

Decentralizing School Governance: A Policy Analysis of Partnership between Parents
and Public Middle Schools in Morocco

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Dedication

I wish to dedicate this work to my parents, my siblings,
my wife Sarah, and my children Omneya and Abdullah.

May your lives be filled with love, peace, and everlasting happiness!

Abstract

The purpose of the current study is to investigate why parent-school partnerships have failed after ten years of reform implementation. Grounded in Kingdon's multiple streams model for policy formulation (Kingdon, 1995), the hypothesis of this study is that parents and teachers' apathetic attitudes towards partnership may reflect their positions on policy priorities they did not participate in defining. Kingdon's model highlighted issues of political consensus between parents and teachers around school reform and how they accounted for weak parent-school partnerships. Mohr and Spekman (1994) framework for successful partners, and Bolman and Deal (2003) four-framework model of human organizations highlighted the behavioral and organizational barriers to partnerships in Morocco's public middle schools.

The quantitative phase of the study consisted of a survey that measured (1) the extent to which parents and teachers demonstrated consensus on middle school problems and their corresponding solutions; and (2) the degree to which consensus accounted for partnerships. In the qualitative phase, interviews were conducted to highlight structural, cultural, human resource, and political impediments to parent-school partnership.

Findings suggest that parents' and teachers' agreements on general reform principles did not trickle down to working partnerships at the school level. Further analysis highlighted issues of trust, commitment, coordination, communication quality, and conflict resolution strategies characterizing parents' and teachers' perceptions of each other. Qualitative findings unearthed structural, cultural, human resources, and political barriers to parent-school partnership. Major structural impediments included lack of institutional funding, vague regulatory framework, deficient accountability, excessive centralization, and high opportunity cost of parents' participation. Cultural expectations pigeonholed parents in the roles of disciplinarians, laborers, and school slush funds. Lack of strategies for human resources was manifested in the absence of teachers from partnership trainings. Politically, the primacy of self-interest typified a fragmented political reality characterized by teachers and parent representatives who were too divided to have any significant impact on decision making.

This study demonstrated that desultory partnerships were nested in structural, cultural, human resources, and political weaknesses. Unless these underlying weaknesses are addressed, continuing to blame parents and teachers for a problem they are not empowered to solve does little to build stronger parent-school partnerships in Morocco's public schools.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Many donor assisted education projects have put community and parental involvement in education at the forefront of their interventions to improve access, retention, and the quality of education (World Bank, 1996, USAID, 2006, and UNESCO, 2008). In developing countries, social mobilizations programs have been launched to involve parents and communities in contributing cash and in-kind to school construction and maintenance (Heneveld and Craig, 1995), sending and retaining girls in schools (USAID, 2002), and increasing the accountability of schools to their communities (USAID/EQUIP2, 2005). The assumption behind this mobilization is that when parents and communities are directly involved in school improvement, they are more likely to ensure closer monitoring of the provision of education services, which is expected to have a positive impact on students' access, retention, and overall school quality (Rose, 2003).

In Morocco, the World Bank (2008) recommends that the road to education reform should be based on a three-legged approach that aligns efficient management of technical inputs, such as curriculum reform and teachers' training, with incentives and public accountability. In this model, parents monitor school provision and leverage their voice to demand accountability for school results. The public accountability component of the World Bank (2008) assumes a model where parents can and want to demand accountability, schools are legally expected to be accountable to parents; and, finally, parents' power to monitor educational provision and demand accountability from schools and the government results in better educational outcomes. Such assumption is indicative of a deinstitutionalization model which views parents as like-minded agents with well-

defined interests. This assumption is regarded as often antithetical to the interest of groups (teachers, school administrators, and education officials) who previously monopolized the educational process (Lewis, 1993).

Research on how parental involvement plays out in industrialized countries demonstrate that the deinstitutionalization model may not be viable without school support. Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler (1997) point out that parental involvement depends on (1) parents' perception of their role in their child's life, (2) their belief that they can help their child succeed at school, and (3) the opportunities for involvement presented by the child and the school. In this regard, Dauber and Epstein (1993) found that when teachers take action to involve parents in school activities, parents develop positive perceptions of the "goodness" of school.

In Morocco, the 1999 National Charter for Education and Training (COSEF¹, 1999) constitutes the most comprehensive road map for national education reform policy since independence. The Charter underscores partnership with parents as a key pillar of successful educational reform. Under the banner of Associations for the Mothers, Fathers, and Guardians of Students (AMFGSs), parents are expected (1) to collaborate with schools in developing 15 percent of locally relevant curriculum content, (2) to sit with teachers and administrators on school governance boards, and (3) to help support the funding of upper-secondary and higher education.

Given the national charter's high expectations about parental involvement, and especially considering the insignificant breakthroughs in meeting any of the charter's goals regarding partnership with parents (COSEF, 2005), the hypothesis of this study is

¹ Special Commission of Education and Training. In 1999, this commission was tasked by King Hassan II to propose reform recommendations that would act as a charter for education reform in Morocco.

that proposed policy on parents' involvement has failed because it was advanced under the untested assumption that parents and schools share the government vision regarding school problems and solutions. A corollary of this vision is the equally untested assumption that parents and schools can and want to partner around the improvement of school effectiveness.

In Morocco, national parents' groups represent parents' interests at the policy level. Similarly, labor unions represent teachers and school administrators in national forums on educational reform. Little is known, however, about the extent to which Morocco's parents and schools partner around a unified reform agenda at the national and school levels. By investigating why parent-school partnerships have had little success after ten years of implementation, this study is an attempt to fill the research gap in parental school involvement in the context of Morocco's public middle schools.

The Problem

Almost ten years after Morocco's 1999 education reform, significant investments have been made to expand equitable access to compulsory education. According to the High Council for Education² (HCE, 2008), enrolment in primary and middle schools has increased by 65 and 25 percent, respectively, from 1999 to 2007. These breakthroughs, however, did little to address problems of efficiency and quality especially in middle schools. In fact, even if the numbers of students steadily increased for both girls and boys in urban and rural areas, their numbers dramatically decreased as they progressed from

² The High Council for Education is headed by King Mohammed VI. This new council was established in 2006 to continue and improve the reform process that was started by the 1999 Special Commission of Education and Training.

one grade to another. As a result, none of the completion rates set by the 1999 charter were attained in 2008 (HCE, 2008).

According to The High Council for Education (HCE, 2008), only 19 percent of the students who started primary school managed to complete the ninth grade. This percentage is far below the 80 percent originally set by the reform charter (COSEF, 1999). According to the Ministry of National Education, (HCE, 2008) repetition rate in the ninth grade reached 30 percent. In 2006, the drop-out rate reached 20.5 percent. High repetition and drop-out rates have resulted in an average of 8.4 years, instead of the regular 3 years, to complete middle school (HCE, 2008).

The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) (2003) reports that Moroccan eighth graders' average scores in science and mathematics are 387 and 396 respectively. Such scores are below the corresponding international averages of 473 and 466. After controlling for the country's GDP per capita, eighth graders' scores remain below international average despite a clear improvement in ranking compared to countries such as South Africa and Ghana (The World Bank, 2005).

The High Council for Education 2008 posits that the overall poor performance of the educational system reflects dysfunctions at the level of governance, teachers' motivation, problems of curriculum relevance and applicability, inadequate funding, limited social mobilization, and weak parents' involvement in schools. These issues represent the same challenges that decentralization was initially intended to resolve when it was proposed in the 1999 Charter for Education and Training.

The High Council for Education (2008) attributes weak parent involvement in schools to an image problem that Moroccan public schools have amongst families. Many families perceive public schools as notorious for rampant violence³, teachers' absenteeism, re-production of social disparities, discrepancy between education and socio-economic advancement, and ill-maintained school buildings. One result of this perception is general apathy among parents. Parents' apathy is one of the factors responsible for high inefficiency and the low quality of students' performance in Moroccan schools according to the HCE (2008).

Notwithstanding the relevance of school related factors in explaining parents' apathy towards schools, almost all national reports in Morocco overlook how conditions of policy initiation impact the implementation of successful programs for parental involvement (Fullan, 2001). The limited partnership between parents and schools is perhaps an indicator of policy failure to understand the conditions necessary for parents and teachers to be effective partners. In this regard, Moulton, Mundy, Welmond, and Williams (2001) note that short information sessions for local actors on policies that they were not involved in initiating, most likely result in these actors expressing their priorities during implementation. This is especially relevant in the Moroccan context. Parents' and teachers' apathetic attitudes could probably be interpreted as a way of expressing their views on policy priorities they did not participate in defining.

Despite that educational change depends on teachers' beliefs and actions (Fullan, 2001), and taking into consideration Morocco's official discourse on the central role of parents in supporting successful reform (COSEF, 1999 and HCE, 2008), there is hardly

³ The Report did not specify the nature of the violence and who is responsible for it.

any research about conditions of partnership between parents and schools in Morocco's public schools. This study is an attempt to address this gap.

Purpose of the Study

Grounded in Kingdon's multiple streams model for policy formulation (Kingdon, 1995), the hypothesis underlying this study is that parents' and teachers' apathetic attitudes to partnership may reflect their positions on policy priorities they did not participate in defining. Kingdon (2003) argues that policies become prominent when, among other conditions, they secure political consensus between interested actors about their intended goals. In this regard, this study is an examination of (1) the degree to which there was consensus between parents and teachers; and (2) the extent to which such consensus accounted for parents' and teachers' perceptions of each other as partners. Should political consensus not be sufficient in accounting for weak partnership between parents and schools, Mohr and Spekman (1994) framework for successful partners, and Bolman and Deal (2003) four-framework model of human organizations reframe the problem of parent-school partnership from an issue of political consensus to one of human behaviors and organizations.

Research Questions

The research questions posed in this study framed weak parent-school partnerships as a policy problem and an organizational problem. From a policy perspective, consensus was operationalized as agreement between parents and teachers on identifying educational problems and their corresponding solutions. The link between consensus and parents' and teachers' perceptions of each other as partners was measured

to test the hypothesis that parents' and teachers' apathy toward partnership is due to their different perspectives on reform priorities. From an organizational perspective, weak partnership is viewed as a manifestation of the lack of behavioral attributes typical of partners. These attributes are, in turn, associated with structural, human resource, cultural, and political barriers to successful parent-school partnerships. In this regard, five research questions were investigated:

1. To what extent do Moroccan parents and teachers agree about the most pressing issues affecting the quality of education in public middle schools?
2. To what extent do Moroccan parents and teachers agree on the most effective alternatives for addressing educational issues?
3. To what extent are parents' and teachers' positions on issues and alternatives consistent with the government views?
4. To what extent does consensus among parents and teachers or, lack thereof, account for their perceptions of parent-school partnerships?
5. What other behavioral and organizational factors are associated with weak parent-school partnerships?

Definitions

Partnership

In the corporate world, partnerships are defined as “purposive strategic relationships between independent firms who share a common goal, strive for mutual benefit and acknowledge a high level of mutual interdependence. They join efforts to achieve goals that each firm, acting alone, could not attain easily.” (Mohr and Spekman, 1994, p. 135). Partnership gives partners access to new technologies and complementary

skills, broader choice of products and services, more knowledge and shared risks (Lambert and Knemeyer, 2004). The tradeoffs of partnership are increased complexity, erosion of autonomy, and asymmetric information (Mohr and Spekman, 1994). In this regard, it is important to note that despite the soaring number of partnerships, only a few have succeeded (Meyer, 1999; Wildridge, Childs, Lynette and Madge, 2004).

With respect to educational partnerships, Mariott and Goyder (2009) found that sustainable educational partnerships adhere to ethical rules of conduct. They are transparent and accountable. They foster partners' ownership and inclusiveness. They are relevant to partners' needs. They ensue from sound planning. They are focused on improving school outcomes. And finally, they are sustainable in the sense that partners have something to gain from working together. In this regard, Epstein (1996) describes six areas of school-family-community partnerships: 1) parenting, 2) communicating, 3) volunteering, 4) learning at home, 5) decision making, and 6) collaborating with the community. These six areas are based on Epstein's framework of overlapping spheres of influence (Epstein's, 1987a). This model emphasizes the interdependence of family, schools, and communities in influencing students' education (Epstein, 1990).

In Morocco, The Ministry of National Education (2006) states that one of the premises of the success of education reform is a partnership model where parents (1) contribute to the sensitization campaigns aimed at generalizing access to education, (2) participate in reducing school drop-out, school violence, and private tutoring, (3) support extra-curricular activities, (4) provide financial support especially in areas of transportation and assistance for poor and special needs students, (5) manage schools through participation in school councils, (6) participate in policy planning through

representation in local and regional councils, (7) partake in the maintenance of schools, (8) start partnership initiatives with other social and economic stakeholders, and (9) strengthen communication between schools and families to improve collaboration.

The following definition of partnership (Ouzi, 2007) is often used in the training documents of the Ministry of National Education in Morocco:

Partnership in education is based on a project shared by two individuals, groups, institutions, or a multitude of institutions that is manifested in exchange of expertise, experiences, information, and financial or human resources for the purpose of serving and accomplishing educational projects.

(Translated by the author, p. 19).

The definition listed above focuses on partnership outcomes and overlooks the processes and conditions underlying the successful attainment of such outcomes. In this study, Kingdon's policy perspective is used to highlight the degree to which parents and teachers meet a consensus threshold that enables them to work as partners. From a behavioral perspective, Mohr and Spekman's (1994) framework for successful partners helps understand the characteristics of successful partners. Finally, Bolman and Deal (2003) four framework approach to problems of partnership brings an organizational perspective that analyzes the structural, human resources, cultural, and political factors undermining parent-school partnerships.

Conceptual Frameworks

Kingdon' Multiple Streams Model

Kingdon describes three major process streams that characterize agenda setting in public policy: "(1) problem recognition, (2) the formation and refining of policy proposals, and (3) politics." (Kingdon, 2003, p. 87). Policy makers base their identification of problems on sets of indicators. These may include important events such

as crises or disasters, or reports resulting from monitoring and evaluation. Conditions become problems when there is a perception that something should be done about them. Defining a condition as a problem and using compelling indicators to make a case for a corresponding solution is a process that is largely handled by specialists. In this regard, Kingdon notes that “it would be a mistake to argue that proposals more or less well up from the public, but it would be equally in error to argue that advocates ignore public reaction as they design their proposals.” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 138). This condition underscores the importance of the political stream in the multiple streams model.

The political stream includes three major components; (1) changes in the national mood, (2) new administrations with different policy agendas, and (3) organized interests. In democratic societies, changes in national mood could be captured by trends in public opinion as measured in national, regional, or local polls, newspaper editorials, or direct contact with constituents. This national mood is, in turn, shaped by leaders who take the time to rally the grassroots for or against a given cause. The perceived swings in national mood would, accordingly, influence the prominence of a policy proposal in the decision making agenda. With regard to the second component in the political stream, it refers to governmental changes resulting from new elections. New governments are often elected on the basis of new policy priorities that become prominent on the government agenda.

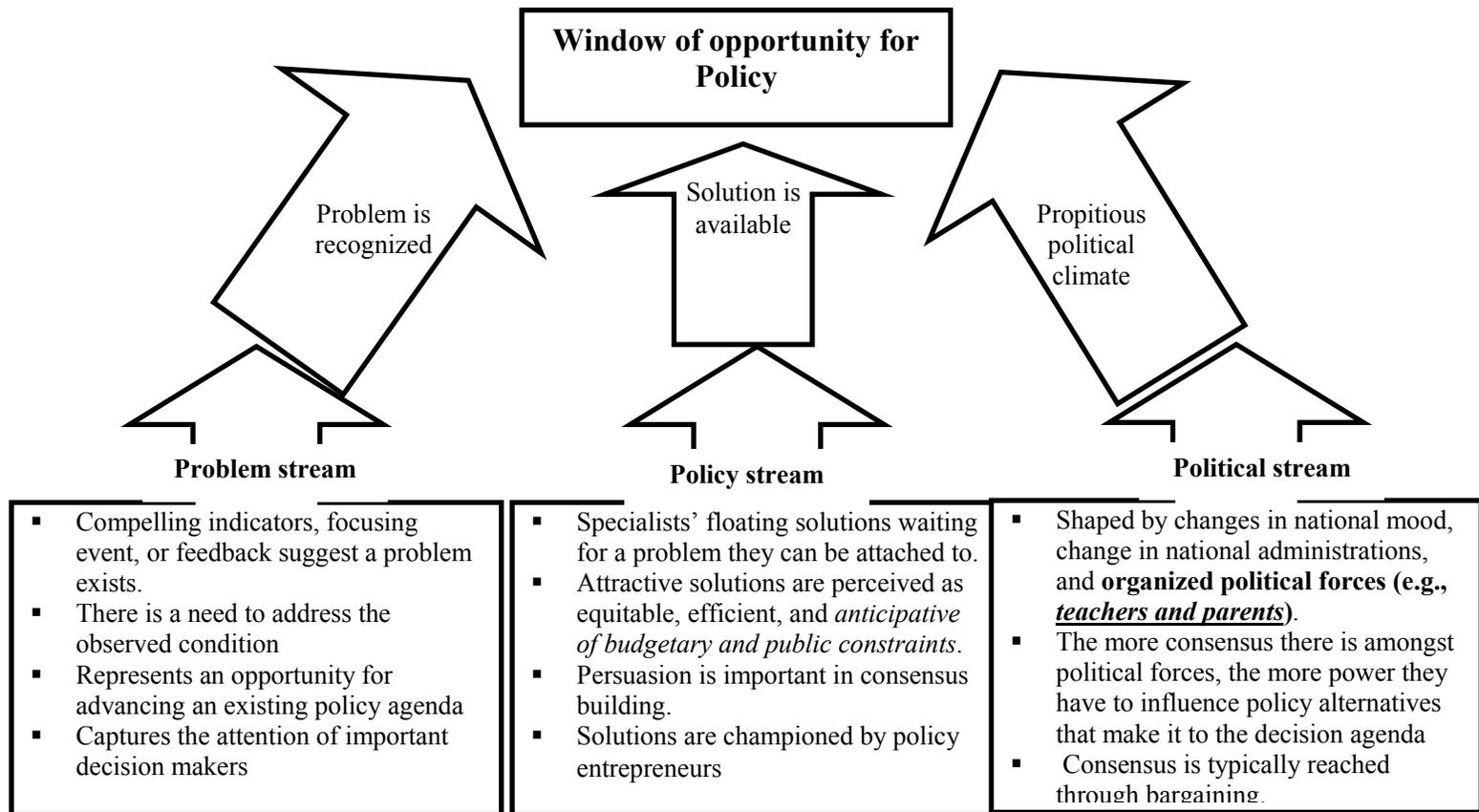
The third force in the political stream consists of organized interests. The more consensus organized groups have about the definition of a problem and its corresponding solution; the less worried policy makers and politicians are about the constraint of public acquiescence impeding the resulting policy proposal. In this regard, Kingdon points out that “if important people look around and find that all of the interest groups and other

organized interests point them in the same direction, the entire environment provides them with a powerful impetus to move into that direction.” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 150).

Should there be conflicting interests amongst interest groups, the chances of the policy alternative tilting one direction or another tends to depend on the political weight of the group, the energy it invests in promoting its vision of the proposed solution, and, most importantly, its ability to bargain for a coalition that builds consensus among a larger constellation of interest groups. Securing such a coalition is especially important given that the three aforementioned political stream components are often weighted disproportionately in their power to shape policy. This caveat is especially important in the case of Morocco where the overall decision making process is still largely top-down (World Bank, 2007).

In summary, when the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream converge, a window of opportunity opens for the proposed policy to be seriously considered by decision makers for legislative enactment. Figure one provides a visual illustration of the role of interest groups in Kingdon’s multiple streams model.

Figure 1
Conceptual framework of Kingdon's multiple streams model



(Adapted by the author from Kingdon, 2003)

Mohr and Spekman's Framework for Successful Partnership

Mohr and Spekman (1994) proposed framework for identifying successful partnerships includes (1) attributes of partnership, (2) communication behavior, and (3) conflict resolution techniques. Attributes of partnership refer to the degree to which partners' relationship is characterized by commitment, coordination, interdependence, and trust. Communication behavior refers to the quality of communication between partners. This also includes the extent to which they share information and involve each other in decision making. Finally, conflict resolution refers to the extent to which partners resolve conflict using 1) joint problem solving, 2) persuasion, 3) smoothing, 4) domination, 5) harsh words, or 6) arbitration. According to Mohr and Spekman (1994), successful partners collaborate to solve problems. They avoid engaging in persuasion, smoothing, domination, harsh words, or arbitration as each of these five strategies represent win-lose approaches to problem-solving.

Bolman and Deal's Four Framework Approach to Human Organizations

Bolman and Deal (2003) view human organizations in terms of four frames: A structural frame, a human resource frame, a political frame, and a symbolic frame. The structural frame emphasizes goals, rules, and a clear organization that designates individual responsibilities. The human resource frame emphasizes the fact that organizations exist to serve humans. Managers using the human resource frame focus on the needs, skills, and limitations of the people in their organization. The political frame treats organizations as a jungle where self-interest fuels competition between individuals. Finally, the symbolic frame highlights the culture of organizations. This often refers to the unspoken rules that underlie the modus operandi of human organizations.

Historical Overview of the Multiple Streams of Education Reform in Morocco

Problem and Policy Streams

Since Morocco's independence in 1956, international institutions have played a significant role in monitoring the country's economic pulse and making recommendations accordingly. In the 1980's, indicators of educational problems were shaped by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Structural Adjustment Program (Madi, 1998). The role of international organizations' expertise became even more salient in the 1990s.

In the 1990's, the progressive liberalization of the Moroccan economy characterized by privatization, the hosting of The Marrakesh Agreement⁴, and the ratification of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership (the Barcelona Process) in 1996⁵ have exposed massive deficiencies in human resource development that urgently needed to be addressed if Morocco was to benefit from globalization (RDH-50, 2006). In this respect, King Hassan II was unequivocal about characterizing early post-independence education home-grown reform policies as anachronistic⁶ (REMALD, 2001). These policies defined success in terms of generalization of access, unification of systems of education delivery, Moroccanization of the teaching staff, and Arabization of the curriculum. In 1995, the

⁴ This agreement established the World Trade Organization. It was signed on April 15, 1994 in Marrakesh, Morocco.

⁵ Morocco is one of twelve south Mediterranean states that signed the Euro-Mediterranean partnership with the European Union. Launched in 1995, this partnership aims at progressively preparing countries especially south of the Mediterranean to transition to a free-trade zone by 2012.

⁶ King Hassan II appointment letter to the Head of the Special Commission of Education and Training in February 1999 was clear about criticizing focus on generalization, unification, Moroccanization, and Arabization "as a current educational system that is suited for the post-independence period, and has exhausted its *raison-d'être*."

World Bank recommendations were decisive in setting the priorities of the 1999 national education reform as announced by King Hassan II in 1995⁷.

In summary, the role of international institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank is illustrative of a broader international trend which Daun (2007) describes as the world models paradigm. This transnational paradigm emphasizes decentralization, economic competitiveness, educational efficiency, and freedom of choice as the route to educational reform.

The Political Stream

National mood.

The Human Development Report (2006) and the High Council for Education (2008) ascribe parents' preference for private schools and lack of involvement in their children's education to a negative mood towards public education. In this regard, the authors of Morocco's Human Development Report (2006) warn that the increasing number of affluent parents who leave public education for private schools reflects their dissatisfaction with the quality and relevance of public education services. As a consequence, public schools lose resourceful parents who could champion parent-school partnerships. Additionally, The High Council for Education (2008) points to parents' failure to fulfill their role in the oversight of their children's school work as one of five reasons for the declining performance in Morocco's educational system. Such a failure

⁷ In his October 13, 1995 speech in front of members of the parliament, the late King Hassan II declared that he personally sought a report from the World Bank about problems of education in Morocco. He used the content of this report to ask for a national dialogue about education reform, and he used what he described as "the painful eloquence" of the report to build pressure and momentum for reform that culminated in his appointment of the Special Commission of Education and Training in February 1999.

could indicate a negative, but resigned, mood of poor parents who feel trapped within a system that they may not understand or feel able to change.

Notwithstanding the negative national mood about public education, very little is known about the extent to which it has influenced policy agenda and policy outcomes. It is also not clear whether this negative national mood has been leveraged in the form of advocacy and action aimed at addressing school problems. This is a process that political forces are organizationally better equipped to facilitate.

Political forces.

Since the promulgation of its first independence constitution in 1962, the foundational tenet of Morocco's constitutional institutions is commitment to democratic, social, and constitutional monarchy. The 1996 Fifth Amendment to the constitution defines the country as a pluralistic democracy. In this regard, Article 3 of the 1996 Constitution stipulates that "Political parties, unions, district councils and trade chambers shall participate in the organization and representation of the citizens. There shall be no one-party system⁸". This article institutionalizes the participatory approach to policy making that incrementally became the dominant discourse of the 1990s (Al-Arkoubi and McCourt, 2007).

Within this participatory approach, The Special Commission of Education and Training, the commission that proposed the 1999 national education reform, invited representatives from political parties, unions represented in the parliament, representatives of religious scholars, business people, civil society organizations, and education specialists to provide feedback about proposed reform. It is not clear, however,

⁸ Information retrieved from the national portal of Morocco on March 1, 2009 from <http://www.maroc.ma/NR/exeres/181D0AE6-491A-4162-B6F5-F163B991DF44.htm>

how much influence these organized groups have on initiating bottom-up debate and shaping national reform outcomes.

During his inauguration speech of the 1995–1996 legislative year in front of the parliament, the late King Hassan II strongly urged a shared sense of responsibility in examining the implications of the 1995 World Bank report to the future of national education in the country. During the same speech he noted, reproachfully, that he had never received any reports, letters, or questions from any party or union that proposed policies reflecting these groups' perspectives on how the problems of the nation could be addressed. Of course, it may be unfair to suggest that the country's political forces should receive all the blame for not communicating their visions of reform to the King given their interpretation of the King's constitutional prerogatives. This being said, Jabri's (1985) comment on the political culture prevalent among Morocco's political forces is aligned with the King's criticism. In this respect, Jabri (1985) noted that:

One of the principal reasons for the absence of a true intellectual activity in the period after independence is that we lack the intellectual and political debate which normally characterizes newspapers, magazines, and books when a nation is on a historic turning point... (Public) debate has been confined to back-offices and coulisses. This has resulted in conflicts being reined... and recourse to tactics and reconciliatory solutions to achieve union and harmony.

(Translated by the author, p. 53)

Twenty one years after Jabri's observation, Morocco's Human Development Report (2006) leveled similar criticism at the limited capacity for informed and vigorous debate in the public sphere. According to the report, the system of decision making in Morocco is characterized by scarcity of think-tanks; rarity of challenging public debate, and the limited integration of evaluation or public accountability in the decision making process.

Government.

“Administrations change, bringing with them marked changes in policy agendas.” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 153). In the Moroccan context, administrations do change, but the changes that they bring with them to the policy agendas are unlikely to be groundbreaking. In the 1996 Moroccan constitution, the government is accountable to the King and the parliament. With respect to education reform, the late King Hassan II, in light of the World Bank 1995 report, created the urgency for reform, and determined the outcomes he wanted his appointed reform committee to accomplish.

Likewise, King Mohammed VI has taken a lead role in building momentum for the prompt implementation of the reform recommendation. King Mohammed VI is the Head of the High Council for Education. He has also spearheaded landmark initiatives such as the May 2005 “National Initiative for Human Development” to combat poverty and marginalization through more involvement of local communities. In this regard, many of the new expectations added to the roles of parents in the 2006 ministerial partnerships memo ensue from the recommendations of the National Initiative for Human Development.

In view of the influential power of the King and, and to a lesser degree, the government in deciding what ascends to prominence in the policy agenda, and taking into consideration the significant role that organizations such as the World Bank have in influencing policy alternatives, it is legitimate to be skeptical about the benefit from incorporating the voices of political forces that may have neither the technical expertise nor the political weight to influence education reform. The following section on assumptions addresses this point.

Assumptions

This study is premised on the assumption that decision makers in Morocco recognize the importance of participatory governance to successful implementation of national development initiatives. This assumption is rooted in the vision of Morocco's National Initiative for Human Development (NIHD, 2005). This is the largest effort to combat poverty and marginalization in partnership with local stakeholders since the country's independence. In the context of schools, the incremental shift to participatory decision making is expected to create a situation where (1) parents feel they are entitled to have a say in their children's education; (2) they can see that their children are better off if parents get involved; (3) teachers support and welcome constructive debate with parents; and (4) local and national administrations support collaboration between schools and parents and ensure that parents, teachers, administrators have a stake in the success of parent-school partnerships (Fullan, 2001).

Ensuring that parents and schools have a personal stake in parental involvement cannot be dissociated from what Sack (1999) refers to as the self-interest motive underlying successful partnerships. In this respect, Hanson (2006) notes that:

If teachers' union membership does not feel threatened by a fragmentation of their bargaining units or a deterioration of benefits and working conditions, the teachers can be a formidable ally (or foe) in the change process...[conversely] if community members are not prepared to put in the time and energy necessary to make the reform work. If the local communities distrust, do not take seriously, do not participate in, or do not want to assume added responsibility, then the opportunity for successful change through decentralization is seriously limited.

(p. 13)

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study touches on policy, comparative international education, and citizens' participation in public governance. At the policy level, this

dissertation helps highlight some of the policy roots for the limited success of partnerships between parents and teachers. By examining whether consensus exists among teachers and parents on education problems and solutions; this study underscores the importance of securing the local buy-in for reform to bolster its successful implementation. When policy experts have adequate knowledge of the level to which parents and teachers are jointly vested in the proposed change, they can propose models of partnership that are more amenable to stakeholders' buy-in.

In the field of comparative international education, this study contributes to building knowledge about how international and local discourses on reform negotiate space in developing countries. The 1995 World Bank report to King Hassan II was pivotal in creating the urgency for reform in Morocco. International recommendations about what works could be in conflict with what Sayed (2006) refers to as local concerns about globalization and cultural identity. Morocco represents a particularly interesting case where tensions over religious versus secular, private versus public, local rights versus global rights underlie the fits and starts of education reform.

Finally, the societal significance of this study is closely linked to the charter's vision of the intended outcomes of education reform in Morocco. In the 1999 charter preamble, the first fundamental guiding principle of education reform consists of nurturing a citizen who is a model of virtue, integrity, moderation, and tolerance. This citizen is also open to science and demonstrates initiative, creativity, and entrepreneurship. Most of these values require an enabling environment that encourages debate and responsible choice. Indeed, working partnerships between parents and teachers can represent the praxis of the charter's ideal of the model citizen. One positive

externality of such praxis is a culture of mutual accountability of institutions and citizens that transcends school walls.

The remaining chapters in this dissertation are organized as follows: Chapter two is the literature review. It includes a review of the literature on decentralization with a specific section on Morocco. The second part of the chapter includes a summary of international research on parental involvement. This is followed by an overview of the literature on parental involvement in Morocco. Chapter two ends with a discussion of the limitations of existing research and a summary of the literature review.

Chapter three presents the methodology of the study. This includes the methodology and its rationale; the sample; and the data collection instruments. This chapter also includes sections on instruments' administration and data analysis plan. Chapter four begins with the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of quantitative findings. Quantitative results are expanded and complemented in the qualitative phase of data analysis. Chapter five includes a summary of the research findings. The implications of the findings to the conceptual model, theory, and practice are discussed. The chapter ends with reflections about the study limitations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Decentralization represents the policy backdrop for educational partnership in Morocco. This literature review includes an overview of the international literature on decentralization and parental involvement. The second part of the literature review summarizes research on parental involvement in education as it applies to the Moroccan context.

Decentralization

Research on decentralization is generally located within a continuum on which centralization and decentralization are on opposite ends. Even if overarching definitions of decentralization exist, this concept is nuanced by the socio-economic and cultural realities of its adopters (Winkler, 1993, Bjork, 2006, and Saito, 2008). Decentralization consists of two broad types; political and administrative (Wolman, 1990 and Daun, 2007). For Wolman (1990), political decentralization describes the process whereby political decisions regarding policies, revenue, and the allocation of revenue is not controlled by one political authority. By contrast, administrative decentralization is confined to administrative decision making and is not concerned with discretion over policy.

Winkler (1989) identifies four types of decentralization: Delegation, deconcentration, devolution, and privatization. Delegation refers to the process whereby the government transfers responsibilities to local or regional organizations. These autonomous entities receive funding from the government, and are ultimately accountable to it. Deconcentration is a mechanism of shifting decision making authority to local or

regional levels. Finally, devolution consists of independent sub-national government units with the power to generate and spend revenue.

Many studies point to the post 1980s' tendency to treat decentralization as a panacea for all types of governance woes in industrialized and developing countries (Daun, 2007; Saito, 2008). Broader intended goals were democratization, closer services to people, better governance, and effective development. More specific goals revolved around (1) efficiency values, (2) governance values, and (3) distributive values (Wolman, 1990).

Efficiency values are based on the premise that social welfare is maximized when individual preferences are captured accurately (Winkler, 1989 and Wolman, 1990). Another premise is that decentralization is perceived to be a policy that allows the adoption of cost-effective strategies which enable the central government to optimize education revenues by tapping local and private resources (Weiler, 1993).

Governance values comprise responsiveness and accountability (Saito, 2008), diversity, political participation, political education, leadership development, and checks and balances that ensue from a balanced relationship between central and local governments (Wolman, 1990 and Elmore, 1993). The aforementioned governance values are based on the assumption that the central government is disposed to redistribute authority (Weiler, 1993). This said, given the modern state interest in maintaining control, it is often the case that the power-sharing implications of decentralization collide with the countervailing forces of centralization that generally champion arguments of equity and national integration. In this respect, Wolman (1990) and Elmore (1993) posit

that the degree of centralization or decentralization should recognize the balance between individual preferences and values of equity and social integration.

Given the tensions of the centralization/decentralization debate, Daun (2007) notes that education decentralization works in countries characterized by (1) generally positive socio-economic conditions, (2) prevalent societal consensus on the importance of education and local participation, and (3) in the case of poor countries, when schools exhibit a shared commitment to improving students' performance among educational stakeholders. When these characteristics are not present, decentralization worsens already existing problems.

As a developing country, little is published in Morocco on whether the proposed education decentralization is based on a societal consensus that supports the importance of education and local participation. It is also not clear whether, at the school level, school staff and communities demonstrate a shared commitment to improving students' performance.

Education Decentralization in the Moroccan Context

In the education arena, it seems that Morocco's reasons for adopting decentralization are motivated by the same motives that led other developing countries to follow the decentralization route. In this respect, Daun (2007) argues that many developing countries sought solutions through education decentralization for

- (i) economic decline generally and/ or inability of governments to finance the education system's high or increasing educational costs; (ii) cultural factors (iii) weakening legitimacy of the state/public sector; (iv) state overload; (v) declining performance of the education system; and (vi) global and international pressure. (p. 28)

Almost all the motives listed by Daun could qualify as pressures for decentralization in the Moroccan context. This review subsumes state overload under increasing educational costs and declining performance of the educational system.

High or Increasing Educational Costs

Twenty six percent of Morocco's total government public expenditures go to education (UNESCO, 2008). The 1999 education reform (COSEF, 1999) clearly spells out how partnership is central to financing the attainment of universal access to education, reduction of illiteracy, and improving school quality. The reform charter recognizes that substantial inefficiencies characterize the use of public expenditures in education. Therefore, it called for local communes⁹ to participate in supporting pre-school education and the generalization of primary education. The charter recommends that local communities contribute to the building, equipment and maintenance of schools in partnership with NGOs with expertise in education.

The Moroccan government commits, however, to fully support free and compulsory public education for children between ages 6 and 15. However, it proposes progressive introduction of school fees for affluent high school students, intended to improve education quality. This proposal is contingent on demonstrable success of school reform five years after its introduction. According to COSEF (1999), households can be real partners for high schools and universities when they exercise their rights and obligations to participate in the management, evaluation and continuous improvement of these schools.

⁹ Locally elected community councils receive funds from the government but are also expected to raise their own revenues locally.

The clear emphasis of reform architects on rights and obligations associated with partnerships reflects the World Bank's position that in return for decentralized governance, local partners are expected to contribute resources previously unavailable to the central government (Weiler, 1993). In this regard, Bjork (2006) shows that expectations of financial contribution of parents, in return for more involvement in decision making at the school level, have been documented in Singapore, Malaysia, and China. He further notes that such expectations indicate that it is the World Bank's economic argument rather than the political democratization argument which underlies interest in decentralization.

Cultural Factors

Cultural factors are relevant to Morocco's decentralization policy. In 2001, King Mohammed VI announced the establishment of the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture. Article 2 in the Royal decree establishing the Institute of Amazigh Culture stipulates that one of the responsibilities of this institution is to help incorporate the teaching and learning of Tamazight in the Moroccan education system as recommended by the 1999 education reform of the language policy in Morocco. The intended purpose for incorporating the teaching of Tamazight is to ensure equity and national integration through the provision of equal learning opportunities for all Moroccan children.

Another facilitating cultural factor for decentralization in Morocco is what The World Bank (2007) refers to as practices of Berber democracy as exhibited in Berber villages' traditions of self-reliance. In this respect, "trust and solidarity became important aspects of social organization in these arid regions where the lack of water forced people to cooperate and transcend their individual interests in the name of the community"

(World Bank, 2007, p. 11). This observation corroborates an earlier study conducted by Memissi (1998) of 45 Berber villages in the south of Morocco. She concluded that these hard to reach villages improved their livelihood by organizing in locally grown NGOs. Memissi notes that the 45 villages used their social capital to contribute to the accomplishment of water and electrification projects that would have cost more time and money if they were initiated and managed by the central government.

To summarize, the increasing institutionalization of support mechanisms for cultural and linguistic diversity; the proven record of many local organizations in human development through Berber villages' traditions of self-help as exemplified in community solidarity, trust, and collaboration; and finally the limited accessibility of remote rural villages, makes the argument of decentralization through partnership with local communities more responsive to local cultural and developmental needs. Studies have yet to demonstrate whether the success of these Berber local communities in the improvement of their living conditions applies to education.

Given the need to balance the promotion of linguistic and cultural rights, on the one hand, and national unity, on the other hand, The Royal Institute for Amazigh Culture has played a central role in moderating debate about how education decentralization could guarantee equal access of all Moroccan children to quality education while strengthening values of national integration. This concern is not unique to Morocco. In neighboring Spain, plans to expand decentralization were suspended by the central government over national concerns about the "one nation" concept that is central to the Spanish constitution (Hanson, 2006).

Weakening Legitimacy of the Public Sector

The High Council for Education (2008) recognizes that parents and local communities perceive public school as sites of violence, reproduction of social disparities, discrepancy between education and socio-economic advancement, ill-maintained and unsafe school environments, and teachers' absenteeism. According to Morocco's 2006 Human Development Report, one objective of deconcentration in the early 1960's was to mentor local public administrators. However, the prevalence of an administrative mindset that is only accountable to central authorities has stunted the impact of deconcentration. As a result, problems of corruption and nepotism have permeated the central and local ends of the public sector.

In a few countries, the weakening legitimacy of the state manifested itself in gruesome fashions at times. In Peru and Bolivia, citizens lynched and burned their mayors. In the Philippines, India, and Malawi corrupt mayors were sued (Grindle, 2007). On the positive side, exemplary local officials in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, India, Mexico, The Philippines, South Africa, and the United States were recognized by their communities for their innovative governance (Grindle, 2007).

In Morocco, little is known whether any official is punished or recognized by local communities for their governance performance. The few public indicators of weakening legitimacy of the state consist of parents' apathy as reported by the High Council for Education (2008) and, at a more general level, the low turn-out in the parliamentary elections of 2007 where 37 percent, of whom 19 percent deposited blank ballots, cast their votes in national parliamentary elections (Ben-Layashi, 2007). Hopefully, decentralization, being a central component of Morocco's New Concept of

Authority (Al-Arkoubi and McCourt, 2007), is a genuine attempt to foster public accountability rather than a compensatory legitimation (Weiler, 1993) measure primarily motivated by the weakening legitimacy of the public sector.

Declining performance of the education system

Centralized decision making is one of the explanations offered by the High Council of Education (2008) and The World Bank (2008) for the declining performance of Morocco's educational system. As explained in the first chapter, the HCE report paints a sobering picture of the scope of problems that Moroccan public schools face both at the level of efficiency and quality. The council attributes this situation to five factors: (1) inefficient governance; (2) lack of effective incentives; (3) outdated and irrelevant curricula and teaching practices; (4) limited sources of funding; and (5) general apathy of staff and parents.

Comparing Morocco with other Middle Eastern and North African countries, the World Bank (2008) flagship report classified Morocco as a low performer on the integrated index of access, equity, efficiency, and quality. Despite that the country's average of public expenditure in education, as a percentage of GDP, has been consistently above the MENA mean of 5.3 percent since 1975; Morocco only scores 0.60 on the World Bank integrated index of educational performance. Table 1 illustrates how Morocco compares to Jordan, MENA's top education performer. The table shows that drop-out rates and repetition rates are serious efficiency and quality concerns that have stagnated or worsened since the launch of education reform in 1999.

Morocco's lag on access, equity, efficiency, and quality is especially pressing as national decision makers premise the country's overall development on two major

milestones; The United Nations' 2015 Millennium Development Goals and Morocco's Human Development Report 2025 growth Scenario (RDH-50, January 2006).

Table 1

A summary of indicators of access, equity, efficiency, and quality for MENA countries (comparison between Jordan and Morocco).

	Morocco				Jordan			
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2000	2001	2002	2003
Access								
Gross enrollment rate (GER)	102.2	108.8	112.4	113.1	95.9	91.6	101.9	101.1
Net enrollment rate (NER)	84.5	89.9	91.9	92	90	84.4	96.4	101.1
Gross intake rate (GIR)	118.5	123.2	123.2	108.6	104.7	104.1	99.2	-
Equity								
Gender parity index of GER	0.87	0.89	0.9	0.9		1.00	1.01	-
Gender parity index of GIR	0.94	0.95	0.98	0.95	1.00	1.01	1.01	-
Gender parity index of repetition rate	0.76	0.77	0.74	-	1	1	0.94	-
Efficiency¹⁰								
Survival rate to grade 5	83.7	81.2	75.6		97.7	97.1	98.8	-
Primary completion rate	61.1	63.3	67.5	75.0	91.3	91.8		-
Repetition rate	14.1	14.6	13.8	-	0.6	0.5	0.5	-
Dropout rate	4.5	5.1	6.2	-	0.2	0.2	0.2	
Quality								
Adult Literacy rate	48.8	49.8	50.7	52.3	89.8	90.3	90.9	90.3

(Adapted by the author from World Bank MENA development report, 2008)

The 2008 World Bank and HCE evaluations of the success of Morocco's education system do not bode well for the country's chances to meet the 2015 MDG goals of achieving primary education and gender equality. Another implication of the

¹⁰ According to the Moroccan High Council of Education (2008) report, out of a students' population of 6 million, more than 400,000 students drop out on a yearly basis. More than half of them drop out of primary education.

reports is that the country is not on the knowledge-production track necessary for wealth generating growth by 2025 (RDH-50, 2006).

Global and International Pressure

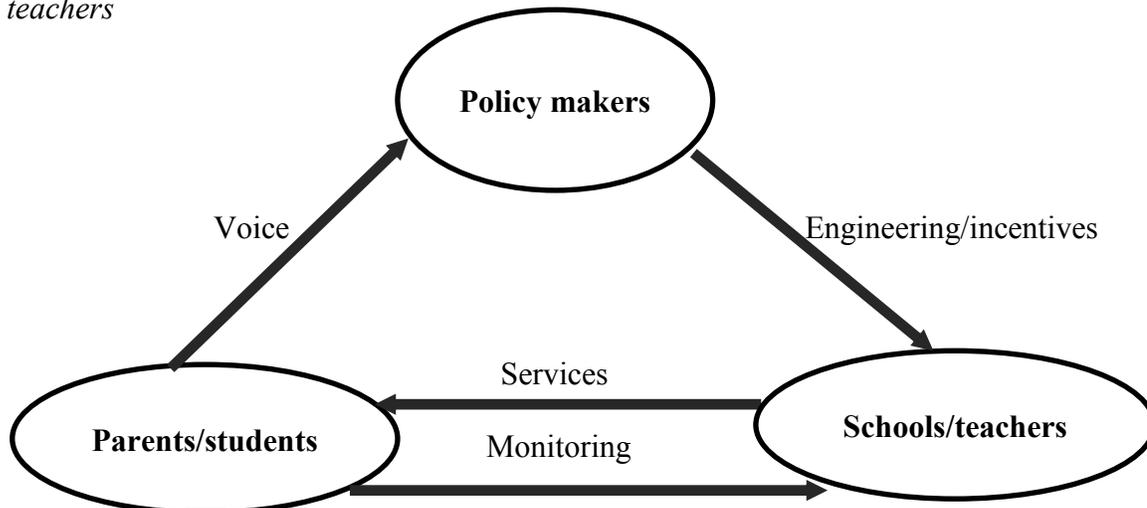
According to Bjork (2006) and Saito (2008), almost all developing countries factor in global and international pressure in their policies. In this regard, the World Bank (2008) views the road to education reform in MENA as a function of three blocks; engineering, incentives, and public accountability. Engineering is based on a firm's production function analogy where education outcomes are determined by the quality and the quantity of inputs such as school buildings, teachers, and textbooks. Engineering consists of manipulating the quality and quantity of education inputs to achieve better outputs. With respect to incentives, The World Bank "suggests designing implicit or explicit contracts with provisions that align the incentives of the agents [teachers or schools] with those of the principals [politicians or bureaucrats]" (World Bank, 2008, p. 120). By, involving parents in monitoring or by giving them choice among private schools, the expectation is that teachers and school resources will be directly affected by the quality of school outcomes. Decentralized monitoring by parents and students is expected to optimize the use of already existing resources.

Public accountability is the third block of education reform according to the World Bank. Public accountability assumes that educational outcomes improve when government officials respond to the demand of the majority of education beneficiaries. This is accomplished through reform of the general electoral process, decentralization, and the dissemination of information about education outcomes.

As a MENA country, The World Bank (2008) presents the road to better educational outcomes in Morocco as a function of political accountability, successful engineering and effective use of incentives. In this framework, the role of parents is emphasized as a key node of a three-pillar contractual relationship that comprises parents/students, policy makers, and schools/teachers. Figure 2 summarizes The World Bank vision of how such interaction could foster an educational system that is characterized by efficient engineering, targeted incentives, and political accountability.

Figure 2

World Bank vision of the contractual relationship between parents, policy makers and teachers



(The World Bank, 2008, p. 122)

In summary, even if the economic argument was initially the main force driving decentralization in developing countries, the political argument has eventually gained prominence. In the context of education, caution needs to be exercised to distinguish political utilities of decentralization (Weiler, 1993) from claims about causal connections between decentralization and improved school outcomes (Elmore, 1993, Saito, 2008).

Reflecting on the complexity of educational and cultural issues associated with decentralized decision making, and equipped with the historical hindsight characterized by constant swings between centralization and decentralization, Elmore (1993) notes that

If the historical debate tells us anything, it is that the central policy question should not be whether to centralize or decentralize authority, but rather what should be loosely controlled from any given level of government and what should be tightly controlled. (p. 51).

Taking into consideration the fact that administrative decentralization in Morocco has been implemented since early sixties (Human Development Report, 2006), a case could be made that the current governance process in the country is characterized by a hybrid form of centralization/decentralization. There is little evidence, however, that the current level of decentralization reflects a deliberate policymakers' search for a differentiated form of decentralization which fits the cultural, political, and decision making context in Morocco. In this regard, stagnation, if not decline, in education performance creates more urgency for research that helps inform how and where authority could be loosely or tightly coupled for the purpose of accelerating the reform process. Parental involvement in education decentralization is one area that can benefit from such research.

Theoretical Grounding for Parental Involvement in Education

International Research on Parental Involvement

This review first highlights the institutional framework of parental involvement. Second, it introduces some of the foundational theories of parental involvement. Third, it presents some studies on various aspects of parental involvement and its impact on educational outcomes.

Institutional Framework of Parental Involvement in Education

The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) and the 1990 Jomtien Conference on "Education for All" are landmark institutional frameworks for international policies on parental involvement. The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child recognizes the central role of parents and communities in child's socialization. Articles 5, 14, 18, 24, and 30 in the Convention emphasize the role of parents and communities in the education of children. Similarly, Articles 5, 6, 7, and 9, in the United Nations (1990) World Declaration on Education for All, stress the key roles of parents and communities in supporting education for all by mobilizing all resources for education.

In the U.S, national policies are supportive of parental involvement in education. In 1990, the federal government created the national Center on Families, Communities, Schools and Children's Learning (Epstein, 1996). The goal of the center is to inform U.S national policy through research, development, and evaluation geared at improving partnerships between families, communities, and schools. The U.S Congress "Goals 2000: Educate America Act" includes an eighth goal that calls for schools to actively involve parents in partnerships focused on supporting students' academic work at home and collaborative decision-making at schools (Houtenville and Conway, 2008). Parent participation is also one of the six foci of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Furthermore, schools benefiting from Title I funding are required to allocate part of that money to parent involvement programs (Mattingly, Prislun, McKinsey, Rodriguez and Kayzar , 2002).

Theoretical Foundations

Parents and community involvement is grounded in Dewey's work on education and democracy (1937); Bourdieu's cultural capital hypothesis (1973), and Coleman's theory of social capital (Coleman, 1990). Dewey invokes a right-based approach which argues that "those who are affected by social institutions must have a share in producing and managing them" (Dewey, 1937, p. 337). In Bourdieu's cultural capital hypothesis, parents are not just affected by social institutions, but they affect them as well. Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) posit that educational attainment can be attributed to the cultural capital of middle and upper-middle class families whose dominant values are affirmed and reproduced by schools. The impact of cultural capital was compellingly documented by Hart and Risley (1995), Noble, Norman and Farah (2005), and Lareau (2003).

Hart and Risley (1995) conducted a more than two years longitudinal study of 42 children from working class families, families on welfare, and professional families. Their research team observed 42 children from the time they were 10 months until they reached the age of three. One striking finding from this study was that by the age of three, children from welfare families would hear 10 million words and a ratio of 80,000 encouragements to 200,000 discouragements. By contrast, children from professional families would hear 30 million words and a ratio of 500,000 encouragements to 80,000 discouragements. Hart and Risley found a high correlation between children's IQs and the number and quality of vocabulary they hear.

Noble, Norman and Farah (2005) study of the relationship between socio-economic status and children's cognitive ability provides neuro-cognitive support for Hart and Risley (1995) conclusions. Using tasks from cognitive neuroscience, Noble,

Norman, and Farah (2005) assessed the neuro-cognitive functioning of 30 low SES and 30 high SES kindergartners. They found that children born to low SES parents perform less than children born to higher SES parents in language and the executive function systems¹¹.

Similarly, Coleman's social capital theory recognizes the impact of family resources on students' attainment. Family resources are salient in Anguiano's (2004) research on parental involvement among Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. The study found that across the three ethnicities, parents' use of their social capital for purposes of advocating for their children's school success has a significant effect on high school completion. For Coleman (1990) trust and closure are key properties of social capital. In this regard, Fullan, (2001) cited Coleman (1998) describing parents, students, and teachers' collaboration as the "the power of three" that can strengthen students' commitment to school. Coleman's concept of the power of three is similar to Epstein's theory of overlapping spheres of influence (1990). According to this theory, students perform better when schools, parents, and the community at large collaborate in providing and supporting students' learning. This new model breaks with the traditional perspective on schools and homes as separate spheres of influence (Epstein, 1990). In the traditional model, teachers contact parents only in case of problems. Based on the Overlapping Spheres of Influence, Epstein (1991) synthesized

¹¹ According to Dende (2002, February), the following components of executive function t impact functioning at school or work: (1) working memory and recall (holding facts in mind while manipulating information; accessing facts stored in long-term memory), (2) activation, arousal and effort (getting started; paying attention; completing work), (3) emotion control (tolerating frustration; thinking before acting or speaking), (4) internalizing language (using self-talk to control one's behavior and direct future actions) and (5) complex problem solving (taking an issue apart, analyzing the pieces, reconstituting and organizing them into new ideas). Retrieved on December 8, 2008 from: <http://www.help4adhd.org/en/about/causes/pathophysiology>

different types of parents' involvement in one over-arching framework, known as Epstein's framework for parental involvement.

Epstein's Framework for Parental Involvement

Epstein's (1995) framework describes six types of parental involvement: (1) parent skills, (2) communication, (3) volunteering, (4) learning at home, (5) school decision making, and (6) collaboration with community agencies.

Parent skills.

Epstein and Dauber (1991) view parental skills as manifested in parents' ability to provide home environments that support school learning. Unlike Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, Epstein's framework posits that parents' skills need to be cultivated through a multi-level leadership that is targeted at all families (Epstein, 1990 and 2005). The importance of parents' skills has been established by numerous studies. Homer and Haynes (1991) research on parental involvement in low-income black neighborhoods in New Haven in 1968 has found that parents' involvement when informed by child development, social and behavioral sciences can result in a welcoming learning environment where parents partner with other school stakeholders in supporting an effective and integrated enhancement of students' learning.

Parent skills were highlighted in a study by Lareau (2003) of the cultural factors associated with the achievement gap between low SES and middle-class students. Lareau conducted a nine-year ethnography of a sample of 88 diverse American families¹². She found that middle-class parents follow a "concerted cultivation" strategy that fills the child's time with activities and verbally engages them in a manner that emphasizes

¹² Three years after the beginning of the study Lareau focused on 12 families for intensive visits.

reasoning and negotiation. By contrast, children from working and poor families have a more independent life style. They spend more time with peers or family members than with instructors and coaches. She refers to this style as “accomplishment of natural growth”. Recognizing the developmental advantages and the limitations of each of the two approaches, Lareau notes that, at the level of language, social interactions, and cultural rituals; middle-class children are at an advantage because schools and employers tend to reward middle-class “concerted cultivation.”

In Jordan, Alnabhan, Al-zegoul, and Harwell (2001) conducted a study of the effect of family size, parents’ education, students’ academic background, and sex on students’ achievement. They found that there is an interaction effect between mothers’ education and fathers’ education on university undergraduates’ grade point average. Cross-national analysis of TIMSS scores in 34 countries conducted by Schiller, Khmelkov, and Wang (2002) found consistent positive effect of high parents’ education on the math scores of middle school students. For Epstein (1990) parent-teacher partnerships could improve parenting skills. This may allow many disadvantaged parents to narrow the gap in cultural capital between their children and the children of middle class parents.

Communication.

Basing their conclusions on findings from 171 teachers in 8 inner-city elementary and middle schools, Epstein and Dauber (1991) found that when teachers incorporate parental involvement in their teaching practice, parents become more involved in their children’s school work, and they develop positive attitudes about partnership with school.

Even if communication is crucial to parent-school partnerships, experience from other countries indicates that it is fraught with problems. Hughes and Naughton posit that “communication cannot improve the relationship between staff and parents unless it addresses the politics of knowledge underpinning them” (Hughes and Naughton, 2000, p. 248). In this respect, they cite studies in Greece and Japan where only 25 percent of Greek school staff express interest in collaborating with parents. In Japan, staff is reluctant to communicate with parents. Similar resistance of kindergarten principals and staff was cited as the main problem preventing Jordanian parents from participating in their children’s schooling (Ihmeideh, Khasawneh, Mahfouz, and Khawaldeh, 2008).

For Lareau (2000), the difficulties that parents have communicating with school staff are not unusual. As she put it:

Over fifty years ago, Willard Waller, author of the *Sociology of Teaching*, called parents and teachers ‘natural enemies.’ He was right. Parents and teachers have a different relationship vis-à-vis children. Parents are concerned with a single child in a class; teachers need to be concerned with all of the children. These particularistic concerns of parents and universalistic concerns of teachers can, and do, create conflicts. (p. 159)

Knowledge and power differentials can be detrimental to successful communication between parents and teachers. In the U.S, starting from the 1960s, parents’ and teachers’ knowledge and power differentials became more symmetric as more middle-class parents graduated from college. In this regard, the essence of family-school partnerships is “to develop and conduct better communications with families across the grades in order to assist students to succeed in school.” (Epstein, 1996, p. 213).

Volunteering.

For Epstein and Dauber (1991), volunteering requires parents or family members to be present at school to provide assistance in curricular and extra-curricular activities.

Epstein and Sheldon (2002) found that parents' volunteering, and school partnerships building initiatives are associated with less behavioral problems among students. However, not all parents feel empowered to volunteer. Lareau (2000) notes that many upper-middle class parents can use their status to influence school programs in ways that do not necessarily result in better educational performance for all students.

Learning at home.

Epstein and Dauber (1991) invite schools to take an active role in communicating with parents about how to align school objectives with the learning that takes place at home. In this respect, they suggest that schools provide guidance to parents about how to help their children succeed at school. In Egypt, Abd-El-Fattah (2006) conducted a structural equation modeling analysis of the correlation between students' perception of parental involvement and academic achievement. This study involved 147 male and 128 female first year high school students in El-Minia city in Egypt. The study found that students' perception of parents' involvement is the most important predictor of academic achievement.

School decision making.

Fullan (2001) points out that school decision making represents only one type of involvement as most parents are not interested in running schools as they are in seeing their children do better. Nevertheless, this type of involvement seems to be the most heavily emphasized form of parental involvement in developing countries.

In Southern and Eastern Africa, there is a belief, largely supported by international development organizations, that when parents participate in school governance, oversee children's homework, contribute financially to school maintenance and management, and advocate for the improvement of students' access, retention, and

completion; better efficiency and quality will follow (Rose, 2003 and Kendall, 2007). Parent participation in decision making is one of the main goals of decentralization of school governance. According to Lewis (1993), starting from the 1960s, parent participation was part of a reform movement in U.S urban schools aimed at shifting control of public schools from the bureaucracy to communities. Lewis (1993) referred to this shift as a deinstitutionalization paradigm which viewed bureaucracy as the problem, and the democratic participation of communities as the solution.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, however, Heneveld and Craig (1995) note that in twenty out of twenty six World Bank projects, community support is mostly defined in terms of in cash and in-kind contributions. Very few projects encourage dialogue between schools and communities. This observation raises questions about the extent to which international donors and national governments view parents in developing countries as capable of contributing more than cash and labor to school improvement. In Morocco, little is known about whether parents have the desire, the ability, and the know-how to monitor schools and advocate for their children's interests.

In summary, international literature on parental involvement in education is rich, diverse, and compelling. Parental involvement in education has been justified on legal, political, cultural, social, neuro-cognitive, and educational grounds. However, just like decentralization, the concept of parental involvement is still ambiguous and controversial. In developing countries, parental involvement is largely viewed in terms of financial and labor contributions. Morocco is not an exception to this trend.

Parental Involvement in Education in Morocco

Political and socio-economic factors in Morocco have played significant roles in shaping parental involvement in education. This involvement could be divided into three periods: 1) Colonial years and early independence, 2) post-independence, and 3) the post 1999 education reform.

Colonial years and early independence

Few studies have investigated parental perception of effective education in Morocco. Jabri (1985) described the role that parents played in rejecting formal colonial education and supporting private schools that preserve national identity. Immediately after independence in 1956, the rejection of formal colonial schools morphed into a massive popular demand of parents to enroll their children in national schools as parents expected the Liberation Movement to deliver on its promise of education and bread for all (Jabri, 1985).

Koranic schools remained the main provider of preprimary and literacy education in areas that were not reached by government schools. According to Boukamhi (2004), the community had the power to hire and fire the school teacher, *the fqih*, on the basis of a mutual oral agreement. The community had clear indicators of what constituted quality education. Examples of such indicators included memorization of the Qur'an, mastery of Arabic, basic numeracy, and respect for parents and elders. Parents had a clear job description of what a good teacher could accomplish. In addition to his instructional duties, the Koranic school teacher did religious counseling, led prayer, conducted funerals, assisted with marriage contracts, and served as a literacy mediator who read letters and official documents for illiterate members in the community. The Koranic

teacher was accountable only to the community who could fire him in cases of absence or incompetence (Houtsonen, 1994 and Tawil, 2006).

The leeway that rural communities in Morocco had in vetting, selecting, and rewarding or firing the Koranic teacher, (Houtsonen, 1994, Crawford, 2001, Boukamhi, 2004, and Tawil 2006) could be compared to the 19th century rural America described by Sher (1977) and Fuller (1982), in Tyack (1993), as the golden age of democratic participation. This era was characterized by minimal intrusion of bureaucratic regulation and central roles of parents in making decision about education that fit their morality and perceptions of useful learning.

Post-independence

After independence, government recruitment of teachers limited parents' traditional ability to hire and fire teachers. At the level of quality, modern school curricula were new, if not threatening, to traditional parents. In this regard, Houtsonen's (1994) ethnography in the Moroccan Berber community of Bounaamane highlights why some parents would rather send their children to Qur'anic schools than to public schools. Some of the reasons are the perception of public schools as symbols of alien city culture, ignorance or avoidance of Berber (Tamazight) by teachers who only spoke Arabic or French, the behavior of "the boys" (young teachers) from town whose clothes and manners were not consistent with village traditions, the high cost of public education, inflexible schedules, irrelevance of public school curriculum to rural needs, individualistic values, and the ensuing lack of respect for elders, parents, and the community.

Rural parents' preference for Qura'nic schools as suggested by Houtsonen (1994) and Tawil (2006) was not an outright rejection of public schools. Crawford (2001) affirms the perception that the community selected teachers who have much more affinity with the local rural culture than the urban government teachers. However, he also points out that

In 1998, the men of Tagharghist toiled for weeks in the hot sun to hack a platform from the mountainside that would be suitable for a government school. Once they'd finished, government workers appeared, and up went the school house with a toilet (only the second in the village), glass windows, desks, blackboards and a coat of shocking pink paint. The villagers were exuberant. Every child lucky enough to get a government issued back-pack full of school supplies would not take it off, and for weeks, the matriculating class pranced around the village waiting for the first day of school. (p. 23)

For Crawford (2001), despite misgivings about public schools' lack of affinity with local rural values, parents were aware of the need for their children to get a modern education. In this regard, the 1963 ministerial memo calling for parents to organize in associations represents the first attempt to formalize parental involvement in public schools (Idrissi, 2009). Parents were called to organize in associations that mobilized more parents to enroll their children in school, participate in supervisory committees for exams, and send their delegates to national meetings on education reform

The seventies and eighties were characterized by a prolonged economic crisis which drastically slowed investment in public education (Morrison, 1991). This was also a period of deep political unrest characterized by massive students' and teachers' strikes (Price, 1978). Many national representatives of parent associations in Morocco argue that the government encouraged parent associations to help prevent students from going on strikes and provide resources for underfunded public schools (Idrissi, 2009). At the national level, parent groups joined efforts with teachers' unions and other political

parties to advocate for educational and political reform (Idrissi, 2009). This said, despite that parents' negative attitudes about school quality have been highly associated with students' drop-out (Chedati, 2004), very little is known about the extent to which existing formal structures for parental involvement respond to parents' everyday concerns about their children's learning.

The post 1999 education reform

In 1999, new educational reform was premised, among other pillars, on a working partnership between schools and families (COSEF, 1999). Since then, parent associations have become more assertive as school partners. This said, evaluative reports (COSEF, 2005, HCE, 2008) agree that while the structures for parental involvement have been laid, there is very little evidence that parent-school relationship qualifies as partnership.

A national survey of 12,000 households conducted by the State Secretariat for Literacy and Non-formal Education (SSLNE, 2006) found that 25.2 percent of illiterate respondents attributed their inability to access school to parental or familial decisions. Sixteen percent of parents attributed children's lack of access or completion to poverty or school distance. Findings also suggested that children were more likely not to stay in school if their parents were illiterate. In this regard, 3.51 percent of the children dropped out of school in families where the mother was literate. This percentage jumped to 11.84 percent in households where the mother was illiterate.

The same SSLNE 2006 study found that 35 percent of students who dropped out of school fault school factors. These included difficulties in understanding school subjects (15.7 percent), problems with teachers (8.4 percent), and expulsion from school (10.9 percent). Additionally, socio-economic factors were equally important especially as

they applied to girls in rural areas. In this regard, 28 percent of rural and 7 percent of urban fathers explained that they stopped sending their daughters to school primarily for their safety. Safety is closely associated with school distance, lack of proper transportation, or deficient boarding facilities.

A 2007 UNICEF study of the situation of children in Morocco took note of the dearth of research on the role of Moroccan parents in their children's education. It found that parents are weakly involved in their children's education. Fathers think of children's education as essentially a women's responsibility. Parents largely see their responsibility as limited to the provision of food, shelter, and clothing. Investigating conditions of child labor, UNICEF (2007) found that parental decisions represent 72.1 percent of the reasons for child labor under seven. 33.2 percent of parents took that decision for children between 15 and 17.

The same UNICEF study found that almost all parents considered slapping and spanking a form of education. It concludes that the family situation is exacerbated by the absence of a national policy that supports parents' roles as protectors and educators. In this regard, UNICEF views the improvement of the situation of vulnerable children in Morocco as possible when (1) parents are empowered to know their rights and demand them; (2) efforts are concentrated on the most marginalized parents in terms of combating poverty and providing access to information, and (3) parents are informed about their children's rights.

Notwithstanding the sobering findings reported by UNICEF (2007), the study did not elaborate on its data collection methodology. In this respect, a 2006 study conducted by L'Ecole Supérieur du Psychologie de Casablanca (Casablanca High Institute for

Psychology, CHIP, 2006) was more specific about how its data were collected. The CHIP reported findings on two investigations of school violence in Morocco's public schools. The first study was based on 100 group interviews with a sample of 1,411 children. The second study consisted of some interviews but largely relied on a national survey that was based on a representative national sample of 194 primary schools, more than 5,000 students, 1,800 teachers, 800 parents, and 194 principals.

The CHIP study, similar to UNICEF (2007), found that a substantial number of parents considered corporal punishment to be acceptable for educational purposes. Many parents also believed that if children did not succeed, it was because the teacher was too lenient. The report, however, notes that half of the parents did not value corporal punishment. Finally, the report posits that supporting students' learning at home was not necessarily impeded by parents' illiteracy. Many illiterate mothers made sure their children recited their lessons.

On the basis of the above studies, it seems that parents play an active role in choosing whether their children go to school, stay in school, or drop out. They also have a clear set of reasons that justify their choices. These choices often occur in contexts of poverty, illiteracy, and marginalization. Most of the studies, however, concentrate on parental involvement as part of the problem rather than the solution. In this respect, it is important to reiterate that many parents are in public schools either because they do not have a choice of a better provider (especially in rural areas); or they cannot afford the fees of private schools (RDH-50, 2006).

In conclusion, Morocco is signatory to The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), and the 1990 Jomtien Conference on "Education for All".

Nevertheless, there are no national mandates or financial incentives geared towards building successful parent- school partnerships. This situation is exacerbated by the dearth of studies on how Morocco's parents could support higher quality education through parent-school partnerships. The few studies that investigated the role of parents often used a deficiency lens. By studying consensus between parents and teachers, the current study is an attempt to open the black box of parent-school partnerships. This could contribute to challenging the deficiency model which has dominated the existing literature on the role of Moroccan parents in their children's education.

Despite the growth of literature on parent-school partnerships, methodological concerns continuously challenge the link between parental involvement and school outcomes. White, Taylor, and Moss (1992) evaluation of 172 studies which examined the involvement of parents in prekindergarten programs found no evidence of measurable cost-savings in kindergarten programs that could be confidently traced to parental intervention. They also found little and, at times, contradictory evidence that children and families benefit from kindergarten programs that involve parents as opposed to programs that don't.

Methodological misgivings were further raised by Baker and Soden (1998) and Mattingly, Prislun, McKinsey, Rodriguez, and Kayzar (2002). Baker and Soden caution that the use of non-experimental design, inability to isolate parent involvement effects, problems with the consistency of definitions of parent involvement, and the lack of objective measures of parent involvement constitute major flaws in the research on parental involvement in education. They maintain, however, that methodologically sound

studies have consistently found a strong effect of parental involvement in education on students' achievement.

Mattingly, Prislín, McKinsey, Rodríguez and Kayzar (2002) meta-evaluation of 41 parent involvement evaluation studies points to flaws such as inattention to the effect of intervening variables related to the demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural characteristics of parents in evaluation studies. They also found little evidence of systematic co-variation between parental involvement and students' outcomes. The implication of these evaluations especially for developing countries is that the implementation of programs on parental involvement should be accompanied by mechanisms of monitoring and evaluation that measure their effectiveness to maximize opportunities of further corrections and adjustments.

Other questions about parental involvement are political and socio-cultural. In the U.S, early opponents of decentralization were suspicious of parental and community control for fear of parochialism and the sidelining of professional expertise (Tyack, 1993). Similarly, Sayed (2006) posits that the perception of the fundamentalist threat and the elite's skepticism about what the masses are capable of contributing could explain delays in the democratization of public participation arena in Egypt. The fact that decentralization and parental involvement entail a redistribution of traditionally centralized authority (Weiler, 1993) makes central governments wary about the ramifications of such decisions to the interests of the modern state. The Egyptian ambivalence about civic organizations and grass-root movements largely epitomizes the situation in Morocco.

The World Bank (2008) pushes for public accountability and monitoring through parental participation in the MENA region. This study addresses parental involvement through an empirical examination of the extent to which there is consensus between parents and teachers about education reform, and how such consensus is associated with parent-school partnerships in Morocco.

Summary

The literature review highlighted economic, political, cultural, and scientific underpinnings for decentralization and parental involvement. One observation to draw from the discussion about *decentralization* and parental involvement is that the two policies have almost become a hallmark of governance reform especially in developing countries. When parents are more involved in decision making, the expectation is that children will perform better in schools. The literature review demonstrated the legal, theoretical, and research grounds for such an assumption.

Morocco experimented with decentralization and parental involvement as early as its independence. Yet, talk about the importance of parents in their children's education is not accompanied by funded mandates based on home grown research on how parents, schools, and communities can best merge their spheres of influence (Epstein, 1990). Given the shift towards participatory governance in the 1990s, it has become essential to examine the country's capacity to nurture a consensus building culture around how those affected by public institutions can have a say in how these institutions are managed (Dewey, 1937). The methodology chapter describes the tools used to analyze conditions of partnership between parents and schools.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Grounded in Kingdon's (1995) multiple streams model, this study investigated why partnerships between parents' associations and schools have had limited success almost a decade after the 1999 education reform in Morocco (COSEF, 1999). The research questions are premised on the hypothesis that partnership policies that are not based on prior consensus between teachers, parents, and the government are less likely to succeed during implementation (Kingdon, 1995; Moulton, Mundy, Welmond, and Williams, 2001). Mixed methods for data collection were used to investigate this hypothesis. This chapter presents an overview of (1) the methodology used in this study, (2) the sample, (3) data collection instruments and their administration, and (4) data analysis.

Study Methodology and Rationale

The research questions for this study integrated a deductive and an inductive approach to understanding conditions of partnerships in Morocco's public middle schools. Grounded in Kingdon's multiple streams model, the deductive aspect of the research examined the extent to which macro-political conditions of consensus between interest groups (parents and teachers) affected their perceptions of each other as partners. Additionally, the incorporation of Mohr and Spekman's (1994) partnership framework highlighted organizational dynamics associated with parent-school partnerships. Supplementing Kingdon's conceptual framework with Mohr and Spekman's model helped define consensus in terms of what partners say and do.

For Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003), mixed methods research consists of the collection and integration of quantitative and qualitative data at concurrent or sequential

stages in the research process. Greene, Caracelli, and Graham (1989) found that mixed methods are undertaken for purposes of triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation, and expansion. Triangulation aims at converging findings by diversifying methods for studying the same phenomenon. Complementarity seeks enhancement and clarification resulting from multiple mixed methods results. Development aims at using the result of early methods to inform the design of later methods in one study. Initiation is meant to reframe the research question on the basis of paradoxes or new perspectives that can emerge with multiple methods. Finally, expansion is intended to enhance the depth and breadth of the study through the use of various methods for various research questions (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner, 2007).

In the present study, the rationale for using mixed methods is complementarity and expansion. The qualitative instrument complements the survey results by highlighting structural, cultural, human resource, and political factors associated with the success or failure of partnership. Complementarity and expansion are best attained by the mixed methods sequential explanatory design (Creswell, Clark, Gutmann and Hanson, 2003).

Creswell, Clark, Gutmann, and Hanson (2003) identify six types of mixed methods design: 1) sequential explanatory design, 2) sequential exploratory design, 3) sequential transformative design, 4) concurrent triangulation design, 5) concurrent nest design, and 6) concurrent transformative design. They describe the sequential explanatory design as the most straightforward. It consists of two phases. In Phase 1, the researcher collects and analyzes quantitative data. This phase is followed by phase 2 where the researcher collects and analyzes qualitative data. The results of the quantitative and

qualitative analyses are integrated at the interpretation stage. This design is particularly suited to the sequence of the research questions proposed for this study. Quantitative data were collected and analyzed first. Results of the analysis informed the focus of the interviews in terms of the choice of the qualitative sample and the type of questions posed during interviews.

Sample

The sample section includes an overview of the sites for data collection, the participants, and the sampling methodology.

The Data Collection Sites

Data were collected from six of the sixteen regions in Morocco. These regions are Chaouia-Ourdigha, Gharb-Chrarda-Bni Hssen, Grand Casablanca, Marrakesh-Tensift-EI Houz, Meknes-Tafilalet, and Rabat-Salé-Zemmour-Zaer. With a population of 14,756,943; these regions represent 49.37% of the national population (MOE, 2010).

According to a study conducted by Morocco's Department for Literacy and Non Formal Education in 2006, Grand Casablanca has the third lowest illiteracy rate in the country for people who are 15 and above; 25.5%¹³. By contrast, Marrakesh Tensift Al-Houz has an illiteracy rate of 49.02 percent. This is higher than the national illiteracy average of 42.98 percent (ENSAD, 2006). The same study found that 3.59 percent of children between 9 and 14 drop out of school in Grand Casablanca. In Marrakesh Tensift Al Houz, however, 15.12 percent of children of the same age group drop out of school. The national average is 8.9 percent. Finally, a study of national social indicators

¹³ According to Morocco's National Study of Illiteracy, Non-Schooling, and Drop-out (Department of Literacy and Non Formal Education, 2006); the region with the lowest rate is Oued Eddahab Lagouira with an illiteracy rate of 19.77% for 15 years and above.

(Morocco's Haut Commissariat of Planning, 2009) found that at 3.2 %, Grand Casablanca has the lowest regional poverty rate in the country. By contrast, the region of Gharb-Chrarda Bni Hssen has the third highest national rate of 15.6 percent. The national average according to the same study is nine percent.

In summary, the sites for data collection fit within the inter-quartile range of Morocco's socio-economic indicators. The six regions capture national disparities in terms of urbanization, economic opportunity, adult literacy, and access to education. Given that data ranking schools by performance were not available, the opinions of educational supervisors and parents about the quality of schools informed the initial selection of the school sample.

After the survey data were collected, another survey was sent to the 68 schools that responded (appendix H). The goal of the second survey was to replicate the demographic school information requested by TIMSS 2008. The rationale for the second survey is that if the schools selected for this study were comparable to the schools selected by TIMSS, a case could be made that the results of the current study are valid at the national level. The school principals were asked to answer questions about the number of students enrolled, the population size of the community or city where the school is located; the percentage of students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds; and the percentage of students from economically affluent backgrounds.

Only 18 out of 68 schools responded to the second survey. Findings suggest that the TIMSS 2008 middle schools and the schools in this study are not significantly different (table 2). A mean population score above 2.5 indicates that there were more schools in the 100,001- 500,000 tier than in the 50,001 – 100,000 tier. This suggests that

the schools in TIMSS 2008 and the schools in this study were sampled from communities with similar population sizes.

With regard to the economic status of students' households, a four-point scale was used to ask school principals to estimate the percentage of households with weak to limited income and households with above average to high income. As appendix C indicates, a score of one on the four-point scale means that households with weak to limited income represented zero to ten percent of the school population. A score of two indicates that 11 to 25 % of households had a weak to limited income. A score of three indicates that 26 to 50% of households were in the weak to limited income category. Finally a score of four indicates that more than 50 % of households had weak to limited income. The same scale was used to inquire about the percentage of affluent households whose children were in school. As table two indicates, most school principals who responded to the survey reported that more than 50% of the students came from households with weak to limited income, and that students coming from affluent households represented between zero and ten percent of the general student population.

Table 2
Comparison of school demographics between TIMSS 2008 middle schools and the middle schools sample selected for the current study

		Type of community	of Students' economic disadvantage	Students' economic affluence
TIMSS 2008	Mean	2.73	3.95	2.10
	Mode	1	4	1
Current Study	Mean	2.87	3.72	1.44
	Mode	1 ^a	4	1

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare the economic status means in the current study with the means in the dataset of TIMSS 2008. Using an alpha

level of .05, the mean difference was found to be insignificant, $t(139) = -.84$, $p = .4$, suggesting insignificant difference in true average between TIMSS households and the households served by the schools selected for this study. Similar lack of significant differences was found when schools were compared in terms of household affluence. Despite the small sample size of the schools that responded to the survey; the lack of statistically significant differences between the schools sampled for this study and TIMSS 2008 schools allows some confidence in assuming that the 68 middle schools which responded to the survey were not significantly different from the nationally representative sample of middle schools which participated in TIMSS 2008.

The Participants

Middle school parent representatives and teachers responded to the survey. At the qualitative phase of the study, parents, teachers, and school principals participated in interviews.

Parents.

Parent participants were members of parent associations. Some of these members also represented parents in regional and national parent organizations. According to the Ministry of National Education model for the constitution of parents' associations (MOE, 2008), the executive board of parent associations consists of a chair, a vice-chair, a secretary, an assistant secretary, a treasurer, an assistant treasurer, a vice-chair responsible for educational monitoring, a vice-chair responsible for partnerships, a vice-chair responsible for social activities, a vice-chair responsible for cultural and artistic activities, a vice-chair responsible for sport, and a vice-chair in charge of school maintenance. Each of these vice-chairs can head a committee of parents to carry out their

designated responsibilities. Theoretically, the executive board is the institutional embodiment of parent involvement in school governance. For this purpose, the participants were primarily selected from parents' executive boards and their subcommittees. Demographic details about the parents who responded to the survey are in appendix C.

Parent associations elect representatives at the provincial, regional, and national levels from the parents in executive boards. The responsibility of these representatives is to participate in decision making regionally and nationally. Parents with these responsibilities were instrumental in highlighting the extent to which parents organized themselves to influence educational policies in Morocco.

Teachers.

The Ministry of National Education (2008) considers teachers as the principal interlocutors of parents. The teachers targeted for this study were active in school governance councils. Membership in school governance boards was an important criterion for selection into the study. School governance boards are the institutional forum where parents and teachers collaborate. The teachers in schools boards were elected by their colleagues as subject matter coordinators. In addition to teaching coordinators, 21 percent of teachers who participated in this study were not members in any of the school governance councils. Appendix F provides detailed demographic information about the teachers who responded to the survey.

School principals.

Article 19, in the Ministry of Education decree 2.02.376 in the official bulletin published on July 25, 2002, designates the school principal as the chair of all school

councils. These councils include the governance council¹⁴, the pedagogical council¹⁵, the instructional councils¹⁶, and the class council¹⁷. The principal, therefore, is the lynchpin of parent-school partnerships. Despite that teachers and parent representatives were the primary units of analysis; school principals wield substantial power in steering the school governance committees. Therefore, including their views deepened understanding of the conditions impacting parent-school partnerships in public middle schools.

Sampling Methodology

The sampling methodology for this study was purposive. Nardi (2006) defines purposive or judgmental sampling as a sampling design that targets “a unique sample on purpose because of some characteristics of the units of analysis” (Nardi, 2006, p. 119). Ideally, any parent of a middle school student should have equal chances of being represented in the sample. However, from a practical point of view, it was important to capture the views of members of parent associations because they are the official representatives of parents in schools.

¹⁴ According to the MOE (2002), some of the duties of the governance council are to propose by-laws study and ratify the work plan of pedagogical and class councils, deliberate on and monitor the implementation of the school work plan, propose actions for school maintenance, and ratify the annual report about school governance. It is the principal who calls for governance council meetings. These meetings are held at least two times a year.

¹⁵ This council plans educational activities at the school level. These activities include proposing, monitoring, and evaluating extra-curricular activities. The council also shares its views on curricula with regional educational authorities. Other activities include coordination between subject areas, sharing opinion about the use of classrooms and class schedules, proposing local exams, and reviewing students' requests for social assistance. The school principal makes the decision to hold the council's meetings at least two times a year (MOE, 2002).

¹⁶ Defined by subject area, this council discusses conditions of subject area instruction, plans assessment, proposes textbooks, monitors students' achievement, and writes reports about subject-specific educational activities. The school principal calls for meetings, at least, two times a year. Parents are not represented in this council (MOE, 2002).

¹⁷ It focuses on one class. It monitors the results of the students and suggests remedial work accordingly. It is chaired by the school principal. Other members are administrative staff, the pedagogical counselor, teachers of the same class, and one parent representative. Class councils are held at the end of each semester (MOE, 2002).

The total sample size targeted for this study was 2,556 participants. It consisted of 2,400 parents and teachers who were contacted to fill out surveys, and 156, parents, teachers, and principals who were called for interviews. In summer 2010, surveys were sent to 1,200 parents and 1,200 teachers in 120 public schools. Deciding on such a relatively large sample size reflected three constraints; 1) demand on the time of teachers during final exams; 2) the low number of parent representatives who could be reached during data collection; and 3) the limited pool of teachers who were active in school governing boards at the school level.

The actual window for collecting survey data was one month (June 16, 2010 through July 16, 2011). This coincided with middle schools' final exams period. With restrictions on contacting teachers during this period, it became evident that the response rate would not be high enough without doubling the number of participating schools from 60 to 120.

With regard to the second constraint, the official number of parent representatives in parent associations ranged between 9 and 13. Therefore, sending surveys to 10 representatives per school seemed realistic. However, after discussing the proposed number of parents per school with school principals and presidents of parent associations; almost all of them reported that only one to five parent representatives attended regularly and would realistically be expected to respond to the survey.

Finally, high preference was expressed for teachers who participated in one of the school governing boards. The assumption was that by selecting three to four teachers from each of the three school boards, the survey would tap into a diverse pool of teachers representing the decision making, educational, and curricular aspects of school

governance. The reality was that the teachers who participated in one council tended to participate in other councils as well. This restricted the diversity of teachers who could respond to the survey.

Given the constraints of demands on teachers' time, the actual number of parents who could realistically be contacted, and the limited pool of teachers who participated in school governance boards, expanding the pool of targeted schools was intended to make up for the expected low response rate ensuing from these conditions. In fact, 431 teachers and 230 parents filled out the surveys. This represented a respective response rate of 36% and 20% for teachers and parents.

The qualitative phase of the study began in December 2010 through January 2011. Twenty five schools were selected for interviews from the six regions covered by the study. Two selection criteria were used. First, schools had to fall in the lowest, middle, and highest points of the survey response rate continuum. Second, there had to be some urban, suburban, and rural representation among the schools selected. Awareness of the small pool of parents and teachers who were active participants in their schools informed the decision to double the number of interviews for parents, teachers, and school principals.

Prior to data collection, principals of the selected schools were informed about the planned interviews. Their help was solicited in reaching parents and teachers. From early conversations with principals, it became clear that it was more convenient for them to participate in one-on-one interviews. Interviews with principals acted as ice-breakers. The principals became more interested in supporting the study after they had a chance to participate in it. As a consequence, they played a central role in facilitating meetings with

teachers and parents. From a legal perspective, no such meetings could have been held on school grounds without principals' approval.

One hundred fifty six participants were originally targeted for a combination of focus groups, group-interviews, and one-on-one interviews. However, scheduling meetings with teachers and parents was hampered by the absence or lack of involvement of two-thirds of the members of parents' association. Similarly, working around teachers' schedules was challenging. A total of 48 interviews were conducted with parents, teachers, and principals. These included 37 parents, 39 teachers, and 18 school principals. This represents 60% of the sample originally targeted for the qualitative phase of the study. Appendices K and L provide more demographic data about the participants. Table three shows the type of interviews conducted.

Table 3
Breakdown of the types of interviews conducted

	One-on-one interviews	Group interviews	Focus groups	Total interviews
Parents	11	6	2	19
Principals	18	0	0	18
Teachers	2	2	6	10

The Data Collection Instruments

Two instruments were used in this study; a survey and interviews. The survey was designed to answer all the research questions. The interviews completed and expanded on the questions which were not thoroughly captured by the conceptual frameworks built into the survey.

Survey

As shown in appendix A, section one of the survey collected school and demographic covariates. These included school name, location, and school learning

conditions, distance from school, students' grade levels, grade average, and repetition rate. Demographic data included variables such as age, gender, marital status, and distance from school, education, occupation, pre-service training, in-service training, and ownership of durable goods (Bollen, Glanville, and Stecklov, 2002). Tables four and five describe the covariates and the dimensions they explain. Survey demographic data for parents and teachers are presented in appendices C and F.

Section two of the survey measured agreement between parents and teachers on defining important educational problems in the context of Morocco's middle schools. Section three measured the extent to which teachers and parents agreed on prioritizing solutions for the defined problems. Parents' and teachers' answers to the questions in sections two and three were compared to the government education reform strategy. Difference between the government strategy and the views held by teachers and parents would suggest that partnership could not be implemented because of misalignment between local stakeholders' and the central government reform priorities. Section four of the survey addressed the extent to which agreement or lack thereof, between parents and teachers accounted for their perception of each other as partners.

The last section of the survey measured partnerships through behavioral indicators. Table six summarizes the constructs examined in sections two through four. The choice of the survey items was based on multiple sources; the World Bank (2008) report on the state of education in the Middle East and North Africa, Morocco High Council for Education (2008) report on the state of national education reform, and UNICEF State of the World's Children (2004).

Table 4
School covariates for parents and teachers

Variable	Teachers	Parents	Explanatory dimension
School name	Both		Helps ID the school to obtain specific stats from the Ministry of Education.
School location	Both		Does geographic location account for disposition towards partnership?
School learning conditions	Both		Is the quality of the school environment associated with perception of partnership?
Distance from school	Both		Does the distance to school account for perception of partnership?
Current school grade		Parents	Is parents' perception of partnerships associated with the grade of their children.
Children's grade average		Parents	Are grades associated with parents' views of the urgency of partnership?
Frequency of child grade repetition		Parents	Is repetition rate associated with parents' views of the urgency of partnership?
Position in the APMTE		Parents	Is the parent position in APMTE associated with their views of partnership?
Other memberships	Both		Is public participation outside school associated with views of partnership?
Current school grade taught	Teachers		Does teachers' disposition towards partnership vary by the grade taught?
Average school grade	Teachers		Are grades associated with teachers' views of the urgency of partnership?
Repetition rate	Teachers		Is repetition rate associated with parents' views of the urgency of partnership?

The World Bank and the Moroccan High Council for Education use results from TIMSS (2003) to highlight problems with education quality in Morocco's middle schools. The two reports also highlight problems of efficiency as evidenced by high repetition and drop-out rates. The High Council for Education (2008) points to deficiency in civic values as manifested in students' lack of knowledge about their rights and duties as citizens. UNICEF (2004) subsumes knowledge of rights under the larger banner of life skills which also includes communication skills.

Table 5
Demographic covariates for parents and teachers

Variable	Teachers	Parents	Explanatory dimension
Age	Both		Is age associated with the respondents' views of partnership?
Gender	Both		Is gender associated with the respondents' views of partnership?
Marital status	Both		Is marital status associated with the respondents' views of partnership?
Durable goods	Both		Is SES associated with the respondents' views of partnership?
Education	Both		Is Education associated with the respondents' views of partnership?
Occupation		Parents	Is parents' occupation associated with their views of partnership with teachers?
Years of pre-service training	Teachers		Is teachers' pre-service training associated with their views of partnership?
Hours of in-service training	Teachers		Is the amount of teachers' in-service training associated with their views of partnership?
Years of teaching experience	Teachers		Is teaching experience associated with perception of partnership?
Satisfaction with the workplace	Teachers		Does satisfaction with the work place account for teachers' perception of partnership?

The items on educational alternatives were based on The World Bank (2008) framework for education reform in The Middle East and North Africa. This framework treats reform as a production function of efficient input, effective incentives, and public accountability. Such classification has two advantages. First, it operationalizes Morocco's official position on education reform. Second, it helps provide a theoretical framework for capturing the constructs underlying the items listed in the survey during data analysis.

The existence of partnership was gauged using three dimensions; 1) the extent to which parents were perceived to be involved in school activities; 2) Areas where teachers desired partnership with parents; and 3) the extent to which there was actual partnership

between parents and teachers. Survey items measuring desired and actual partnership were based on Epstein's (1995) framework for parents and community involvement. Mohr and Spekman (1994) model for successful partners was used to select the survey items measuring partners' behaviors.

Table 6
Summary of the constructs investigated in the survey

Survey sections	Constructs measured	Method of measurement
Educational issues	Academic problems	Rating and Rank-Order scales
	Problems in life skills	
	Efficiency problems	
Educational alternatives	Engineering (reforming inputs)	Rating and Rank-Order scales
	Incentives	
	Public accountability	
Partnership	Perceived level of parental involvement	Rating scale
	Desired level of parental involvement	
	Actual instances of parent teacher partnership	
Behavioral indicators of partnership	Partners' attributes	Rating scale
	Partners' communication	
	Partners' conflict resolution	

In summary, the survey instrument was designed to model how political consensus is attained between teachers and parents in Morocco's public middle schools. The underlying hypothesis is that when parties share reconcilable positions about problems and solutions, they are likely to be effective partners. The second part of the survey assumed that the proposed political consensus hypothesis might not be sufficient to account for parent-school partnerships. In this regard, consensus-based partnership was measured by the extent to which parents and teachers demonstrated attributes and behaviors typical of successful partners.

Interviews

Krueger and Casey (2009) recommend focus groups to unearth factors associated with participants' opinions, behaviors, or motivations. In this study, focus groups, one-on-one and group interviews were used to uncover factors impacting parent school partnerships.

The interview protocol (appendix I) is almost identical for parents, teachers, and principals. The questioning route (Krueger and Casey, 2009) included an opening, an introductory question, five key questions, and an ending question. The first key question inquired about participants' perceptions of partnerships. The second key question asked the participants to describe parents, teachers, or school principals who fit the ideals of a perfect partner more than others. The third key question asked the participants to rate the level of partnership between parents and school. The fourth key question invited participants to describe what they expected the conditions of the schools would be like as a result of successful parent-school partnerships. The last key question asked the participants to reflect on the extent to which partnership can impact their fulfillment of their school responsibilities. The questioning route for all participants remained largely the same in one-on-one and group interviews.

Instruments' Administration

Prior to large scale administration, survey and interview questions were translated, tested for clarity by a team of teachers of Arabic, and back translated. A reliability analysis (Nardi, 2006) was conducted to determine the extent to which survey items consistently measure their corresponding constructs. Table seven summarizes the results of the reliability analysis for academic skills, non-academic skills, life skills and

efficiency. The items measuring life skills did not demonstrate a satisfactory threshold for internal consistency of 0.7 (Nunnally, 1978). Nonetheless, there is theoretical justification for keeping the scale for further analysis. Communication skills and knowledge of rights and obligations are items used by UNICEF (2004) to define life skills.

Table 7
*Reliability analysis of constructs
measuring school skills*

Scale	Coefficient alpha
Academic skills	.72
Non-academic skills	.68
Life skills	.61
Efficiency	.70

Reliability analysis for items measuring the scales of desired partnership and actual partnership was conducted. The two scales respectively exhibited internal consistency coefficients of 0.90 and 0.86. The score of 0.90, for example, suggests that 90 percent of observed variance in the desired partnership scores is due to true variance.

Reliability analysis was also conducted to measure internal consistency of the scales of commitment, coordination, interdependence, communication quality, participation, information sharing, and domination.

Table 8
Reliability analysis of partnership scales

Scale	Coefficient alpha
Commitment	.71
Coordination	.64
Interdependence	.82
Communication quality	.86
Participation	.66
Information sharing	.76
Domination	.77

Table eight presents coefficient alpha for each of these scales. Most of the scales show acceptable levels of internal consistency. The questionable consistency of the coordination and participation scales is; however, close enough to the 0.7 threshold (Nunnally, 1978) to be considered for further analysis.

Principal component factor analyses with varimax rotations were also conducted to measure the loading of items on constructs of desired partnership (table nine), and actual partnership (table ten). Survey items measuring desired partnership loaded onto one factor. Similarly, survey items measuring actual partnership loaded onto one factor as well, indicating that the items in question shared a common theme.

Table 9

Factor loading for exploratory factor analysis of items measuring desired partnership

Variable	Varimax factor loading on component 1
Monitor students' achievement at home	.79
Mobilize resources to develop school	.80
Collaborate to develop local curriculum	.85
Participate in the management of school	.75
Communicate with (parents or teachers) ¹⁸ regarding Students' progress	.85
Advocate for a school where safety is available for everybody	.78
Demand political accountability from political representatives regarding their defense of school interests	.78

Prior to administration, proper official authorizations from regional educational authorities (academies) in the six data collection regions were collected. These authorizations covered the quantitative and qualitative phases of data collection. A letter

¹⁸ Parents were asked about teachers and vice versa.

was sent to the heads of participating academies and their provincial delegates¹⁹. The letter explained the purpose and the importance of the study. Once educational authorities approved of the study, they sent an official memo to all the principals in their jurisdiction informing them about the planned data collection. I was instructed to coordinate with the principals about when and how the data would be collected.

Table 10
Factor loading for exploratory factor analysis of items measuring actual partnership

Variable	Varimax factor loading on component 1
Encourage parents to monitor the learning of students at home	.69
Mobilize resources to develop school	.64
Develop curricula that are locally relevant	.63
Participate in school management	.74
Communicate with (parents or teachers) regarding the progress of the students' learning	.78
Monitor students who have problems	.74
Advocate for a safe school	.62
Propose a shared vision about school development to regional authorities	.65
Coordinate to elaborate a bottom-up shared vision for education reform	.68

The principals of the selected schools were directly contacted. They were handed a pre-notice letter explaining the purpose of the survey and the rights of the respondents. One-on-one trainings were conducted with the survey administrators before questionnaires were distributed. All participants were given a consent form prior to filling out the survey. The form clearly stated their rights as participants to ensure that they were

¹⁹ Morocco is divided into 16 administrative regions. Each region is in turn administratively divided into provinces. The educational provincial delegates are administratively accountable to the Head of the Regional Academy. Only in regions where the focus was only on one province; e.g. Rabat, and Chichaoua where official authorization was secured at the provincial level rather than the regional level.

not compelled to fill out the survey if they did not want to. In fact, a few participants declined to fill out the survey when they were told that they had the right to decline. A thank-you New Year calendar was sent to the principals of the schools that responded to the survey.

In the qualitative phase, 48 interviews were conducted. Appointments were scheduled with school principals in the targeted schools to explain that they were selected for the second phase of data collection. Coordination with the principal was a crucial gateway to reaching parents and teachers. The purpose of the interview was explained to the participants. Permission was asked from the participants to record interviews with the understanding that their identity would remain confidential. Even if all interviews were not structured, they followed the focus groups' questioning route described earlier in this chapter.

Data Analysis Methods

Most of the survey questions were statistically analyzed using fixed effects analysis of variance (ANOVA). Using statistical package SPSS 18, this type of analysis efficiently examined the unique effects of the variables of interest after controlling for effects due to other covariates. Questions that required the respondents to rank-order their responses were analyzed using the Mann-Whitney Test for nonparametric data.

Qualitative analysis probed factors underlying weak parent-school partnerships. NVivo 9 was used to organize data in thematic nodes. Bolman and Deal (2003) Four Framework Approach to Leadership guided the analysis of interviews. As a big picture framework, it offered an overarching model that connected the multiple perspectives expressed during interviews. Its jungle metaphor was consistent with the tensions of

coalition building and bargaining that undergird Kingdon's multiple streams model. Its factory and family metaphor captured the personal and organizational attributes which Mohr and Spekman underscored in their study of successful partners. Finally, the symbolic metaphor highlighted the cultural dimension of parents and teachers' roles as educators. The four metaphors captured the web of political, organizational, and cultural dynamics affecting the success of parent-school partnerships in Morocco's middle schools.

Chapter Four: Results

This study was designed to answer five questions: 1) to what extent do Moroccan parents and teachers agree on the most pressing issues affecting the quality of public middle schools? 2) To what extent do parents and teachers agree on the most effective alternatives for addressing the issues identified? 3) To what extent are parents' and teachers' positions on problems and solutions consistent with the government reform policies? 4) To what extent does agreement between parents and teachers on problems and solutions account for their perceptions of each other as partners? And 5) should agreement, alone, fail to explain lack of partnership; what other factors may provide such an explanation? This section presents the answers to the five research questions as suggested by the findings from the analysis of the survey and interviews.

Survey Analysis

Question 1: To what extent do Moroccan parents and teachers agree on the most pressing issues threatening the quality of middle schools?

Parents and teachers did not differ significantly in rating the importance of problems affecting students' performance in academic subjects and life skills. They did not differ either in rating the importance of problems of school efficiency. Appendix G summarizes non-significant mean differences in rating issues related to academic subjects, life skills, and efficiency. However, parents and teachers differed significantly in rating the importance of problems affecting students' performance in nonacademic skills ($F(1, 469) = 20.604, p < .001$) (tables 11 and 12). Five percent of teachers as opposed to 20 percent of parents considered nonacademic skills important (figure 3).

Table 11

Descriptive Statistics of the Difference between Parents and Teachers in Rating the Importance of Problems Related to Students' Nonacademic Skills (Art and Physical education)

	Parents	Teachers
Mean	1.73	1.38
Standard Deviation	0.91	0.64

Table 12

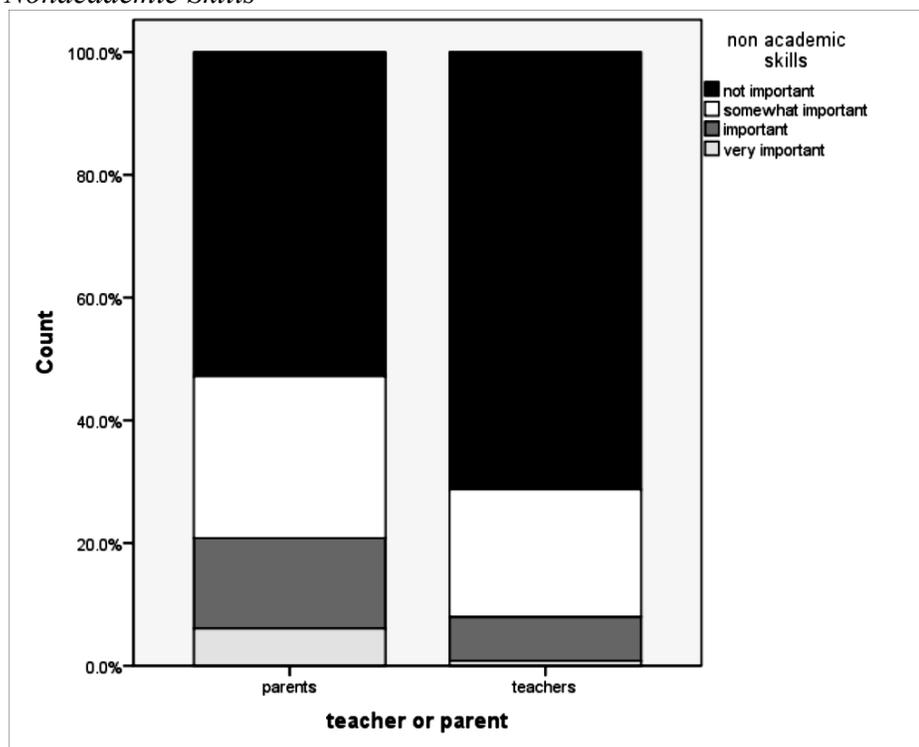
Parents and Teachers' Rating of the Importance of Problems Related to Students' Nonacademic Skills

Source	SS	F	df	p
Region	1.66	2.98	1	.08
School type	0.43	0.77	1	.38
Sex	0.88	1.59	1	.20
Age	0.78	1.41	1	.23
Level of Education	1.57	2.84	1	.09
SES	0.32	0.58	1	.44
Parent or teacher	11.51	20.77	1	.00

$R^2 = 0.069$

Figure 3

Parents and Teachers' Rating of the Importance of Problems Related to Students' Nonacademic Skills



For the most part, parents and teachers did not differ significantly in the urgency they assign to educational problems. The only instance where they significantly differed was in their ranking of the urgency of problems related to students' life skills. The Mann-Whitney Test (table 13) indicated that the urgency of students' problems in life skills was higher for teachers ($Mdn = 6$) than for parents ($Mdn = 5$), $U = 33730.00$, $p = .001$, $r = .13$.

Table 13

Mann-Whitney Test of the Urgency of Student's Problems in Life Skills as Rank Ordered by Parents and Teachers

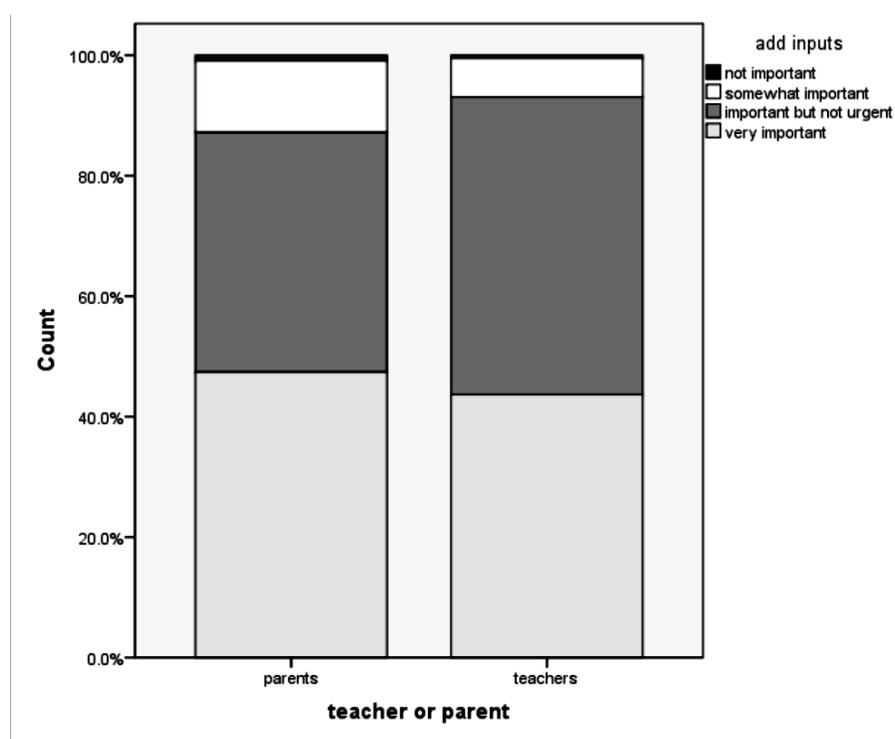
Teacher or parent	U	Z	p
Ranking of life skills	33730.00	- 3.18	.001

In summary, parents and teachers did not differ significantly in rating the importance of problems related to academic skills, life skills, and school efficiency. Moreover, they did not differ significantly in rank ordering the urgency of problems related to academic skills, nonacademic skills, and school efficiency. However, parents and teachers significantly differed in their rating of the importance of problems related to students' nonacademic skills. This difference is unlikely to cause tension between the two groups given that they assigned low importance to nonacademic problems. Similarly, parents and teachers' significant difference in rank ordering the urgency of problems related to students' life skills may have little practical significance. Medians of five and six still suggest that parents and teachers attached high urgency to problems of students' life skills. This suggests that, overall, parents and teachers shared common views on what count as important and urgent issues in public middle schools.

2. *To what extent do Moroccan parents and teachers agree on the most effective alternatives for addressing educational issues?*

The difference between teachers and parents in their perception of the importance or urgency of educational solutions was not statistically significant. Figure 4 shows that almost 80 percent of the parents and teachers thought that input solutions, defined as investment in school equipment, and training of school staff, were important solutions.

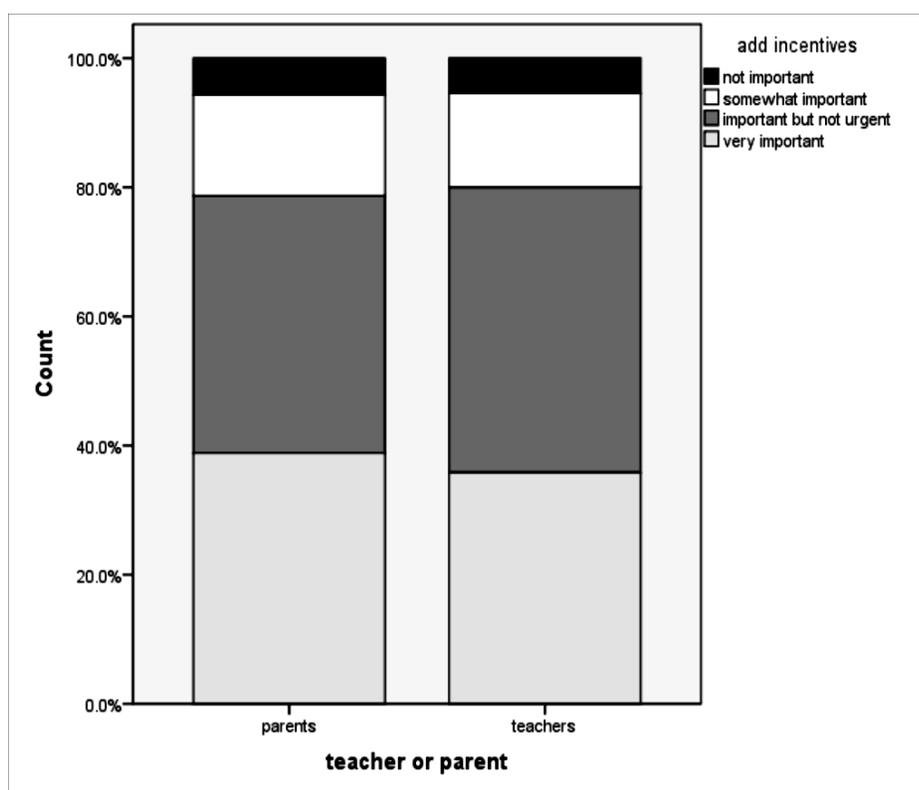
Figure 4
Parents and Teachers' Rating of the Importance of Input Solutions



Parents and teachers did not differ significantly in rating the importance of incentives. Figure 5 shows that parents and teachers thought that providing incentives for teachers and governance councils is an important solution to education problems. Similarly, parents and teachers did not differ significantly in their rating of the importance of public accountability.

When parents and teachers were asked to rank order proposed solutions in terms of their urgency, statistically significant differences emerged in rank ordering monitoring students' learning at home. Parents viewed monitoring students' learning at home as more urgent ($Mdn = 5$) than teachers did ($Mdn = 4$) $U = 36336, p = .004, r = .11$.

Figure 5
Parents and Teachers' Rating of the Importance of Incentives



In summary, parents and teachers did not differ significantly in their rating of the importance of solutions to educational problems. For the most part, parents and teachers did not differ in rank ordering educational reform strategies in terms of their urgency. More than 80 percent of parents and teachers believed that more investment in school inputs (infrastructure and training) was important. A little less than 80 percent of each group believed that implementing effective incentives for teachers and governance

councils was an important education reform strategy. Around 75 percent of teachers and parents thought that some form of accountability was important for school improvement.

Results suggest that parents and teachers shared common views about the importance and urgency of strategies to solve educational problems. These views were similar to the official position of Morocco's government on national reform priorities.

Question 3: To what extent are parents and teachers' positions on problems and solutions consistent with the government existing school reform policies?

According to the High Council for Education report (HCE, 2008), the main weaknesses of Morocco's education system are: 1) high inefficiency, 2) low achievement in science, math, and reading, 3) lack of mastery of national and foreign languages, 4) students' lack of awareness of their rights and duties as citizens, and 5) lack of preparation of school graduates for the job market. From this perspective, there seems to be considerable consistency between the government assessment of the students' problems; and parents and teachers' views.

Parents' and teachers' views did not markedly differ from those expressed by Morocco's government regarding the importance and urgency of educational problems. The government recognizes the seriousness of problems such as low academic achievement, deficient language skills, insufficient school safety, and the high number of students who drop-out or repeat. The 1999 Special Commission Report on Education and Training clearly identified students' low achievements, inadequate life skills, and high inefficiency as serious weaknesses affecting Morocco's public schools. The HCE 2008 report and the Ministry of Education 2009 – 2012 Emergency Plan reiterated the continuing gravity of these problems and the urgent need to address them.

With respect to solutions, the government vision of reform, as summarized by HCE (2008), included 1) training teachers, 2) building, fixing, and equipping more schools, 3) providing support for students by monitoring their achievement and addressing external factors that inhibit their success (family issues and students' safety), and 4) re-engineering the management of schools to secure local funding.

Training teachers is part of the government push for professionalizing the teaching corps. This includes instituting monitoring systems that provide incentives and reduce teachers' absence and private tutoring. The government recognizes its central role in building and equipping schools. However, it expects local partners to contribute to the maintenance of schools and the housing of teachers especially in rural areas (HCE, 2008). Additionally, the government emphasizes the strong links between schools and communities in improving learning conditions. Most importantly, decentralizing governance of schools cuts across all of the government proposed solutions. In this regard, the HCE (2008) expects schools to be publicly accountable to their immediate constituents. More involvement of parents in the governance of schools is one way to achieve public accountability. Survey data suggest that parents and teachers shared the government's views about the importance of investment in inputs, incentives, and public accountability. Parents and teachers gave priority to 1) investment in infrastructure and training; 2) incentives; and 3) public accountability.

In conclusion, survey data suggest that parents and teachers share the government's views on school challenges and improvement alternatives. The government education reform strategy underscores the role of parent-school partnerships in improving school governance. It would be reasonable, therefore, to expect that parents and teachers

whose views seem to be aligned with the government's reform priorities would perceive each other as partners.

Question 4: To what extent does parents' and teachers' consensus on problems and solutions account for their perceptions of parent-school partnership?

Parents and teachers significantly differed in their ratings of 1) the level of parental involvement in their schools, 2) the areas where they wanted parents to be involved, and 3) the extent to which they were involved in actual partnerships.

1. Perception of parental involvement

Teachers and parents differed significantly in their perception of the extent to which parents were involved in school (tables 14 and 15). While almost 80 percent of parents thought that they were at least sometimes involved; 70 percent of teachers shared that view.

Table 14

Descriptive Statistics for Differences in Perceptions of the Extent of Parental Involvement According to Parents and Teachers

	Parents	Teachers
Mean	2.60	2.20
Standard Deviation	1.21	1.27

Table 15

Analysis of Variance of Differences in Perceptions of the Extent of Parental Involvement According to Parents and Teachers

Source	SS	F	df	p
Region	13.11	9.18	1	.08
School type	19.82	13.89	1	.38
Sex	0.31	0.22	1	.20
Age	8.60	6.02	1	.23
Level of Education	1.94	1.36	1	.09
SES	3.61	2.53	1	.44
Parent or teacher	14.48	10.14	1	.00

$R^2 = 0.12$

Further analysis indicated that urban settings accounted for most of the statistical difference between parents and teachers ($F(1, 385) = 15.757, p < .01$). More than 60 percent of urban parents thought that they were involved while only a little less than 40 percent of urban teachers shared the same appraisal. Comparison between parents and teachers in rural and urban schools did not reveal any statistically significant differences as the two groups agreed that there was little parental involvement in their schools. This appraisal seems reasonable. Rural and suburban schools tend to serve feeder elementary schools that are often distant. Therefore, the likelihood of parents coming to school, or teachers to live in the community is often low.

Further analysis also suggested that the age of respondents was a factor in rating the extent to which parents were involved. Data suggest that younger respondents were more likely to appraise parental involvement more negatively. By contrast, teachers and parents aged 51 and above tended to be more positive in their assessment. Older parents and teachers may have rated progress in parental involvement as compared to what it had been prior to 1999. Moreover, they may be better connected with each other and are more likely to live in one community. Conversely, younger teachers or parents may have rated parental involvement as compared to their ideals of what it should be. Furthermore, younger teachers and parents are less likely to live in one community. Thus, they have fewer opportunities to meet outside school.

In conclusion, the significantly different appraisals of parental involvement by parents and teachers in urban schools suggest different perceptions of adequate parental involvement. This may be due to limited communication between teachers and parents. In

rural and suburban schools, both parents and teachers rated parental involvement as virtually non-existent.

Areas of desired school involvement of parents

The difference between teachers and parents in their perceptions of desired areas for parental involvement were statistically significant ($F(1, 442) = 10.205, p < .01$) (table 16). Eighty percent of parents desired at least average involvement in various school activities compared to 65 percent of teachers who expressed comparable positions. Further analysis suggested that being a male teacher accounted for most of the difference between parents and teachers. Female teachers were significantly more welcoming of various forms of parental involvement than male teachers, ($t(326) = 4.18, p < .001$). No significant difference was found between mothers and fathers.

Table 16
Analysis of Variance of the Difference between Parents and Teachers in their Desire for Parental involvement

Source	SS	F	df	p
Region	7.29	2.45	1	.11
School type	14.52	4.87	1	.02
Sex	30.13	10.11	1	.00
Age	2.22	0.74	1	.38
Level of Education	0.33	0.11	1	.73
SES	3.78	1.26	1	.26
Parent or teacher	30.40	10.20	1	.00

$R^2 = 0.066$

Table 17 highlights mean differences between parents and teachers (disaggregated by gender) in their desires of different areas of parental involvement. The mean differences between parents and male teachers were statistically significant across all areas of desired parental involvement (table 18). By contrast, the differences between parents and female teachers were not statistically significant.

For the most part, female teachers did not differ from parents in their desire for more parental involvement. However, their preference for parents to be more involved in monitoring students at home and to raise resources for school was significantly higher than the parents. By contrast, male teachers were significantly less enthusiastic about parental involvement irrespective of the area.

Interviews with teachers, principals, and parents suggest that mothers often came to school when the students were asked to bring their parents. The openness of mothers and female teachers to parental involvement, as opposed to the hesitation of male teachers and the absence of fathers suggest that, mothers and female teachers attached more value to family-school partnership than their male counterparts. Further research is needed to understand why mothers and female teachers seem to be more open to parental involvement than their male counterparts.

Table 17
Mean and Standard Deviation of the Differences between Parents and Teachers (Disaggregated by Gender) in their Desire for Parental Involvement by Area.

	<i>Mean</i>			<i>Standard Deviation</i>		
	Parents	Female Teachers	Male Teachers	Parents	Female teachers	Male teachers
Monitor students at home	3.76	<i>4.40</i>	<i>3.13</i>	2.18	2.21	2.43
Mobilize resources for school	4.30	4.45	<i>3.51</i>	1.83	1.78	2.06
Collaborate on local curriculum	3.87	3.94	<i>2.99</i>	2.02	2.27	2.34
Participate in school management	4.07	3.72	<i>3.37</i>	1.95	2.07	2.12
Communicate about students' progress	4.40	4.19	<i>3.42</i>	1.91	2.05	2.25
Advocate for a safe school	4.92	4.81	<i>4.15</i>	1.68	1.91	2.25
Demand political accountability	3.96	3.92	<i>3.39</i>	2.21	2.26	2.55

Italicized means are significantly different from parent means.

Table 18
Analysis of Variance of the Difference in Parents' and Male Teachers' Desire for Parental Involvement by Area

Source	<i>Mean Parents</i>	<i>Mean Male Teachers</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Monitor students at home	3.76	3.13	42.33	7.88	1	.00
Mobilize resources for school	4.30	3.51	64.33	16.815	1	.00
Collaborate on local curriculum	3.87	2.99	78.95	16.355	1	.00
Participate in school management	4.07	3.37	50.21	11.938	1	.00
Communicate about students' progress	4.40	3.42	98.38	22.278	1	.00
Advocate for a safe school	4.92	4.15	62.49	15.457	1	.00
Demand political accountability	3.96	3.39	34.99	6.080	1	.01

3. Perceptions of actual parent-school partnerships

Only three percent of parents and teachers reported that parent-school partnerships usually occurred in their schools. Other parents and teachers significantly differed in appraising the extent to which there were instances of parent-school partnership (tables 19). Further analysis suggests that appraisal of actual partnerships was more positive in urban schools; less positive in suburban schools; and the least positive in rural schools. In all schools, however, teachers were consistently less satisfied with the level of existing partnership with parents.

It is important to reiterate that the surveyed parents in this study were all members of parents' associations who, at least theoretically, met with teachers in the school governance councils. The consistent discrepancy between parents' and teachers' appraisals raises questions about the extent to which parent representatives and teachers communicated with each other.

Table 19
Analysis of Variance of Parents and Teachers' Appraisal of Actual Partnerships

Source	SS	<i>f</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Region	0.30	0.837	1	.36
Type of school	10.55	20.605	1	.00
Sex	0.70	1.377	1	.24
Age	0.34	0.668	1	.41
Level of education	0.63	1.243	1	.27
SES	0.27	0.531	1	.47
Parent or Teacher	12.16	23.755	1	.00

This study began with the hypothesis that parent-school partnership failed because there was little consensus between parents and teachers. Findings suggest that parents and teachers did not differ significantly in defining educational problems and proposing corresponding solutions. Furthermore, parents and teachers' views were generally similar to the government reform priorities. However, findings suggested that parents and teachers differed significantly in their appraisal of the extent to which parents were involved; the extent to which they should be involved; and the extent to which there was actual partnership between parents and teachers.

The discrepancy between consensus on problems and solutions on the one hand; and the lack of parent-school partnerships on the other hand, indicates that the lack of consensus hypothesis did not adequately account for poor parent-school partnerships.

Question 5: What other behavioral and organizational factors are associated with weak parent-school partnerships?

Using Mohr and Spekman (1994) framework for successful partnerships, survey data suggested that parents and teachers differed significantly in rating their attributes and behaviors as partners.

Partners' attributes

Parents and teachers did not differ significantly in rating the extent to which they depended on each other to improve students' results (interdependence). However, the two groups differed significantly in rating the extent to which their partnerships were characterized by commitment, collaboration, and trust (Table 20 and 21).

Almost 60 percent of parents were fully committed to working with teachers. Less than 40 percent of teachers were fully committed to working with parents. Further analysis suggested that male and female teachers did not significantly differ in rating commitment. However, commitment of teachers to work with parents diminished when they worked in suburban or rural middle schools ($F(2, 382) = 10.950, p < .001$).

More than 60 percent of teachers believed there was not enough collaboration with parents. Only 25 percent of parents shared that assessment. The discrepancy between parents and teachers regarding their assessment of the level of collaboration raises questions about the extent to which they communicated their expectations of each other as partners. Teachers' rating of the lack of collaboration with parents was mostly negative in rural schools, relatively less negative in suburban schools, and the least negative in urban schools.

Table 20

Descriptive Statistics of the Difference between Parents and Teachers in Appraising Partners' Attributes

	<i>Mean</i>		<i>Standard Deviation</i>	
	Parents	Teachers	Parents	Teachers
Commitment	3.19	2.91	0.69	0.81
Collaboration	3.03	2.4	0.77	0.96
Trust	3.24	2.97	0.78	1.01
Interdependence	3.06	3.04	0.67	0.79

Table 21
Analysis of Variance of Parents and Teachers' Rating of Partners' Attributes

Source	SS	<i>f</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Commitment	10.03	16.508	1	.00
Collaboration	52.85	64.912	1	.00
Trust	10.09	10.834	1	.00
Interdependence	0.048	0.085	1	.77

Data highlight issues of trust between teachers and parents. Teachers were less trusting of parents. Nearly 50 percent of parents trusted teachers' decisions to be in the best interest of the students. Only 40 percent of teachers trusted parents' decisions to be in the students' best interest. Survey responses also suggest that parents and teachers emphasized the importance of trust, honesty, and transparency for successful parent-school partnership.

Finally, parents and teachers recognized their interdependence in improving students' achievement. Seventy percent of parents and teachers agreed that there was at least some interdependence between teachers and parents in improving students' learning. The discrepancy between trust, collaboration, and commitment, on the one hand, and interdependence, on the other hand is not specific to parents and teachers in Morocco.

Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2005) cite numerous studies (Lawson, 2003, Graue and Brown, 2003; Morris and Taylor, 1998) where teachers expressed positive attitudes about the need for parental involvement. However, few teachers were trained in fostering collaborative partnership with parents. As a result, they were less trusting of how to best collaborate with parents. Less than 50 percent of teachers in this study believed that

school administration was committed to building successful partnership with parents. Given the pivotal role of school leadership in supporting successful partnerships (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005); not perceiving such support in the context of Morocco's middle schools could inhibit parent-school partnerships.

Partners' communication behavior

Teachers and parents differed significantly in their appraisal of the quality of communication (tables, 22 & 23). Quality communication refers to communication that is timely, adequate and credible between parents and teachers. Participation refers to parents and teachers feeling that their input is sought by the other party. It is also defined as parents and teachers working together on school activities. Finally information sharing is the practice of not hiding information that could benefit either parents or teachers.

More than 60 percent of the teachers, as opposed to 40 percent of parents, reported that quality communication with parents was either low or non-existent. More than 65 percent of teachers described participation as either rare or non-existent. Fifty percent of parents shared that assessment. Finally, around 50 percent of teachers, as opposed to 30 percent of parents, reported little or no information sharing with parents.

Table 22
Descriptive Statistics of the Difference between Parents and Teachers in Rating Communication behavior

	<i>Mean</i>		<i>Standard Deviation</i>	
	Parents	Teachers	Parents	Teachers
Communication quality	2.98	2.45	0.76	0.93
Participation	2.65	2.19	0.88	1.02
Information sharing	3.07	2.71	0.83	0.96

Discrepancy between teachers and parents regarding their appraisal of communication behaviors highlights significantly different standards of quality

communication, participation, and information sharing. This may be due to the lack of agreed upon criteria against which the quality of communication can be uniformly measured.

Table 23

Analysis of Variance of the Difference between Parents and Teachers in Rating Communication Behavior

Source	SS	F	df	p
Communication quality	30.08	48.98	1	.00
Participation	27.55	28.83	1	.00
Information sharing	17	20	1	.00

Brinkerhoff (2002) defines partnerships as a dynamic relationship based on mutually agreed objectives. These partnerships are pursued through a shared understanding of partners' comparative advantage manifested in a rational division of labor. Disparity in teachers' and parents' rating of communication behaviors suggests that their relationship was not defined by a clear framework where they knew their responsibilities to each other. This might explain their significantly different standards for appraising their communication behaviors.

Conflict resolution techniques

Data suggest that parents and teachers did not differ in their problem solving techniques. (tables 24 & 25). More than 70 percent of parents and teachers smoothed over problems. This conflict avoidance strategy is at not typical of successful partnerships (Mohr and Spekman, 1994). Similarly, parents and teachers were almost identical in their use of persuasive attempts to solve problems. Less than 50% of parents and teachers solved problems through persuasion. Eighty percent of teachers and parents reported that they rarely used sharp words or resorted to arbitration or domination to solve problems.

With respect to collaboration to jointly solve conflict, almost 90 percent of parents and teachers said that they used this technique at least sometimes. Joint problem solving is a constructive technique used by strategic partners to solve problems that are often complex (Mohr and Spekman, 1994). Partners see the input of each other as bringing crucial perspectives to solving common challenges. However, given the high use of smoothing and the low occurrence of domination, it may be argued that collaboration might be just another instance of teachers and parents endorsing issues that have already been decided by regional or central authorities. Qualitative data shed more light on some of the factors underlying problems of trust, commitment, communication, and conflict resolution associated with weak partnership between parents and teachers in the context of Morocco's public middle schools.

Table 24
Descriptive Statistics for the Difference between Parents and Teachers in Rating Conflict Resolution Techniques

	<i>Mean</i>		<i>Standard Deviation</i>	
	Parents	Teachers	Parents	Teachers
Smoothing	3.56	3.56	0.79	.79
Persuasion	3.22	3.33	0.88	.76
Joint problem solving	3.59	3.48	0.70	.79
Domination	2.24	2.19	0.82	.71

Table 25
Analysis of Variance of the Difference between Parents and Teachers in Rating Problem Solving Techniques

Source	<i>SS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Smoothing	0.003	0.004	1	.95
Persuasion	1.45	2.241	1	.14
Joint problem solving	1.79	3.044	1	.08
Domination	0.23	0.417	1	.52

Analysis of Interviews

Analysis of interviews yielded 65 categories pertaining to various dimensions of parent-school partnerships. Some of these categories were richer than others in describing the strengths and weaknesses of parent-school partnerships in the context of Morocco's public schools. Appendix M lists the categories and the number of comments associated with them. By far, the richest category was obstacles to partnership. Thirty seven comments from the 46 interviews directly addressed obstacles to partnership. Interviews with parents, principals, and teachers unearthed multiple factors associated with weak parent school partnership. Using Bolman and Deal (2003) Four Framework Approach to Leadership, these factors were classified as structural, cultural, human resources related, and political (table 26).

The structural factors proffered by interviewees to explain the weakness of parent-school partnerships were divided into three sub-factors: Institutional, organizational, and exogenous. Understanding which frame was mostly used in analyzing partnership problems could suggest pathways for improving parent-school partnership.

Structural factors

Institutional obstacles

Parents

For parents, there are, at least, two reasons why parent-school partnership has not succeeded. The first is lack of funding. The second is regulation that is either lacking, vague, or non-enforced. Many parent representatives at the national or regional levels pointed to the lack

Table 26

A Summary of Interview Data about Structural, Cultural, Human resource, and Political factors Undermining Parent-school Partnerships

Structural	Institutional	Parents	Unfunded policy
			Lacking, vague, or non-enforced regulation
		Principals	Deficient accountability
			Perception that teachers' job description does not require them to partner with parents.
		Teachers	Lack of parent accountability
			Perverse effects of conditional cash transfers on parent's involvement
	Organizational	Parents	Centralized decision making
			Unclear division of labor
		Principals	Centralized decision making
		Teachers	Perception of fairness
			Authoritarian leadership
			Centralized decision making
	Exogenous	Parents	Distance from school
			Socio-economic vulnerability
			Illiteracy
Principals		Opportunity cost of school involvement	
Teachers		Broken homes in broken communities	
Cultural	Parents	Partnership is a free time activity	
		School is a fortress	
		Parents as conflict mediators and sources of cash and labor	
	Principals	Parents as conflict mediators and sources of cash and labor	
	Teachers	The state knows better	
		The culture is dismissive of youth	
Participatory leadership is not part of the culture			
Human resources	Parents	Lack of training in partnership rules and regulations	
	Principals	Lack of training in partnership rules and regulations	
	Teachers	Lack of parent capacity to support their children at home	
Political	Parents & Principals	Lack of political will	
		The politicization of parent associations	
	Teachers	Politics of community membership	

of funds to support the role of parents and incentivize other school stakeholders to seek parents as partners. Interviews with national and regional leaders of parent associations underscored the discrepancy between their limited revenue and the ambitious official vision of their advocacy responsibilities. Parent organizations' national initiatives targeted at building parent capacity often depended on one of the regional chapters securing funding from the Regional Academy²⁰ or the Provincial Delegation²¹ to support such training.

The lack of an institutional framework that requires Regional Academies or Delegations to provide funding to parental association undermines the autonomy of parent associations. It might be necessary to assure that parent associations coordinate with authorities. However, the autonomy of associations to take initiatives may be jeopardized if education officials only value parent associations that acquiesce to their agenda and reward them accordingly.

For many of the parents interviewed, the word partnership is a euphemism for seeking financial support. Parents often complained that “when we mention the word partnership to communes or companies, they interpret it as we begging for money.” Phrases such as ‘we did a partnership with the Academy or the commune to organize such and such activity...’ were often used to mean that the authorities in question provided the clearance and the financial support that allowed such activities to be organized.

²⁰ These are relatively autonomous regional administrations exercising education policy and oversight powers delegated to them by the Ministry of National Education.

²¹ The provincial administration exercising educational oversight powers delegated to it by the Ministry of Education and the Regional Academy for Education and Training.

Given the lack of clear regulation that designates funding sources for regional and national parent advocates in addition to membership; it is hard to imagine how parent organizations in Morocco could keep their organizational identity as entities with independent agendas that can challenge local authorities and hold them accountable for their educational responsibilities. The result as one national parent representative put it is a follower status where “[parent organizations] are constricted by limited financial and human resources. They are overstretched by the ministry creating new projects, which further strains their schedule.”

In the absence of a clear commitment to tying parts of school funding to the initiatives of school staff to build partnership, ministerial memos, as a parent representative put it, “remain ink on paper”. Principals did not comply with the guidelines of these memos. In one focus group, parents insisted that the school principal was not legally accountable to them. It is only “when the process is legal and there are clear structures and rules that everyone will work harder.”

To summarize, parent representatives, especially those with regional and national mandates, pointed to institutional weaknesses as major hurdles to parent school partnerships. The lack of funds deprived national and regional parent organizations from the financial and human resources that could have allowed them to develop their own parent involvement agenda. Without autonomy at the level of finances and strategy, parent representatives were often forced into advisory tokenistic roles they were called to fulfill on an occasional basis. Therefore, many parents referred to participation in parent associations as ‘a headache’ they would rather avoid. Similarly, doing little to incorporate

partnership-building in staff appraisal further undermined institutional commitment to parent-school partnership.

Principals

For principals, deficient accountability weakened parent school partnerships. Principals reported that varying levels of ability to monitor the compliance of parent associations with their legal mandate. The law regulating the formation of parent associations²² places them under the jurisdiction of the ministry of the interior, rather than the ministry of education. This makes it difficult for principals to force associations to dissolve after the end of their legal term. The legal process of dissolving non-renewing or corrupt associations through the Ministry of Interior often takes a long time. For some school principals, starting such a legal fight can be costly and risky. In addition to the extra demand on their time, filing a complaint about a parent association with politically connected members can be risky. In this regard, a school principal reported that he was reprimanded by phone for starting such a process and was ordered by his superior to mind his own business.

Principals and parent representatives in almost all of the interviews agreed that the low turnout of parents in the annual parent associations was often associated with the lack of accountability. In this regard, proverbs such as “unguarded money invites corruption”, or “the tent collapsed because it was lopsided from day one” were often used by principals to point to the lack of clear and transparent accountability mechanisms that

²² Royal decree # 1.58.376 was issued on November 15, 1958. It regulates the right to form associations. Parent associations should abide by the requirements of this law if their application is to be approved by the ministry of interior.

define the legal obligations of parent associations. Deficient accountability according to school principals extended to teachers as well.

The Ministry of Education Guide to Evaluating Professional Performance (January 2009) clearly points to building partnerships between teachers and parents as a criterion for teachers' evaluation. This said, interviews with principals and teachers did not suggest that teachers were aware of this criterion as a part of the overall performance appraisal. Judging from two interviews with two school principals, it seems that the problem was less the lack of awareness than the perception of the cost of evaluating teachers on their outreach to parents. The prevalent perception is that teachers, just like principals, are overburdened with increasingly strenuous top-down demands. As a result, principals do not have the resources or the enforcement wherewithal to ensure that teachers reach out to parents.

To conclude, the most salient institutional obstacle to parent-school partnerships is weak accountability. According to school principals, in a context where associations often do not meet the legal general assembly quorum to be considered legal; lack of accountability to a functioning parents' council may be interpreted as a license for corruption. Principals did not trust those associations as partners. Similarly, when teachers are not evaluated on building partnerships with parents, this process may be perceived as an additional cost that they would rather forego given their perception of their already high workload.

Teachers

Many teachers referred to the lack of involvement of parent association boards as an indicator of lack of accountability. They pointed out that except for two to three

members; the rest of the parents' board was either not known, or not present. As a result, teachers seldom felt that parents supported them in addressing the needs of the students. One consequence was frustrated teachers who did not trust parent associations as reliable school partners.

One other institutional weakness raised especially by teachers serving rural and very poor areas was what they referred to as 'perverse effects of conditional cash transfer programs on partnership.' In regions characterized by high dropout rates, the government instituted cash transfer programs to encourage parents to enroll and retain their daughters in school. Parents who benefitted from these programs received 100 Dirhams a month for each girl they kept in school. In addition, parents were given flour, cooking oil, and school material. According to some teachers, these programs prevented girls from progressing in school.

One of the perverse effects that teachers cited was that some parents contacted teachers before the end of the year to ask them to fail their daughters. This way they were sure to keep government subsidies. According to teachers, these parents were holding the girls hostage for government aid. The value of education as an end in itself was lost to such parents. The interviewed teachers concluded that parents who were only motivated by subsidy programs to keep their daughters in school were unlikely to be committed to partnership because they did not value education as an end in itself.

To summarize institutional obstacles to partnership; parents, principals, and teachers pointed to factors such as lack of funding; unclear regulation; non-enforced regulation; lack of accountability mechanisms; and the perverse effects of cash transfer programs as some of the most commonly listed institutional blocks to parent school

partnership. One problem that united the three groups was the perception that the regulatory framework was too broad to set achievable expectations and spell out enforceable accountability mechanisms. Notwithstanding the numerous regulatory documents²³ that the ministry of education cites to highlight the institutional framework of partnership; a review of these memos suggests that the existing framework is not nuanced enough to support and protect successful parent-school partnership.

Organizational obstacles

Parents

From an organizational perspective, interviews with parents suggest that centralized decision making and unclear division of labor exacerbated red tape and contributed to conflict. Both factors tend to be associated with higher cost of participation and lower commitment to partnership with school.

Partnership documents emphasize the central role of ‘the authorities of tutelage’ in the oversight of partnership initiatives. School councils propose partnership projects. However, it is the administrative authorities at the local, regional, or central level that have the power to approve or reject the proposed partnership. In such arrangement, parent representatives were keenly aware of their ‘advisory role’ in school governance councils. In other words, in situations where priorities were already set by organizational memos; interviews suggest that parents did not see their effect on school governance. As one parent with national mandate put it, “the individual initiative of the people who are

²³ Articles 9 and 29 of the National Charter for Education and Training; Statute # 07.00 implemented by royal decree # 01.0.203 issued on May 19, 2000 in regard to establishing regional academies for education and training; Government decree # 02.02.376 issued on July 17, 2002; Ministerial memo # 87, July 10, 2003 on the responsibilities school councils; Ministerial Memo # 3 of January 4th, 2006 regarding the role of the parents’ associations; Project E4P2 on mobilization and communication from the Emergency Program 2009 – 2012.

responsible for management is missing. These people are not cowards or stupid. They are stuck in the old way of doing things; the ministerial memo, the ministerial law, the ministerial decree. No one can challenge anything even for the purpose of the students' interest." Uncertainty about bureaucratic decisions becomes even more disabling when the already excessive regulations are obfuscated by phone calls from superiors criticizing what should be independent decisions made at the school level.

Given the power of educational authorities to decide what qualifies as 'worthy' partnership; their attitudes about parental involvement can empower or restrict parents' initiatives. In this regard, a focus group with regional parent representatives pointed out that many regional or national consultations, which were supposedly participatory, were often not. In this regard, parents pointed out that there were some entrenched attitudes about where and how parents could partner with schools. By way of illustration, one provincial delegate²⁴ pointed out that parent representatives could not intervene in educational matters. The prevalent perception amongst the parents interviewed was summarized by a parent who said, "They treat us like their spouses, they consult us, but they follow their own opinions." The danger with such perceptions among parent representatives is that they perpetuate a climate of resignation amongst parent advocates. With such beliefs, parents' perception of their own agency is undermined. This, in turn, can jeopardize the sustainability of their action at the school and national levels.

Red tape is another cost of centralized decision making according to parents. Parents in three focus groups pointed out that the reason parents preferred to stay away from parent associations was the amount of paperwork associated with running for board positions. To get the necessary clearance from the Ministry of Interior, some parent had

²⁴ This is the representative of the Ministry at the level of the province.

to travel to their place of birth to get the proper birth certificate approved by the authorities. Many candidates did not run as a result. In addition to the wariness about authorities demanding identification paper; sometimes the money and time cost of travelling to distant birth places to produce an authentic birth certificate discouraged parents from involvement. In rural and distant areas, asking parents to leave their work to have to wait for their paperwork to be processed in the rural center posed a cost that many parents did not want to shoulder.

Assuming that all the parents who agreed to assume the initial bureaucratic cost joined primarily to serve the student; having to wade through formal rules on what they can or cannot do may burn out even the most energetic ones. In this regard, interviews in almost all the six regions pointed to an array of administrative restrictions. For example, it is the Delegation, not the school, which gives authorization for after school activities. At the school level, sending an application for such an authorization has to go through the principal who, will have to approve of access to school grounds after regular work hours. Once the application is submitted, it usually takes long to hear from the authorities in question. In this case, strong principals who believe in the importance of participatory governance are legally entitled to launch the project should the authorities fail to respond in a one month period. However, in a reality where the Delegation and the Regional Academy is the 'authority of tutelage', many principals avoid confrontations with their superiors; and, thus, rarely take action without prior approval of central authorities.

In summary, interviews with parents suggest that centralized decision making creates a wait and see climate highlighting misalignment between partnership rhetoric and top-down practices. In such a climate, partnership becomes costlier and harder to

sustain even for the most committed parents. Interviews with principals largely reiterated many of these same concerns.

Principals

Centralized decision making is a recurrent theme in interviews with principals about conditions undermining parent school partnerships. In fact, many principals reiterated parents' perception of the restrictive impact of excessive and centralized bureaucratic demands. One of the concerns that kept resurfacing in principals' interviews was the often overlapping top-down demands. Many principals referred to 'the flood of memos' as an instance of compliance management. A large part of school managers' time was spent on reports. In such environment, principals explained that the demand on their time did not allow them to be strategic about building partnerships. As a result, governance council meetings ended up more steered by the requirements of top memos than by shared school improvement plans stemming from school realities. According to principals, being between the rock of memos and the hard place of frustrated teachers and parents left little energy for school grown partnership initiatives.

One often reported example of the misalignment between top down memos and local needs was the scheduling of professional development for teachers. School principals reported that parents distrust schools due to the number of classes missed by their children because of teachers' frequent absence. For principals, parents do not know that teachers are absent because they have to attend professional development sessions that often conflicted with regular classes. The fact that many professional development sessions were scheduled close to final exams particularly infuriated parents who became resigned to believing that teachers were purposefully avoiding their teaching duties. For

principals, distrust of schools not fulfilling their educational responsibilities drove many parents away from partnership with school. The absence of effective communication between schools and parents further reduced the chances of any meaningful partnership.

Teachers

For teachers, perceptions of equality, seriousness, and fairness had an impact on the extent to which they partook in school partnership initiatives. One group interview with young teachers working in a rural middle school illustrated the impact of working conditions on teachers' involvement. Respondents pointed out that in school settings where there was collective commitment to a common goal; the school conditions were more conducive to partnerships. Perceptions of equality, seriousness, and fairness came out in many interviews especially when the interviewees were relatively young. Teachers' observations overlapped with the comments of at least three principals who noted that many of the teachers close to retirement were lukewarm about being involved in activities outside their traditional instructional duties. For young teachers, taking active part in school governance and taking action to involve parents was a responsibility that required the support and engagement of everybody rather than the high commitment of a few.

A key player in providing such support is the principal. In all the relatively successful schools, teachers attributed cohesion between staff and parent associations to the leadership of the principal. By contrast, if the principal was authoritarian, partnership did not succeed. Interviews with teachers revealed that principals' leadership, or lack thereof, was manifested, among other things, in the quantity and the quality of governance councils held. In schools where parent representatives had less clout, the

governance council rarely met. When the meeting was held; the roles were already set. The principal and the teachers made a list of demands, often consisting of urgent repair needs. The parents were there “to contribute with their purse”. By contrast, in schools where school leadership was participatory, principals, teachers, and parent representatives designed and implemented school projects which broke with the yearly focus on broken bulbs and unusable toilets. In this regard, partnership between teachers and parents in a large urban school located at the foot of the High Atlas Mountains showcased the promise of cohesive partnership when spearheaded by a committed principal.

The support of the principal coupled with the innovativeness of young teachers and committed parents resulted in a unique registration and learning experience which won the respect of parents and the community at large. In this urban school with 48 rural feeders mostly from hard to reach villages, the goal of the administration, teachers, and parent representatives was to stem the tide of underprepared elementary school graduates destined for failure by the end of middle school. The school improvement plan was proposed and discussed as part of a series of study days attended by parent representatives, teachers, administrators, student counselors, teaching supervisors, in addition to five associations from the civil society. The ensuing resolutions consisted of a one-stop service to streamline the registration process; the creation of three enrichment classes for struggling students; and introducing software that monitored the number and types of tests administered. Teachers and parents agreed that the humility and the collaborative working style of the principal motivated the governance council to contribute to school improvement.

In summary, teachers agreed on the school principal as the lynchpin of parent school partnerships. In fact, all the successful²⁵ schools enjoying better forms of partnership were led by school leaders who, according to Day et al (2000), modeled and promoted respect, fairness, and equality among school staff, parents, and students. By contrast, parent-school interactions were characterized by tension in schools where the principal was coercive (Fullan, 2001).

Similar to parents and principals, teachers referred to centralization as inhibiting parent- school partnerships. All teachers without exception referred to the ‘school map’ as ‘the scourge’ of school quality. School map, as defined by teachers, parents, and principals, refers to a centrally determined transition threshold for students. In Morocco, success thresholds are set by regional authorities. Survey analysis yielded a score of 8/20 as the minimal score for passing from one grade to the next. Yearly data about availability of seats in the following grade seem to be the most important factor in the regional authorities’ decisions to lower or raise the transition threshold. In the last ten years, this threshold has consistently remained lower than 10/20.

For teachers, the school map embodied how centralized interference watered down school quality and reduced students’ incentives to work harder. They pointed out that working conditions became much harder given that students only had to produce minimal effort to succeed. Similarly, parents did not have to work harder to help their children. In such a climate, collaborating to strive for better performance became less urgent given that it was the school map that largely determined students’ success, not

²⁵ Given that there is no formal and available data for ranking school effectiveness, designating a school as successful or not was based on the number of students who apply to enroll in this school from areas outside its regular feeders. This is used as an indicator of the reputation of the school among parents and students alike.

school efforts. School map stood out as the most frequently cited problem associated with how centralized decisions affected parent school partnership. This said, many teachers reiterated parents' and principals' comments about the memo culture and excessive regulation as serious organizational obstacles to partnership.

In conclusion, parents, principals, and teachers overwhelmingly faulted centralized decision making for weak partnership. Excessive regulation is antithetical to the principles of synergy and autonomy that characterize successful partners (Brinkerhoff, 2002). Parents, teachers, and principals who exhibited strong commitment to school improvement through partnership had to work extra hard to satisfy central demands and maintain commitment to school improvement. Partners' efforts were especially urgent in public school environments characterized by socio-economic vulnerability.

Exogenous factors

One observation that was common to every school visited for interviews was the low turn-out rate of parents during general assemblies. In middle schools typically serving 800 to 1000 students; parents' turn-out in general assemblies ranged from 30 to 70 attendees. Factors related to opportunity cost and family 'deficiencies' were frequently reported to account for the absence of parents as school partners. Table 27 includes a list of frequently mentioned challenges reported by parent representatives, principals, and teachers to explain why urban families were not involved.

Parents

For rural parents, distance from school was frequently cited as one factor preventing them from inquiring about their children and showing up for general

assemblies. Other factors adding to the opportunity cost of participation were summarized by a parent representative as follows: “people are busy; not like the cities where people work in education or in the public service. In our case, one member is bricklayer, the other one works in the local commune, another one is a contractor, another is a merchant...etc. if these people don’t work; they cannot live.” For representatives of parents in urban schools, lack of focus on children as students was often associated with socio-economic vulnerability and illiteracy.

Table 27

Exogenous factors preventing partnership as perceived by the parents

Challenges	Examples of these problems
The mother is the head of the household ²⁶ . (five interviews)	Divorcees, single mothers, or mothers living with underemployed spouses have to be absent from home for the entire day to support the family. Some children in these households lack familial supervision in matters as basic as food and hygiene.
Poor paying jobs and emigration. (3 interviews)	Both parents have to emigrate to find jobs. Children live with their grandparents or with their siblings. In middle and primary school, it is typically the mother who acts as the school interlocutor.
Dysfunctional families (4 interviews)	Drugs, alcohol, domestic violence, verbal abuse, and poverty were frequently listed as some of the challenges preventing communication with parents in marginalized neighborhoods especially in large urban centers such as Casablanca and Rabat.
Parenting problems (8 interviews)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No culture of literacy. • Lack of a parent role model. • Parents do not talk with their children about their education • Parents do not know how to monitor their children • Illiteracy or simple inability to help with homework

Principals

For principals, opportunity cost was a factor that did not only impede parents’ involvement; but it impeded teachers’ participation as well. Principals frequently reported that it was difficult to keep teachers at school after their teaching hours. Some of the costs

²⁶ According to the Haut Commissariat du Plan National Employment Survey (HCP, 2010) [Morocco’s Planning Advisory Commission], women head 19.3 percent of Morocco’s households.

mentioned included the cost of transportation²⁷ to commute back to school, the cost of food when the teachers had to stay over lunch time, and the opportunity cost of leaving a second job or day care to attend school activities not scheduled in their official work schedule.

With respect to parents, distance was a frequent deterrent according to rural principals. For urban principals, however, poverty and ‘family dysfunction’ were frequently listed problems limiting parents’ ability to act as school partners.

Teachers

For teachers, the children of parents who showed up typically did well at school. The parents were often educated and relatively better off compared to the parent majority. In addition to the factors summarized in table 27, teachers reported that struggling children were victims of broken homes in broken communities. These children were in homes with little structure. Moreover, they lived in poor neighborhoods that offered few opportunities for intellectual enrichment. Teachers also described conditions where some students lived in abusive homes. In cases of too little or too much ‘control’, parents of struggling children did little to support them as learners.

In summary, most of the difficult home conditions that parent representatives, principals and teachers pointed to are not atypical of low SES families. According to Lareau (2003) the conditions listed in table 27 and the ‘out of control’ children which the teachers and the principals talked about are characteristic of what Lareau referred to as

²⁷ Cost of transportation is not just the money. For teachers who commute to middle schools, finding a means of transportation can be time consuming. To take a taxi, the teacher will have to wait for the taxi to fill up before it leaves the station. In nonpeak hours, it can take 30 to 45 minutes for the taxi to leave the station. Given the unreliability of public transportation, transportation can be a big deterrent to teachers’ mobility.

‘accomplishment of natural growth’. In homes where the parents did not fill their children’s time with activities, or verbally engaged them in a manner that emphasized reasoning and negotiation; children spent more time with peers than with role models. In difficult neighborhoods characterized by unmonitored access to tobacco, drugs, alcohol, and lack of youth services; the responsibility of disciplining and educating the child fell entirely on the school. Often the absence of parents reinforced already existing perceptions of the willingness and the capacity of parents, especially the poor and the uneducated, to be school partners.

Cultural Obstacles

Parents

Three beliefs underlay parents’ accounts of why their partnerships with schools did not succeed: 1) perception of partnership as a free time activity, 2) perception of school as a fortress, and 3) perception of parents’ as disciplinarians, sources of cash and labor, but seldom strategic partners.

All parent representatives interviewed for this study complained about the fact that once elections of the parent association executive committee was over; only a few parents showed up. With the leadership weight often falling on three to four members instead of the entire committee; associations often failed to optimize their potential contribution to school improvement. One consequence of this phenomenon was that even the most driven members were burned out. In addition to losing the drive to contribute because the child was no longer at school, interviews frequently mentioned that the excuse given for not showing up in meetings was that parent members were busy and that partnership was just volunteering.

The second cultural obstacle reported by parents was the perception of school as a fortress. This perception was well rendered by a father commenting on what he saw to be the regular experience of parents in his middle school:

When the parent comes to school, he is scared. He is happy only if the guard lets him in. Where are you going? What do you want? ... Sir, I came here because I was asked to come for my child. Oh your child! Those children are doing this and that. He [the father] can't wait to leave. He is not sure whether he will see the principal or not, the grade administrator or not. Let alone think about how to come to school. He thinks they did him a great favor just by letting him in. While they stopped others, they let him in. He is feeling honored. (Excerpt from an interview conducted with a concerned parent in Casablanca).

The perception of the school as a fortress is antithetical to the outreach policy clearly requiring schools to open communication channels with parents. In fact, the National Charter for Education and Training (1999), the Statue for Public schools memo # 2.02.376; ministerial memo # 87 in July 2003, and ministerial memo # 3 in January 2006; all these documents are directives that call for making schools more welcoming to parents. Unfortunately, parent perceptions about their school experiences do not reflect official directives about parent-friendly schools.

The third perception of the expectation from parents as partners came up in almost every interview conducted with parents. The following comment from a national parent representative reflects parents' beliefs about their roles:

In the sixties, the parent association was a means to put out fire. Parents were contacted to calm the students who went on protests. After that, it became an enterprise focused on providing bulbs and glass. With Abdellah Saaf²⁸ in 2000, the role of parent associations evolved to strategic partners.

The symbol of fire-fighters makes historical sense given the social unrest in the sixties and seventies. The period between 1970 and 1973 was especially known for prolonged student and university students' strikes (Damis, 1975). Therefore, the

²⁸The Minister of Education

authorities used parents to help put out the fires of strikes and protest that raged in the seventies and eighties as well. Similarly, by 1983, Morocco implemented the IMF Structural Adjustment Program to reduce its internal and external fiscal deficit and maintain economic growth. The sector that suffered most from cuts in public investment was education. Between 1982 and 1986; operating expenditures for the Ministry of Education dropped by four percent and capital expenditures were cut by 36 percent (Morrisson, 1991).

Given the deep slashes in capital investment, parent associations were principally sought to help repair broken infrastructure (parent as contractors). The next section on principals' perception of the role of the parents explains how dependence on parent funds had continued until 2009 when the new Emergency Program instituted the Association for the School of Success. With regard to the perception of parents as strategic partners; a national parents' leader referred to it as a case where, "ideas could be centuries ahead of practice."

In summary, the perception of partnership as free time volunteering seemed to undermine the commitment of parent representatives to school. Similarly, the perception of school as a fortress may have prevented many parents from coming to school. This, in turn, did not help cultivate mutual trust between parents and schools. Finally, the focus on parents as disciplinarians and sources of cash and labor, rather than strategic partners, represented a lopsided self-interested view of the role of parents. This view defies the purpose of educational partnerships where the benefits of each party are maximized (Brinkerhoff, 2002).

Principals

As appendix N illustrates, principals emphasized social support, material support, and addressing problems as the main duties of parent associations. Social support includes providing assistance to needy students with school materials, glasses, medical visits, and clothes. Material support includes the purchase of teaching materials for teachers, providing paper copies, laptops, and audio-visual equipment. This support also includes repairing and maintaining school grounds. Addressing problems consisted of reducing students' disruptive behavior; spotting the use of drugs, tobacco, and alcohol in and outside the school premises; reducing truancy and students' expulsions, establishing a listening center for students; and coordinating with teachers to assume parent roles in providing funds and guidance for children who lack these resources at home. It was only in three middle schools where the principals were very explicit about parents as strategic partners. These three principals managed to enhance school resources through participatory governance. Other principals' perception of parent involvement largely emphasized their financial contributions. This may be indicative of the need for capacity building for all school stakeholders in strategic partnership.

Teachers

Teachers' interviews suggest that parents' lack of involvement could be attributed to factors such as parents' belief that the state knows better; and a culture that tends to be dismissive of youth and individual initiative. In rural schools, teachers argued that parents were not involved in schools because these latter believed that they "don't know better than the government."

At a broader level, the resignation to what many teachers referred as the non-prominence of the child's well-being in parents' daily schedule was remarkably common in interviews. In addition to poverty and demands on parents' time, another cultural explanation that was suggested was the tendency of adults to be dismissive of youth. Unlike advanced countries, as one teacher put it, where the young and the old talk together, there is little dialogue between generations in the Moroccan context. He continued that one result of parents not talking with their kids is that "nothing is transferred to the children."

The final cultural explanation for the non-involvement of parents is what some teachers called the culture of risk avoidance or fear of authority. In this regard, they mentioned that proverbs such as "the fly does not enter an open mouth", "fear is manhood" exemplified the dominant mindset underlying the lack of initiative among Moroccans. In this regard, teachers noted that it was power status that determined membership in associations rather than commitment or willingness to help. Powerless parents understood this unspoken power rule. Therefore, they stayed away from participation. Often, the few who stayed were perceived as power seekers who used the parent association as a platform for political gain.

In summary, interviews with teachers suggest an overall low expectation about parents' ability or willingness to be involved. Limits on this ability were at times attributed to a culture that discourages initiative. At other times, weak partnerships were viewed as a human resources issue.

Human Resources Obstacles

Most of parents, principals, and teachers blamed the scarcity of workshops for parents and school staff for the low capacity for partnership. Parent representatives and principals underscored low awareness about parent roles and prerogatives. By contrast, teachers emphasized parents' low intellectual capacity to support their children at home.

Parents

For parent representatives, there was not enough professional development for parents or school staff to train them in strategic partnerships. According to parent interviews, sending memos to schools and calling that training did not help illiterate parents. Instead, they called for more workshops attended by parents, teachers, and school principals around participatory school governance. Some parents complained that valuable information was often lost because presidents of associations seldom shared what they learned with other representatives. When parent representatives were interviewed about their training responsibilities vis-à-vis the general parent population, they explained that their mission was to try to reach parents. However, they pointed that educational authorities should raise parents' awareness about the importance of partnering with schools.

Principals

Principals often raised concerns about parent representatives encroaching on their professional prerogatives. Examples of what they referred to as encroachment included parents inquiring about teachers' attendance and directly contacting teachers to investigate that. Other examples included parent representatives demanding special

treatment because of their position. One more example that caused conflict is what principals referred to as the “non-educational” and disrespectful language used by parent representatives or parents in general when communicating with school staff. Interviews suggest that raising parents’ awareness of the roles of parents and school staff, in addition to improving communication could clarify expectations, promote a culture of respect, and reduce tension between parents and schools.

Teachers

For teachers, parent representatives needed training. As one teacher put it:

Playing is good for the students. This raises questions about whether this person [parent representative] has training, has a scientific mind; is this an educated person? Does he know what he is doing? Or does it only matter that he paints the school walls. Is this a person who listens and is able to negotiate and communicate? Is this a person who understands the specific requirements of learning a given subject? (Excerpt from a focus group conducted in an urban school in Casablanca.)

The skills cited by the teacher in the Casablanca focus group were representative of teachers’ expectations of what parent representatives and parents should demonstrate in order to succeed as school partners. Teachers’ clarity about what parents should know is probably the result of their experience with the learning challenges of their students. Therefore, they insisted that professional development improves the personality dispositions, communication behaviors, and intellectual qualifications of parents and parent advocates. Nonetheless, teachers recognized that political calculations, rather than positive educational dispositions, often determined who became a parent association president.

Political Obstacles

This section elaborates on the views of parents, principals, and teachers about how politics may have obstructed successful parent-school partnership.

Parents

Parent representatives often evoked the lack of political will to explain the discrepancy between partnership rhetoric and reality. The number of parents represented in governance boards at the regional or school levels is an example of what many parents referred to as the tokenistic view of their roles as partners. In each of the 16 regions in the country, three regional representatives are elected for the regional authority governance boards of education. Many parents pointed out that such a small representation gave them little influence over decision making. Moreover, the election process of representatives was so flawed that when they were elected, they often lacked a solid constituency to have any significant leverage over policy. In this regard, one observer of parents' regional elections had the following comment about what he referred to as the 'absurdness of the democratic process characterizing the election of regional parent representatives':

What is unfortunate is that up to now, one representative of the administrative council of education who represents all the associations of parents is elected by only two voices. In middle school, there were four candidates who got two voices each. The oldest among them was chosen. First, where are the associations of parents of the entire province that need to be present in these elections? Do two voices give the legitimacy to the individual who represents the associations so that he speaks on their behalf? (Excerpt from an interview with a national parent representative).

In many interviews, the phrase 'lack of political will' denoted suspicion of the government's genuineness in pushing for real partnerships between parents and schools. For some parent representatives, this lack of political will is manifested in the multiplicity

of “random, ill-timed, and always top down memos that don’t reflect the existence of a policy or strategy.” Other parents commented that the lack of a concrete and consistent strategy for partnership with parents created a climate of wait- and-see among parents and school staff as they were not sure what to partner about and how exactly each partner should contribute. For other parents, lack of political will was embodied in the fact that educational authorities at the regional and local level did not organize professional development sessions targeted at training parent associations and school staff in principles of effective partnership.

Another political issue that surfaced from parent interviews was the power that came with membership in parent association at the local, regional, or national level. Notwithstanding the misgivings that many parent representatives shared about the limits of their power to effect visible change, being in governance councils at the school level or at the regional or national levels meant a seat with school principals, delegates of the Ministry of education, head of regional education authorities, and, at times, the minister of national education. By getting a seat with influential decision makers, many parent association leaders theoretically had access to formal lines of supply, information, and support (Kanter, 1979). However, many parents complained that the lack of accountability to a functioning parent body was often associated with some parent representatives not using their proximity to decision makers to primarily advocate for parents.

Parents’ general assembly almost never met quorum. This restricted the parent base and lowered the accountability of their representatives. One manifestation of low accountability was the multiple and often conflicting agendas of parent representatives

which often eroded their effectiveness as parent advocates. This further undermined their ability to build a cohesive front that could win them the trust of their base and the respect of their partners. Many parent leaders were educators, union members, and party militants as well as parent representatives. With all those roles, it is legitimate to wonder how parent interests remained paramount when they had to compete with their agendas as teachers, union members, and politicians.

One frequently cited example of conflict of interest was a case where the entire school system in one region was held hostage to successive teachers' strikes. Parent advocates, who were also union and party militants, did little to defend student interests. The results of such conflicting loyalties were weak advocates who ended up doing very little by trying to do too much. The inability of national or regional representatives to effect any significant changes reinforced disillusionment about the corruption, or at least cooptation of some parent advocates. This, in turn, further reinforced the vicious cycle of the futility of getting involved and further undermined any meaningful partnership between parents and schools.

In summary, many teachers said that they had all the right to be parent representatives since they too had their children at school. Across most of the interviews, having members who understood education was viewed as an advantage. However, conditions for better transparency were not enabled by 1) weak accountability to a functioning parent base, 2) deficient national strategy for partnership between parents and schools, and 3) non-enforced rules about conflict of interest. In such a context, the likelihood of small elite concentrating the privileges of parent representation without having to be accountable for its responsibilities provided fertile ground for corruption.

This further exacerbated tension with schools. According to principals, this tension blocked partnership with parents.

Principals

Interviews with principals suggested that the lack of political will to cultivate trust between schools and parents was manifested, among other things, in the lack of a clear schedule for teachers' professional development. Most training sessions conflicted with students' instructional time. This undermined the reputation of teachers who were accused by parents of abdicating their professional duties.

Principals were also concerned about some parent representatives usurping their powers. Many principals were sensitive to parent representatives monitoring teachers' attendance or telling them how to run their school. In this regard, principals who were satisfied with parent associations often said that they seldom disagreed about school priorities. When probed further, they mentioned consensus as the often used strategy for decision making. Often principals and parents used the following phrase to explain the success of their partnership: "as long as we are focused on the primary interest of the learners, it is impossible to disagree." The problem with such a statement is that there are numerous legitimate but different ways to serve the interests of the learner. In schools where the principal see the interests of learners as best served through parents concentrating on cleaning school grounds and fixing unusable facilities; parent representatives who do not share such view could end up on a collision course with the principal. In schools experiencing such conflict, deadlock resulted in frozen funds, and at times court cases, which benefitted neither the principal nor the parents.

In other interviews, other principals summarized their views on collaboration by relating the Moroccan proverb that “when you see two people happy together, you need to know that one is carrying most of the burden.” Another principal echoed the same conviction by comparing his life as a principal to the Greek mythological king Sisyphus. Sisyphus was eternally condemned to rolling a giant boulder up a hill only to see it roll down again. This myth spoke to what some principals saw as the draining effort of working hard to take their schools to higher levels only to see their efforts unravel due to lack of support from their staff, superiors, and parents.

Teachers

The politics of community membership affected teachers’ expectations about parent-school partnerships. Especially in linguistically and ideologically diverse schools, interviews with teachers suggest that the teaching body was divided by competing groups with rivaling political and ideological affiliations. In such conditions, the tension among teachers undermined parent-school partnership. These rivalries were often couched in ethnic tensions (Arab vs. Berber) between local university graduates “who obtained a teaching position through strikes” and trained teachers who were alien to the community. These tensions often masked ideological and ethnic mistrust affecting the cohesion of teachers as a professional community. The divisions among teachers spread to the larger parent community and further undermined the ability of the school to build partnership.

Especially in large schools, ideological affiliations of teachers seemed not only to influence the degree to which they could garner the support of the parent community, but also the kind of support they could get from unions. Ideological and political rivalries have often high-jacked prospects for collaboration amongst teachers; and between parents

and teachers. In such a context, teachers from competing factions harbored a deep suspicion about exploiting partnership with parents for furthering ulterior political or ideological agendas.

In Morocco, religious and secular ideologies are still struggling to accept each other as legitimate players in public forums about national reform. Further complicating this tension are identity questions associated with language and autonomy rights. These issues can be highly political and divisive. At the national level, parent leaders attributed parents' inability to unite behind one national organization to leftist versus Islamist ideological affiliations of parent leaders. A more fine grained analysis may highlight how issues of ethnicity, regionalism, and political ideology affect parent school partnerships.

In summary, analysis of the survey suggests that parents and teachers tended to agree on defining problems and choosing solutions. Parents and teachers' views on education reform priorities were not different from the government. This said, parents and teachers expressed dissimilar positions about the extent to which parents were involved; the extent to which parents should be involved; and the extent to which there were actual parent-school partnerships. Further analysis highlighted issues of trust, coordination, commitment, communication, and conflict resolution strategies characterizing parents' and teachers' perception of each other as partners. Interviews highlighted some of the structural, cultural, human resources, and political factors associated with low commitment to partnership. The complexity of the presented factors suggests that partnership building is far from being a technical task that could be accomplished at the stroke of a policy pen. Chapter five discusses the implications of the findings to policy and practice about parent-school partnerships.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to understand why the policy on partnership between parents and public middle schools in Morocco has had little success after ten years of implementation. The hypothesis underlying the research questions was that weak partnerships could be attributed to the lack of political consensus between parents and teachers. This chapter begins with a summary of the findings. This is followed by a discussion of the implications of the findings to Kingdon's conceptual model, and to policy and practice. The chapter ends with a reflection on the study limitations and suggestions for future research.

Summary of the findings

1. To what extent do Moroccan parents and teachers agree about the most pressing issues affecting the quality of education in public middle schools?

Overall, parent representatives and teachers did not differ significantly in their perceptions of the most important and urgent issues confronting public middle schools.

2. To what extent do Moroccan parents and teachers agree on the most effective alternatives for addressing educational issues?

Parent representatives and teachers did not differ significantly on the importance or urgency of the suggested solutions to middle school problems.

3. To what extent are parents and teachers' positions on issues and alternatives consistent with the views of the government?

A documents review of the government priorities for education reform of public middle schools suggests that parent representatives and teachers largely agreed with the official reform strategy.

4. *To what extent does consensus among parents and teachers, or a lack thereof, account for their perceptions of parent-school partnerships?*

The assumption underlying this study is that the lack of significant differences between parents and teachers on defining problems and choosing solutions is an indicator of political consensus. Political consensus, however, did not account for teachers and parents' perceptions of each other as partners. The two groups differed significantly in rating the extent to which parents were involved, the extent to which parents should be involved; and the extent to which there were actual parent-school partnerships.

Forty percent of teachers in urban middle schools did not think that parents were involved enough in school. In rural areas, parents and teachers agreed on the lack of parent-school partnerships. Male teachers in particular were less interested in parent-school partnership than female teachers. Less than five percent of parents and teachers reported actual instances of parent-school partnerships in their middle schools. Further analysis suggested that parents and teachers had negative appraisals of each other's attributes as partners.

5. *What other behavioral and organizational factors are associated with weak partnerships?*

Analysis of the partnership behaviors of parents and teachers highlighted issues of trust, commitment, coordination, communication quality, and conflict resolution strategies. Teachers rated commitment, trust, and coordination more negatively than parents did. Suspicion about the commitment of parent representatives to school interests and parents' lack of coordination with teachers was clearly echoed in the teachers' concerns about the ethical integrity of some parent associations. Even if parents' ratings

of partners' attributes were relatively higher than those of teachers, parents' perceptions of teachers as partners remained largely negative.

Parents and teachers viewed their communication as non-credible, untimely, inadequate, and non-transparent. With such negative perceptions of the quality of their communication, it was not surprising that parents and teachers' views of each other as partners were largely negative. Finally, parents and teachers rated smoothing as one of their primary methods for resolving conflict. Mohr and Spekman (1993) define smoothing as a conflict avoidance technique that is often not associated with successful partnership. Problems with the quality of communication are consistent with Epstein's (1990) traditional model of separate spheres of influence. In the traditional model, teachers and parents are separate silos with designated responsibilities that do not overlap. Teachers communicate with parents only in case of problems.

Further analysis suggests structural, cultural, human resources, and political problems underpinning weak parent-school partnerships. Structural impediments included lack of funding and the lack of clear and enforced regulation. Parent associations affiliated with regional and national representatives had to allot some of their membership dues to support regional and national advocacy in addition to school projects. In addition to increasing the cost of parents' involvement, too many demands on parents' funds weakened their impact at the local and national levels.

Reliance on parents to fund their own involvement is consistent with Daun's (2007) motives for decentralization. Daun argues that governments in developing countries seek to decentralize because they are increasingly unable to finance the rising costs of their educational systems. By contrast, federal support and funding for parental

involvement in the U.S, for example, (Epstein, 1996, Houtenville and Conway, 2008) reflect more focus on the educational gains associated with strong family school connections. Without a national policy that supports forms of parental involvement which are focused on improving students' learning; there are few incentives for parents or teachers to support parent-school partnerships.

The lack of clear and enforced regulation that clearly defined expectations from parents and schools mooted parent-school partnerships. Two manifestations of the lack of clear regulation were deficient accountability and perverse effects of conditional cash transfers. Reaching out to parents and the community is formally listed in the Ministry Guide for Monitoring and Evaluation (MOE, 2009). Nevertheless, there was little evidence that principals or school supervisors used Ministry guidelines in their appraisal of school staff performance. This provided little incentive for school staff to initiate parent-school partnership. At the level of institutional support, parents, teachers, and principals all agreed that excessive centralization imposes too much red tape. This often reduced commitment to parent-school partnership.

Similarly, the idea of cash transfers to poor families was intended to relieve parents from the opportunity cost of sending female students to school. One unintended consequence of this policy was that it created a perverse incentive among some parents to cause their daughters to repeat grades in order to continue receiving government aid. Parent-school partnerships are supposed to promote children's educational rights. The abuse of conditional cash transfer programs is an example of regulation that is either too vague about the rights and duties of school partners; or deficient in implementation capacity. In this regard, programs intended to encourage parents to be supportive school

partners should factor in exogenous conditions such as distance from school; socio-economic vulnerability, illiteracy; high opportunity cost; and broken homes which often inhibit successful parent-school partnerships.

Cultural beliefs about parental involvement were also faulted for weak parent-school partnerships. Parents attributed low turnout in parent meetings to the belief that volunteering at school is only done when one has nothing else to do. Other parents raised concerns about schools being perceived as intimidating and often inaccessible. Most parents noted that schools only reached out to them in case of problems, or when schools needed repair. Most principals contacted for interviews emphasized parent's roles as disciplinarians or sources of cash and free labor. They were, however, perplexed by what they viewed as the lack of parental cooperation. The discrepancy between parents' and principals' perceptions of parents' roles as school partners was often faulted for miscommunication and conflict.

For teachers, parents were not involved in schools because they believed that their children's education is the State's responsibility. Teachers also pointed out that adult culture did not promote involvement in children's education by supporting their learning at home and at school. Teachers also blamed the lack of parents' participation on what they referred to as an adult culture where it is often safe to be quiet than vocal.

Among parents and principals, there was a belief that the government lacked the political will to promote parent-school partnerships. They suspected that the government's push for more parental involvement is a ploy to off-load public education responsibility to parents by making the system more privatized. The lack of training for parent representatives and school staff on partnership was another example of what

parents and principals viewed as the lack of political will. Many parent representative, principals, and teachers were described as unaware of their legal prerogatives or obligations. Without proper trainings in partnership, schools became sites of tension between parties with conflicting perceptions of their rights and responsibilities. Such tension exacerbated disaffection among teachers, parents, and principals about the worthiness of the other parties as school partners.

Interviews suggested that tension in school can often be traced back to political or ideological agendas. In this regard, teachers, parents, and principals argued that it was difficult to establish good faith partnerships focused on school improvement when the agenda was often determined by ideology, union, or political aspirations. Interviews revealed numerous situations where parents' interests had to wait when their representatives, who also represented or sympathized with the teachers' union, did little to end long strikes that cost schools at least two months of instruction.

In some middle schools, teachers were markedly divided according to their ideology (Religious/secular), language (Berber speaker/Arabic speaker), and region (from the community/not from the community). Interviews suggest that divisions among teachers affected their ability to work together as a professional community. Principals and teachers noted that in such conditions, groups committed to partnership have to work harder to convince teachers and the parent community to join together on a common project. In the face of limited financial and time resources; little institutional commitment from higher authorities; and ideological tension within the school; the few successful parent-school partnerships were strained as the most committed members often were

burned out due to the lack of support. The following section discusses the implications of the study findings to Kingdon's conceptual model.

Implications for the conceptual model

McKinney (2001) defines consensus as a collaborative decision making process designed to reach unanimous agreement among stakeholders about issues of common concern. The observed lack of partnership between parents and teachers suggests that the lack of difference between them on defining problems and proposing solution was not necessarily the result of a collaborative decision making process. Earlier work on firms' strategic partnerships (Bourgeois, 1980) found that poor partnership is often associated with partners' agreeing on goals but disagreeing on how to achieve them. Data suggest that the relationship between parents and teachers was characterized by lack of trust, absence of coordination, low commitment, inadequate communication, and ineffective conflict resolution strategies. Without such collaborative process, political consensus on broad goals is more of a political maneuver to create the semblance of public buy-in than a genuine mechanism that incorporates the input of parents and teachers during policy proposal.

Evidence of poor parent-school partnerships suggests that little attention was paid to agreement about partnership implementation mechanisms prior to policy initiation. Kingdon (1995) posits that political consensus between interest groups often results from bargaining rather than negotiation and persuasion. In this regard, findings suggest that political considerations often determined whether parents or teachers' representatives acquiesce to proposed reform. It might be argued, therefore, that parent representatives and teacher unions may have joined national consensus around national education reform

because potential political gains accruing from acquiescing to the proposed reform were more immediate than down-the-road risks of failure during implementation. In this regard, consensus that was not based on analysis of political viability is likely what set the policy on partnership for failure during implementation.

Genuine national consensus is more likely to be built around politically viable policies which are acceptable, appropriate, responsive, and legal (Patton and Sawicki, 1986). Evidence from this study highlights discrepancies between teachers and parent representatives on the extent to which they accepted each other as school partners. Data also suggest that teachers and parents' problems of trust, commitment, participation, and communication were inconsistent with the values of successful partners. Parents, principals, and teachers expressed different expectations of responsive partnership. Principals and teachers viewed responsive partnership as a solution for scarce school resources. Parents yearned for a strategic partnership where they were truly involved in school decision making. Finally, the legality of partnership was not bolstered with clear legal provisions meant to support and ensure the autonomy and accountability of school partners. This is consistent with findings from an earlier UNICEF study (2007) which noted the absence of a national policy in Morocco that supports parents' roles as protectors and educators.

Kingdon's multiple streams model emphasizes bargaining as the tool for forging political consensus between interest groups. The model overlooks the responsibility of interest groups to ensure that the policy they buy into is acceptable, appropriate, and responsive to their constituents. When adequate provisions are not made to ensure that the positions of interest groups represent those of their constituents; political consensus,

as defined in Kingdon's model, does little to sustain public ownership of proposed policies.

The failure of parent-school partnerships is an example of implementation problems occurring despite initial political consensus. Study data suggest that the partnership policy failed because parents and schools had distinct perceptions of partnerships that were acceptable, appropriate, and responsive. For many schools, acceptable, appropriate, and responsive partnership with parents is an arrangement whereby parents disciplined and provided cash and labor for schools. By contrast, parents' perception of acceptable, appropriate, and responsive partnership included real, not tokenistic, participation in decision making; a welcoming school environment; and capacity building opportunities that inform parents about their rights and responsibilities.

In conclusion, the political streams component of Kingdon's model did not adequately account for weak parent-school partnerships. Parent representatives and teachers seemed to agree about official reform priorities. However, further analysis suggests that their acquiescence to the policy on parent-school partnership was not necessarily based on a collaborative decision making process. Failure to conduct thorough analysis of political viability was evident in parent-school partnerships that were difficult to implement and hard to sustain.

Implications for policy and practice

This study found that even if parents and Morocco's public middle schools can and want to be partners, problems at the level of partners' dispositions, school organizational capacity, and institutional support undermine support for parent-school partnership. In this regard, Fullan (2003) posits that:

The main reason that change fails to occur in the first place on any scale, and does not get sustained when it does, is that the infrastructure is weak, unhelpful, or working cross purposes. By infrastructure I mean the next layers above whatever unit we are focusing on. In terms of successive levels, for example, a teacher cannot sustain change if he or she is working in a negative school culture; similarly, a school can initiate and implement successful change, but cannot sustain it if it is operating in a less than helpful district; a district cannot keep going if it works in a state which is not helping to sustain reform. (p. 18)

Findings suggest that problems of trust, commitment, coordination, and communication affected parents' and teachers' dispositions to partnership. According to the International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO, 2009), educational partnerships should adhere to ethical rules of conduct. They are transparent and accountable. They foster partners' ownership and inclusiveness. They are relevant to partners' needs. They ensue from sound planning. They are focused on improving school outcomes. This study suggests that lack of trust, commitment, coordination, and communication reflect problems of ownership, accountability, and transparency.

Findings indicate that teachers and parents expressed little commitment to parent-school partnership. Moreover, there was little collaboration between parents and teachers in schools' governance councils. When parents or teachers do not feel included in decision making; there is little ownership of parent-school partnerships. Lack of ownership also reflected problems of accountability and transparency. For school principals, many parent associations operated with little transparency. These views could perhaps be attributed to parent associations not involving principals in their decision making. Principals also noted that without effective parents' councils, school leaders had no legal power to hold parent associations accountable.

In this study, parent councils could not be formed because the turn-out of parents during schools' general assemblies rarely met quorum. The lack of a wide and supportive

school base weakened the bargaining power of parent representatives as they advocated for parents' interests at the national level. Parents' national representation was further weakened by the lack of accountability, transparency, and a unified agenda.

To summarize, problems of ownership and accountability blur the rules of conduct that should underlie educational partnerships. Without mechanisms that hold parent representatives and schools accountable, partnerships as practiced in most middle schools did little to respond to partners' needs. In such a context, mutual accusations about violations of ethical rules bred mistrust and increased conflict. This tense climate exacerbated disaffection about parent-school partnership.

School organizational capacity also affected parent-school partnership. Newmann et al., (2000) divide school capacity to five components: (1) teachers' knowledge, skills, and dispositions, (2) professional community, (3) program coherence, (4) technical resources, and (5) principal leadership. Findings suggest that building better parent-school partnerships in Morocco's middle schools requires building capacity in the five components described by Newmann et al.

Male teachers in particular were lukewarm about partnership with parents. This might be a professional development issue. Judging from a district wide training organized by one of the Delegations participating in this study; teachers were not invited to the professional development session on partnership. Moreover, the training session was largely legalistic in its approach to partners' rights and obligations. Given the findings of this study, what parents, teachers, and principals wanted from partnership was not reflected in the focus of the training.

Parents are less concerned about running schools than they are about seeing their children do well in school (Fullan, 2003). Not highlighting this element well enough in trainings focused on parent-school partnerships in Morocco does not help parents, or the teachers, see connections between their school involvement and educational improvement. In this regard, exclusive focus on parents as managers increases school staff apprehension about their powers being usurped. The ensuing tension reduces opportunities for parent-school collaboration that could improve the teaching conditions of teachers and assist parents in helping their children learn. In this regard, Fullan (2003) notes that schools do not build enough on parents' knowledge of how their children learn. Training teachers about the benefit of working with parents in improving parenting skills, home school communication, volunteering; maximizing learning opportunities at home; and collaborating with the community (Epstein, 1995) is likely to provide a more enticing package of parent-school partnerships with concrete gains to both parents and teachers.

Problems of professional community are closely intertwined with teachers' knowledge, skills, and disposition. Findings suggest that teachers did not have a systematic forum for sharing their expertise and research about how to improve their practice. Professional organizations are rare in Morocco. From interviews with teachers, resignation to parents abdicating their educational responsibilities was common. However, there was little evidence of action taken by teachers as a professional community to get parents more involved. Findings further suggest that it was hard to cultivate a sense of unity of purpose among teachers when ideological and political identification seemed to have the upper hand in determining community affiliation. Lack of lines of material, moral, and informational support is what Kanter (1979) regards as

the definition of powerlessness. Without such lines of support, teachers sounded isolated, resigned, and inefficacious vis-à-vis problems of parent-school partnership at the level of their schools.

Program coherence is the third problematic dimension of school capacity that undermined parent-school partnerships in the public schools investigated for this study. Newmann, King, and Youngs (2001) define a coherent program as a school program that demonstrates coordination and focuses on learning goals, and sustainability. Lack of coordination was evident from teachers and parents' perception of each other as partners. Further analysis demonstrated that partnership as perceived by parents, schools, and principals meant different things. Many principals seemed most concerned with getting parents to help with school infrastructure. Teachers were concerned about parents' ability to raise children who were ready to learn. Parents were concerned about their voices not considered or respected in school governance. In most interviews, a unifying learning goal that drives partnership between parents and schools was evidently absent. Fragmented partnership goals often result in partners working cross purposes. This could account for parents and teachers' dissatisfaction with the quality of their communication.

For Newman, King, and Youngs (2001), technical resources refer to adequate material that maximizes learning opportunities for students. Findings suggest that no government funds were formally designated to support parent-school involvement. This deprived schools from the technical resources to support parent-school partnerships. All schools complained that they had to resort to regular mail because they lacked funds to call parents. Regular mail does not allow for real-time communication between parents and schools.

Another implication of the lack of technical resources was the lack of staff that was available and trained to help communicate with parents and coordinate their partnership with teachers. Findings suggest that schools with better parent-school partnerships had more staff that helped with daily school management and communication with parents. This allowed principals to focus on building strategic partnerships with parents and the community. When the government does not demonstrate its commitment to parent-school partnership by providing adequate technical resources; teachers, principals, and parents dismissed government partnerships memos as rhetoric lacking in political will.

The final dimension of organizational capacity undermining parent-school partnership is principal leadership. Findings suggest that schools led by effective principals had better parent school partnership than those with less effective principals. Parents who were satisfied with the level of partnership in their schools often attributed their satisfaction to principals exhibiting (1) a sense of personal mission and passion about their responsibilities as school leaders, (2) familiarity with associative work, (3) special skills in management, planning, and mediation, (4) positive reputation among the parents, (5) an inspiring commitment to all students, and (6) a relationship with school staff that was based on mutual respect. Out of the 18 interviews conducted with principals, seven principals stood out as leaders who leveraged the six strengths described above to forge promising partnerships with parents and the community.

Effective principals often managed to put their schools on the radar screen of the government pilot programs or international organizations implementing new education initiatives. These principals were also innovative in creating opportunities for community

building among staff and with parents and the community at large. Examples of these initiatives included breakfast with teachers and administrators, events where parents and the community were invited to see students' work; programs for helping parents better listen and support their children; and training on improving parents' reception and addressing their needs in a professional manner. Opportunities to meet with parents were seized to forge common goals among schools and parents.

Finally, effective leaders were more adept at using and advocating for technical resources. These principals enjoyed special skills that gave them better leverage as they advocated for resources for their schools. Two of the seven successful principals had a background in educational planning. Being comfortable with information technology and data analysis, they dramatically reduced the time required to produce reports and had more time to focus on building better partnership. Leveraging their assets as planners and effective communicators, they enjoyed credibility among their subordinates and superiors. They were also confident enough to challenge their superiors in cases of disagreement. At the level of partnership building, these principals' sense of initiative won them the support of other civil society organizations that offered help ranging from students' counseling to building and equipping facilities for extra-curricular activities. It was not surprising that the dynamism of these principals bred better and more partnerships as their middle schools gained the status of a model school in the community.

Unfortunately, interviews suggest that effective principals were a minority. Parents and teachers often complained of the futility of participating in governance councils when principals were perceived as autocratic and divisive. Interviews with some

of these principals reflected a vision of leadership that was rather wary or self-interested in dealing with parents. For such principals, parents were not to be trusted because their involvement in school was usually self-serving or was intended to co-opt teachers and the administration. The self-interested principals were not capable of envisioning any other role of parents other than a slush fund. Professional development targeted at these principals can help them act as enablers, rather than barriers, to parent school partnerships.

Even when effective leaders spearhead partnerships; their efforts are unlikely to be sustained if they operate within excessive bureaucracy. One of the effective principals with a background in educational planning pointed out that it is wasteful to send the same report to multiple levels of the bureaucracy who are often housed in the same building. Schools complained that too much red tape increased the cost of participation and reduced commitment to partnership. Administratively operable policies factor in ways to streamline administrative requirements in order to sustain stronger partnerships between parents and schools.

Administratively operable policies align school organizational capacity with authority and institutional commitment to parent-school partnerships. Authorities should model commitment to partnership when working with parents. Working groups under the supervision of senior educational officials could incorporate parent voices and help model how to build parents' capacity to participate more effectively in governance at the national and regional scales. Similarly, administrative officials could demonstrate institutional commitment to parent-school partnerships by staying away from school

micro-management. For example, schools should not have to apply for authorization from central administration to stay open beyond working hours.

Partnership demands some measures of trust and discretion which allow autonomy for initiatives. Excessive bureaucracy is antithetical to the values of trust, discretion, and autonomy essential for partnership. By reducing the bureaucratic cost of partnership initiatives; education officials can make the policy on parent-school partnership administratively operable.

In summary, findings in this study suggest that obstacles to parent-school partnership in Morocco's middle schools permeate all layers of school reform. Parents and teachers perceived each other as lacking in commitment, trust, coordination, and adequate communication. In turn, parents and teachers operated with little organizational capacity for partnership. Teachers hardly benefited from any training on parent-school partnership. They lacked a professional community that helps them tap parents' resources to improve instruction. Schools lacked technical resources in terms of qualified staff and capabilities for real time communication with parents. Only a few schools were fortunate to be led by principals who were resourceful and driven enough to build school capacity for partnership. Beyond the school, excessive bureaucracy did not help sustain school partnership efforts. In addition to imposing higher time cost on partners, red tape casts doubt about institutional commitment to school reform.

In conclusion, it is important to underscore that parents and teachers are not going to change their attitudes towards partnership just because the government reminded them of their responsibilities as school partners. Article 13 of the National Charter for Education and Training (COSEF, 1999) explicitly holds the government responsible for

ensuring education for all Moroccan children until age 15. Therefore, enlisting the support of parents entails that public schools do not limit themselves to mailing invitations to parents and blaming them for not showing up. This study has highlighted that failure of parents and teachers to demonstrate attributes or behaviors typical of successful partners is associated with structural, cultural, political and human resource challenges. These challenges are manifested, among other things, in negative partners' dispositions and inadequate school organizational capacity. These, in turn, are affected by policy decisions that did not seem to have been vetted by tests of technical feasibility, financial possibility, administrative operability, and political viability. Considering the challenges identified in this study and using them to reexamine the policy weaknesses of parent school partnerships may generate partnership programs that are more likely to succeed during implementation.

Limitations

Given limitations of sampling and response rate, findings about barriers to parent-school partnerships should be viewed as illustrative, rather than representative, of all the obstacles to parent-school partnership in Morocco's public middle schools. The purposive sampling method limits the ability to generalize to the entire public middle schools population. In this regard, stratified random sampling would have been ideal.

Given that the data was collected during the final exams period, access to schools by outsiders was highly restricted. Parent associations were difficult to reach for the same reasons. These conditions suppressed the response rate. A higher response rate could have allowed for a better stratification of parents by region, gender, responsibilities. Such stratification would have allowed more analysis possibilities among parents and teachers.

Finally, some survey items may have been confusing to respondents. Piloting the test would have helped clarify them better prior to large scale administration.

Recommendations for Future Research

The Arab Spring represents a watershed moment in the rise to prominence of citizens' voice in public institutions. After decades under the cloak of oppressive regimes; citizens in the Arab world are beginning to grapple with the messiness of the democratic exercise of self-rule. The findings in this study illustrated that, like other democratic exercises, partnership between parents and schools can be messy, prone to conflict, and often frustrating. This study provided an overview of the political and organizational challenges undermining partnerships. More focused studies can deepen understanding of the multiple factors underlying such challenges.

Political consensus as defined by Kingdon's multiple streams model (1995) did not seem to be the ideal approach to building solid parent-school partnerships. Studies that explore better frameworks for political consensus based on politically viable policies would contribute to a less tokenistic use of citizens' voice to effect policy.

In the international development education literature, successful cases of parent-school partnerships have not been sufficiently highlighted. In this regard, case studies specifically dedicated to the schools demonstrating successful parent-school collaboration would contribute to filling the international development research gap and help counter the deficit model that seems to characterize studies of parental involvement in developing countries.

In summary, more research is needed to fill the gap in parent-school partnerships in developing countries. With more knowledge, policy makers, educators, and parents are

better placed to make informed decisions about effective parent-school partnerships. In this regard, research on partnership models that are best suited to the challenges of developing countries can cultivate partnership policies that are authentic, viable, and more conducive to national development.

Conclusion

This study has highlighted the rift between political consensus on partnership as a reform strategy and weak parent-school partnerships in Morocco's public middle schools. Morocco's acclaimed national consensus on educational reform belies considerable structural, cultural, human resource, and political fissures, preventing parents, teachers, and principals from collaborating as school partners.

Decision makers in Morocco often list national consensus as the way major reform gets accomplished. The 1999 National Charter for Education and Training was no exception. Reform architects insisted that they had incorporated the input of Morocco's political stakeholders prior to launching the 1999 – 2009 reform. Findings in this study suggest that consensus as claimed by Morocco's decision makers may be based on agreement on general reform goals, but not as much on means to achieve them. Parents and teachers did not significantly differ in defining educational problems and proposing corresponding solutions. This, however, did not translate to agreement about their respective roles as partners in school improvement. Parents and teachers did not perceive each other as partners, nor did they behave as partners.

Structural, cultural, political, and human resource challenges undermine parent-school partnerships. The breadth of the problems described suggests that policies proposing reform were not properly analyzed before initiation. Structural, cultural, human resource and political challenges have weakened the policy of parent-school partnerships at the levels of technical feasibility, economic possibility, political viability; and administrative operability.

Finally, a working partnership is like a working marriage; it takes more than a simple test of avowed compatibility of views for it to work. Partners should be willing and able to engage in partnership. They should see that their partnership provides solutions that alone they cannot achieve. They should engage in transparent communication as commitment might mean different things to the parties involved. They should value what each partner is bringing to the table as unique and essential for the proposed partnership. Last, but not least, they should be allowed adequate lines of supply, information, and support to empower them as partners.

The HCE (2008) attributed weaknesses in parent-school partnerships to parents and teachers' apathy. Findings from this study suggest that agreements on general reform principles often hailed by policy makers as evidence of public consensus seldom trickled down to working partnerships on the front lines of implementation. Problems in partners' attributes and behaviors are rooted in a complex web of weaknesses at the level of governance structures, cultural beliefs, human resources, and divisive politics. The combination of these constraints was manifested in weak lines of resources, information, and support for parents, teachers, and principals.

Kanter (1979) argues that powerless managers lack lines of resources, information, and support. Desultory and apathetic action is often a symptom of a problem rather than its underlying cause. Therefore, rather than holding parents, teachers, and principals accountable for powers they do not seem to have; empowering them to behave as partners would be a step in the right direction.

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Appendix A: Parents' Survey

You are invited to participate in a research study of partnerships between parents and teachers in Moroccan middle schools. You were selected because you are either a member in the Association for the Parents and Guardians of Students or a middle school teacher. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to participate.

This study investigates partnership building in Moroccan middle schools. If you agree to participate, you will be handed a six pages survey in Arabic. Almost all the questions will be answered using a scale of opinions. The survey will take approximately 1 hour. The study does not carry any risks to you, nor does it promise any direct benefits.

The records of this study will be kept confidential. In any sort of report I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify any survey participants. Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with me, the SANAD Project, or your school. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time.

The researcher conducting this study is Mohammed Elmeski. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact him at 1053 29th avenue SE, Apt # E, Minneapolis, MN, 55414, Phone number: 320-492-2140, email: elmes002@umn.edu. The researcher's advisor is Dr. David W. Chapman, Phone number: 612-626-8728, and email: chapm026@umn.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

PARENTS' INFORMATION:1. **Age:**2. **Gender (Please put a check mark on what applies)** Male Female3. **Marital Status** Married Divorced Widowed Single4. **What do you like to do in your spare time?**

.....

5. **Number of children you have in the school where you are a member:**

6. **Current School Grade of your Children (for more than one child, check all that apply.)** Grade 7 Grade 8 Grade 9 Not sure7. **Children's Grade Average** Less than 10 - 11 12 - 13 14 or higher Not sure

10/20

8. **How many times has a grade been repeated by one of your children?** Never Once Twice More than twice Not sure9. **Distance from home to school: (for more than one school, check all boxes that apply)** Less than 1 Km 1 – 3 kms 3 – 5 kms More than 5 kms Not sure10. **Occupation**

<input type="checkbox"/> Education	<input type="checkbox"/> Farming	<input type="checkbox"/> Other public sector jobs	<input type="checkbox"/> Wage worker in the private sector with social insurance	<input type="checkbox"/> Wage worker in the private sector without social insurance
<input type="checkbox"/> Own my own business	<input type="checkbox"/> Work in family business	<input type="checkbox"/> Home maker	<input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed	<input type="checkbox"/> Other

11. **Education**

<input type="checkbox"/> Cannot read or write.	<input type="checkbox"/> Literate	<input type="checkbox"/> Quranic education	<input type="checkbox"/> Primary school	<input type="checkbox"/> Middle school
<input type="checkbox"/> Vocational education	<input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school	<input type="checkbox"/> University education	<input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor	<input type="checkbox"/> Graduate School

12. Position at the AMPTE:

<input type="checkbox"/> Chair	<input type="checkbox"/> Vice Chair	<input type="checkbox"/> Treasurer	<input type="checkbox"/> Assistant treasurer
<input type="checkbox"/> Secretary	<input type="checkbox"/> Assistant Secretary	<input type="checkbox"/> Voting member	<input type="checkbox"/> Not a member

13. Other Memberships:

<input type="checkbox"/> Civil society organization	<input type="checkbox"/> Union	<input type="checkbox"/> Political Party	<input type="checkbox"/> Other organization	<input type="checkbox"/> Not affiliated with any organization
---	--------------------------------	--	---	---

14. Does your household have the following:

Household characteristics	Yes	No
Running water		
Electricity		
Sewage system		
Refrigerator		
Washing machine		
Boiler		
Satellite dish		
Computer		
Own house		
Own land		
Own cattle		

SCHOOL INFORMATION

1. Name of the school where you are a member in the AMPTE:

2. School Location: Please check what applies

Urban

Suburban

Rural

3. **School learning conditions.** *Example, if you think the school neighborhood is safe, put a cross in the 'Yes' cell. If you don't think it is safe, put a cross in the 'No' cell. If you are not sure, place a cross in the 'I don't know' cell.*

Learning Environment	Yes	No	I don't know
Safe neighborhood			
Running water			
Working latrines			
Working bulbs			
Usable blackboard			
Usable benches			
Overcrowded classrooms			
A library			
A science lab			
A computer lab			

ISSUES IN YOUR MIDDLE SCHOOL

1. ***How important*** are these issues in your own school context?

1= extremely important 2 = very important 3 = somewhat important 4 = not at all important

- a- Students' achievement in scientific subjects. _____
- b- Students' achievement in literary subjects. _____
- c- Students' achievement in artistic subjects. _____
- d- Students' performance in physical education. _____
- e- Students' communication skills. _____
- f- Students not acting as responsible citizens. _____
- g- Students repeating a grade. _____
- h- Students dropping out. _____

2. Please **rank order** these problems from the most urgent to the least urgent (most urgent: requires immediate solutions, least urgent: does not require immediate solutions). **1 is the most urgent and 8 is the least urgent.**

- a. Students' achievement in scientific subjects. _____
- b. Students' achievement in literary subjects. _____
- c. Students' achievement in artistic subjects. _____
- d. Students' performance in physical education. _____
- e. Students' communication skills. _____
- f. Students not acting as responsible citizens. _____
- g. Students repeating a grade. _____
- h. Students dropping out. _____

PROPOSED ALTERNATIVES

1. ***Rate*** the following interventions according to how important they are.

1 = extremely important 2 = very important but not urgent 3 = somewhat important 4 = not at all important.

- a. Equip schools with adequate resources to facilitate learning. _____
- b. Train teachers in effective instructional methods. _____
- c. Train administrators in effective school management. _____
- d. Reward governance councils for consistent improvement in the school environment. _____
- e. Reward teachers for consistent improvement in the students' results. _____
- f. Monitor students' learning at home through close partnerships with parents. _____
- g. Hold political representatives responsible to parents for defending school interests. _____

2. Please ***rank order*** these solutions by order of priority from 1 to 7. Your top priority solution should be 1. The second in priority should be 2. The last in priority should be 7.

- a. Equip schools with adequate resources to facilitate learning. _____
- b. Train teachers in effective instructional methods. _____
- c. Train administrators in effective school management. _____
- d. Reward governance councils for consistent improvement in the school environment. _____
- e. Reward teachers for consistent improvement in the students' results. _____
- f. Monitor students' learning at home through close partnerships with parents. _____
- g. Hold political representatives responsible to parents for defending school interests. _____

PARTNERSHIPS IN YOUR SCHOOL

1. Please ***circle*** the number indicating the frequency of parents' (members of the AMFGS) involvement in your school.

Parents are highly involved in school improvement.	1
Parents are usually involved in school improvement.	2
Parents are sometimes involved in school improvement.	3
Parents are rarely involved in school improvement.	4
Parents are never involved in school improvement.	5

2. ***On a scale from 0 to 6, where 0 is the lowest and 6 is the highest, circle the number that indicates how much parents' involvement you want to see in these areas:***

a. Monitor students' learning at home.	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
b. Mobilize resources for school improvement.	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
c. Develop locally relevant curriculum in collaboration with teachers.	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
d. Participate in school management.	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
e. Communicate with teachers about students' progress.	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
f. Advocate for a safe school.	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
g. Hold political representatives accountable for school improvement.	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>

3. ***How often do you (as a member of the AMFGS) partner with teachers in undertaking the following activities?***

1 = Always 2 = Sometimes 3 = Rarely 4 = Never

a. Encourage parents to support their children's education at home.	_____
b. Mobilize resources that improve the school environment.	_____
c. Develop locally relevant curriculum.	_____
d. Participate in school management.	_____
e. Facilitate communication between parents and teachers.	_____
f. Monitor struggling students.	_____
g. Advocate for a safe learning environment for students.	_____
h. Convey your views on school improvement to regional authorities.	_____
i. Influence national reform policy through your national representatives.	_____

4. ***To what extent do you agree with these statements?***

1 = to a large extent 2 = to a moderate extent 3 = to a small extent 4 = not at all

a. I am committed to working with teachers.	_____
b. Teachers are committed to working with parents.	_____
c. The school principal is committed to parents-teachers' partnership	_____
d. Programs at the school level are well coordinated with the teachers.	_____
e. When I am working with teachers, I know what I am supposed to be doing.	_____
f. I trust that the teachers' decisions will be beneficial to my children.	_____
g. My relationship with teachers is marked with a high degree of harmony.	_____
h. If I wanted, I can take my children to another school quite easily.	_____
i. I don't have to work with teachers to improve students' results.	_____
j. Teachers don't have to work with parents to improve students' results.	_____

5. To what extent do you agree with these statements?

1 = to a large extent 2 = to a moderate extent 3 = to a small extent 4 = not at all

- a. Communication with teachers is timely. _____
- b. Communication with teachers is adequate. _____
- c. Communication with teachers is credible. _____
- d. Teachers seek my advice. _____
- e. I help the teachers in planning educational activities. _____
- f. I share proprietary information with the teachers. _____
- g. I inform the teachers in advance of the students' changing needs. _____
- h. Parents and teachers should keep each other informed about anything that might affect each other. _____

6. *In the case of disagreements at the school level, how frequently are the following methods used to resolve differences?*

1 = Always 2 = sometimes 3 = Rarely 4 = Never

- a. Smooth over the problem. _____
- b. Persuasive attempts are made by either party. _____
- c. Joint problem solving. _____
- d. Harsh words are used. _____
- e. Outside arbitration. _____
- f. Teachers' imposed domination. _____
- g. Principals' imposed domination. _____
- h. Parents' imposed domination. _____

THANK YOU FOR FILLING OUT THIS SURVEY

Appendix B
Parents' Survey: Arabic Version

استمارة الشراكة خاصة بالآباء

تعريف بالبحث وطلب الموافقة على ملئ الاستمارة

نقترح عليك المشاركة في هذا البحث حول الشراكة بين الآباء والأساتذة في الثانوية الإعدادية المغربية. ثم اختيارك نظرا لكونك عضوا في جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ. المرجو قراءة هذا التقديم جيدا وطرح أي أسئلة تتبادر إلى ذهنك قبل تعبئة الاستمارة. يركز هذا البحث على واقع الشراكة في الإعدادية المغربية. إذا وافقت على المشاركة، ستملأ استبياننا من 6 صفحات باللغة العربية. تقريبا ستجيب (ين) على كل الأسئلة باستعمال سلم للأراء.

تتطلب الاستمارة ساعة تقريبا. وهذه الدراسة لا تنطوي على أية مخاطرة كما أنها لا تعد بأي فوائد مباشرة للمشاركة أو المشاركة. أجوبتكم ستبقى سرية وعند نشر هذا البحث لن أدرج أي معلومات شخصية يمكن أن تدل على هوية المشارك(ة).

يجب التأكيد كذلك على أن المشاركة في هذا البحث هي مشاركة طوعية. قراركم بالمشاركة لن يؤثر على علاقتكم بالباحث أو بمدركتكم. في حالة قبولكم بملئ الاستمارة، فلكم كامل الحرية في عدم الجواب عن أي سؤال أو الانسحاب في أي وقت تشاؤون.

اسم الباحث هو المسكي محمد. يمكن أن تسأله أي سؤال تريد أنيا أو أجلا. المرجو أن تحتفظ بالعنوان المدرجة أسفله إذا كانت عندكم أية استفسارات. يمكن أن تتصل به على العنوان الآتي: 1053 الشارع 29 جنوب شرق، شقة رقم E، منيابولس، منسوتا، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. يمكن كذلك الاتصال به عن طريق الهاتف: المغرب: 0659218946.

في و.م.أ: 2140-492-320-001 أو العنوان الإلكتروني: elmes002@umn.edu

للمزيد من الأسئلة، يمكن كذلك الاتصال بالأستاذ المؤطر Dr. David W. Chapman على الرقم: 8728 – 626 – 612 – 001 أو على بريده الإلكتروني: chapm026@umn.edu. كذلك يمكنكم الاتصال بقسم الأخلاقيات على العنوان التالي:

D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

ولكم جزيل الشكر.

تصريح بالمشاركة:

لقد قرأت المعلومات أعلاه وأنا أوافق على ملئ هذه الاستمارة.

توقيع المشارك (من فضلك لا تكتب إسمك): _____ التاريخ: _____

توقيع الباحث: _____ التاريخ: _____

معلومات عامة

1. السن: _____
2. الجنس:
 - ذكر
 - أنثى
3. الأنشطة المفضلة خارج أوقات العمل:
4. الحالة العائلية:
 - متزوج (ة)
 - مطلق (ة)
 - أرمل (ة)
 - حالة أخرى
5. كم عدد اطفالك؟ _____
6. ضع علامة على أعلى مستوى دراسي وصلت إليه
 - لا أستطيع القراءة أو الكتابة
 - أستطيع أن أقرأ وأكتب
 - ذهبت إلى المدارس القرآنية فقط
 - تعليم ابتدائي
 - تعليم إعدادي
 - تكوين مهني
 - تعليم ثانوي
 - تعليم جامعي
 - إجازة
 - دراسات عليا
7. العمل:
 - التعليم
 - قطاع عام
 - قطاع خاص بضمان اجتماعي
 - قطاع خاص بدون ضمان اجتماعي
 - عندي مشروع خاص
 - اشتغل في مشروع عائلي
 - الفلاحة
 - أعمال منزلية
 - لا أشتغل
 - حالة أخرى

8. هل تنطبق المواصفات التالية عليك أو على مسكنك:

لا	نعم	مسكني
		مرتبطة بشبكة الماء الصالح للشرب
		مرتبطة بشبكة الكهرباء
		مرتبطة بشبكة الواد الحار
		يتوفر على ثلاجة
		يتوفر على غسالة ملابس (آلة تصيبين)
		يتوفر على سخانة ماء
		يتوفر على هوائي (بارابول)
		يتوفر على حاسوب (كمبيوتر)
		السكن في ملك الأسرة
		أملك قطعان ماشية
		أملك أراض فلاحية
		أملك وسيلة نقل خاصة

معلومات حول المؤسسة

1. اسم المؤسسة التي تعمل فيها كعضو في جمعية الآباء: _____
2. موقع المؤسسة: حضري شبه حضري قروي
3. شروط التعلم في المؤسسة التي أنت عضو فيها (ضع علامة تحت "نعم" أو "لا" أو "لا أعرف")

ظروف التعلم	نعم	لا	لا أعرف
محيط المؤسسة تتوفر فيه شروط الأمن			
الماء الشروب متوفر			
المراحيض صالحة للاستعمال			
الإضاءة كافية			
السيورات صالحة للاستعمال			
مقاعد التلاميذ صالحة للاستعمال			
الأقسام غير مكتظة			
المؤسسة تتوفر على مكتبة مجهزة			
المؤسسة تتوفر على مختبرات صالحة للاستعمال			
المؤسسة تتوفر على قاعة للإعلاميات مفتوحة للاستعمال			

4. المسافة بين البيت والمؤسسة التي أنت عضو في جمعيتها.

<input type="checkbox"/> أقل من كلم واحد	<input type="checkbox"/> بين 1 و 3 كلم	<input type="checkbox"/> بين 3 و 5 كلم	<input type="checkbox"/> أكثر من 5 كلم	<input type="checkbox"/> غير متأكدة
--	--	--	--	-------------------------------------

5. كم عدد أطفالك الذين يدرسون في المؤسسة التي أنت عضو في جمعيتها: _____

6. المستوى الدراسي الحالي لأطفالك في المؤسسة التي أنت عضو فيها. إذا كان عندك أكثر من طفل في مستوى واحد, ضع عدد الأطفال في الخانة المناسبة:

- السنة الأولى
 السنة الثانية
 السنة الثالثة
 غير متأكدة

7. كم معدل أطفالك: (ضع علامة في الخانة المناسبة)
- أقل من 10\20
- بين 10 و 12
- بين 12 و 14
- أكثر من 14
- غير متأكد(ة)

8. كم عدد المرات التي كرر فيها أطفالك؟ إذا كان عندك أكثر من طفل و كرر كل منهم مرة واحدة مثلا، ضع علامة على رقم 1. إذا كرر أحد أطفالك مرة واحدة بينما كرر آخر مرتين، المرجو وضع علامة على المربع 1 والمربع 2.

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3 فأكثر
- غير متأكد(ة)

9. مهمتك داخل جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ:

- رئيس(ة)
- نائب(ة) الرئيس
- أمين(ة) المال
- نائب(ة) أمين المال
- الكاتب العام
- نائب(ة) الكاتب العام
- عضو ناخب

10. أنشطة أخرى تنتمي إليها:

- جمعية
- نقابة
- حزب سياسي
- انتماءات أخرى
- غير منتم لأي نشاط آخر

بعض القضايا المرتبطة بمؤسستك

أ. إلى أي حد تطرح القضايا المنصوص عليها في الجدول أسفله على صعيد مؤسستك؟ ضع الرقم الذي يعبر عن رأيك أمام كل عبارة.

1 = مطروحة بشكل كبير 2 = مطروحة 3 = مطروحة شيئا ما 4 = غير مطروحة

نتائج التلاميذ في المواد العلمية	
نتائج التلاميذ في المواد الأدبية	
نتائج التلاميذ في التربية الفنية	
نتائج التلاميذ في التربية البدنية	
قدرات التلاميذ على التواصل بشكل فعال	
سلوك التلاميذ كمواطنين مسؤولين	
تكرار التلاميذ	
انقطاع التلاميذ عن المؤسسة	

ب. هل هناك قضايا أخرى تريد إضافتها؟

.....

أ. من 1 إلى 8، رَقِّم هذه القضايا من الأكثر إلحاحاً إلى الأقل إلحاحاً. الرقم 1 يدل على القضية الأكثر استعجالاً وهكذا ذواتك حتى رقم 8 (قضية غير ملحة بالمقارنة مع القضايا الأخرى).

	نتائج التلاميذ في المواد العلمية
	نتائج التلاميذ في المواد الأدبية
	نتائج التلاميذ في التربية الفنية
	نتائج التلاميذ في التربية البدنية
	قدرات التلاميذ على التواصل بشكل فعال
	سلوك التلاميذ كمواطنين مسؤولين
	تكرار التلاميذ
	انقطاع التلاميذ عن المؤسسة

ملاحظات:

الحلول المقترحة

أ. مامدى أهمية الحلول المنصوص عليها في الجدول أسفله، حسب رأيك؟ ضع الرقم الذي يعكس وجهة نظرك.

1 = بالغ الأهمية 2 = مهم ولكن غير مستعجل 3 = مهم شيئاً ما 4 = غير مهم

	توفير التجهيزات الكافية لتسهيل التعلم
	تدريب الأساتذة على المناهج التعليمية الفعالة
	تدريب أعضاء مجالس التدبير على التسيير الفعال للمؤسسة
	تحفيز مجالس التدبير على التحسن المتواصل لمحيط المؤسسة
	تحفيز الأساتذة على التحسن المتواصل في نتائج التلاميذ
	تتبع تعلمات التلاميذ داخل البيت من خلال شراكة متينة مع أولياء الأمور
	جعل الممثلين السياسيين مسؤولين أمام أولياء الأمور عن الدفاع عن مصالح المؤسسة

ب. من 1 إلى 7 ضع الرقم الذي يعكس درجة أولوية الحلول المقترحة والمنصوص عليها في الجدول أسفله، أمام كل جملة. 1 يدل على الحل ذي الأولوية القصوى وهكذا تصاعدياً حتى الرقم 7 الذي يعكس الحل الأقل استعجالاً في نظرك.

	توفير التجهيزات الكافية لتسهيل التعلّم
	تدريب الأساتذة على المناهج التعليمية الفعالة
	تدريب أعضاء مجالس التدبير على التسيير الفعال للمؤسسة
	تحفيز مجالس التدبير على التحسن المتواصل لمحيط المؤسسة
	تحفيز الأساتذة على التحسن المتواصل في نتائج التلاميذ
	تتبع تعلمات التلاميذ داخل البيت من خلال شراكة متينة مع أولياء الأمور
	جعل الممثلين السياسيين مسؤولين أمام أولياء الأمور عن الدفاع عن مصالح المؤسسة

الشراكة على صعيد المؤسسة

أ. حسب تجربتك الخاصة في مؤسستك، ضع دائرة حول الرقم الذي يعكس وثيرة انخراط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء أمور التلاميذ في أنشطة المؤسسة.

4	ينخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ دائما في أنشطة المؤسسة
3	عادة ما ينخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ في أنشطة المؤسسة
2	ينخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ في بعض الأحيان في أنشطة المؤسسة
1	نادرا ما ينخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ في أنشطة المؤسسة
0	انخراط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ في أنشطة المؤسسة منعدم

ب. من 6 إلى 0 ضع دائرة حول الرقم الذي يعكس درجة انخراط أولياء الأمور التي تريدها في المجالات المدرجة أسفله. الرقم 6 يدل على أعلى درجة من الانخراط، الرقم 5 درجة أقل من الانخراط وهكذا بشكل تنازلي حتى الرقم 0 الذي يدل على أنك تريد انخراطا منعدما لجمعيات الآباء في المجال المذكور.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	متابعة تحصيل التلاميذ داخل البيت
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	تعبئة الموارد لتطوير المؤسسة
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	التعاون مع الأساتذة لتطوير مناهج ملائمة محليا.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	المشاركة في تسيير المؤسسة
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	التواصل مع الأساتذة في ما يخص سير دراسة التلاميذ
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	المطالبة بمدرسة تتوفر فيها شروط الأمن للجميع
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	مسألة الممثلين السياسيين عن أدائهم في الدفاع عن مصالح المؤسسة.

ت. كم من مرة تقومون بالأنشطة المدرجة أسفله بشراكة مع الأساتذة؟ من فضلكم ضعوا الرقم الذي يعبر عن رأيكم: 1 = دائما 2 = بعض الأحيان 3 = نادرا 4 = ولا مرة

	تشجيع أولياء الأمور على تتبع تحصيل التلاميذ داخل البيت
	تعبئة الموارد لتطوير المؤسسة
	تطوير مناهج ملائمة محليا.
	المشاركة في تسيير المؤسسة
	التواصل مع جمعية الآباء في ما يخص سير دراسة التلاميذ
	تتبع التلاميذ الذين يواجهون مشاكل
	المطالبة بمؤسسة تتوفر فيها شروط الأمن للجميع
	إقتراح تصورات مشتركة حول تطوير المؤسسة تبعث للمسؤولين الجهويين
	التنسيق مع ممثلي الأساتذة على جميع الأصعدة لبلورة تصور مشترك لإصلاح التعليم ينطلق من القاعدة.

اعتمادا على تجربتكم الشخصية، هل تعكس الحالات المدرجة أسفله واقع علاقتكم بالأساتذة داخل الإعدادية التي تعملون فيها؟ من فضلكم ضعوا الرقم الذي يعبر عن رأيكم:

1 = نعم تعكس الواقع تماما 2 = إلى حد ما 3 = قليلا 4 = لا تعكس الواقع بالمرة

أنا ملتزم بالتعاون مع الأساتذة	
الأساتذة ملتزمون بالتعاون معي	
الإدارة المدرسية ملتزمة بالشراكة بين جمعية الآباء وأمهات التلاميذ و الأساتذة	
برامج جمعية الآباء على مستوى المؤسسة تتم بالتنسيق مع الأساتذة	
أثق بأن قرارات الأساتذة تصب في مصلحة التلاميذ	
علاقتي مع الأساتذة تتميز بقدر عال من التعاون	
في مقدور أولياء الأمور أن ينقلوا أبنائهم إلى مدرسة أخرى بسهولة	
يحتاج أعضاء جمعية الآباء للعمل مع الأساتذة لتحسين نتائج التلاميذ	
يحتاج الأساتذة للعمل مع أعضاء جمعية الآباء لتحسين نتائج التلاميذ	

أ. إلى أي حد تعكس الملاحظات في الجدول أسفله واقع علاقتكم بأعضاء جمعية الآباء؟ من فضلكم ضعوا الرقم الذي يعبر عن رأيكم.

1 = نعم تعكس الواقع تماما 2 = إلى حد ما 3 = قليلا 4 = لا تعكس الواقع بالمرة

التواصل مع الأساتذة يكون بشكل منتظم	
هناك ما يكفي من التواصل مع الأساتذة	
التواصل مع الأساتذة يتسم بالمصادقية	
الأساتذة يسعون لأخذ مشورتي	
أساعد الأساتذة في تنظيم الأنشطة التربوية	
لا أخفي على الأساتذة كل ما من شأنه أن يفيدهم مهما كانت خصوصيته	
أحيط الأساتذة مسبقا بأي معلومات تتعلق بتغير احتياجات التلاميذ	
التواصل بين الأساتذة وأعضاء جمعية الآباء يتسم بالشفافية.	

ب. في حالة خلاف، كم من مرة تستعملون الطرق الآتية لحل الخلافات على مستوى المؤسسة.

1 = دائما 2 = بعض الأحيان 3 = نادرا 4 = ولا مرة

نستخدم أسلوب المهادنة لتفادي المشاكل	
كل طرف يحاول إقناع الآخر بموقفه	
نتعاون في إيجاد حل للمشكل	
يتم استعمال الكلمات الحادة	
نرجع للتحكيم الخارجي	
يفرض الأساتذة آراءهم	
تفرض الإدارة رأيها	
يفرض أعضاء جمعية الآباء آراءهم	

ت. أذكروا ثلاث شروط للشراكة الناجحة بين جمعية الآباء والثانوية الإعدادية:

1.
2.
3.

شكرا جزيلاً على تعيبتكم لهذه الاستمارة

Appendix C: Demographic of Parents who
Responded to the Survey

Parents' sample targeted for survey		Number of respondents		Percentage	
1,200		230		20%	
Male		Female		Total	
75%		22%		97%	
Age groups					
Less than 35		between 35 and 50		More than 50	
6.0%		53%		40.0%	
Membership in a parent association					
Yes		No		Total	
63%		27%		90%	
Urban		Suburban		Rural	
64%		16%		20%	
Family status					
Married		Single		Divorced	
87.0%		5.0%		4.0%	
				Widowed	
				0.9%	
				97.0%	
Highest level of education attained					
Basic		Secondary		Post-secondary	
20.0%		22.0%		56.0%	
				Total	
				98.0%	
Occupation					
Related to education		Not related to education		Total	
50.0%		47.0%		97.0%	
Proximity of place of residence to school					
Less than 1 km		1- 3 km		3 - 5 km	
46%		24%		11%	
				More than 5 km	
				11%	
				Not sure	
				4%	
				Total	
				96%	

Note: Totals do not add up to 100% because respondents elected not to answer corresponding questions.

Appendix D: Teachers' Survey

You are invited to participate in a research study of partnerships between parents and teachers in Moroccan middle schools. You were selected because you are either a member in the Association for the Parents and Guardians of Students or a middle school teacher. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to participate.

This study investigates partnership building in Moroccan middle schools. If you agree to participate, you will be handed a six pages survey in Arabic. Almost all the questions will be answered using a scale of opinions. The survey will take approximately 1 hour. The study does not carry any risks to you, nor does it promise any direct benefits.

The records of this study will be kept confidential. In any sort of report I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify any survey participants. Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with me, the SANAD Project, or your school. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time.

The researcher conducting this study is Mohammed Elmeski. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact him at 1053 29th avenue SE, Apt # E, Minneapolis, MN, 55414, Phone number: 320-492-2140, email: elmes002@umn.edu. The researcher's advisor is Dr. David W. Chapman, Phone number: 612-626-8728, and email: chapm026@umn.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

TEACHERS' INFORMATION**1. Age:****2. Gender** Male Female**3. Subject taught:****4. Education**

- High school Diploma
 Diploma of General University Studies (Bac + 2)
 Less than four years of University education
 Bachelor
 Graduate School

5. Years of pre-service training One year Two years Three years Four years Five years**6. Hours of in-service training attended per year (training sessions organized by your supervisor counts as in-service training)** 0 1 - 6 7 - 12 13 - 19 20 - 30 More than 30**7. Years of teaching experience: _____****8. To what extent are you satisfied with the work conditions in your school?**

Very satisfied Satisfied Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied Dissatisfied Very dissatisfied

9. Marital Status Married Single Widowed Single**10. Durable goods:**

Household characteristics	Yes	No
Access to running water		
Access to the electric grid		
Access to the sewage system		
Refrigerator		
Washing machine		
Boiler		
Satellite dish		
Computer		
Own house		
Own land		
Own cattle		

SCHOOL INFORMATION

1. Name of the school:

2. School location (please put an X on the corresponding box):

Urban Suburban Rural

3. School learning conditions. *If you think the school neighborhood is safe, put a cross in the 'Yes' cell. If you don't think it is safe, put a cross in the 'No' cell. If you are not sure, place a cross in the 'I don't know' cell.*

Learning Environment	Yes	No	I don't know
Safe neighborhood			
Running water			
Working latrines			
Working bulbs			
Usable blackboard			
Usable benches			
Overcrowded classrooms			
A library			
A science lab			
A computer lab			

4. Distance from home to school: (Please check the corresponding box)

Less than 1 Km 1 – 3 kms 3 – 5 kms 5 – 10 kms More than 10 kms

5. Current School Grade you teach (Check all grades that apply.)

Grade 7 Grade 8 Grade 9

6. Children's Grade Average

Less than 10/20 10 - 11 12 - 13 14 or higher Not sure

7. Approximately, what is your students' repetition rate?

Less than 5% Between 5% and 10% Between 10% and 20% More than 20% Not sure

8. Are you or have you been a member of the management councils in your school?

Yes No

9. Other Memberships:

Civil society organization Union Political Party Other organization Not affiliated with any organization

ISSUES IN YOUR MIDDLE SCHOOL

3. How important are these issues in your own school context?

1 = extremely important 2 = very important 3 = somewhat important 4 = not at all important

- a. Students' achievement in scientific subjects. _____
- b. Students' achievement in literary subjects. _____
- c. Students' achievement in artistic subjects. _____
- d. Students' performance in physical education. _____
- e. Students' communication skills. _____
- f. Students not acting as responsible citizens. _____
- g. Students repeating a grade. _____
- h. Students dropping out. _____

2. Please **rank order** these problems from the most urgent to the least urgent (*most urgent: requires immediate solutions, least urgent: does not require immediate solutions*). **1 is the most urgent and 8 is the least urgent.**

- a. Students' achievement in scientific subjects. _____
- b. Students' achievement in literary subjects. _____
- c. Students' achievement in artistic subjects. _____
- d. Students' performance in physical education. _____
- e. Students' communication skills. _____
- f. Students not acting as responsible citizens. _____
- g. Students repeating a grade. _____
- h. Students dropping out. _____

PROPOSED ALTERNATIVES

3. Rate the following interventions according to how important they are.

1 = extremely important 2 = very important but not urgent 3 = somewhat important 4 = not at all important.

- Equip schools with adequate resources to facilitate learning. _____
- Train teachers in effective instructional methods. _____
- Train administrators in effective school management. _____
- Reward governance councils for consistent improvement in the school environment. _____
- Reward teachers for consistent improvement in the students' results. _____
- Monitor students' learning at home through close partnerships with parents. _____
- Hold political representatives responsible to parents for defending school interests. _____

4. Please **rank order** these solutions by order of priority from 1 to 7. Your top priority solution should be 1. The second in priority should be 2. The last in priority should be 7.

- a. Equip schools with adequate resources to facilitate learning. _____
- b. Train teachers in effective instructional methods. _____
- c. Train administrators in effective school management. _____
- d. Reward governance councils for consistent improvement in the school environment. _____
- e. Reward teachers for consistent improvement in the students' results. _____
- f. Monitor students' learning at home through close partnerships with parents. _____
- g. Hold political representatives responsible to parents for defending school interests. _____

PARTNERSHIPS IN YOUR SCHOOL

7. Please **circle** the number indicating the frequency of parents' (members of the AMFGS) involvement in your school.

Parents are highly involved in school improvement.	1
Parents are usually involved in school improvement.	2
Parents are sometimes involved in school improvement.	3
Parents are rarely involved in school improvement.	4
Parents are never involved in school improvement.	5

8. **On a scale from 0 to 6**, where 0 is the lowest and 6 is the highest, circle the number that indicates how much parents' involvement you want to see in these areas:

a. Monitor students' learning at home.	<u>0</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Mobilize resources for school improvement.	<u>0</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Develop locally relevant curriculum in collaboration with teachers.	<u>0</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Participate in school management.	<u>0</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Communicate with teachers about students' progress.	<u>0</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Advocate for a safe school.	<u>0</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Hold political representatives accountable for school improvement.	<u>0</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6

3. **How often** do you do the following activities in partnership with the AMPTE in your school?

1 = Always 2 = Sometimes 3 = Rarely 4 = Never

- a. Encourage parents to support their children's education at home. _____
- b. Mobilize resources that improve the school environment. _____
- c. Develop locally relevant curriculum. _____
- d. Participate in school management. _____
- e. Facilitate communication between parents and teachers. _____
- f. Monitor struggling students. _____
- g. Advocate for a safe learning environment for students. _____
- h. Convey your views on school improvement to regional authorities. _____
- i. Influence national reform policy through your national representatives. _____

4. **To what extent** do you agree with these statements? *The designation "parents" refers to either parents in general, or parents' representatives.*

1 = to a large extent 2 = to a moderate extent 3 = to a small extent 4 = not at all

- a. I am committed to working with parents. _____
- b. Parents are committed to working with teachers. _____
- c. The school principal is committed to parents-teachers' partnership. _____
- d. Programs at the school level are well coordinated with the parents. _____
- e. When I am working with parents, I know what I am supposed to be doing. _____
- f. I trust that the parents' decisions will be beneficial to the students. _____
- g. My relationship with parents is marked with a high degree of harmony. _____
- h. If parents wanted, they can take their children to another school easily. _____
- i. Parents do not have to work with teachers to improve students' results. _____
- j. Teachers don't have to work with parents to improve students' results. _____

5. **To what extent** do you agree with these statements?

1 = to a large extent 2 = to a moderate extent 3 = to a small extent 4 = not at all

- a. Communication with parents is timely. _____
- b. Communication with parents is adequate. _____
- c. Communication with parents is credible. _____
- d. My advice is sought by parents. _____
- e. I help parents in their planning activities. _____
- f. I share proprietary information with parents. _____
- g. I inform parents in advance of the students' changing needs. _____
- h. Parents and teachers should keep each other informed about anything that might affect each other. _____

6. *In the case of disagreements at the school level, **how frequently** are the following methods used to resolve differences?*

1 = Always 2 = sometimes 3 = Rarely 4 = Never

- a. Smooth over the problem. _____
- b. Persuasive attempts are made by either party. _____
- c. Joint problem solving. _____
- d. Harsh words are used. _____
- e. Outside arbitration. _____
- f. Teachers' imposed domination. _____
- g. Principals' imposed domination. _____
- h. Parents' imposed domination. _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR FILLING OUT THIS SURVEY

Appendix E: Teachers' Survey
Arabic Version

استمارة الشراكة خاصة بالأساتذة

تعريف بالبحث وطلب الموافقة على ملئ الاستمارة

نقترح عليك المشاركة في هذا البحث حول الشراكة بين الآباء والأساتذة في الثانوية الإعدادية المغربية. ثم اختيارك نظرا لكونك أستاذ(ة) في المدرسة الإعدادية. المرجو قراءة هذا التقديم جيدا وطرح أي أسئلة تتبادر إلى ذهنك قبل الموافقة.

هذا البحث يركز على واقع الشراكة في الإعدادية المغربية. إذا وافقت على المشاركة، ستملأ الاستبيان المرفق المتكون من 6 صفحات. تقريبا ستجيب (ين) على كل الأسئلة باستعمال سلم للآراء.

تتطلب الاستمارة ساعة تقريبا. وهذه الدراسة لانتطوي على أية مخاطرة كما أنها لا تعد بأي فوائد مباشرة للمشاركة أو المشاركة. أجوبتكم ستبقى سرية وعند نشر هذا البحث لن أدرج أي معلومات شخصية يمكن أن تدل على هوية المشارك(ة).

يجب التأكيد كذلك على أن المشاركة في هذا البحث هي مشاركة طوعية. قراركم بالمشاركة أو عدمه لن يؤثر على علاقتكم بالباحث أو بمؤسستكم. في حالة قبولكم بملأ الاستمارة، فلکم كامل الحرية في عدم الجواب عن أي سؤال أو الانسحاب في أي وقت تشاؤون.

اسم الباحث هو المسكي محمد. يمكن أن تسأله أي سؤال تريد أنيا أو أجلا. المرجو أن تحتفظ بالعنوانين المدرجة أسفله إذا كانت عندكم أية استفسارات. يمكن أن تتصل به على العنوان الآتي: 1053 الشارع 29 جنوب شرق، شقة رقم E، منيابولس، منسوتا، الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. يمكن كذلك الاتصال به عن طريق الهاتف: المغرب: 0659218946. في و.م.أ: 2140-492-320-001 أو العنوان الإلكتروني: elmes002@umn.edu.

للمزيد من الأسئلة، يمكن كذلك الاتصال بالأستاذ المؤطر Dr. David W. Chapman على الرقم: 8728 – 626 – 612 – 001 أو على بريده الإلكتروني: chapm026@umn.edu. كذلك يمكنكم الاتصال بقسم الأخلاقيات على العنوان التالي:

D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

ولكم جزيل الشكر.

تصريح بالمشاركة:

لقد قرأت المعلومات أعلاه وأنا أوافق على ملئ هذه الاستمارة.

توقيع المشارك (من فضلك لا تكتب إسمك): _____ التاريخ: _____

توقيع الباحث: _____ التاريخ: _____

معلومات عامة

1. السن:

2. الجنس: ذكر أنثى

3. الأنشطة المفضلة خارج أوقات العمل:

4. الحالة العائلية:

<input type="checkbox"/> عازب(ة)	<input type="checkbox"/> متزوج (ة)	<input type="checkbox"/> مطلق(ة)	<input type="checkbox"/> أرمل(ة)
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------------------

5. ضع علامة على أعلى مستوى دراسي وصلت إليه:

<input type="checkbox"/> شهادة إعدادية	<input type="checkbox"/> شهادة البكالوريا	<input type="checkbox"/> شهادة الدروس الجامعية
<input type="checkbox"/> مستوى ثانوي	<input type="checkbox"/> الإجازة	<input type="checkbox"/> دراسات عليا

6. مجموع عدد السنوات في مراكز تكوين الأساتذة:

<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------

7. عدد ساعات التكوين المستمر في السنة بما في ذلك اللقاءات التربوية:

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1 - 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 - 20	<input type="checkbox"/> 20 - 30	<input type="checkbox"/> أكثر من 30
----------------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------------

8. عدد السنوات في مزاولة التعليم: _____

9. إلى أي حد أنت راض عن ظروف عملك بمؤسستك التعليمية:

<input type="checkbox"/> راض جدا	<input type="checkbox"/> راض	<input type="checkbox"/> لا راض ولا غير راض	<input type="checkbox"/> لست راض تمام الرضى	<input type="checkbox"/> غير راض بالمرّة
----------------------------------	------------------------------	---	---	--

10. هل تنطبق المواصفات التالية على مسكنك أو عليك؟

لا	نعم	مسكني
		مرتبطة بشبكة الماء الصالح للشرب
		مرتبطة بشبكة الكهرباء
		مرتبطة بشبكة الواد الحار
		يتوفر على ثلاجة
		يتوفر على غسالة ملابس (آلة تصببين)
		يتوفر على سخانة ماء
		يتوفر على هوائي
		يتوفر على حاسوب (كمبيوتر)
		السكن في ملك الأسرة
		أملك قطعان ماشية
		أملك أراض فلاحية
		أملك وسيلة نقل خاصة

معلومات حول المؤسسة

1. اسم المؤسسة:
2. موقع المؤسسة: حضري شبه حضري قروي
3. شروط التعلم في المؤسسة (ضع علامة تحت "نعم" أو "لا" أو "لا أعرف")

ظروف التعلم	نعم	لا	لا أعرف
محيط المؤسسة تتوفر فيه شروط الأمن للجميع			
الماء الشروب متوفر			
المراحيض صالحة للاستعمال			
الإنارة كافية			
السيورات صالحة للاستعمال			
مقاعد التلاميذ صالحة للاستعمال			
الأقسام غير مكتظة			
المؤسسة تتوفر على مكتبة مجهزة			
المؤسسة تتوفر على مختبرات صالحة للاستعمال			
المؤسسة تتوفر على قاعة للإعلاميات مفتوحة للاستعمال			

4. المسافة من بيتك إلى المؤسسة:

<input type="checkbox"/> أقل من كلم واحد	<input type="checkbox"/> بين 1 و 3 كلم	<input type="checkbox"/> أكثر من 5 كلم	<input type="checkbox"/> غير متأكد(ة)
--	--	--	---------------------------------------

5. مستوى (أو مستويات) التدريس (الحالي)

<input type="checkbox"/> السنة الأولى	<input type="checkbox"/> السنة الثانية	<input type="checkbox"/> السنة الثالثة
---------------------------------------	--	--

6. المادة المدرسة: _____

7. كم من ساعة تدرس في الأسبوع؟ _____

8. تقريبا، ماهو متوسط عدد التلاميذ في القسم؟ _____

9. هل تدرس كل حصصك في مؤسسة واحدة؟

نعم

لا

9. تقريبا، ماهو المعدل العام لنتائج التلاميذ في مادتك؟

<input type="checkbox"/> أقل من 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 - 12	<input type="checkbox"/> 12 - 14	<input type="checkbox"/> أكثر من 14	<input type="checkbox"/> غير متأكد
------------------------------------	----------------------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	------------------------------------

10. تقريبا، كم عدد التلاميذ الذين يكررون في كل قسم؟

<input type="checkbox"/> 0	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5 فأكثر	<input type="checkbox"/> غير متأكد
----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------------	------------------------------------

11. حسب تجربتك، ماهي أدنى عتبة مرور (معدل) تُعتمد عادة للنجاح في مؤسستك؟ _____

12. هل أنت عضو في أحد مجالس تسيير المؤسسة (مجلس التدبير، المجلس التربوي، المجلس التعليمي، مجالس الأقسام) أو هل سبق أن كنت عضواً في هذه المجالس؟

لا

نعم

12. أنشطة أخرى تنتمي إليها:

<input type="checkbox"/> جمعية	<input type="checkbox"/> نقابة	<input type="checkbox"/> حزب سياسي	<input type="checkbox"/> نشاطات أخرى	<input type="checkbox"/> غير منتم لأي نشاط آخر
--------------------------------	--------------------------------	------------------------------------	--------------------------------------	--

بعض القضايا المرتبطة بمؤسستك

ت. إلى أي حد تطرح القضايا المنصوص عليها في الجدول أسفله على صعيد مؤسستك؟ ضع الرقم الذي يعبر عن رأيك أمام كل من الجمل في الجدول.

1 = مطروحة بشكل كبير 2 = مطروحة 3 = مطروحة شيئاً ما 4 = غير مطروحة

نتائج التلاميذ في المواد العلمية	_____
نتائج التلاميذ في المواد الأدبية	_____
نتائج التلاميذ في التربية الفنية	_____
نتائج التلاميذ في التربية البدنية	_____
قدرات التلاميذ على التواصل بشكل فعال	_____
سلوك التلاميذ كمواطنين مسؤولين	_____
تكرار التلاميذ	_____
انقطاع التلاميذ عن المؤسسة	_____

ث. هل هناك قضايا أخرى تريد إضافتها؟

ج. من 1 إلى 8، رَقِّم هذه القضايا من الأكثر إلحاحاً إلى الأقل إلحاحاً. الرقم 1 يدل على القضية الأكثر استعجالاً وهكذا ذواليك حتى رقم 8 (قضية غير ملحة بالمقارنة مع القضايا الأخرى).

نتائج التلاميذ في المواد العلمية	_____
نتائج التلاميذ في المواد الأدبية	_____
نتائج التلاميذ في التربية الفنية	_____
نتائج التلاميذ في التربية الرياضية	_____
قدرات التلاميذ على التواصل بشكل فعال	_____
سلوك التلاميذ كمواطنين مسؤولين	_____
تكرار التلاميذ	_____
انقطاع التلاميذ عن المدرسة	_____

ملاحظات:

الحلول المقترحة

ت. حسب رأيك، مامدى أهمية الحلول المنصوص عليها في الجدول أسفله ؟ ضع الرقم الذي يعكس وجهة نظرك.

1 = بالغ الأهمية 2 = مهم 3 = مهم شيئاً ما 4 = غير مهم

_____	توفير التجهيزات الكافية لتسهيل التعلم
_____	تدريب الأساتذة على المناهج التعليمية الفعالة
_____	تدريب أعضاء مجالس التدبير على التسيير الفعال للمؤسسة
_____	تحفيز مجالس التدبير على التحسن المتواصل لمحيط المؤسسة
_____	تحفيز الأساتذة على التحسن المتواصل في نتائج التلاميذ
_____	تتبع تعلمات التلاميذ داخل البيت من خلال شراكة متينة مع أولياء الأمور
_____	جعل الممثلين السياسيين مسؤولين أمام أولياء الأمور عن الدفاع عن مصالح المؤسسة

ث. من 1 إلى 7 ضع الرقم الذي يعكس درجة أولوية الحلول المقترحة والمنصوص عليها في الجدول أسفله، أمام كل جملة. 1 يدل على الحل ذي الأولوية القصوى وهكذا تصاعدياً حتى الرقم 7 الذي يعكس الحل الأقل استعجالاً في نظرك.

_____	توفير التجهيزات الكافية لتسهيل التعلم
_____	تدريب الأساتذة على المناهج التعليمية الفعالة
_____	تدريب أعضاء مجالس التدبير على التسيير الفعال للمؤسسة
_____	تحفيز مجالس التدبير على التحسن المتواصل لمحيط المؤسسة
_____	تحفيز الأساتذة على التحسن المتواصل في نتائج التلاميذ
_____	تتبع تعلمات التلاميذ داخل البيت من خلال شراكة متينة مع أولياء الأمور
_____	جعل الممثلين السياسيين مسؤولين أمام أولياء الأمور عن الدفاع عن مصالح المؤسسة

الشراكة على صعيد المؤسسة

ث. حسب تجربتك الخاصة في مؤسستك، ضع دائرة حول الرقم الذي يعكس وثيرة انخراط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء أمور التلاميذ في أنشطة المؤسسة.

4	ينخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ دائماً في أنشطة المؤسسة
3	عادة ما ينخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ في أنشطة المؤسسة
2	ينخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ في بعض الأحيان في أنشطة المؤسسة
1	نادراً ما ينخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ في أنشطة المؤسسة
0	انخرط أعضاء جمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ في أنشطة المؤسسة منعدم

ب. من 6 إلى 0 ضع دائرة حول الرقم الذي يعكس درجة انخراط أولياء الأمور التي تريدها في المجالات المدرجة أسفله. الرقم 6 يدل على أعلى درجة من الانخراط، الرقم 5 درجة أقل من الانخراط وهكذا بشكل تنازلي حتى الرقم 0 الذي يدل على أنك تريد انخراطا منعدما لجمعيات الآباء في المجال المذكور.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	متابعة تحصيل التلاميذ داخل البيت
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	تعبئة الموارد لتطوير المؤسسة
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	التعاون مع الأساتذة لتطوير مناهج ملائمة محليا.
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	المشاركة في تسيير المؤسسة
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	التواصل مع الأساتذة في ما يخص سير دراسة التلاميذ
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	المطالبة بمدرسة تتوفر فيها شروط الأمن للجميع
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	مسألة الممثلين السياسيين عن أدايمهم في الدفاع عن مصالح المؤسسة.

ج. كم من مرة تقومون بالأنشطة المدرجة أسفله بشراكة مع جمعية الآباء؟ من فضلكم ضعوا الرقم الذي يعبر عن رأيكم: 1 = دائما 2 = بعض الأحيان 3 = نادرا 4 = ولا مرة

	تشجيع أولياء الأمور على تتبع تحصيل التلاميذ داخل البيت
	تعبئة الموارد لتطوير المؤسسة
	تطوير مناهج ملائمة محليا.
	المشاركة في تسيير المؤسسة
	التواصل مع جمعية الآباء في ما يخص سير دراسة التلاميذ
	تتبع التلاميذ الذين يواجهون مشاكل
	المطالبة بمؤسسة تتوفر فيها شروط الأمن للجميع
	إقتراح تصورات مشتركة حول تطوير المؤسسة تبعت للمسؤولين الجهويين
	التنسيق مع ممثلي جمعية الآباء على جميع الأصعدة لبلورة تصور مشترك لإصلاح التعليم ينطلق من القاعدة.

ح. اعتمادا على تجربتكم الشخصية، هل تعكس الحالات المدرجة أسفله واقع علاقتكم بجمعية آباء وأمهات وأولياء التلاميذ داخل المؤسسة التي تعملون فيها؟ من فضلكم ضعوا الرقم الذي يعبر عن رأيكم: 1 = نعم 2 = تعكس الواقع تماما 3 = قليلا 4 = لا تعكس الواقع بالمرّة

	أنا ملتزم بالتعاون مع أولياء الأمور
	أعضاء جمعية الآباء ملتزمون بالتعاون معي
	الإدارة ملتزمة بالشراكة بين جمعية الآباء وأمهات التلاميذ و الأساتذة
	برامج جمعية الآباء على مستوى المؤسسة تتم بتنسيق مع الأساتذة
	أثق بأن قرارات جمعية الآباء تصب في مصلحة التلاميذ
	علاقتي مع جمعية الآباء تتميز بقدر عال من التعاون
	في مقدور أولياء الأمور أن ينقلوا أبنائهم إلى مؤسسة أخرى بسهولة
	يحتاج أعضاء جمعية الآباء للعمل مع الأساتذة لتحسين نتائج التلاميذ
	يحتاج الأساتذة للعمل مع أعضاء جمعية الآباء لتحسين نتائج التلاميذ

خ. إلى أي حد تعكس الملاحظات في الجدول أسفله واقع علاقتكم بأعضاء جمعية الآباء؟ من فضلكم ضعوا الرقم الذي يعبر عن رأيكم.

1 = نعم تماما 2 = إلى حد ما 3 = قليلا 4 = لا تعكس الواقع بالمرّة

	التواصل مع أعضاء جمعية الآباء يتم بشكل منظم
	هناك ما يكفي من التواصل مع أعضاء جمعية الآباء
	التواصل مع أعضاء جمعية الآباء يتسم بالمصداقية
	أعضاء جمعية الآباء يسعون لأخذ مشورتي
	أساعد أعضاء جمعية الآباء في تنظيم الأنشطة التربوية
	لا أخفي على أعضاء جمعية الآباء كل ما من شأنه أن يفيدهم مهما كانت خصوصيته
	أحيط أعضاء جمعية الآباء مسبقا بأي معلومات تتعلق بأي تغيير في احتياجات التلاميذ
	التواصل بين الأساتذة وأعضاء جمعية الآباء يتسم بالشفافية

د. في حالة خلاف, كم من مرة تستعملون الطرق الآتية لحل الخلافات على مستوى المؤسسة.

1 = دائما 2 = بعض الأحيان 3 = نادرا 4 = ولا مرّة

	نستخدم أسلوب المهادنة لتفادي المشاكل
	كل طرف يحاول إقناع الآخر بوجهة نظره
	نتعاون في إيجاد حل للمشكل
	يتم استعمال الكلمات الحادة
	نرجع للتحكيم الخارجي
	يفرض الأساتذة آراءهم
	تفرض الإدارة رأيها
	يفرض أعضاء جمعية الآباء آراءهم

ذ. أذكروا ثلاث شروط للشراكة الناجحة بين جمعية الآباء والثانوية الإعدادية:

- 4.
- 5.
- 6.

شكرا جزيلا على تعيّنكم لهذه الاستمارة

Appendix F: Demographic of Teachers who Responded to the Survey

Teachers' sample targeted for survey		Number of respondents			Percentage
1,200		431			36%
Male		Female			Total
57%		40%			97%
Age groups					Total
Less than 35		between 35 and 50		More than 50	Total
10.5%		44%		35.5%	100%
Membership in the School governance councils					Total
Yes		No			
74%		21%			95%
Urban		Suburban		Rural	Total
66%		16%		18%	100%
Family status					Total
Married		Single	Divorced	Widowed	
80.0%		9.0%	4.0%	0.5%	93.5%
Highest level of education attained					Total
Vocational	High school diploma	Associate	Bachelor	Grad school	Total
3.5%	37.8%	17.2%	32.5%	4.6%	95.6%
Pre-service training					Total
1 year	2 years	3 years		4 years	
32.0%	49.0%	5.0%		0.5%	86.5%
In-service training per year in hours					Total
0	1 - 10	11 -20	21 - 30	More than 30	
8%	46%	12.5%	9.3%	14.2%	90.0%
Proximity of place of residence to school					Total
Less than 1 kilometers	1 - 3 kilometers.	3 – 5 kilometers	More than 5 kilometers	Not sure	96.5%
19.5%	23%	12%	39%	3%	

Note: Totals do not add up to 100% because respondents elected not to answer corresponding questions.

Appendix G: Areas of Non-significant Mean Differences between Parents and Teachers
in Rating Educational Problems and Solutions

Difference between Parents and Teachers in Rating School Problems in Academic Subjects, Life Skills, and Efficiency

	<i>Parents'</i> <i>mean</i>	<i>Teachers'</i> <i>mean</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Importance of problems related to academic subjects	2.70	2.73	0.3	0.311	1	0.57
Importance of problems related to life skills	2.60	2.68	0.375	0.371	1	0.54
Importance of problems related to efficiency	2.76	2.81	0.018	0.017	1	0.9

Difference between Parents and Teachers in Rating the Importance of Proposed Solutions to Educational Problems

	<i>Parents'</i> <i>mean</i>	<i>Teachers'</i> <i>mean</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Importance of inputs	3.33	3.36	0.08	0.09	1	0.76
Importance of incentives	3.11	3.10	0.156	0.157	1	0.7
Importance of public accountability	3.26	3.29	0.49	0.5	1	0.48

Appendix H: Supplementary Survey for Comparison with TIMSS 2008

You were selected to fill out this survey because your school has participated in the study on partnership between parents and schools. The goal of the question in this survey is to supply us some supplementary demographic information about your school. This would allow the researcher to know the extent to which the study on partnership between parents and schools could be generalized at the national level. Your responses will be immensely helpful in having a better understanding of the population served by your middle school. Please accept my sincerest thanks for your participation.

1. Name of the middle school: _____
2. What is the total number of students enrolled in your school?

3. What is the population estimate in the city or area where your school is located?
Please put a cross on one circle only:
 - More than 500,000
 - Between 100,001 and 500,000
 - Between 50,000 and 100,000
 - Between 15,001 and 50,000
 - Between 3,001 and 15,000
 - 3,000 or less.
4. What is your estimate of the percentage of students coming from:

Percentage	0 to 10%	11% to 25%	26% to 50%	More than 50%
<i>Households with weak or limited income.</i>				
<i>Affluent families</i>				

5. Number of 7th graders enrolled from school feeders: _____
6. Number of out of feeders enrollees from the urban or rural area: _____
7. Percentage of dropouts in 2008: _____
8. Percentage of dropouts in 2009: _____
9. Percentage of dropouts in 2010: _____

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix I: Interviews Questioning Route

Questioning route		
The purpose of this interview is to understand the parents, teachers, and principals perception of the factors facilitating or inhibiting partnership between parents and schools. This session is scheduled to last two hours.		
Opening:	1. Tell us your name and what you like to do in your free time.	10 minutes.
Introductory:	2. How would you describe your experience in school?	10 minutes.
Transition:	3. Let's talk about partnership between parents and schools. Can you give me an example of this partnership?	10 minutes.
Key questions:	4. What is partnership? How does it begin? Who initiates it? Is it the parents, the principal, or other parties?	10 minutes.
	5. Are some teachers, parents, or principals better partners than others? Tell me about it.	15 minutes.
	6. What characterizes partnership between parents and teachers? What characterizes partnership between parents the school as a whole? What are the areas of partnership? Are there other areas for expanding it?	25 minutes.
	7. If I ask you to rate the level of partnership in your school, on a scale from very poor – poor – pretty good – good-excellent, how would you rate it? What have you based your evaluation on? (the causes for success or slowness)	20 minutes.
	8. Let's assume that the level of partnership between parents and schools is excellent? What would the situation of the school be? What impact would that have on the students?	5 minutes.
	9. How can partnership be an impediment to your fulfillment of your duties?	5 minutes
Ending questions:	10. The purpose of this interview is to understand the perception of the principal of the reality and the obstacles to partnership between parents and the school? Are there other things you want to add?	10 minutes
	Total:	120 minutes

Appendix J: Interviews Questioning Route: Arabic Version

خطاطة الأسئلة:		
الهدف من هذه الدراسة هو فهم رؤية الآباء والأساتذة ورؤساء المؤسسات للظروف المساعدة أو المعاكسة للشراكة بين الآباء والمؤسسات. ستستغرق هذه المجموعة البورية ساعتين من الزمن.		
السؤال الإفتتاحي	1. ما اسمك؟ ما اسم مؤسستك؟ ماذا تحبين ان تفعل\تفعلني وقت الفراغ	10 دقائق
السؤال التقديمي	2. كيف يمكنك ان تصفي تجربتك في المؤسسة؟	10 دقائق
الدخول في الموضوع	3. هل يمكن ان تعطيني امثلة للشراكة بين الآباء والأمهات والمؤسسة على مستوى مؤسستك؟	10 دقائق
الأسئلة الرئيسية	4. ماهي الشراكة؟ كيف تبدأ؟ من يبادر بخلقها؟ هل الآباء أو الأساتذة أو المدير أو جهات أخرى؟ 5. من خلال تجربتك؟ هل هناك بعض الآباء أو الأساتذة أو المديرين الذين تتوفر فيهم مواصفات الشريك الممتاز أفضل من الآخرين؟ حدثيني عن ذلك. 6. كيف تكون الشراكة بين الآباء والاساتذة؟ كيف تكون الشراكة بين الآباء و المؤسسة بشكل عام؟ ماهي مجالاتها؟ هل هناك مجالات أخرى لتوسيع الشراكة؟ 7. اذا طلبت منكم الحكم على مستوى الشراكة بمؤسستكم كيف ستقيمون ذلك على سلم: جد رديء - رديء - مستحسن - جيد - ممتاز. على مدى أعتدتم في هذا التقييم؟ (أسباب النجاح وأسباب البطء)	10 دقائق 15 دقيقة
	8. لنفترض أن الشراكة بين الآباء و المدرسة ممتازة. كيف سيكون حال المؤسسة؟ أي أثر سيكون لذلك على التلاميذ؟ 9. كيف تعيق أو يمكن أن تعيق الشراكة بين الإعداية وجمعية الآباء أدائك لمهماتك؟	25 دقيقة
السؤال الختامي	10. المراد هو فهم رؤيتكم لواقع ومثبطات الشراكة بين الآباء والمؤسسة؟ هل هناك أشياء تريد إضافتها في هذا المجال؟	10 دقائق
المجموع		120 دقيقة

Appendix K: Interview Participants' Demographics (Parents).

Type of parent representatives	Number of participants	Males	Females	Educators	Non educators	Type of interview
urban	3	3	0	1	2	Group interview
Urban	1	1	0	0	1	one-on-one
Urban	5	4	1	3	2	focus group
Urban	5	4	1	5	0	focus group
Urban	1	0	1	0	1	one-on-one
Urban	1	1	0	1	0	one-on-one
Urban	1	0	1	1	0	one-on-one
Urban	1	1	0	0	1	one-on-one
Urban	1	1	0	0	1	one-on-one
Urban	1	1	0	0	1	one-on-one
Rural	2	2	0	0	2	Group interview
Rural	2	2	0	0	2	Group interview
Suburban	2	2	0	1	1	Group interview
Suburban	3	3	0	1	2	Group interview
Regional	4	4	0	2	2	Group interview
National	1	1	0	1	0	one-on-one
National	1	1	0	1	0	one-on-one
National	1	1	0	0	1	one-on-one
National	1	1	0	0	1	one-on-one
Total	37	33	4	17	20	

Note: Qualitative data was also collected from the observation of a workshop on partnership. This workshop included 15 male participants who consisted of school principals and chairs of parents associations.

Appendix L: Interview Participants' Demographics (Teachers and Principals)

Teachers' work place	Number of participants	of Males	Female	Type of interview
Urban	5	2	3	Focus group
Urban	5	1	4	Focus group
Urban	5	0	5	Focus group
Urban	5	4	1	Focus group
Urban	5	4	1	Focus group
Urban	7	1	6	Focus group
Urban	1	0	1	One-on-one
Rural	2	2	0	Group interview
Suburban	3	3	0	Group interview
Suburban	1	0	1	One-on-one
Total	39	17	22	

Principals' Demographics

Number of Principals	Male	Female	Urban	Suburban	Rural
18	16	2	12	3	3

Appendix M: Qualitative Codes and Frequency

Code	Freq.	Code	Freq.
Areas of desired partnership	14	National leverage	2
Balkanization	3	Negative home conditions affecting students	4
Characteristic of the successful principal	21	Negative school conditions	12
Characteristics of successful associations	9	Negotiating the hat of the parent rep and other potentially conflicting hats	6
Characteristics of successful parent reps	19	Parental involvement outside the association	2
Characteristics of successful teacher partners	10	Parental work at home	6
Communication	4	Parent associations accountability	20
Communication and organization (Nodes)	3	Parents associations leverage or lack thereof	22
Communication between the association and the parents	17	Parents capacity to govern and participate	2
Communication with parents	25	Parents individual initiatives	5
Conflict of interest	2	Partnership as viewed by others	2
Conflict resolution techniques	10	Partnership between parents and teachers	28
Conflicts	2	Perception of parents and parents associations	15
Definition of partnership	26	Perception of school fairness	2
Desired partnership	11	Perception of teacher	6
Duration of responsibility	14	Public perception of unions	1
Education level	1	Rating partnership	23
Enabling environment	13	Reasons for involvement	23
Evolution of parents associations in Morocco	1	Role of associations	17
Examples of partnerships	28	School performance	7
Extra school partnerships	15	Students' gain from partnership	19
Factors preventing partnership	37	Supporting factors for partnerships and accountability	29
Gain from partnership (Nodes)	27	The politics of partnership	3
Gains from parents involvement according to parents	6	The reality of partnership	7
Home conditions	17	Title	24
How parents perceive parents associations	4	Union leverage	2
How you address partnership challenges as an association	3	Unions mission	2
Institutional framework for parental involvement	5	Who takes partnership initiative	27
Leadership of place	1	Why are some reps trusted	4
Life philosophy	5	Work experience	14
Limits of parents intervention according to parents reps	2		

Appendix N: Principals' perceptions of the role of parent associations

	Social function	Fire-fighter	Contractor	Vision for partnership	Strategic partner
Principal 1	Textbooks and notebooks for needy students.	Intercede on behalf of dismissed and absent students.	Fix the door and the toilets. Buy photocopiers, and toner.	School as an open community center.	
Principal 2	School material for needy students. Help recognize students, teachers, and administrators.	a listening center just for students	Bought computers, a flat screen, a laser printer, a projector, paper for copiers. Curtains for 19 classrooms, fix electricity, fix faucets. Pave the school ground.	Communication between families, administration, and teachers.	Organize educational, artistic, and sport activities. Participate in developing a school project.
Principal 3	Provides bags for needy students.	Train students to behave, to be good citizens, to respect school staff, and school principals, and not use drugs	Built a lounge for teachers. Provide paper for the copier.		Organize trips and listening sessions.
Principal (F) 4	Buy school material for needy students. Get teachers to adopt students' needs.	Go to students' homes to discipline the truants and make sure they come to school. Make sure they behave in the playground.	A room for reading, a library, and a media room.		No resources to fund a well-equipped media room

Appendix N (continued): Principals' perceptions of the roles of parent associations

	Social function	Fire-fighter	Contractor	Vision for partnership	Strategic partnership
Principal (F) 5	Assign problem students a mom (teacher)	Establish a listening center	High quality paint and lighting. A multi-purpose class		Organize cultural activities. Facilitate educational activities. Remedial support
Principal 6			Help rebuild the school.		
Principal 7	Give students awards.		Buy computers. Support transportation. Build the school walls		
Principal 8			Provide resources for school.		
Principal 9	Eye glasses for the needy. Trips for achievers.	Reduce the number of smokers.	Buy curtains	Respect teachers' and principal's prerogatives	
Principal 10	Eye glasses and prizes. Help with social problems.		Fund projects inside the school. Tea and cookies for teachers during exams.		
Principal 11			Cleaning and maintenance.		
Principal 12			Build, equip, and maintain a large space for extracurricular activities.		
interview 13			Fix the school.		
interview 14	Awards for students. Books and school material for poor students.		Purchase instructional tools. Fund a recognition ceremony for teachers and students. Clean the school		