

Document: EC 2007/50/W.P.3
Agenda: 4
Date: 22 November 2007
Distribution: Public
Original: English

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Enabling the rural poor
to overcome poverty

Kingdom of Morocco

Country Programme Evaluation

Executive Summary and Agreement at Completion Point

Evaluation Committee — Fiftieth Session
Rome, 7 December 2007

For: **REVIEW**

Note to Evaluation Committee members

This document is submitted for review by the Evaluation Committee.

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Contents

Abbreviations and acronyms	ii
Part A – Executive Summary	1
I. Introduction	1
II. The quality of IFAD’s strategy	4
III. IFAD’s programme in Morocco	6
IV. Performance and impact	7
V. The performance of IFAD and its partners	14
VI. Conclusions and recommendations	16
Part B – Agreement at Completion Point	19
A. The evaluation process	19
B. Main evaluation findings	19
C. Recommendations and observations of the partners	21
Appendices	
I. Appendix 1	25
II. Appendix 2	27
III. Appendix 3	29

Abbreviations and acronyms

AfDB	African Development Bank
AFESD	Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development
COSOP	Country strategic opportunities programme (or paper)
CPE	Country programme evaluation
MAPM	Ministry of Agriculture and Marine Fisheries
MEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
M&E	Monitoring and evaluation
OE	Office of Evaluation (IFAD)
PDPEO I	Livestock and Rangelands Development Project in the Eastern Region, Phase I
PDPEO II	Livestock and Rangelands Development Project in the Eastern Region, Phase II
PDRMO	Rural Development Project in the Eastern Middle Atlas Mountains
PDRT	Tafilalet and Dadès Valley Rural Development Project
PDRTT	Taourirt-Taforalt Rural Development Project
PDRZMH	Rural Development Project in the Mountain Zones of Al-Haouz Province
PN	Near East and North Africa Division (IFAD)
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services

Kingdom of Morocco

Country Programme Evaluation

Part A – Executive Summary

I. Introduction

1. **IFAD's assistance to Morocco.** From the approval of its first project in Morocco in 1979 to the end of 2006 (the time of evaluation), IFAD financed nine projects in Morocco, for a total of US\$146 million in loans.¹ Loans were provided on intermediate terms given the classification of Morocco as a middle-income country. The total cost of projects co-financed by IFAD in Morocco is more than US\$1.4 billion. This is due to the very large costs of the first two projects, in which IFAD's contribution represented 3 per cent of the total. Apart from loan programmes, Morocco has also benefited from regional technical assistance grants, for an estimated total of about US\$5 million over the past 10 years.
2. **Evaluation objectives and methodology.** The country programme evaluation (CPE) has three main objectives: (a) to evaluate the strategy of IFAD in Morocco; (b) to assess the performance and impact of the operations in the country and (c) to draw up a series of conclusions and recommendations to provide the basis for a new strategic document – the country strategic opportunities programme (COSOP) – for Morocco, to be produced by IFAD's Near East and North Africa Division (PN) after the evaluation has been completed. According to IFAD methodology, a CPE addresses three main issues: (a) the quality of the strategy; (b) the effective implementation of the strategy and the performance of operations; and (c) the results and impact of IFAD's strategy and operations for both beneficiaries and the country. As per the practice of IFAD's Office of Evaluation (OE), the present evaluation spans the 10-year period preceding the evaluation – from 1996 to 2006 – giving special attention to the strategy and operations since 1999, the year of the adoption of the most recent country strategic opportunities paper (the COSOP paper).
3. The CPE was undertaken following the provisions of the IFAD Evaluation Policy. A draft approach paper was produced in June 2006 and discussed with partners in Morocco and at IFAD. The approach paper defined overall objectives, methodology and key questions, processes for engaging partners, and a broad timeframe for the evaluation. It presented an evaluation framework linking key evaluation criteria to questions and indicators. A core learning partnership was established for the CPE that included Morocco's Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Marine Fisheries, the management units of three ongoing projects, PN and OE.² The evaluation mission took place from 29 October to 1 December 2006. Project management units prepared self-assessment presentations for the evaluation team during the field visit. The evaluation report benefited from discussions with concerned partners and from a peer review process within OE. In particular, discussions were held with PN management and staff and the Government of Morocco at various stages during the evaluation process, and the inputs were considered before finalizing the CPE. A national round-table workshop was held in

¹ After the conclusion of the evaluation, a 10th project – the Rural Development Project in the Mountain Zones of Errachidia Province – was approved, bringing the total IFAD loan amount to US\$164 million.

² The core learning partnership included (i) Mr Moha Marghi, Secretary General, Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Marine Fisheries; (ii) Mr Abdelkader Othmani, Director, Rural Development Project in the Mountain Zones of Al-Haouz Province (PDRZMH); (iii) Mr Mohamed Khair, Director, Taourirt-Taforalt Rural Development Project (PDRTT); (iv) Mr Brahim Boudarine, Director, Livestock and Rangelands Development Project in the Eastern Region, Phase II (PDPEO II); (v) Ms Mona Bishay, Director, PN; (vi) Mr Mounif Nourallah, Country Programme Manager, PN; (vii) Mr Luciano Lavizzari, Director, OE; and (viii) Mr Fabrizio Felloni, Evaluation Officer, OE.

Marrakech on 28-29 June 2007. It represented a major learning event for the participants, including representatives of the Government of Morocco, IFAD, international organizations, research institutions, NGOs and grass-roots organizations.

4. The evaluation is based on:
 - (i) An in-depth analysis of existing documentation, including a review of two available evaluations – the Livestock and Rangelands Development Project in the Eastern Region, Phase I (PDPEO I) and the Tafilalet and Dadès Valley Rural Development Project (PDRT) – carried out by OE in 2001 and 2005, respectively;
 - (ii) A specific assessment of performance and impact dedicated to two projects, the Taourirt-Taforalt Rural Development Project (PDRTT) and the Rural Development Project in the Mountain Zones of Al-Haouz Province (PDRZMH). Inter alia, this assessment entails two socio-economic surveys conducted by OE in September 2006 on a sample of 253 households (133 households benefiting from projects and 120 control households) in the zones covered by these two projects;
 - (iii) The results of visits and interviews carried out by the evaluation mission to Morocco; and
 - (iv) Discussions with staff from Government of Morocco agencies and IFAD.
5. **Economy and poverty situation.** Morocco is a North African country with an area of 710,850 square kilometres and a population estimated at 31.5 million in mid-2006, of which 43 per cent are living in rural areas. The country's climate varies markedly from one region to another and is, as a whole, affected by climatic fluctuations. The Moroccan economy has experienced a fresh surge of growth in GDP, with an average annual growth rate of 4.8 per cent between 2001 and 2005, compared with an average 2.2 per cent over the previous 10 years. Nevertheless, the growth is still fairly unstable and is, in any case, not sufficient to create jobs for the young generations. The annual per capita income is US\$1,700, and Morocco therefore falls into the category of middle-income countries.³ Social indicators, however, are still a cause for concern, especially in rural areas. They show a fairly low level of human development: in 2003, Morocco was 124th among 177 countries classified according to the human development index.
6. Although the 1980s saw a substantial reduction in poverty, Morocco experienced a significant increase in poverty during the 1990s. The poverty rate rose from 13.1 per cent in 1990 to 16.5 per cent in 1994, before falling to 14.2 per cent in 2004, meaning that nearly 4 million people were living below the poverty threshold. Poverty remains mainly a rural phenomenon; one in four Moroccans in rural areas is poor, compared with one in ten in urban areas. The distribution of income is also unequal as shown by the Gini coefficient.⁴ In the case of Morocco, the value of the coefficient is 0.40, which represents a case of relatively high inequality and compares unfavourably with other Northern African countries such as Egypt (0.34) and Algeria (0.35).
7. Inequalities between women and men are still high. In 2003, the illiteracy rate was 61 per cent among adult women and 31 per cent among adult men. At the national level, employment rates were 25.2 per cent among women, compared with 69.3 per cent among men. Interestingly, by area of residence, the gap was larger in

³ According to the World Bank classification, Morocco is a lower-middle-income country. Economies are divided according to 2006 gross national income per capita, calculated using the World Bank Atlas method. The groups are low income, US\$905 or less; lower middle income, US\$906-US\$3,595; upper middle income, US\$3,596-US\$11,115; and high income, US\$11,116 or more.

⁴ The coefficient ranges from 0 (perfect equality) to 1 (perfect inequality).

- urban areas, where men were 3.8 times more likely to be employed than women, than in rural areas, where the difference was a factor of “only” 2.1.
8. Natural resources are also fragile. Statistics show that 85 per cent of water resources are already being used in agriculture and are undergoing continuous degradation due to overextraction and inefficient management systems. Soils and sylvopastoral resources are threatened by the increasing pressure of grazing. The cost of environmental degradation is estimated at 3.7 per cent of gross national product. Morocco has ratified the three Rio conventions, but the implementation of the commitments has been judged insufficient (United Nations Development Programme, 2006).
 9. **Poverty reduction strategies pursued by the Government.** Poverty reduction initiatives undertaken by the Government following the country’s independence focused on short-term emergency programmes. It was not until the early 1990s that the Government explicitly recognized the existence and extent of poverty and social exclusion. In view of the modest results of previous interventions, specific poverty reduction policies have appeared over the past 10 years, including (i) the establishment of the Mohammed V Foundation in 1998, the Social Development Agency in 1999, and the Hassan II Fund for Social and Economic Development in 2000; (ii) the promulgation of a law on microfinance in 1999; (iii) the preparation of a communal poverty map in 2004; and (vi) the launching of the National Initiative for Human Development in May 2005.
 10. In terms of countrywide sectoral interventions, it is important to mention (i) the generalized electrification programme, which attained a connection rate of 72 per cent in 2004 compared with only 17 per cent in 1996; (ii) the programme for the provision of potable water, which spearheaded an increase in the coverage rate of 54 per cent in 2004 compared with 14 per cent in 1995; and (iii) the national programme for rural roads, the second phase of which began in 2005 and which foresees serving 80 per cent of the rural population by 2015.
 11. Law 18-99 on microcredit was approved in early 1999. By officially recognizing a new and burgeoning subsector, the law has been a landmark in fostering investments in rural finance by national banks and international organizations. At the same time, the law displays clear limitations because microcredit associations are not allowed to mobilize savings from the public, an issue which is increasingly at the centre of debates. The number of current borrowers from microfinance associations is estimated at around 700,000 people, of whom 66 per cent are women. According to geographic distribution, 37 per cent of the clients live in urban areas, 14 per cent in suburban areas, and 49 per cent in rural areas.
 12. In 1999, the Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Marine Fisheries developed the Rural Development Strategy 2020. The main goal of the strategy is the modernization of agriculture and the improved management of agricultural land by strengthening synergies with non-agricultural development programmes and public interventions aimed at providing basic services. The establishment in 2004 of a state secretary in charge of rural development within the Ministry also marked a reinforced engagement of the Government in rural poverty reduction. The state secretary identifies and promotes the implementation of integrated programmes in rural areas. In 2005, the King of Morocco launched the National Initiative for Human Development, which aims to foster access to basic infrastructure and social services among poor urban neighbourhoods and rural communes and promote income-generating activities and social security among highly vulnerable households. The programme has a funding envelope of US\$1.14 billion, of which only 25 per cent is being supplied through international cooperation.
 13. The public expenditure on poverty reduction had increased to 12.5 per cent of gross national product by the early years of this century. However, this compares unfavourably with the spending in other Northern African countries (18 and

19 per cent of gross national product in Algeria and Tunisia, respectively). Several donors – the European Union, France, Germany, the World Bank, the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the Islamic Development Bank – have contributed to Morocco's poverty reduction efforts. According to data for 2004-2005, the European Union mobilized 54 per cent of total aid (17 and 14 per cent for France and Germany, respectively), and the World Bank, 5.6 per cent. IFAD's contribution is fairly modest in terms of the volume of funding: less than 1 per cent of the total aid and 4 per cent of the State budget allocated to the agricultural sector. Excluding AfDB's portion,⁵ however, IFAD funding represents 17 per cent of the non-State development aid to agriculture. Although quite limited in size, IFAD's support is considered by the Government as fairly specific in terms of intervention approaches and areas of concentration. As in other countries, it is crucial for IFAD to build and foster an identity based on high-quality interventions and the promotion of innovation.

II. The quality of IFAD's strategy

14. The first IFAD strategic document for Morocco was a 1983 special programming mission report that had five broad objectives: (i) improve food self-sufficiency, (ii) reduce economic disparities between regions, (iii) increase incomes among more disadvantaged farmers, (iv) improve basic living conditions, and (v) support replicable interventions. There was no clear demarcation of the core geographical area of intervention. In 1991, an identification mission report – without modifying the 1983 priorities – increased the emphasis on the need to boost agricultural production and intervene in the protection of natural resources, which was also to become the basis of the 1993-1997 five-year plan of the Government of Morocco.
15. A **COSOP paper** was produced in 1999. Drawn up on the basis of the guidelines of the previous reports, the new Morocco COSOP paper aimed to improve the living conditions of the rural poor. It focused IFAD assistance to the Government of Morocco on **four priority goals**: (i) meet the needs of rural communities in agricultural development and improvements in living conditions, (ii) promote food security at both the national and household levels, (iii) step up decentralized planning and implementation, and (iv) improve the access of poor rural households to productive resources. With regard to geographical targeting, the COSOP paper identified three priority zones: mountainous areas, steppe rangelands and arid southern areas. In institutional terms, the COSOP paper stressed the development of the capacities of rural grass-roots organizations and project-implementing agencies.
16. The 1999 COSOP paper having been approved, the IFAD targeting strategy in Morocco reached the third stage in its evolution. The *first stage* (1979-1985) was characterized by large projects (total costs above US\$400 million) that often covered the whole country and were mainly funded by the Government and other large donors (i.e. the World Bank) and in which IFAD was responsible for a small proportion of the costs, around 3 per cent. The *second stage* (1985-1998) was dedicated to middle-sized projects (total costs from US\$42 million to US\$53 million) with a narrower geographical concentration and the increasing weight of IFAD in terms of financing (20 to 40 per cent). During the *third stage* (1999 onwards), geographical targeting was refined, and the *douar* (village) targeting approach was introduced. This approach consists of defining the needs of local communities through participatory techniques, agreeing with the communities on a set of interventions and mutual responsibility in terms of operations and maintenance. Participation in this case means that development interventions are carried out on a contractual basis with communities.

⁵ It is not always clear how to classify AfDB interventions, as the AfDB investment in rural areas is mainly in infrastructure.

17. **The COSOP paper was clear in its analysis of the situation** and the definition of overall objectives. It stressed the importance of meeting the needs expressed by rural communities in agricultural development and improvements in living conditions in disadvantaged zones. IFAD deserves credit for this concern, for it has often been the only development organization intervening in certain remote areas of the country (mountainous or steppe zones). In terms of possible development partners, the COSOP paper mentioned the World Bank, the European Union, the OPEC Fund for International Development, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFESD), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations World Food Programme and bilateral donors. The COSOP paper also identified three key areas of policy dialogue: (i) the modality of application of law 33-94, on the development of rainfed agriculture perimeters; this law provided, for the first time, a framework for a participatory and decentralized approach to the development of non-irrigated land; (ii) the utilization of financial products and the identification of best practices in rural finance; and (iii) decentralization and local governance.
18. Despite these important elements, there are also shortcomings. First, the COSOP paper made reference to the 1999-2003 five-year plan; however, it fixed no time boundary for its own implementation (to date, the COSOP paper has been used in the original version). Second, while providing an estimate of the volume of future IFAD loans for projects, it did not provide an indication of the human and financial resources needed to manage the programme or engage in partnerships and policy dialogue. In other words, the objectives of policy dialogue and partnerships were expected to be achieved only through individual projects and without complementary activities.
19. As in other countries, the Morocco country programme was not endowed with dedicated resources other than those ordinarily available for projects. This is also confirmed by an analysis of the financial resources available within IFAD for Morocco from 2003 to 2006. These resources included the Programme Development Financing Facility and the staff travel budget for the country programme manager. Annual allocations ranged from US\$90,000 to US\$270,000, with an average of US\$150,000. Of this, an average annual amount of US\$81,000 was used for project design, US\$56,000 for project follow-up – support missions and the preparation of project completion reports – and US\$13,000 for IFAD staff travel (equivalent to three or four short missions per year). Thus, programmatic and strategic activities need to compete for resources with project activities.
20. In addition, there is only one professional officer for Morocco in IFAD's Programme Management Department and one programme assistant. The same professional officer has been in charge of one or two other countries. As happens in the majority of cases, IFAD has no field representation in the country, and operations must be supervised from Rome. In the past three years, however, a semi-formal network of consultants has been established in Morocco. This network includes a number of consultants covering several subsectoral areas who can be mobilized to conduct support missions or assist in solving major technical issues in projects.
21. Following the guidelines and practices of the time, the Morocco COSOP paper did not produce a logical framework of results and a set of verifiable indicators. The absence of a logical framework has made it difficult to manage a programme on the basis of results. Also, the COSOP paper has not been amended since 1999 despite more recent economic and socio-political changes in the country.
22. The 1999 Morocco COSOP paper adhered to format requirements used in IFAD at that time, presented clear geographical priorities for IFAD interventions and marked an important step in the evolution of IFAD's targeting approaches in Morocco (table 1). As already indicated, the weak aspects of the COSOP paper pertained to the

limited discussion on the resources needed to implement the programme and the absence of a framework to assess overall country programme performance. To a large extent, this was due to the past guidelines and role of COSOP papers.⁶

Table 1: Ratings of the key dimensions of the 1999 Morocco COSOP paper

Quality of the strategy	Rating
Understanding the main obstacles to rural poverty reduction	4
Relevance and clarity of general and specific objectives	5
Analysis of IFAD target groups and their needs	5
Implementation of the strategy	3
Identification of partners and partnership opportunities; partnership-building programme	3
Innovation, replicability and scaling up	4
Policy dialogue	4
<i>Average rating</i>	<i>4</i>

6 = highly satisfactory 5 = satisfactory 4 = moderately satisfactory 3 = moderately unsatisfactory 2 = unsatisfactory 1 = highly unsatisfactory

III. IFAD's programme in Morocco

23. At the time of the evaluation, IFAD had financed nine projects for a total loan amount of US\$146 million and a total cost of US\$1.4 billion, a very high amount by IFAD standards due to the size of the first two projects (US\$737 million and US\$426 million, respectively), in which IFAD's contribution represented 3 per cent of the total.⁷ Beginning with the third IFAD project, the Abda Plain Rural Development Project, total project costs have gone down dramatically, in line with general IFAD standards (appendix 1, table 1), and, in no case, have project costs exceeded US\$53 million. In terms of the number of projects and the volume of lending, Morocco is the fourth most important country among 13 in the Near East and North Africa region of IFAD and is expected to continue to be the most important under the 2007-2009 performance-based allocation system (PBAS).
24. With the exception of the first two projects, which may be considered outliers, the total contribution of IFAD to the financing of the project portfolio has represented 41 per cent of the costs, while the corresponding contribution of the Government of Morocco has been 37 per cent. The rest has been shared by several agencies: AFESD, the OPEC Fund for International Development, the Islamic Development Bank and AfDB. The Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (German Credit Institution for Reconstruction) has provided separate financing in some instances to the same project agencies. Until 1995, the main cooperating institution was AFESD, whereas, since 1996, the United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS) has been in charge of supervision for all projects. None of the projects approved at the time of this evaluation were directly supervised by IFAD, although the Fund plans to be involved in direct supervision in the future.
25. In addition to loans, Morocco has benefited from a number of technical assistance grants, most with a regional scope, as well as some specific operations in Morocco. Grants have been managed by research institutions and NGOs. The total portion for Morocco of the entire grant envelope in the past 10 years hovers around US\$5 million.
26. The present evaluation concentrates on projects implemented or approved following the appearance of the 1999 COSOP paper: PDRTT, designed before the paper, but

⁶ New guidelines for results-based COSOP programmes were introduced in 2006.

⁷ The cost of the first two projects was financed mainly through the financial resources of the Government of Morocco and the national credit system.

implemented largely afterwards; PDRZMH; PDPEO II; and the Rural Development Project in the Eastern Middle Atlas Mountains (PDRMO). Of these, two (PDRTT and PDRZMH) were implemented over at least four years and have been sufficiently mature for an assessment of their results and impact. In addition to these recent projects, two older ones – PDPEO I and PDRT – were evaluated by OE in 2001 and 2005, respectively, and were considered for purposes of comparison. In addition to loans, the evaluation considered a sample of seven grants in agricultural research, rural finance, gender mainstreaming and small-scale irrigation management.

IV. Performance and impact

27. **Relevance.** The goals of the operations funded by IFAD and its partners have been in line with Government policies and strategies and IFAD's COSOP programme and broadly consistent with poverty reduction priorities in the respective geographical areas.
28. The conceptual framework of IFAD projects in Morocco fits well with evolving approaches to local development advocated in national policies and the donor community. In particular, this has involved a shift from a narrow concept of participation, in the mere sense that beneficiaries cover a portion of project costs and provide free labour, to an expanded notion of participation as awareness-raising and consultation with concerned communities and, finally, to participation in the sense of negotiation for planning and a division of responsibility between communities and the public administration in cost-sharing, management and the maintenance of infrastructure. This evolution is particularly clear in the design of projects following the COSOP paper, notably PDRZMH and PDRMO, that were inspired by the douar development approach. This approach consists of holding consultations with the population of a douar, conducting a needs assessment exercise and drawing up a community development plan with a set of multisectoral microinterventions. While previous development interventions had the commune as the lowest decisional unit, IFAD projects have moved down systematically to subcommunal (the douar) administrative units as the basic planning step.
29. The key project objectives and practical approaches seem relevant, but some areas need improvement and deserve underlining. Here are three examples:
 - (i) While implementation plans have been discussed with key Government agencies, there are frequent gaps between the foreseen implementation schedule and the effective capacity (human and financial resources) of public agencies in Morocco. Indeed, the anticipated project staff and annual counterpart budgets have been only partially available in several instances. Budget constraints imposed by the Ministry of Finance on other ministries and other national policies such as a countrywide voluntary early retirement scheme for civil servants have affected counterpart financial and human resource contributions by the Government of Morocco.
 - (ii) While options to increase production and productivity have been carefully thought through, other complementary activities such as training and extension to farmers, the processing of agricultural produce, marketing and financing have received less attention during the design and implementation phases. There are signs, however, that the attention on these aspects is increasing within both IFAD and the Government.
 - (iii) Monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems are still weak and not yet reliable instruments for results-based management at the project level. M&E systems are effective in tracking expenses and progress with physical output, but not yet in generating relevant information on performance and impact that can alert the project staff, the cooperating institution or IFAD on implementation shortcomings in a timely fashion.

30. The **effectiveness** of operations has been satisfactory overall, particularly with regard to physical investments such as hydroagricultural schemes and the development of basic rural infrastructure such as potable water provision. The work of the rehabilitation, consolidation and protection of traditional irrigation systems (khettarahs, séguias) in the mountainous (PDRTT, PDRZMH) and arid zones of the south (PDRT) that are exposed to climatic hazards have sometimes generated dramatic changes in cropping patterns and the management of drought risks. At the same time, basic rural infrastructure has been effective in ensuring access to potable water and, in the case of rural roads, improving mobility and access to schools, medical care and agricultural inputs.
31. On the production side, veterinary services and antiparasitic treatments have been instrumental in eradicating the main diseases among small ruminants and have also represented an incentive for herders to become involved in other project activities such as rangeland management. Interventions aimed at improving the vegetative cover and the management of pastures have been generally satisfactory on private lands, whereas the results have been mixed on communal lands; there are areas of good performance (the northern zone of PDPEO I) and areas where rangeland fallow and management plans have not been respected (the southern zone of PDPEO I and the Tafilalet region covered by PDRT) due to conflicts between local tribes of herders.
32. The main capital interventions (infrastructure and production) that represent the larger share of investments by IFAD and its partners in Morocco have been broadly satisfactory. Over 17,600 hectares have benefited from the construction or rehabilitation of irrigation infrastructure. About 107,000 people have benefited from potable water-piping systems, and 31,000 people have benefited from improved mobility thanks to the construction of feeder roads. In contrast, some weaknesses have been noted in the smaller soft components such as agricultural extension and rural finance. Agricultural extension teams are constrained by limited staff and financial resources and by the lack of technical suitability and adaptation to specific agroecological contexts. The increase in the availability of water for irrigation has not been accompanied by a commensurate transfer of knowledge about management techniques such as the use of fertilizers, the density of plantation, fruit tree pruning, and phytosanitary treatments.
33. The production and incomes of poor small-scale farmers have certainly increased, but might have shown more progress through the transfer of better technologies and skills. A related constraining factor is the limited interaction and cross-fertilization between projects and agricultural research. Several projects included research components that were meant to fill the knowledge gap in areas targeted by IFAD interventions. Collaboration between project and research institutions has not been easy. On both sides, there have been difficulties in communicating and also in preparing a common protocol of cooperation that would allow the research programme cycle to feed into project cycles in a timely manner.
34. In projects belonging to the generation before the COSOP paper, rural finance was either not considered as a component (PDRT) or was considered but not implemented (PDPEO I) due to the lack of agreement on the responsibility for exchange risk between a major agricultural development bank (Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole) and the Ministry of Finance and to the substantial indebtedness of medium- and small-scale herders during dry years. During the formulation of more recent projects (PDRZMH, PDPEO II and PDRMO), two models of rural finance institutions have been proposed. The first, mainly aimed at the provision of short-term credit, consists of facilitating a memorandum of understanding between IFAD project units and national microcredit associations so that they may establish local branches in project areas and provide loans to small-scale farmers and microentrepreneurs. The second intervention modality, mainly geared towards medium-term credit, involves the establishment of village-level microfinance

associations (*associations de microfinance de douar*) that would act as an interface between a major agricultural development bank (*Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole*) and end borrowers.

35. Initially, the experience with the launch of new branches of microcredit associations was mixed; one of them, the branch of the Foundation for Local Development and Partnership, closed after only two years following a sudden deterioration in the quality of the loan portfolio and a disagreement with the implementing agency over the services (subsidized transportation) to be provided to the association. At the time of evaluation, microcredit associations were starting to open branches in two IFAD project areas (PDRZMH and PDPEO II). According to IFAD and the project staff, IFAD interventions in rural finance would have had a demonstration effect by raising the interest of microcredit associations to branch out to rural areas. While there is some truth in this statement, it should not be forgotten that the expansion of microcredit associations to rural areas represents a generalized trend in Morocco. The coverage of households in IFAD projects was still low at the time of evaluation. A survey conducted in preparation for this CPE in the PDRZMH area showed that only 8 per cent of the households participating in the project had received loans from microfinance credit associations, compared with 11 per cent of non-participating households.
36. Concerning the second envisaged modality of credit distribution, no village level microfinance organization had been created at the time of the evaluation. After the signing of the PDRZMH loan agreement, the initiative was no longer supported by the Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole due to concerns about the overall quality of their portfolio of loans.
37. The **efficiency** of project interventions has been assessed by comparing project unit costs, i.e. the cost of constructing irrigation infrastructure per hectare of irrigated land, with appropriate benchmarks (typical expected values at national or regional levels) and, if possible, by comparing costs with expected benefits. The emerging global picture is satisfactory. Key project components – those responsible for the largest amount of project costs – have been implemented efficiently, that is, at unit costs comparable with or lower than benchmarks and at overall satisfactory quality. This is, in particular, the case of irrigated schemes, potable water, de-rocking⁸ and feeder road construction.⁹ Cases of low efficiency (low returns per unit of investment, the underutilization of production equipment) have been found when public agencies have ventured directly into entrepreneurial activities without any comparative advantage, as in the Skoura goat milk production plant, which was originally conceived as a demonstration platform to stimulate local women's entrepreneurship.
38. **Emerging pragmatic targeting methods.** At the time of the preparation of the COSOP paper, no precise data were available on the geographical distribution of poverty in Morocco. In 2004, the Government of Morocco, in collaboration with the World Bank, prepared a poverty map disaggregated at the communal level. This new data source shows that IFAD projects have, in fact, reached some of the poorest provinces, communes and douars of the country. In terms of IFAD targeting approaches, there has been, as previously noted, an evolution towards participatory planning with local communities on a contractual basis.
39. This has been the case of PDRZMH, which pioneered the douar approach in mountainous areas. According to this approach, a number of douars within a given commune or province are targeted based on a set of poverty indicators. After a consultation process with relevant douar populations and local public authorities,

⁸ This is true under the important assumption that farmers can afford the capital outlays to clear land of smaller stones.

⁹ For example, the cost of canal rehabilitation has been, in several instances, in the range of Dh 17,500 (US\$2,100), which is on a par with standards in the country. This is a positive result, given the remoteness and technical difficulties of the hilly and mountainous areas where the work has been conducted.

several microprojects – irrigation, potable water, agricultural extension, feeder roads, literacy classes, income-generating activities – are implemented in each douar. This approach favours the geographical concentration of activities: typically a douar receives three or four different interventions. In the medium term, this reinforces synergies among different components, i.e. the community experiences not only an enhancement in its productive assets, but also in its knowledge of improved agricultural techniques and health conditions, thus contributing to the greater productivity of land, capital and labour. This also reduces the risk of dispersing activities and the administrative spending available for follow-up, a problem typical of previous projects (PDRT and PDRTT). Results from the preparatory surveys conducted for the present evaluation suggest that the douar approach may, in fact, have contributed to greater impacts in the mountainous areas, particularly in terms of household incomes and assets.

40. The targeting experience gained through projects implemented in low-rainfall rangelands has been somewhat different. Past interventions in the steppe areas of eastern and southern Morocco (PDPEO I, PDRT) have emphasized the establishment of pastoral cooperatives to strengthen local social capital (traditional ethnolineage networks) and help regulate access to fragile common resources such as dry rangelands. Pastoral cooperatives were expected to establish fallow rotation plans on pastures. While successful cases have been recorded in past project evaluations, the results have been mixed for two reasons. First, conflicts within and between cooperatives have, in some instances, resulted in little respect for fallow rotation plans, as in the south zone of PDPEO I and in PDRT. Second, while pastoral cooperatives included wide variations in categories of herders, from those owning 20-50 head to those owning hundreds of head, projects initially did not include specific interventions so that small-scale herders might mitigate shocks during dry years. These two flaws have been recognized by IFAD, which has devoted more resources to institutional support for cooperatives and the diversification of income sources in its more recent project in eastern Morocco (PDPEO II), which is still in an early implementation stage.

Rural poverty impact

41. As a preparatory exercise for this CPE, two field surveys have been conducted in the PDRTT and PDRZMH areas. A field survey was also carried out in 2005 during the PDRT evaluation. All these surveys have been administered to two groups of respondents: a sample of households served by IFAD projects and a “without project” control sample. Respondents have been asked to compare the before-project and the post-project situation through guided interviews. The differences between project and control observations help illustrate the project contributions to changes in household and community welfare and better take into account external shocks such as a sequence of dry years.¹⁰
42. **Household income and assets.** Analysis of the primary data collected offers evidence of the significant effects of projects on household incomes and assets. In some cases (PDRT and part of PDRTT), this was achieved despite adverse climatic conditions because the project areas had been affected by a series of particularly dry years. It is not possible to provide here a full account of the dynamics generated or supported by the projects. Some of these effects are illustrated in the tables and graphs presented in appendix 3. An important observation is that projects made it possible to maintain cropped surfaces even in dry years (PDRT) and introduce new varieties of crops and fruit trees or improve the yields of existing traditional varieties (appendix 3, table 1). This explains why 36 per cent of the PDRT beneficiaries interviewed saw an increase in their revenues despite a series of years of drought, compared with only 17-29 per cent in the control sample. Similarly, 22 and 64 per cent of PDRTT and PDRZMH beneficiaries, respectively,

¹⁰ Several IFAD project areas were affected by drought during the period considered by the evaluation.

reckoned they had experienced an increase in household revenues, compared with 14 and 57 per cent in the control group.¹¹

43. Projects also appear to have positively affected **food security**. According to evaluation survey results, 80 and 60 per cent of beneficiaries in two zones covered by PDRT estimated that food availability had improved, compared with 40 and 32 per cent of the control group observations. Similarly, 63 per cent of respondents in households served by PDRZMH estimated that food security had improved, compared with 49 per cent in the control group households (appendix 3, figures 1 and 2). Other evidence collected during the fieldwork suggests that there were increases in the consumption of (i) mutton and goat meat, (ii) vegetables and (iii) chicken and eggs. No well-established data exist, however, on the distribution of such changes. In 2001, during the PDRZMH preparation, IFAD, for the first time, collected baseline data on child malnutrition. Unfortunately, no follow-up survey was carried out through the project at the time of the CPE. Given that child growth monitoring provides a key poverty indicator produced through IFAD's Results and Impact Management System (RIMS) across IFAD projects, it is important to conduct a follow-up survey at the earliest opportunity.
44. Impacts on **natural resources** revolve around pasture, water and soil conservation. The regeneration of the vegetation cover in pasture areas ultimately depends on the capacities of pastoral cooperatives to enforce respect for the by-laws of fallow rotation. The results have been mixed depending on intervention areas: there were several successful cases in the northern zone of PDPEO I and more modest results on the southern zone of the same project and in PDRT areas. In water and soil conservation, there have been a number of promising cases – protection from flooding by strengthening riverbanks, prevention of canal siltation and a number of small measures to control soil erosion – with varying degrees of effectiveness (appendix 3, table 2). Relative to the huge size of project areas, the number of places that have benefited from these interventions is still small. The enhanced interaction of IFAD projects with existing public-sector programmes is needed so as to cover wider areas.
45. **Social capital**. Project approaches that have favoured participation and the involvement of end-users in the planning of activities have had appreciable effects in the creation of new or the revitalization of existing associations and professional organizations at the grass-roots level (water user associations, apiculture, livestock and handicrafts cooperatives). This has contributed to the emergence of a fresh layer of associations in which young graduates tend to take leading positions. In addition, local organizations are now better able to attract financial resources from the public and non-profit sectors.
46. These are significant results, although it is important to note that several grass-roots organizations will continue to depend on long-term public support. Water user associations are still required to include a representative of the public administration in their management committees. Concerning pastoral cooperatives, an audit conducted by IFAD, in collaboration with the Government of Morocco, in 2005, illustrated that, while key economic activities – livestock fattening and marketing – are not yet well developed, they may represent a way to increase the trust of members and consolidate cooperative budgetary resources. Such constraints do not reduce the importance of the achievements of projects, but should be taken into careful consideration in the planning of future interventions and in project consolidation.
47. **Access to markets** and the full economic exploitation of productive components require greater attention at the project design phase. In some instances, the creation of rural infrastructure may have reduced the input prices and transportation costs related to agricultural produce. Nonetheless, handicraft

¹¹ The relevant data are not shown in the appendix.

- activities need more work in terms of product design and alignment with the preferences of final users, notably tourists. Also, links with the private sector and crop and fruit retailers have not been systematically established.
48. There is an adequate body of evidence to show that the IFAD programme in Morocco has generated significant positive changes in key socio-economic indicators despite adverse exogenous shocks such as the series of dry years. In particular, it is important to underline that the relatively new PDRZMH, which has adopted the douar targeting approach, has generated socio-economic impacts comparable with or greater than those of completed or more mature projects such as PDRT and PDRTT. This finding suggests that favouring stronger geographical concentration and synergies among project components may enhance impacts by simultaneously affecting the productivity of all factors (land, capital and labour).
 49. The **sustainability** of impacts will ultimately depend on the future development of both the socio-economic and socio-political environments. A number of factors are in place that may positively affect sustainability, first and foremost, the degree of dynamism, enthusiasm and engagement of grass-roots organizations, notably irrigation and drinking water user associations. Many of these are sufficiently organized for routine maintenance work and, in the case of drinking water, are already collecting the financial resources needed to cover operational costs based on the actual water consumption of individual households. The quality of the construction of basic rural infrastructure – feeder roads, canals, water pumps – is satisfactory and will positively affect the sustainability of project outputs. Recent projects such as PDRZMH and PDRMO require agreements between project authorities, communities and local administrations such as communes to facilitate the availability of financial resources to cover capital depreciation, e.g. major repairs to a tertiary canal or the replacement of a broken pump. This is a fundamental need: the dynamism and enthusiasm of organizations can accomplish little if no budget is available for rehabilitation work and if there is no clear division of responsibility for the maintenance of infrastructure.
 50. Besides important areas of progress, it is also important to pinpoint risk factors and needed improvements. Two of these have already been reviewed in the above sections and may be mentioned briefly: (i) the significant variation in the financial and organizational capacity of pastoral cooperatives is a serious threat that the new project in eastern Morocco (PDPEO II) will have to tackle and (ii) the limited support provided so far for the commercialization of products may undermine the profitability of several economic activities (agricultural and non-agricultural) promoted through the projects. Many grass-roots organizations created or supported in IFAD projects will be exposed to market competition not only in prices, but also in the quality of products and will require extended support (financial and technical) by Moroccan public authorities. A long-term strategy to consolidate results and also eventually to phase out the intervention is not merely optional, but necessary.
 51. **Innovation and replicability.** IFAD projects have introduced innovations in terms of approaches and techniques. Examples of technical innovations fall under (i) the introduction of fruit or crop varieties – apples, cherries, capers, saffron – in new areas; (ii) new cropping and soil management techniques, including alley cropping (atriplex with barley) and contour ploughing to improve soil moisture; and (iii) water management techniques combining traditional subterranean canals and sprinkle irrigation (tested through an IFAD grant). Examples of innovations in approaches include (i) community involvement in planning and decision-making in project interventions and (ii) targeting and planning at the douar level.
 52. As demonstrated through the above descriptions, these approaches and techniques are not new in absolute terms. They were already known and adopted in other places, but they are often innovative in the specific project areas or in Morocco.

Some of these innovations have already been taken up by other donors or supported by Moroccan public organizations, such as the participatory management of irrigation schemes and small innovations in providing drinking water supplies. Innovation-promotion has been limited so far to rural finance, but the real problem is that implementation is still behind the anticipated pace in this sub-sector. There has been no clear overall strategy or guidance for the promotion innovations; this was a corporate problem in IFAD until the recent (September 2007) approval of a strategy for the promotion of innovation. In particular, at implementation, mechanisms (especially those involving partnerships with research and development institutions) have not always been put in place to identify, nurture and promote innovations that benefit intervention zones. Moreover, while IFAD grants represent a flexible instrument for conducting action research that is relevant to project interventions, the CPE has concluded that synergies between projects (loans) and IFAD technical assistance grants still need improvement.

Non-project activities

53. **Policy dialogue.** IFAD's contribution in this area is constrained by the absence of technical field staff and specific resources. Inter alia, this means that IFAD cannot be represented regularly in meetings where the Government and international organizations discuss strategies for development and rural poverty reduction. Moreover, any policy dialogue activity would need to be financed through savings from project development costs. The COSOP paper offered objectives for policy dialogue in three areas: (i) the application of law 33-94 (on the development of rainfed agriculture); (ii) the use of new financial products and the adoption of improved practices within the framework of law 18-97 on microcredit; and (iii) deconcentration, decentralization and local governance.
54. For the first objective, IFAD funded one of the first projects (PDRT) implemented within the framework of law 33-94. The experience gained in this project has stimulated reflections on the law, which is expected to be repealed and replaced by a broader one. In the case of the second objective, IFAD interventions in rural finance are still limited in terms of clients and the volume of credit. For this reason, there is not yet sufficient experience or a critical mass of operations to inform a rich discussion on law 18-97, particularly, the issue of savings mobilization. For the third objective, recent projects have begun a process of consultation between implementing agencies, local communities and communal-level administrations. To expect a strong IFAD influence in broader deconcentration and decentralization processes is perhaps overambitious. IFAD could, however, support emerging regional development strategies.
55. In the context of PDPEO II, an agreement on the management of communal lands was signed in 2006 between the Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Marine Fisheries, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the High Commission for Water, Forests and Combating Desertification. This is a promising and much-needed policy dialogue initiative of IFAD, although it is too early to assess the effectiveness.
56. With regard to **partnerships**, a lack of field presence is an objective constraint, as already noted. IFAD has a solid partnership with the Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Marine Fisheries. Other partnerships or agreements have existed in the design and implementation of certain project components with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the High Commission for Water, Forests and Combating Desertification. A number of operational agreements for project implementation involve several other public agencies. However, other forms of partnership with provincial and regional authorities are needed. Regional development plans are starting to be prepared, and IFAD projects will have to become more deeply involved with them.

57. IFAD has been successful in raising co-financing from the OPEC Fund for International Development and the Islamic Development Bank, while some technical cooperation agreements have been concluded with the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the United Nations Development Programme. Partnerships, however, have been predominantly of a financial nature. There has been only limited interagency cooperation during project implementation. Moreover, IFAD cannot be represented regularly in thematic consultations and coordination groups, which means that IFAD operations are often not well known despite their significant achievements in the project areas.
58. The portfolio management approach is still highly individualized; a country team approach would make it possible to meet the needs of projects in terms of supervision and support and allow for more consultation within IFAD and between IFAD and its partners regarding cooperation with Morocco. The latter approach is supported by the new IFAD operations model.
59. Despite limited resources, a series of **knowledge management** and dissemination activities has been carried out, including the establishment of a regional electronic network (KariaNet), ad hoc studies and conferences, the creation of a database on rangeland management, and exchange visits. More improvements may be made in the organization and systematization of data and information at the project and programme levels. This is particularly true of (but not limited to) information on grant-based activities; such information requires a considerable amount of time to collect, even at IFAD headquarters.

V. The performance of IFAD and its partners

The performance of IFAD

60. Project design is generally solid and detailed. However, improvements are required in the marketing and rural finance components. With regard to technical assistance grants, IFAD has promoted a number of potentially interesting activities, but the links between programmes benefiting from grants and projects benefiting from loans have not always been sufficiently strong.
61. In addition to routine supervision missions conducted by cooperating institutions, IFAD organizes support missions for projects; these have been useful to project agencies in improving performance during implementation. However, as in the case of supervision missions, there are a number of recommendations that have not benefited from clear follow-up; these include recommendations on compliance with planned project staffing levels, coordination between implementing agencies, the actions to be taken to eliminate delays in the running of preparatory studies, and rolling out M&E systems. Midterm review missions fielded by IFAD are useful, but take place late in the project cycle. These shortcomings are, to a large extent, a consequence of the distance between IFAD headquarters and decision-making at the project level.
62. IFAD has launched a pilot scheme to set up an informal multidisciplinary network of consultants who act on the request of the country programme manager to provide implementing agencies with local support as needed. The presence within this network of resource people familiar with the objectives, outputs and workings of IFAD projects is of considerable benefit for the development of IFAD target regions. This interesting initiative has yet to be formally adopted, and the related mechanisms need to be fine-tuned. One important point should be reflected upon: members of the local network of consultants are in charge of project design, support missions, midterm review exercises and project completion reports. While this allows for the cross-dissemination of knowledge, such arrangements leave only limited space for independence of judgement between project formulation on the one hand and project review and assessment on the other. Without a balancing act

between design and review, there is a risk of creating in the medium to long term an autoreferential system that may ultimately hamper the promotion of innovation.

The performance of the Government and its agencies

63. The agencies involved in implementing IFAD projects have, on the whole, performed well, as may be seen from the level of physical outputs and the disbursement rate in assigned funding. The most significant constraints facing projects that result from the performance of the Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Marine Fisheries include (i) the divergence between the commitments made through projects and the country's effective budgetary capacities, a situation that generally leads to implementation delays; (ii) the growing deficit in human resources within various agencies, which is exacerbated by a voluntary retirement programme implemented at the national level that is depriving governmental organizations of the most senior and experienced staff; this constitutes a major handicap in implementation because project team size is sometimes well below the provision made at appraisal (as in the case of PDPEO II); and (iii) the poor coordination of projects at the central level and the scant involvement of provincial directorates of agriculture in budgetary negotiations and arbitrage by lead provincial agencies.
64. Despite the fact that projects include institutional arrangements intended to promote the convergence and pooling of the resources and skills of various partners, the workings of institutional partnerships need improvement. With regard to the partnership between project implementing agencies and grass-roots organizations, real progress is now being seen as part of a general forward movement at the national level. This movement, however, is still fragile because of a lack of both resources and traditions of collaboration in the new economic and social contexts, including market competition and the withdrawal of the State on the one hand and rural exodus and emigration of young people on the other.
65. Despite the efforts made recently in certain projects, there are still difficulties in setting up impact-focused M&E systems and in analysing and synthesizing the information generated through projects into proper performance charts so that implementation may be piloted on the basis of objectives and anticipated results.

The performance of cooperating institutions and other co-financiers

66. During the history of IFAD assistance to the Government of Morocco, several organizations (AFESD, AfDB, UNOPS) have acted as cooperating institutions, although UNOPS has increasingly been in charge of project supervision in the most recent generation of projects. Supervision reports have been produced annually, with the exception of the case of AFESD, which, for PDRT, produced only three reports in 10 years. Due to the limited resources available to cooperating institutions, supervision is centred on disbursement and compliance with loan agreements. Technical problem-solving and impact assessment are not always treated adequately, also because missions normally include two members and cannot cover the entire range of expertise required in integrated projects.
67. On the other hand, certain observations and recommendations that have made through supervision missions and that refer to vital issues in project management sometimes remain without follow-up; these include recommendations addressing the insufficient budget allocations by the Government, the lack of human resources at the project level, Government interagency coordination issues, and the limitations of the institutional and legal framework. The implementation of these recommendations would probably have required the more direct engagement of IFAD in supervision and the involvement of partners within a framework of closer policy dialogue with relevant public authorities.

VI. Conclusions and recommendations

68. In the 1999 COSOP paper, IFAD produced a strategy paper that was clear in its general objectives and in demarcating the agroecological zones of concentration. The practical implementation of these objectives was less clear, to a large extent due to the guidelines and IFAD business model of the time. In particular, non-project activities were not allocated specific resources; no framework was in place for a results-based programme management; and no update was conducted of the strategy, despite changes in national strategies and policies.
69. The formulation and implementation of IFAD interventions have been generally satisfactory in terms of relevance, effectiveness and efficiency. There have also been significant effects at the grass-roots level, including a direct impact in terms of improvement in the population's material resources and incomes, in, the development of human and social capital, and the widescale application of participatory concepts. While this type of comparison should be taken with a grain of salt, using the Annual Report on Results and Impact of IFAD Operations 2005 (table 2) and evaluations conducted by AfDB (2006) and the World Bank (2001) as benchmarks (see appendix 2), one may see that the overall performance of IFAD in Morocco appears to be more successful. These elements constitute a solid launching pad for sustainable rural development, although support through donor funds and State agencies will inevitably have to continue over the medium to long term to consolidate results.
70. Despite these encouraging findings, certain weaknesses were noted: (i) in project design and during implementation, marketing and financing received limited attention in the past; (ii) due to its lack of field presence, it is difficult for IFAD to engage in interdonor discussion groups and policy dialogue with governmental partners, civil society and research institutions; (iii) there are weaknesses in implementation-support instruments, including M&E systems (which are still not sufficiently focused on impact) and technical support and midterm review missions (which are infrequent and sometimes take place fairly late); and (iv) there is limited synergy between grants and projects. With a view to consolidating IFAD's pioneering and innovating role in reducing poverty and marginalization in rural areas, these aspects deserve attention.

Table 2. Average evaluation ratings¹²

	Projects before the COSOP paper (PDPEO I, PDRT)	COSOP programme (PDRTT, PDRZMH, PDPEO, PDRMO)	ARRI (2005) averages ^a
I. Performance^b	4	5	4.4
II. Impact^c	4	5	4.2
III. Sustainability	3	4	3.6
IV. Innovation and scaling up	4	4	4.2
V. Non-project activities	na	4	na
V. Performance of IFAD and partners^d	4	4	4.0
IFAD	4	4	3.8
Cooperating institutions (supervision) and other donors	4	3.5	4.1
Government and project management units	4	4	4.1
Overall performance		4.4	4.1

71. **Preparation of a new country strategy.** The preparation of a new COSOP programme is anticipated; this document must be drawn up in accordance with IFAD's new guidelines for the task and be based on IFAD's new action plan and operational guidelines. The preparation of the COSOP programme should also take into account:
- The changing situation with regard to poverty in Morocco, but also the obstacles to poverty reduction;
 - New regional and national strategies and initiatives (the National Initiative for Human Development and regional strategies) and sectoral intervention programmes, particularly in rural development and natural resource management; in this context, it will be important to reflect on the prospects for multisectoral (and not solely agricultural) rural interventions;
 - Establishing partnerships with (i) public institutions, to take provincial and regional authorities into account; (ii) international organizations; and (iii) NGOs (cooperatives and other grass-roots organizations) and the private sector;
 - More effective defining synergies between project activities (based on loans) and technical assistance grant activities; and
 - The need to organize the preparation of the new COSOP within the framework of broadened consultation and to plan for its periodic updating and adjustment.
72. **Revision and updating of the formulation and organization of projects and certain sectoral approaches.** A series of improvements is needed in the formulation and organization of projects at IFAD, especially:
- An overall review and updating of interventions in rural finance and support for microenterprises in light of IFAD's operational policies and changes in

¹² Note: Ratings: 6 = highly satisfactory 5 = satisfactory 4 = moderately satisfactory 3 = moderately unsatisfactory 2 = unsatisfactory 1 = highly unsatisfactory.

a. Annual Report on Results and Impact of IFAD Operations evaluated in 2005.

b. The performance rating represents the average of ratings for relevance, effectiveness and efficiency.

c. The overall impact rating represents the average of ratings for impacts on (i) material and productive resources, (ii) food security, (iii) environment and natural resources, (iv) human capital, (v) social capital and the functioning of associations, and (vi) market access.

d. The rating of the performance of partners is the average of the performance of IFAD, the cooperating institution, the Government and project management units, NGOs and service providers.

these subsectors in Morocco (the development of microcredit products better suited to borrower needs and instruments to open up access to initial investments that microcredit associations cannot cover);

- The issue of access to markets and the integration of IFAD projects into appropriate commodity chains; and
- M&E system improvements through activities involving ongoing support, exchange and sharing among the M&E teams in various projects and the introduction of the Results and Impact Management System.

73. Strengthening the mechanism for supporting operations, policy dialogue and the promotion of innovation:

- Discuss planning, disbursement capacity and the availability of staff for projects with the Government of Morocco given that projections made during design about project implementation and disbursement often turn out to be impractical during the implementation phase.
- IFAD's capacity for implementation support should be boosted through more frequent review and support missions and greater involvement in direct supervision.
- In conjunction with other international agencies, IFAD should step up its policy dialogue with the Government with a view to improving the institutional and socio-economic context for implementation. Boosting the IFAD country presence (in an appropriate manner to be defined by IFAD Management) would facilitate the intensification of policy dialogue.
- There are two priorities with a view to promoting innovations and their replication: (i) establishing a systematic framework for collaboration between grants and projects, including pilot schemes, analysis and capitalization, extension of benefits and lessons learned; and (ii) greater collaboration between innovation agents – including NGOs, the research and development system, farmers, other development programmes – and the IFAD programme.

Part B – Agreement at Completion Point

A. The evaluation process

1. OE undertook a CPE in Morocco with three main objectives: (i) to evaluate the quality of the strategy pursued by IFAD since November 1999, (ii) to assess the performance and impact of the operations carried out, and (iii) to propose a set of conclusions and recommendations that will serve as a basis for IFAD in drawing up a new strategy document for Morocco. This new document will be based on the present agreement at completion point, which marks the completion of the evaluation process.
2. In May 2006, an approach paper set out the objectives, methodology and timetable of the evaluation, which was to be based on a key partnership that included representatives of the Government, project management units, PN and OE. A mission visited Morocco between 30 October and 1 December 2006, and the resulting report was discussed at various stages by officers of the Government and IFAD. A national workshop was organized in Marrakech on 28-29 June 2007 to (a) discuss the main results and lessons drawn and (b) prepare the ground for the formulation of the agreement at completion point.
3. In line with IFAD's evaluation policy and current procedures, OE is responsible for the content of the evaluation report, which it presents completely independently to the Executive Board. The agreement at completion point presents the conclusions, recommendations and steps to be taken and implemented as agreed by the Government of Morocco, represented by the Ministry of Agriculture and Marine Fisheries (MAPM), and IFAD, represented by the Programme Management Department.

B. Main evaluation findings

4. Between 1979 and the period when the programme was being evaluated, IFAD financed nine projects in Morocco for a total of US\$146.3 million in loans on intermediate terms.¹³ The total cost of projects co-financed by IFAD in Morocco exceeds US\$1.4 billion. Apart from the first two projects, IFAD has financed almost 41 per cent of project costs, while the Government has financed 37.5 per cent. Operations have been carried out in three priority areas: mountainous zones, low-potential rangeland zones (extensive livestock production) and arid zones in the south. Morocco has also benefited from technical assistance grants. These grants have supported initiatives by such organizations as ACCION International, the International Food Policy Research Institute, the Centre for Advanced Mediterranean Agronomic Studies, the International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas, the International Centre for Soil Fertility and Agricultural Development, the International Centre for Development and Research, the National Agricultural Research Institute, the Higher Institute for Trade and Business Administration, and the Hassan II Agricultural and Veterinary Institute and have targeted a wide range of sectors and issues, including rural finance, the participatory management of water resources, cereal cultivation, socio-economic studies and rural women. The grants are regional in nature, and the portion devoted to Morocco over the past five years has been about US\$5 million. IFAD's last strategic document for Morocco was approved in November 1999 (the COSOP paper).
5. The evaluation has verified the relevance of IFAD's objectives in Morocco, which have been consistent both with Government policies and strategies and with IFAD's

¹³ The nine projects were financed through 10 loans, inasmuch as PDRT was financed through 2 loans. In September 2007, the IFAD Executive Board approved a tenth project. The total value of IFAD's loans now stands at US\$164 million.

goals. IFAD's projects play a part in the development of approaches advocated by the Government and IFAD; there has been a move away from participation in the sense of awareness-raising and consultation to participation in the sense of negotiation for planning, cost-sharing and contracting in project implementation and management.¹⁴ While project objectives and approaches and the intervention subsectors themselves are relevant and consistent with the strategic orientations of the various partners, there are some weaknesses in interventions supporting production (for example, in the development of commodity chains and marketing) and in the design of rural finance interventions.¹⁵

6. The impacts have been visible in that they have involved the consolidation of and increase in the productive resources of the target populations through the expansion of fruit-tree growing, crop diversification and the consolidation of livestock numbers and health. With regard to employment and income opportunities, surveys carried out for the present evaluation show that improvements are more often seen among the beneficiaries of IFAD projects than among control groups. On the other hand, projects show recurrent weaknesses in all aspects of support for marketing and the organization of commodity chains, although some steps are starting to be taken in this respect. With regard to household food security, the positive impact of projects is primarily linked to small- and medium-scale irrigation schemes and improvements in livestock production. The adoption of approaches fostering the participation and empowerment of beneficiaries has had appreciable effects on the development and creation of a large number of professional associations and organizations in which young graduates tend to hold an important place.
7. The sustainability of impacts still depends on how the socio-economic and socio-political environment develops and on consolidation actions to be carried out. Positive aspects are linked to Government initiatives in the promotion of civil society and consultation and contracts with users. The assumption of responsibility by beneficiaries in management and maintenance costs, as well as the good quality of infrastructure, may already be observed. However, vulnerable aspects are linked to factors such as the availability of adequate technical and financial support within the ordinary resources of public bodies in view of the major reduction in the numbers of Government staff and budgetary allocations.
8. With regard to innovations and replicability potential, IFAD projects have introduced innovations in terms of both approaches and techniques in the respective zones. These approaches and techniques may be already be implemented elsewhere, but they are new to Morocco and to the project areas. Some of the innovations have already been taken up by other donors or adopted by public organizations (the participatory management of irrigation schemes, small innovations in drinking water supplies, local planning at the douar level, and multilevel targeting). Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, at the project implementation stage, mechanisms – especially with regard to partnership with research and development institutions – are not always put in place to identify within the project or elsewhere, optimize and promote innovations for the benefit of intervention zones, while the synergy between projects (loans) and technical assistance grants still tends to be weak.

¹⁴ According to the MAPMs, major efforts have been made in the context of projects to build up the local capacities of all those involved in development (training, organization into associations and cooperatives, diversification of activities). These efforts have apparently made a major contribution to improving and capitalizing on local know-how and, hence, to enriching the human capital that is the basis of any sustainability.

¹⁵ According to the MAPM, the results of microcredit actions are satisfactory (the amount mobilized by microcredit associations in the Haouz project zone is two and a half times as much as the total amount granted by local agricultural credit banks through conventional loans).

C. Recommendations and observations of the partners

C1. Main thrusts of IFAD's new strategy in Morocco

9. Recommendations of the evaluation

- (a) The preparation of a new COSOP is anticipated, and the document must be drawn up according to IFAD's new directives on preparing country strategies. It must also be based on IFAD's new action plan and the operational procedures now in force. Given the results of the present evaluation, the new COSOP must take the following points into account:
- Changes in the poverty situation in Morocco, which is now more well known thanks to the poverty map, but also changes in the obstacles to poverty reduction;
 - Changes in the country's socio-economic and political context, the new *regional and national strategies and initiatives* (such as the National Human Development Initiative and regional strategies where these exist) and sectoral intervention programmes, especially in *rural development and natural resource management*. In this context, it will be important to reflect more closely on the prospects for *multisectoral interventions, not merely agricultural rural interventions*; and
 - The definition of partnerships, including partnerships with *government institutions*, by broadening the partnership to take account of institutions that have so far been little involved. Examples are provincial and regional governments, which are starting to play a leading role in defining territorial development strategies. At the same time, the definition of partnerships with *international organizations* (for example, AfDB, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the World Bank, the European Union and the United Nations Development Programme) should be more detailed (objectives and rules of involvement). Similarly, the role of non-governmental actors (including NGOs, cooperatives and other grass-roots associations) and the private sector in the programme of cooperation between IFAD and the Government of Morocco needs to be more clearly defined.
- (b) Given IFAD's long experience in rural development and poverty reduction in Morocco and its knowledge of Moroccan Government policies and institutions, the Fund should step up its policy dialogue, in coordination with other international bodies. It should do this both with Government actors – to improve the institutional and socio-economic context for implementing the strategy – and with non-governmental actors (professional organizations, NGOs, the private sector, the scientific community). Boosting IFAD's presence in the country (using an appropriate procedure to be defined according to the objectives and the available resources) would facilitate not only the deepening of policy dialogue with the Government and coordination with partners, but also the pilot testing and implementation of projects.
- (c) Lastly, the preparation of the new COSOP should be organized within the framework of broader consultation and coordination involving all public, private and associational actors, and regular updating and adjustment of the COSOP programme should be anticipated, since a strategy must be flexible if it is to adapt to changes in the political, social, economic and institutional context.

Observations of the Government of Morocco - MAPM

IFAD's multisectoral interventions in Morocco should always encompass agricultural development.

As an agricultural development support fund, IFAD should continue to focus its interventions on aspects linked to the promotion of agriculture, with the aim of combating poverty, increasing the incomes of the most vulnerable people and preserving natural resources in areas of particular economic and social backwardness, especially mountain and arid zones.

Activities focusing on other multisectoral aspects may be the subject of partnerships with the actors concerned, within the context of projects financed by the Fund.

Supplementary recommendations:

- (a) In partnership with the specialized units of MAPM, adopt a more ambitious communication strategy based on a wider dissemination among partners of advances that might help to boost policy dialogue for the mobilization of policymakers and the rural population;
- (b) Continue to boost local capacities by organizing local inhabitants and improving their self-management capacities; this should be a constant concern of projects, for it represents a guarantee of project sustainability.

Proposed timetable

Incorporation of the recommendations during formulation of the new COSOP.

Partners involved

Government: the MAPM; the High Commission for Forests, Water and Combating Desertification; the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF); the Ministry of the Interior

International institutions: the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, AfDB, the European Union

National partners: the National Agricultural Research Institute, the Hassan II Agricultural and Veterinary Institute, the National Sheep and Goat Association, etc.

Local partners: IFAD projects and actors in the country's provinces

Civil society: organizations and associations involved in the rural world

C 2. Development of commodity chains, funding and the promotion of innovations

C.2.1. Boosting production optimization: integration of products promoted by IFAD projects into the appropriate commodity chains, as well as improvement in financing in the rural environment

10. Recommendations of the evaluation

- (a) The issue of marketing and *the integration of agricultural products promoted by IFAD-financed projects into appropriate commodity chains* warrants special attention with a view to fostering the economic viability of many interventions and the sustainability of their impact. Here, it seems necessary to establish better links among productive activities launched in the target douars, input markets and end-consumers.
- (b) Given the difficulties in implementation and some poor adjustments in the approaches adopted, a review and *updating of interventions in rural finance and support for microenterprises* are highly recommended in light of IFAD's operating policies and changes in these subsectors in Morocco, in particular, but not exclusively, with regard to activities targeting women. The priorities focus on two points: (i) support for the development of microcredit products

better suited to borrower needs and (ii) ways to open access to initial investments that microcredit associations cannot cover from their own funds.

Observations of IFAD, Programme Management Department

There are no poor adjustments in approaches. Some actions or activities have been designed as pilot experiments, in consultation with the Moroccan authorities in order to try out new working approaches. These would eventually be used as a basis for a national-level consultation and dialogue on rural finance policy. Furthermore, so long as qualified human resources are not recruited or redeployed to manage “rural finance services” and “microenterprise promotion” components, as anticipated in loan agreements, there will be difficulties in implementing these components. Financial resources also need to be allocated as and when expected if these activities or components are to have the desired impact.

Observations of the Government of Morocco - MAPM

Constraints linked to the implementation of microfinance components and support for microenterprises are not a result of poor adjustments in approaches, but of matters of a practical order linked particularly to difficulties in finding sectoral specialists with a view to their recruitment for projects.

Given this situation, the Ministry decided to redeploy its officers (agricultural engineers or agroeconomists) so as to entrust them with the task of supporting microfinance promotion and microenterprises within project management units. Taking into account the limitations of these approaches, the solution may eventually be to outsource the implementation of these activities to specialized operators outside the public sector.

Moreover, a more concerted effort is needed by the MAPM, the MEF, the other concerned authorities and IFAD in order to tailor microcredit products more closely to the specific features of the agricultural sector and to the development of commodity chains, in line with the recommendations of the workshop mentioned above.

The COSOP must incorporate the Ministry’s strategic perspective on the enhancement of agricultural commodity chains, when applicable to IFAD target groups, laying special stress on boosting productive capacities and professional organizations.

Proposed timetable

Incorporation of the recommendations during formulation of new projects and implementation of current projects

Partners involved

The MAPM; the MEF; the Social Development Agency; the Ministry of Tourism and Handicrafts; the regions; IFAD projects; the Moroccan Agricultural Credit Bank; microcredit associations; cooperating institutions

C.2.2. Boosting the promotion of innovations

11. Recommendations of the evaluation:

- Possible synergies between project activities (based on loans) and technical assistance grants for research and development deserve more reflection with regard to strategy, as well as operational aspects.

Improvement in the performance of the partnership as a whole is important in both promoting and replicating innovations. There are two priorities: (i) to anticipate a framework for the *systematic collaboration between grants and projects* (pilot experiments, analysis and capitalization, the dissemination of advances) and (ii) to

strengthen collaboration between innovating agents (NGOs, the research and development system, farmers, other development programmes) and IFAD's programme, which will probably entail boosting IFAD's involvement and intervention.

Proposed timetable

Incorporation during formulation of the new COSOP, new projects and technical assistance grants

Partners involved

Government: the MAPM; the High Commission for Forests, Water and Combating Desertification; the MEF.

International institutions: the International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas, the International Centre for Soil Fertility and Agricultural Development, ACCION International, the International Centre for Development and Research, the Consultative Group to Assist the Poor

National research institutions

C 3. Boosting project implementation support mechanisms

12. Recommendations of the evaluation:

In order to improve project performance and impact and to be consistent with IFAD's new action plan, *IFAD's implementation support capacities* need to be boosted, especially through more regular review and support missions and involvement in direct supervision. This means moving from traditional supervision that focuses on tasks and physical results to a new form of supervision that focuses on quality, innovation and impact. Actions on the part of the relevant Government agencies are also needed, however, in order to ensure an adequate level of human resources (numbers, fields of specialization and levels of qualification) on *project management teams*.

M&E systems must be improved through ongoing support, exchanges among project M&E teams and the introduction of the Results and Impact Management System. Projects need, in particular, to strengthen their day-to-day monitoring capacity (simple methods of information gathering, management and analysis) and periodic review and evaluation (small-scale surveys, case studies, participatory reviews).

Projections in terms of project planning, disbursement capacity and staff availability (especially taking into account the voluntary severance programme) have turned out to be unrealistic, and a *discussion of these procedures* and projections is therefore needed to ensure the *real availability of human and financial resources* as and when anticipated. This recommendation applies also to the sustainability of results and impacts, which is often considered late in the project cycle.

Proposed timetable

During formulation of the COSOP and implementation of current projects

Partners involved

Government: the MAPM; the MEF; provinces; cooperating institutions

Local partners: IFAD-financed projects

International partners: other donors active in Morocco

Appendix 1

Table 1. IFAD Projects in Morocco (as of December 2006)

Project name	Executive Board approval	Effectiveness	Closing	Total costs (millions US\$)	IFAD loan (millions US\$)	Cooperating institution
1. Agricultural Credit Project	27/06/79	04/12/79	30/06/83	737.2	25.0	World Bank
2. Central Haouz Irrigation Project	21/04/83	17/01/84	31/12/92	425.9	17.0	AFESD
3. Abda Plain Rural Development Project	18/09/86	15/06/87	30/06/96	41.9	8.0	AFESD
4. Livestock and Rangelands Development Project in the Eastern Region (PDPEO)	19/04/90	27/05/91	30/06/02	45.2	14.0	AfDB
5. Tafilalet and Dadès Valley Rural Development Project (PDRT)	20/04/94	27/03/95	30/06/04	52.5	22.2	AFESD
6. Taourirt-Taforalt Rural Development Project (PDRTT)	04/12/96	16/10/98	30/06/07	49.5	19.5	UNOPS
7. Rural Development Project in the Mountain Zones of Al-Haouz Province (PDRZMH)	07/12/00	22/01/02	30/09/08	30.2	18.0	UNOPS
8. Livestock and Rangelands Development Project in the Eastern Region, Phase II (PDPEO II)	11/09/03	08/11/04	30/06/11	9.2	6.4	UNOPS
9. Rural Development Project in the Eastern Middle Atlas Mountains (PDRMO)	13/12/05			34.4	16.2	UNOPS
Total				1,426.1	146.3	

Table 2. Activities Financed through IFAD Technical Assistance Grants

TAG 793	PN	US\$175,000		ACCION International	Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco: engaging commercial banks in rural finance
TAG 574	PN	US\$85,000		ICARDA	Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia : accelerated project performance in North Africa
TAG 656	PN/PT	US\$900,000		IFDC	Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey: programme for the development and implementation of an information and decision support system for cereal production in NENA
TAG 635	PN/PT	US\$661,000		IFPRI	Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia: empowering the rural poor under volatile policy environments in NENA
TAG-635A	PN/PT	US\$270,000		IFPRI	Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia: empowering the rural poor under volatile policy environments in NENA
TAG 553	PN/PT	US\$1,100,000		ICARDA	Algeria, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey: programme to foster wider adoption of low-cost durum technologies
TAG 536	PN	US\$1,490,000	US\$1,490,000	CIHEAM	Armenia, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia: methodologies and approaches for the effective introduction of participatory irrigation management
TAG 494	PN	US\$944,000			Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Yemen: programme of action to assist IFAD projects in reaching rural women in NENA
TAG 458	PN	US\$700,000		ICIPE	Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia: Regional Programme for the Development and Dissemination of Improved Apiculture Technologies in North Africa
TAG 413	PT	US\$1,065,000	US\$1,065,000	OSS	Algeria, Libya, Tunisia: programme for the development of a regional water management strategy for the north-western Sahara aquifer system
TAG 296	PN	US\$3,000,000		NENAMTA	Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen: North Africa Management Training in Agriculture Programme

TAG = technical assistance grant. ICARDA = International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas. PT = Technical Advisory Division (IFAD). IFDC = International Centre for Soil Fertility and Agricultural Development. NENA and Near East and North Africa region. IFPRI = International Food Policy Research Institute. CIHEAM = Centre for Advanced Mediterranean Agronomic Studies. ICIPE = International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology. OSS = Sahara and Sahel Observatory. NENAMTA = North Africa Management Training in Agriculture Programme.

Appendix 2

Table 1. Evaluation Ratings

	Reference situation			1999 COSOP paper				Average, COSOP paper	Average, ARRI 2005 ^b
	PDPEO I ^a	PDRT	Average, before the COSOP paper	PDRTT	PDRZMH	PDPEO II	PDRMO		
I. Performance	4	5	4	4	5			5	4.4
- Relevance	4	4		4	5	4	5	5	5.1
- Effectiveness	4	5		4	5			5	4.2
- Efficiency	4	5		5	5			5	3.9
II. Impact	3	4	4	5	5			5	4.16
Household assets and income	3 ^c	5		4	5			5	4.4
Food security		5		5	5			5	4.1
Environment	4	4		4	4			4	3.9
Human capital		4		5	4			4	4.4
Social capital	3 ^d	4		5	5			5	4.0
Market access		no data		3	3			3	
III. Sustainability	3	3	3	4	4			4	3.6
IV. Innovation and replication	3	4	4	4	5			4	4.2
V Non-project activities								4	
VI. Performance of partners	4	4	4	4	4			4	4.0
-IFAD	3	4		4	4			4	3.84
Cooperating institution and other co-financiers	4	3		4	3			3.5	4.12
Government and project management units	5	4		4	4			4	4.06
Overall performance	3	4		4	5			4.4	

Note: Rating: 6 = highly satisfactory, 5 = satisfactory, 4 = moderately satisfactory, 3 = moderately unsatisfactory, 2 = unsatisfactory, 1 = highly unsatisfactory.

a. In its original version, the rating of PDPEO I adopted a 4-point scale. A transposition to a 6-point scale was made in 2006-2007 by OE.

b. ARRI (2005) is the Annual Report on Results and Impact of IFAD Operations evaluated in 2005.

c. Calculated as an average of 4 for household assets, 4 for agricultural productivity, and 1 for financial resources.

d. Respectively, 3 for the development of cooperatives and 2 for the development of public institutions.

Table 2. Synthesis of Ratings from Other Evaluations

AfDB 2006: Evaluation of the assistance to the rural sector in Morocco Note: 4 = highly satisfactory, 3 = satisfactory, 2 = unsatisfactory, 1 = highly unsatisfactory		World Bank 2001: Morocco Country Assistance Strategy Evaluation, project ratings in the agricultural sector (5 projects)	
Criteria	Rating	Criteria	(%)
Global strategy	2,5 (satisfactory)	Satisfactory effectiveness	60
Relevance of the strategy	3	Likely sustainability	80
Effectiveness of the strategy	2	Significant impact on institutional development	20
Non-project activities	2		
Sectoral studies	2		
Policy dialogue	3		
Coordination, co-financing, resource mobilization	2		

Sources: AfDB (2006) and World Bank (2001) evaluations.

Appendix 3

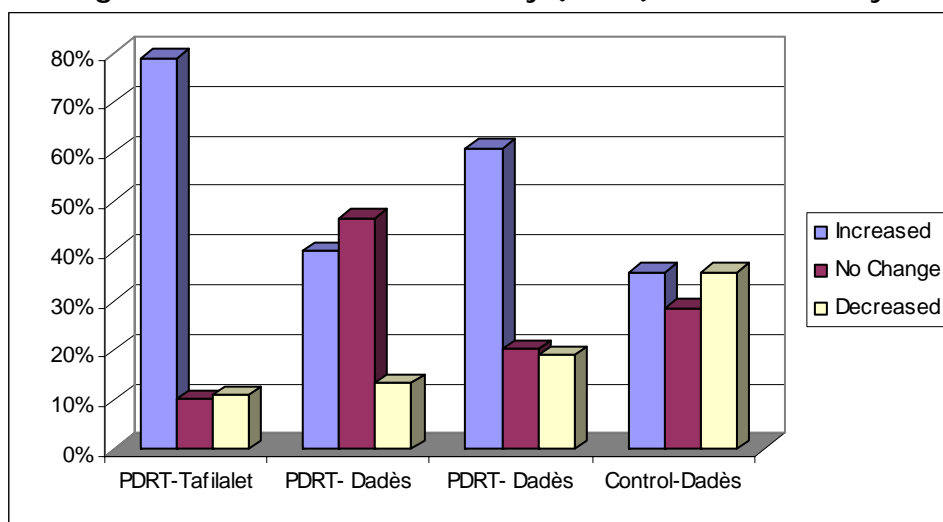
Table 1. Project Effects on Crops

	% of interviewed households reporting changes	
	Project sample	Control sample
PDRT		
Maize areas kept constant or increased*	43	0
Luzerne areas kept constant or increased	76	21
PDRTT		
New crops introduced	10	2
New fruit tree varieties introduced	19	2
Yields of fruit trees increased	42	9
PDRZMH		
New crops introduced	14	3
New fruit tree varieties introduced	53	23
Yields of fruit trees increased	58	43

Sources: PDRT evaluation survey (2005) and CPE socio-economic survey (2006).

*During the project period, the PDRT area was affected by a series of very dry years.

Figure 1. Changes in Household Food Security (PDRT) as Perceived by Respondents

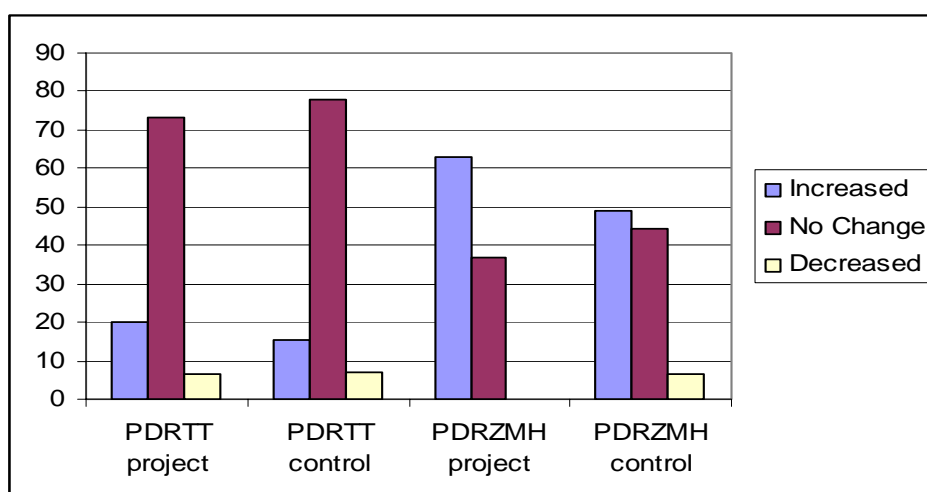


Source : PDRT Evaluation Survey (2005).

PDRT / Control Tafilalet: project sample / control sample in the Tafilalet region of PDRT.

PDRT / Control Dadès: project sample / control sample in the Dadès region of PDRT.

Figure 2. Changes in Household Food Security (PDRTT and PDRZMH) as Perceived by Respondents



Source: CPE socio-economic survey (2006).

PDRT project: project sample in the PDRTT area.

PDRT control: control sample in the PDRTT area.

PDRZMH project: project sample in the PDRZMH area.

PDRZMH control: control sample in the PDRZMH area.

Table 2. Beneficiary Appreciation of the Project Impact on Natural Resources

Indicators	PDRTT			PDRZMH		
	Beneficiaries	Control	Differences	Beneficiaries	Control	Differences
Number of respondents	(60)	(59)		(73)	(61)	
<i>Evolution of availability of water resources for agriculture</i>						
Positive (%)	8	10	-2	53	26	27
Negative (%)	60	50	10	18	33	-15
<i>Evolution of status of soils</i>						
Positive (%)	14	11	3	33	25	8
Negative (%)	14	15	-1	12	11	1
<i>Evolution of status of pastures and forest resources</i>						
Positive (%)	13	5	8	43	26	17
Negative (%)	43	56	-13	10	30	-20

Source: CPE socio-economic survey (2006).

