7**PARTICIPATION - COUNTRYWIDE**

Number and Percent of Students in all Primary Grades (1er Cycle Fondamental), 1992/1993		
2,627,628	Countrywide	100%
1,608,420	Urban	61.21%
1,019,208	Rural	38.78%

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

TABLE 8**PARTICIPATION - GIRLS & BOYS**

Number and Percent of Boys vs Girls in All Primary Grades (1er Cycle Fondamental), 1992/1993		
2,627,628	All Students in Primary	100%
1,568,794	Boys	59.70%
1,058,834	Girls	40.30%

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

TABLE 9**PARTICIPATION - RURAL AREAS**

Number and Percent of Boys vs Girls in Rural Areas in All Primary Grades (1er Cycle Fondamental) 1993-1994		
1,129,630	All Rural Primary Students (42.99% from total primary students)	100%
762,629	Boys	67.51%
367,001	Girls	32.49%

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

3) Retention and Attainment Indicators

In the absence of statistics that reflect the accurate monitoring of a cohort of students, from the scholastic year when they enter first grade primary until six years later when they complete the primary cycle, it would be difficult to carefully and accurately assess the status of retention and attainment. The MNE statistical yearbooks do not breakdown their data by student cohorts. This renders such very precise analysis impossible. An alternative way of examining retention and attainment would be to use the 6th grade figures as they are presented in the most recent MNE statistical yearbook for SY 1992-93 and to recreate an approximation of the SY 1987-88 1st grade numbers. The crude approximation was created by using actual SY 1992-93 Grade 6 number of students and adding a proportion equivalent to the drop-out rate of (1) total students, (2) boys, (3) girls for each of the six primary grades. The breakdown of drop-out rates are provided by the MNE. The following three tables break down the crude estimated attainment by Boys/Girls and Urban/Rural.

TABLE 10

Estimate of Access and Attainment Countrywide Primary Students			
	First Grade (1987-88 estimate ^a)	Sixth Grade (1992-93)	Percent of Attainment
Total	408,426	321,041	78.60%
Boys	248,745	195,347	78.53%
Girls	159,681	125,694	78.72%

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

TABLE 11

Estimate of Access and Attainment of Primary Students in Rural Areas			
	First Grade (1987-88 estimate)	Sixth Grade (Attainment)	Percent of Attainment
Countrywide	408,426	321,041	78.60%
Urban	245,056	239,996	97.94%
Rural	163,370	81,041	49.61%

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

TABLE 12

Estimate of Access and Attainment of Boys and Girls in Rural Primary			
	First Grade (1987-88 estimate)	Sixth Grade (Attainment)	Percent of Attainment
Rural Students	163,370	81,041	49.61%
Boys	115,992	59,251	51.08%
Girls	47,378	21,790	45.99%

Source: *Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993*

The attainment statistics can be used as indicators for both the retention and the attainment issues. Retention is measured by studying the rate of the students that pass from one grade to another and therefore remain in the system or get retained in the system. For the purpose of this study, and given the focus on the primary level, attainment is measured by comparing the number of those students that enter the system at the first grade and are able to remain in the system and reach grade 6.

These crude attainment statistics show a disparity between the urban and the rural on one hand and the boys and the girls on the other hand. Tables 10, 11, and 12 indicate the following:

- * 78.60 percent of all the students who were estimated enrolled in the first grade of 1987-88, attained 6th grade in 1992-93;

- * there is no problem of attainment for Moroccan primary urban students. The estimated figure shows a very high rate of 97.94 percent reaching 6th grade;
- * on the other hand, attainment in the rural areas is poor: only 49.61 percent of those rural students that enroll in grade 1 are able to reach grade 6; and
- * even though attainment is poor for all rural students, it is even poorer for rural girls. In rural areas the percentage of male students reaching 6th grade is estimated at 51.08 percent versus 45.99 percent for girls.

In addition to examining the statistics, it is important to note that many factors impact on the retention and the attainment of students. It might not be totally recognized, for example, that the presence of a paved road influences the retention of students by grade, and that influence differs by gender. In the absence of a paved road in a community girls drop out in larger proportions than boys even before completing the primary cycle. However, the presence of a paved road increases girls' retention only at the primary level.

It is worth noting that access, retention, and attainment issues are influenced by both the supply side as well as by the demand side. Equally important to the existence of the school and its proximity to the community are some very specific family characteristics that influence the decisions of parents about sending their children to school and keeping them in it. Studies have strongly correlated, for example, mothers' literacy with girls' access to schooling. In Morocco, a girl whose mother is literate has a 22 percent better chance of attending primary school than a girl whose mother is illiterate. On the other hand mother's literacy does not have an impact on boys' access. Another example from

the Moroccan context is the impact of the number of siblings on girls' access; the higher the number of siblings less than six years of age, the slimmer are the chances of girls' access to school. This same factor does not affect boys. A third example of how family based factors impact retention and attainment is how mother's literacy influences the continuation of her children to intermediate schooling. The mother's literacy influences the transition of both boys and girls to the intermediate school, her literacy increases the chances of her son to transition to the intermediate school by 22 percent and the chances of her daughter by an even higher percentage of 31 percent.

4) Teaching and Administrative Personnel

Research shows that a correlation exists, specifically at the primary level, between the number of women teachers and girls' enrollment and retention rates. Fully recognizing the difficulties associated with deploying women teachers in rural Morocco, given the absence of the infrastructure and in particular the housing difficulty, the low number of women teachers in the rural areas is unexpected and needs to be directly addressed. There is a wealth of experience in developing countries that have sought to resolve this problem through recruiting, training, hiring, and deploying **locally**. The Moroccan experience of training in the 32 centers that are located in urban areas does not provide a basis upon which to construct a solution to this problem.

The following tables show a **20.9 percent** rate of women teachers in the rural areas at the primary level, and a **0.95 percent** rate of women administrators in the rural areas.

TABLE 13**TEACHING PERSONNEL - EVOLUTION****PRIMARY (Grades 1-6) - 1er Cycle Fondamental**

	U+R	WOMEN	%	RURAL	WOMEN	%
1989-90	83,616	29,094	34.9%	41,327	7,819	19.0%
1990-91	88,242	31,700	35.7%	44,753	9,537	21.4%
1991-92	91,346	33,779	36.8%	46,663	10,357	22.1%
1992-93	94,951	35,058	37.0%	46,409	9,826	21.4%
1993-94	98,487	36,197	36.7%	49,437	10,330	21.0%
			AVERAGE 36.2%	AVERAGE 20.9%		

Source: Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993

TABLES 14 and 15 Administrative Educational Personnel (including principals of schools)

		N° of Women	% of Women
Countrywide	4,796	487	10,15
Urban	2,385	464	19,45
Rural	2,411	23	0,95

		N° of Men	% of Men
Countrywide	4,796	4,309	89.85%
Urban	2,385	1,921	80.55%
Rural	2,411	2,388	99.05

Source: Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993

After examining the statistics of the Ministry of National Education, different educational indicators, and the socio-cultural and economic factors, one concludes that rural Morocco suffers from insufficient investment in basic physical infrastructure and from inequitable allocation of educational resources. The results of these insufficient and inequitable investments are impacting heavily on the rural milieu and on the new generations of this milieu. It could also be concluded that girls in the rural areas are twice disadvantaged, first by their gender and second by their rural milieu.

V. ANALYSIS OF THE EFFICIENCIES OF RURAL SCHOOLS

Having observed how national budget allocations reflect the policies and priorities of the GOM and more effectively influence the activities of the MNE, it is clear that a serious disequilibrium has developed vis-a-vis the rural areas. Such an imbalance impinges on the sound implementation of the basic education process, especially in what relates to efficiency. In this portion of the report, attention is focused on how both internal and external efficiencies are affected by inadequate budgetary resources. The impact on the participation of girls is particularly assessed.

In examining the internal efficiency factors, the rate of student repeaters and drop-outs is involved, as is the unit cost per student. In looking at external efficiency, the transition to the next program cycle (i.e., 2nd Basic Cycle or the intermediary level) is measured. While the question of efficiency can be examined pragmatically from a statistical vantage point, the management of available resources is considered an important factor in the evaluation of efficiency. A brief view of the nature and evolution of enrollment of girls in the primary level in the rural areas is also presented to provide a background for the analysis.

A. Internal Efficiencies of Rural Schools

As mentioned above during the period 1989-90 to 1993-94, there was an overall primary enrollment **increase of 32.8 percent (684,218)** in the urban and rural areas combined. The **enrollment of girls rose by 314,713, or 38.4 percent.** This increase is a positive indication of the **growing sensitivity of parents in the urban areas** to the value of formal education. Even though similar results were not the case in the rural areas, a small increase in percentages of primary students has occurred in recent years. This increase can in part be attributed to the efforts exerted by the MNE in encouraging Delegations to carry out systematic information campaigns in the rural areas of their geographic jurisdictions. Those efforts can readily be pointed to as bringing about a greater awareness of the importance of schooling for girls.

1) Repeaters

The issue of repetition (students being required to repeat the same grade) is critical to the question of internal efficiency. Educators consider promotion from grade to grade a strong **indicator of the effectiveness** of an educational system, especially at the primary education stage. While the repeater pupil bears the consequence, there are also important negative influences on the system itself; e.g., direct extra per-student unit costs, per-student classroom space allocation, additional pressures on ancillary services, evaluation of teacher performance, classroom morale, etc.

Comparative data for the period 1991-92 to 1993-94 furnished by the MNE provide bases for a brief analysis of the situation at the primary level in the rural areas. It is noticed that in general girls repeat less than boys. For SY 1991-92, **13.1 percent (313,651)** of the student cohort (urban/rural combined) were repeaters in the primary level. The number of girl repeaters was

105,825 or **11.1 percent of the total number of girls**. In the rural areas the figures were 122,699 or **12.7 percent of the total number of rural students**, of which **10.8 percent** of girl pupils were repeaters. In both the urban and rural areas the repetition rate of the girls was approximately 2 percent less. In 1992-93, in rural areas, a positive difference on behalf of the girls again appears: **1.6 percent**. Such a differential could well be indicative of a greater assiduity on the part of the girls.

Having made mention of the effect that the number of repeaters can have on the per student unit cost, it can be noted that for SY 1993-94 the **additional cost** brought about by repeaters (urban areas) amounted to DH 29,842,176 (215,208 x DH 1250). For the rural areas, the amount totalled DH 82,872,800 (134,551 x DH 1850).¹¹ The total of **DH 119,714,776** required the commitment of an additional budget allocation that is substantial. While the budgeted funds do in effect remain in the system and can potentially serve to reinforce it, the amount expended to meet repeater costs in the rural areas could have been directed to other meaningful activities. Although a percentage of repeater students is an expected and programmed cost of an education system's budget, considerable savings can accrue to reinforce the same system when the causes of repetition are addressed in an effective manner.

2) Drop-outs

The issue of drop-outs is another critical determinant of efficiency in an education system. As in the case of the repeater student, the student him/herself is again the person directly affected by withdrawal. Nevertheless, consequences involving the system itself also result -- principal among these being the loss of the system's investment in the student's previous schooling.

According to the MNE statistics, the countrywide rate of

¹¹ *Op.cit.*, The World Bank, January 1994

drop-outs per primary grade averages a 5.0 percent and reaches a **6.6 percent** high in the fifth grade. These per grade drop-outs result in a 30.0 percent rate of drop-out per primary cohort. However, recognizing the disparities between the urban and rural, it is safe to assume that the drop-out rate is much higher than 30 percent in the rural areas and much lower in the urban areas. By factoring in the estimated attainments rate, stated in Table 11, 97.94 percent for the urban areas and 49.61 percent for the rural areas, it becomes clear that the drop-out rates in the urban areas are minimal and that in the rural areas at the primary level they can reach as high as 50.39 percent. This figure, when disaggregated by gender, reveals a higher drop-out rate for rural girls, which is estimated at 54.89 percent, while the drop-out rate for rural boys is at 48.92 percent.

The investment that the MNE has made in the years of schooling that preceded the withdrawal of a student, specially if the withdrawal happens before the completion of at least four years of schooling, that withdrawal can be considered for all practical purposes lost. In terms of direct financial resources expended, the cost of such benefit is prohibitively high. **Given the 60 percent higher per student unit cost in the rural areas** (DH 1250 in urban vs. DH 1850 in rural), student withdrawals in the rural areas are even more costly to the GOM. Budget allocations expended to finance such amounts could evidently have been utilized to better purposes by the MNE. Efforts at remedying the causes of such student withdrawals are certainly worth pursuing.

3) Per-Student Unit Cost

The per-student unit cost within an education system is a third **critical determinant of efficiency**. As noted above, availability of unit-cost data makes it possible to quantify financial implications of such issues as repetition and drop-outs. In order to provide a broader context for the analysis of unit costing at the primary level, the cost data for the other sub-sector levels is

also presented.

Unfortunately, as in many other countries, budget data and documentation in Morocco do not render themselves immediately to an analysis of education expenditure. In its study of the Moroccan system the World Bank-utilized baseline data of 1990-91.¹² For Higher Education, the per-student unit cost was established at **DH 7,940**, with this cost rising commensurately at the level of the professional schools (e.g., medicine, engineering). Teacher training and professional staff training appears very high in comparison: averaging **DH 35,000** for the former and **DH 38,300** for the latter. Education Sciences were found to be the most expensive at **DH 38,300**. At the secondary level, **DH 6,600** was identified, and for the 2nd Basic Cycle (intermediary) the cost was found to be **DH 3,600**. At all these sub-sector levels the major component of the total unit cost was that of the teaching personnel.

For the primary level, the average unit cost is DH 1,490, equal to 0.17 times GNP/capita, with the urban areas costing DH 1,250 and the cost in the rural areas rising to DH 1,850 (some 60 percent higher). The teaching personnel item in the total unit cost at the latter level is **83 percent**. Non-teaching staff expenditure is considered low for the whole primary level. In comparison with other countries, it was found that the higher unit cost that separated Morocco from the group of comparable GNP/capita can be explained by a lower student/teacher rate for Morocco. The mismatch between policy priorities and budget allocations is reflected in the important differences in the unit cost among the various sub-sector levels. The increased inequity in providing public resources to meet these disparate unit costs deserves attention.

¹² *Depenses Publiques Consacrees à l'Education et à la Formation Professionnelle au Maroc*. The World Bank, August 1994.

B. External Efficiencies

External efficiency in an education system involves the measurement of performance/achievement at the various grade levels and upward mobility (promotion) from one grade level to the next. Given the report's focus on the primary level, the analysis deals with the performance/achievement at each grade level. For grade 6, the successful completion of the 1st Basic Cycle and transition to the 2nd Basic Cycle is considered. Again, special attention is given to the efforts of the girl students.

In grade 6, **83.9 percent passed and were eligible** for promotion/transition to the 2nd Cycle (i.e., grade 7). As for the girls in grade 6, **87.9 percent** were eligible to go to grade 7. In terms of achievement, once the students reach grade 6, the **girls surpass the boys** and the differential is a **4.0 percent**. Detailed comparative data is found below. The data speak well for the overall achievement of the girls that manage to access the primary school, but more specifically as they move up through the various levels of the cycle. Table 15 shows a snapshot of grades 1 to 6 for 1992-93 and highlights eligibility for promotion per grade.

TABLE 16

PROMOTION

Eligibility for promotion to next grade level, SY 1992-93, Urban & Rural, Grades 1-6

GRADE	TOTAL ENROLLED	PASSED		GIRLS	
		#	%	#	%
GR1	601,056	473,693	78.8%	198,670	79.2%
GR2	497,009	414,847	83.5%	172,450	84.9%
GR3	455,478	370,166	81.3%	153,004	83.8%
GR4	400,320	330,034	82.4%	157,694	85.5%
GR5	352,724	291,082	82.5%	138,902	85.4%
GR6	321,041	269,371 ¹	83.9%	110,471 ¹	87.9%

Source: Statistiques Scolaires: 1er Cycle Fondamental, MEN, Oct. 1993

(1) enrolled in Basic 2 (Grade 7) in SY 1993-94

NOTE: Data for rural areas only not available.

VI. SYNTHESIS OF ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The above assessment of primary education in Morocco highlights the fact that there are many important problems. The nature of those problems is often related to the issue of disparity. As mentioned by the Minister of Education, the system of education in Morocco reveals two worlds -- one urban and the other rural. Educational indicators confirm the Minister's statement. Bridging the gap between these two worlds requires careful thoughtful consideration of a wide range of issues. These issues include:

- * Access - Since **only half of the boys and barely one-fourth of the girls between 7 and 13 years are in school** (i.e., only 25 percent of the total number of eligible girls enter school) access is a critical issue that cannot be ignored when addressing educational concerns in Morocco. This problem is particularly acute in rural areas where 32 percent of those children that do go to school are girls.
- * Retention - Countrywide, retention does not seem to be a problem. When carefully looking at urban and rural retention rates, it is clear that the urban areas do not have a retention problem since a very high percentage of their primary students are promoted each year. However, there is a **low retention rate in the rural areas** for both boys and girls, where the drop-out rate is estimated at 50.39 percent with a slightly higher drop-out rate for rural girls of 54.01 percent.
- * Attainment - Urban students, both boys and girls, attain sixth grade in very large percentages (97.94 percent). On the other hand, only 49.61 percent, or slightly **less than half of the rural students**, attain grade 6. The difference between boys and girls, 51.08 and 45.99 percent respectively, is not large.
- * Achievement - Examining eligibility for promotion among all primary students countrywide, some **unexpected results** (given the above indicators) are revealed. Girls surpass boys by a slight margin, which indicates that once girls get into the school system, are retained, and attain higher grades, then their chances of succeeding are either equal or better than boys' chances.

- * Quality - Even though the quality of primary education was not fully examined, discussions and studies reveal a clear advantage in improving the learning-teaching process by making it more relevant and responsive to the country's national and regional developmental needs. Among the quality issues that **require further analysis** are curriculum reform, teacher training improvement, instructional materials development, and others.

This wide range of issues invite the consideration of a panacea of programs and activities that can be implemented to assist the MNE in its educational reform. The universe of possible programs is extremely broad and narrowing it down is a challenge. The following recommendations were selected according to their ability to provide a positive impact within a medium period of time. The international experience might prove helpful when thinking of the specific interventions that will be offered for consideration. In synthesizing the issues and reflecting on the most efficient way of addressing them, it is not possible to consider the above-mentioned issues completely independently, since they are inextricably linked.

Despite the interrelatedness of these issues, it is possible to prioritize them in a manner that allows USAID to focus limited resources on one or two of the problem areas noted above. The recommendation of the team is to focus on **access** and **retention** rather than all five areas.

As stated in the assessment, access and retention are affected by a series of factors. These factors include rural infrastructure, location and distance of schools, school amenities, role of school administrators and teachers, nature of the training the teachers receive, composition of the corps of teachers, relevance and utility of the curriculum, parents' involvement and commitment to the schooling of their children, the relationship between schools and their communities, the support of other stakeholders, as well as other factors.

Recognizing the magnitude of this undertaking, it is strongly recommended that a **partnership approach** be adopted to ensure that any efforts undertaken will have an impact on access and retention. The partnership needs to involve, at a minimum, the **MNE, USAID, the World Bank, and local communities**. If the other partners (not USAID) can take at least responsibility for rural infrastructure, location and distance of schools, and school amenities, then USAID can support efforts to improve in-service teacher training, particularly multi-grade teacher training; increasing the number of local teachers by offering local training; and mobilizing the parents and local leaders in support of greater access to, and retention in, rural primary schools. This approach can take the form of a **pilot project** that focuses on a carefully selected province (or a few provinces at most) where the activities will be implemented.

If USAID decides to adopt these recommendations, the program can benefit from the following international experience:

1. Local Recruiting, Training, Hiring, and Deploying of Primary Teachers in Pakistan, Tunisia, and other countries
2. Multi-Grade In-Service Training in Costa Rica, Colombia, and other countries
3. Social Mobilization Campaign in Malawi

1. Local Recruiting, Training, Hiring, and Deploying of Primary Teachers in Pakistan, Tunisia, and other countries

Pakistan, Tunisia, and other countries have succeeded in increasing access and retention of rural students in general and rural girls in particular by following the strategy of local recruiting, training, hiring, and deploying of primary teachers. To illustrate the success of this experience, a project in Pakistan will be used as an example.

Balochistan is considered to be the least developed province in Pakistan. In 1988-89, the literacy rate was only 10.3 percent. Primary education figures of 1983-84 showed a rural girl participation of only 3.7 percent. Fifth grade enrollment accounted for only 7 percent of the total primary enrollment. USAID launched a project in 1989 aimed at improving the primary schooling of rural girls. The whole project was driven by a 10-year target of tripling girls' enrollment and doubling the enrollment of boys. Several constraints were identified as underlying the cause of the low access rates. Among these factors was the small number of locally hired teachers, particularly women. Increasing the number and quality of local teachers became a key strategy to accomplishing the object of the project.

It is important to note that the conditions under which the project was working in rural Balochistan were highly challenging. The following are some of the realities that faced the program:

- * The pool of girls who completed intermediate or secondary school was very small;
- * The existing female teaching staff were primarily non-locals who were unprepared to work in the rural areas where the need for teachers existed;
- * Women moving to a new locality and working outside their community are viewed with disapproval;

- * No incentives were provided to motivate urban women teachers to go to rural areas;
- * Rural local training was not available for rural women.

To address these realities, the project adopted the following strategies.

- * Bring training closer to potential women candidates;
- * Establish a mobile women teacher-training unit;
- * Offer in-service training to men and women teachers in their own localities;
- * Identify and recruit young women with minimum qualifications but with the potential to be a community catalyst and training them to teach primary classes in their own communities;
- * Involve community leaders and parents in identifying women and men candidates for local teacher training;
- * Provide a community-support program to reinforce this activity;
- * Determine community commitment to primary education before investing resources in that locality.

After five years of implementation, this project surpassed the expected mid-term milestone in increasing girls' and boys' access.

2. Multi-Grade In-Service Training in Costa Rica, Colombia, and other countries

In Costa Rica, like in many other countries, multi-grade schools presented an educational challenge. Costa Rica, however, recognized that multi-grade classes were the only solution to its demographic explosion. It also recognized that if they could improve the quality of education offered in multi-grade classes, then those classes could become the solution to the problem of inferior education frequently encountered in rural areas.

USAID, a contracting agency, and the ministry of education, agreed to conduct a pilot project to work with the teachers of the multi-grade classes and to develop strategies and materials to enhance the learning/teaching process in multi-grade classes. Training was offered and the design of the pilot modules helped teachers change their pedagogic practices to suit a multi-grade environment. Distance training that used audio materials was

an important component of the in-service teacher training. This experience could be adapted when designing this component of the USAID educational technical assistance in Morocco.

Other experiences in multi-grade schools have proved successful. A study of multi-grade schools in Togo and Burkina Faso determined that such schools are a cost-effective means of providing educational services. Research demonstrates a strong, positive effect of multi-grade teaching practices on student achievement. In Colombia, through the "Escuela Nueva" program, multi-grade teaching, when teachers are appropriately trained, has been shown to stimulate training and to increase achievement. The program is being replicated in Guatemala and Mexico.¹³

Multi-grade teacher training and multi-grade instructional materials development, can contribute to enhancing the quality of the teaching/learning process in rural schools and thereby reducing repetition and drop-out, and making going to school more attractive for students, and especially for their parents.

3. Social Mobilization Campaign in Malawi

At the primary education level, there is a serious retention problem for girls in rural Malawi. The Ministry of Education, with the assistance of USAID, designed a national education program entitled Girls Advancement of Basic Literacy and Education (GABLE). GABLE has several components, amongst them a social mobilization campaign (SMC). The SMC component was launched in October 1993 and is aimed at increasing the percentage of girls retained through the different primary grades.

The SMC for Malawi confronted imposing obstacles. First, girls do not generally enter the primary education system until they are about 10 years of age. Once they reach puberty and are initiated a few years later, they drop out. This means the main task is to change people's behavior and attitudes towards girls and girls' education. Second, with a largely illiterate population, the SMC has had to rely on mass media; however, there is no public TV in Malawi and only 30 percent of the population have radios. To solve these obstacles, SMC introduced several innovative approaches to social mobilization, including theater for development, or TFD. TFD uses energetic, interactive theatrical presentations presented by local students to capture the attention of a community and present a particular development problem and its resolution. The SMC has also pioneered the use of an existing network of government employees called Community Development Assistants by training them and recasting their roles in a way that supports the SMC efforts.

¹³ Kingdom of Morocco: Literacy and Schooling in Rural Areas, World Bank Report 12382-MOR, December 1993.

SMC has followed an integrated approach based on a number of strategies to reach its goals. Among them are the following:

- * Selecting a pilot area for the first two-year phase;
- * Mobilizing as many partners as possible to adopt the same objectives. The partners include three national ministries, the local college, research centers, NGOs, local women's groups, the national radio, local religious and community leaders, several theater groups, artists, a network of community extension workers, and others;
- * Gathering baseline data to serve as a benchmark;
- * Conducting a knowledge, attitudes and practices (KAP) study to help determine the causes for low girls' retention rates;
- * Developing and pre-testing appropriate SMC messages with the participation of local messages;
- * Training TFD students to act as facilitators (*animateurs*) who would work with select communities to prepare and perform educational TFD presentations that carry the SMC message on girls' education;
- * Training a network of government Community Development Assistants to act as facilitator-catalysts within different rural communities to raise community awareness on the importance of girls' education;
- * Developing print and audio-visual materials to disseminate the messages of the SMC;
- * Involving the private sector in promoting campaign activities;
- * Launching several campaign activities to reinforce the basic theme and messages of SMC;
- * Producing several videotape presentations in English and local languages to reinforce SMC objectives;
- * Studying and documenting successful rural women to present their stories to serve as role models for girls in primary schools.

The ongoing evaluations of GABLE to date indicate that this integrated approach for social mobilization is successful in sensitizing and rallying the rural communities around the benefits of girls' education. Thus far, the indicators point to success in raising the rate of girls' retention in primary schools.

ANNEX A

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