

Sustainable Development: Is it feasible in the Third World? The Effects of United Nations World Food Programme School Feeding Programme on Maasai children in Tanzania



Iliana Moore, 770209-0767
C-Uppsats, SAN 503
Dept. of Social Anthropology
University of Lund, HT 2004
Handledare: Ulf Johansson-Dahre

Table of Contents

Acronyms.....	2
1. Introduction.....	3
1.2 Purpose.....	3
1.3 Theory.....	5
1.4 Method.....	6
2. Tanzania’s General Facts and History.....	8
2.1 International Organisations in Tanzania.....	13
3. Indigenous People.....	16
3.1 The Tanzanian Maasai.....	17
4. Education in Tanzania.....	22
4.1 Education of Girls.....	25
5. Food Insecurity.....	27
5.1 Education and Food Insecurity.....	28
6. UNWFP School feeding.....	30
6.1 Project size and Targeting.....	32
6.2 Selection of Schools.....	33
7. Effects of school feeding on Maasai children.....	35
7.1 Attendance Rates in Primary Schools.....	37
7.2 School Infrastructure.....	38
7.3 Remoteness.....	40
8. The Schools.....	41
9. Conclusion.....	44
10. Photographs.....	47
11. Bibliography.....	53
12. List of Illustrations.....	55

Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired ImmunoDeficiency Syndrome
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution)
CDR	Centre for Development Research
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSB	Corn Soy Blend
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEO	District Education Officer
EdSDP	Education Sector Development Programme
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MS	Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NPES	National Poverty Eradication Strategy
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Paper
PER	Primary Enrolment Ratio
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
TAA	Tanganyika African Association
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TAS	Tanzania Assistance Strategy
TFNC	Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNV	United Nations Volunteers
UNWFP	United Nations World Food Programme
UPE	Universal Primary Education
WHO	World Health Organisation

1. Introduction

The Third World is a term used to describe countries with economies which are largely based on agriculture and are characterised by low standards of living with high rates of population growth, and general economic and technological dependence upon wealthier industrial nations.¹ The Third World includes most countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

In this minor thesis, I shall discuss the problem of sustainable development in third world countries. I will also discuss the role of indigenous peoples in modern third world countries and further look at how inevitable environmental and economic changes due to the global economy have affected them. I have chosen the application of the United Nations World Food Programme's (UNWFP) School Feeding project onto Maasai children in Tanzania as my example. The information in this dissertation comes from first-hand information I have collected from The United Nations World Food Programme in Tanzania while working there as an intern for three months during the autumn of 2003.

1.2 Purpose

Sustainable development is a goal for most third world countries of today. There have been different definitions of this term throughout the past. I have chosen to follow the definition by the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development also known as the Brundtland Commission which is generally recognised as a global standard. As per this definition, sustainable development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.² In other words, sustainable development gives the beneficiary the needed factors to maintain his or her survival without affecting the supposable development of future generations. For example, development in modern-day countries with a stable economy is sustainable. The population can take care of itself and further keep development in an onward-going pace.

The development of the third world is not sustainable since the factors that would make it stable do not exist. These factors include political institutions, a flow of capital in and out of the country through trade and industry and also high standards of living.

¹ Definition of the Third World, <http://oregonstate.edu/dept/anthropology/glossary2.htm>

² Definition of Sustainable Development, <http://www.are.admin.ch>

Development aid in the third world is mostly done through international aid by organisations like the United Nations among others. The United Nations have set up 8 different millennium goals to be achieved by 2015. These goals include the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, achieving universal and primary education, promoting gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, fighting HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability and finally, developing a global partnership for development.³

Indigenous people are among the benefiting population of these Millennium Goals. The term “indigenous people” is used to describe ethnic groups that share similar characteristics, such as social and cultural identity that is distinct from dominant groups of society. United Nations human rights bodies, the International Labour Organisation, the World Bank and international law have four criteria for defining indigenous peoples.

Firstly, indigenous people usually live within or maintain geographical or ancestral attachment to a distinct territory. They tend to maintain distinct social, economic and political institutions within their territories. They also usually tend to remain culturally and geographically distinct instead of assimilating with the national society. Finally, they self-identify as indigenous or tribal.⁴ The heritage of indigenous peoples is of great importance to them as it is their history and culture. They therefore do their outmost to maintain it and continue to live by their traditional cultural values.

The United Nations World Food Programme has devised programmes in sustainable development by channelling food to schools to feed and at the same time educate the beneficiaries. This project is one of several programmes of sustainable development, to help people in need to survive natural disasters such as drought and desertification, food shortages and avoiding fatal diseases. Desertification is the degradation of land in arid, semi-arid, and dry sub-humid areas resulting mainly from adverse human impact.

³ United Nations Millennium Goals, <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

⁴ Definition of indigenous peoples, <http://www.undp.org/cso/ip/faq.html>

1.3 Theory

The theory of sustainable development is a development theory used in most third world countries of today. As mentioned earlier, it is a goal for which developing countries are striving. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992 created an action plan named Agenda 21 which is known to be about the most ambitious action plan of any of the World Summits that the United Nations have produced during its more than 50 years of international work.⁵

Section three of Agenda 21 includes the strengthening of major groups. Chapter twenty-six mentions recognition of and strengthening the role of indigenous people and their communities. Indigenous people and their communities have a historical relationship with their lands and surrounding environment and are generally the descendants of the original inhabitants of such lands. These communities stand for a significant percentage of the global population. They have, over many generations, developed a holistic traditional scientific knowledge of their lands and environment.⁶

Indigenous people and their communities should have full right to their land and heritage without any hindrance or discrimination. Their ability to fully participate in practices of sustainable development on their lands has tended to be limited as a result of factors of an economic, social and historical nature.⁷

The objectives of chapter twenty-six in section three of Agenda 21 aims at the establishment of a process to give power to indigenous people and their communities. This should be done through measures that include the adoption of certain policies such as recognition that the lands of indigenous communities should be protected from activities that negatively affect their surrounding environment or that they find might be socially or culturally unsuitable. This establishment should be in full partnership with indigenous people and communities, governments and inter-governmental organisations, where appropriate.⁸

⁵ Johansson Dahre, p. 260

⁶ Johansson Dahre, p. 266

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Johansson Dahre, p. 267

The cultural values of the indigenous people should be recognised as well as their traditional knowledge and practices within resource management with a view to promote environmentally sustainable development. The development and strengthening of their relations and disputes to settlement of land must be resolved. Indigenous communities should receive alternative support for environmental means of production through a range of choices on how to improve their quality of life and effectively participate in sustainable development.⁹

Other objectives include the involvement of indigenous people and their communities at the national and local levels in resource management and conservation strategies and other relevant programmes established to support and review strategies of sustainable development as those suggested above.¹⁰

The environments where indigenous people live have gone through extreme changes in the ecology, the economy and distribution of land during the past 50 years. Especially in a country like Tanzania, where the Maasai live, a theory of sustainable development is needed for the communities to learn how to fight desertification and drought. This along with other factors hinder the Maasai from living off of the land and surrounding environment as part of the ecosystem as they have done for centuries.

The theory of sustainable development along with the objectives of Agenda 21 give the projects of international aid organisations like the UNWFP School Feeding Programme a chance to help development in third world countries, like Tanzania.

1.4 Method

The information in this paper contains both first-hand and second-hand information. I spent three months in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania during the autumn of 2003 working for the UNWFP as an intern. Most of the information in this paper is first-hand information that I gathered while on a UNWFP field trip visiting the schools receiving UNWFP support in the Dodoma and Arusha areas of Tanzania. The interviews were collected on paper and the person interviewed did most often not know English. Mr. Appolinary Kundi, a UNWFP Programme

⁹ Johansson Dahre, p. 267

¹⁰ Ibid.

Officer assisted in translating my questions and answers when needed. I have also included photos as illustrations of my findings.

The general background information for this paper is second-hand information from contemporary travel guides to Tanzania and general history books found in the University Library in Lund. The information about UNWFP activities in Tanzania has been given to me by UNWFP staff from the UNWFP in Tanzania.

I begin by giving a background description of Tanzania and then I proceed to explain international development programs in this country. I also give a brief description of indigenous people and the Maasai. I continue with a description of the UNWFP project of School Feeding and finally discuss the advantages and disadvantages of the project. The illustrations are taken by me during the UNWFP School Feeding field trip.

I would like to thank the UNWFP in Tanzania for giving me such a valuable experience through my internship. I would especially like to thank Mrs. Karla Hershey, Mr. Appolinary Kundi, Mrs. Nicole Menage, Mr. Giancarlo Stopponi and the rest of the staff at the UNWFP country office in Dar es Salaam who made this study possible for me.

2. Tanzania's General Facts and History

Tanzania is the largest country in East Africa. It has a total area of approximately 934 000 square kilometres, including the Zanzibar archipelago which covers approximately 2640 square kilometres. Roughly 6% of the mainland is covered by inland lakes such as Lake Tanganyika, Lake Victoria, Lake Malawi and smaller inland lakes. These lakes are connected to each other and also to the Indian Ocean by great rivers such as the Rufiji River, the Ruvu River, the Wami River, the Pangani River and the Ruvuma River.¹¹

A larger part of the Tanzanian mainland consists of a central highland plateau, averaging between 900 metres and 1800 metres in altitude. This plateau is situated between the eastern and western branches of the geological fault known as the Great Rift Valley. It is part of the East African rift system which is Africa's most distinct relief feature. Tanzania's mountain ranges are grouped into a north-eastern section, a central section and a southern section.¹²

The estimated population of Tanzania is 33 million inhabitants. This includes the population in the Zanzibar archipelago which is approximately 825 000 people.¹³

The mainland population consists of about 120 tribal groups. Most of these are very small, according to Mary Fitzpatrick, author of the *Tanzanian Lonely Planet*. Almost 100 of the tribes together account for a mere third of the entire Tanzanian population. The five largest tribes are the Sukuma, Nyamwezi, Makonde, Haya and Chagga. No tribe has succeeded in denominating politically or culturally. The larger tribes such as the Chagga and the Haya were strongly influenced by Christian missionary work and Western education during the era before independence. They are, however, often disproportionately represented in the government and business circles on the mainland.¹⁴

Tanzania has a long history of trade with settlements from all over the world. Before the arrival of the Europeans, Arabic traders had established outposts all along the coast of Tanzania including the archipelago of Zanzibar. Between the 13th and 15th centuries, these

¹¹ Fitzpatrick, p. 17

¹² Fitzpatrick, p. 18

¹³ Fitzpatrick, p. 26

¹⁴ Ibid.

settlements flourished in trade with ivory, gold and other goods extending to as far as India and China.¹⁵

Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese explorer, was the first European to reach East Africa. This was in the late 15th century. The Portuguese ended up in Tanzania settling along the coast building fortes and trade centres until the early 18th century when they were forced to move by Arabs from Oman.¹⁶

The Omani Arabs solidified their foothold in this region and also extended their interests westward by developing great trade routes inland in Lake Tanganyika and central Africa. Along with the rapid growth of commerce, the slave trade was also growing at an immense pace during this period in the region.¹⁷

From the mid 19th century European missionaries and explorers made their way to Tanzania and began settling in the mainland. The first missionaries to arrive in Tanzania were German. Over the next several decades, missionaries from a variety of denominations moved away from the coastal region moving further inland setting up mission stations in the far western region of Tanzania by Lake Tanganyika. East Africa became a known territory for missionaries and explorers. The stimulation of Western interest in this region was great.¹⁸

By the late 19th century, a colonial era took place in Tanzania. The colonies were British and German established settlements along the coast of Tanzania and also the archipelago of Zanzibar. The German colonies began a charter for a trading company called the German East African Company. Mainland Tanzania came under direct control of the Germans while the coast and the Zanzibar archipelago were dominated by British colonies.¹⁹

Colonialism brought Western education and health care to German East Africa as well as road and rail networks in northern and central parts of the territory. According to Fitzpatrick, the colonial developments did not benefit many Africans. Further more, the German

¹⁵ Fitzpatrick, p. 12

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

administration was widely unpopular. Labour policies were harsh, and hut taxes had been imposed upon the Africans along with other numerous measures. This resulted in discontent among Africans which led to many uprisings.²⁰

The German era lasted until the end of World War 1 when German East Africa came under British administration as a League of Nations mandate. German East Africa was now known as Tanganyika. This arrangement lasted till World War 2 after which Tanganyika became a United Nations (UN) trust territory, also under British administration.²¹

During the years between World War 1 and World War 2, a system of indirect rule aimed at promoting the establishment of indigenous political institutions and leaders was introduced by British administrators. This system gave Africans a chance to make decisions in political affairs on a lower level. However it also resulted in the replacement of local chiefs with those who were considered by the British to be more open to colonial interests. This system proved to be a miserable failure with corruption as a result. This increased the discontent of the Africans and thus making the gap between locals and the government larger.²²

The British were more successful with their policy of encouraging the cultivation of export crops. Effective marketing cooperatives were formed in several areas, notably among the Chagga tribe around Kilimanjaro and the Haya tribe around Bukoba. Many of these farmers' cooperatives also took form of channels through which nationalist aspirations and protests against the colonial system could be expressed.²³

In 1929, a political group initially called the African Association was founded in Dar es Salaam. This group assumed an increasing importance as grass-roots resentment against colonial policies grew. The group was renamed to the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) in 1948 to reflect its broadening base of support.²⁴

²⁰ Fitzpatrick, p. 12

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Fitzpatrick, p. 13

A crucial point for the nationalist cause emerged in the early 1950's when several thousand Meru people²⁵ were driven from their land to make room for the establishment of farms for a dozen European settlers.²⁶

When Meru's protests were rejected via the official political channels, including the UN general assembly they turned to local political groups for help. These groups in turn looked to the TAA for aid.²⁷

In 1953, the TAA elected Julius Nyerere as its president. He was one of the few Tanganyikans educated abroad at university level. Under the leadership of Nyerere, the TAA was quickly transformed into an effective political organisation. The TAA became the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954 when a new internal constitution was introduced.

In 1961, Tanganyika became independent after Britain had agreed to the establishment of an internal self government with Julius Nyerere as chief minister. In 1962, Tanganyika became an established republic with Nyerere as president.²⁸ The United Republic of Tanganyika had acquired Zanzibar as part of their union and thus were renamed the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964.

Even though the country was taking a severe turn towards unity, it was still foundering economically and was still politically fragile. Nyerere presented a declaration in 1967 known as the Arusha Declaration which had a policy of socialism and self reliance. The cornerstone of this policy was the family hood village known as the *ujamaa*²⁹. This was an agricultural collective run along traditional African lines, with an emphasis on self-reliance. Basic goods and tools were to be commonly held and shared among members, while each individual was obligated to work on the land. Nyerere had also made education proposals which were an essential part of this collective plan. These proposals were designed to encourage cooperative endeavour, to promote social equality, and responsibility and to discourage any tendency towards intellectual arrogance amongst the educated. Additional aspects of the Arusha

²⁵ People from the Mount Meru region of North Eastern Tanzania

²⁶ Fitzpatrick, p. 13

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Swahili word for socialism

Declaration included the nationalisation of the economy, and tax increases aimed at redistributing individual wealth.³⁰

Initially in the *ujamaa* system, progressive farmers were encouraged to expand in the hope that others would follow their example. The *ujamaa* benefited those who were the recipients of state funds however improvement was minimal in rural poverty. This led to the abandonment of *ujamaa* in favour of direct state control. A new scheme was devised to fight rural poverty. 85% of Tanzania's rural population resettled into 7000 planned villages mostly through force by the government. The aim of this resettlement was to modernise the agricultural sector and also to make social services more accessible to rural dwellers. Unfortunately, this new approach also proved itself unsuccessful. The reason being that necessary finances exceeded the country's resources. Strong resentment also grew among a large part of the rural population towards compulsory resettlement.³¹

Tanzania's experiment in socialism and self-reliance was highly praised in its early years. Even though the *ujamaa* period can be seen as an economic failure it marked a successful period of nation-building. The country became unified by the bridging of ethnic and religious divisions. Education and health care also expanded greatly during this period (however, according to the economic consensus, it failed).³²

The Tanzanian per-capita income decreased by more than 30% between the years 1978 and 1984. The agricultural production stagnated, the industrial sector ran at less than half of its capacity, and nearly all economic incentives were done away with. The reason for this decline was triggered by a combination of factors including the steep rise in oil prices during the 1970's, sharp drops in the value of major exports such as coffee and sisal³³, and the 1977 break-up of the East African Community which was an economic and customs union between Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda. Ecological problems such as drought also contributed to the economic underdevelopment in Tanzania the 1980's.³⁴

³⁰ Fitzpatrick, p. 14

³¹ Ibid.

³² Fitzpatrick, p. 15

³³ Sisal: a plant that yields a stiff fibre used for making rope

³⁴ Fitzpatrick, p. 15

Nyerere was president up until 1985 when he resigned. The country's economic situation was still declining while dissatisfaction against his socialist policies grew. Ali Hassan Mwinyi became Tanzania's next president. Attempting to distance himself from his predecessor's policies, he instituted an economic recovery program involving the decrease of government spending, price liberalisation and the encouragement of foreign investment. However, Mwinyi's presidency was resented by the Tanzanian population and the pace of economic improvement remained low.³⁵

As the years passed there were several elections and Nyerere was still chairman of the dominant political party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, (CCM) otherwise known as the Party of the Revolution. Finally in 1990, Nyerere stepped down from chair making Mwinyi the next leader of CCM. Presently, Benjamin Mkapa is the leader of CCM. This party also won the latest government elections in Tanzania in 2000.³⁶ Tanzania is at present, an up and coming multiparty democracy. Executive power rests with the president and the ruling CCM. Tanzania is divided into 25 administrative regions, including 20 on the mainland, three on the island of Zanzibar and two on the island of Pemba. Each region is subdivided into districts, with 86 districts for the 20 mainland regions.³⁷

2.1 International Organisations in Tanzania

Classified as a least developed and low-income, food-deficit country, Tanzania was ranked 156th out of 174 countries by the 2004 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report. Over 40 percent of the population live in chronic food deficit regions where irregular rainfall patterns cause repeated food shortages.³⁸ Being one of the many developing countries in the world, Tanzania receives international aid in the same fashion as other 3rd World countries. The United Nations, along with various non-governmental organisations are funded from western countries such as Scandinavian, other European countries and the United States of America in the public sector, as well as the private sector.

³⁵ Fitzpatrick, p. 15

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Fitzpatrick, p. 24

³⁸ Tanzania World Food Programme, p.1

The Government of Tanzania has been formulating various strategies aimed at alleviating poverty since independence in 1961. The policy regime between 1967 and 1985 was based on socialism and self-reliance. The state took a facilitating role of social and economic growth and aimed to be a standard setter and provider of essential public services. The national efforts to fight poverty through central help resulted in a remarkable improvement in per capita income, access to education, health and other social services. This lasted until the 1970's. However, these gains could not be sustained due to various domestic and external problems as well as policy weaknesses.³⁹

In response to the stagnation and reversal in poverty indicators as well as the declining quantity, quality of and access to basic social services, the government designed widespread strategies and expressed a number of targets in order to capture the situation. Some of the targets are derived from international goals while others are national targets set in a more ambitious functioning frame of time. The key documents that articulated strategies and targets set the broad development agenda for poverty reduction and the National Poverty Eradication Strategy (NPES) which focuses on poverty targets such as the Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS). These key documents are also included in a national development plan called Development Vision 2025. This is a framework for directing external support into priority areas. The included Poverty Reduction Paper (PRSP) is developed in the context of the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, linking targets with resources allocation and monitoring process as well as strategies for implementing NPES in the medium term.⁴⁰

The Development organisations working in Tanzania include branches of The United Nations such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Volunteers (UNV), the United Nations World Food Programme (UNWFP), and The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) among others.

³⁹ Poverty Reduction Initiatives, <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/economicsurveyf.html>

⁴⁰ Poverty Reduction Initiatives, <http://www.tanzania.go.tz/economicsurveyf.html>

Development agencies worldwide such as The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), European Commission, the Finnish Embassy, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), and USAID among others are active in Tanzania for development aid.

Non governmental organisations such as Amnesty International Tanzania, The British Council, Forum Syd, Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke (MS), Red Cross, and Save the Children among others are also active in Tanzania working to increase development.

Various national Christian church organisations such as the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish churches among others are active in Tanzania for development aid.

3. Indigenous People

According to Espen Waehle, there are different definitions of indigenous people. Clearly, according to him, there is a definition issue. The Greenland Home Rule and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, (IWGIA) in cooperation with the Centre for Development Research, (CDR) have attempted to define indigenous people. They are people with strong ties to their land and who also have been in their region since before colonisation.⁴¹ The IWGIA and the CDR also point out that indigenous people are now dominated by other people from whom their cultures are remarkably different and who identify themselves as indigenous.⁴² It is also important to mention that such a definition includes many groups in different regions of Africa, some of which contrast with some of the above definitions.

One could consider all African population groups as indigenous, thereby making the term more or less irrelevant in an African context. From a historical point of view, indigenous people are the first people to inhabit their land. Taking the European colonisation of Africa, all African people are indigenous in relation to the colonial power as a starting point with the establishment of black and white dichotomy. From a political point of view, the Africans were non dominant and culturally speaking different from the holders of power. After each African state gained independence, this category was abolished.⁴³

Since the definition of indigenous people is so large and accounts for many different groups, the IWGIA and CDR have reached a universal definition to fit all indigenous people in Africa. Indigenous people have a special attachment to lands and territories. They have a sense of shared ancestry, and have the right to self-determination. They also have their own languages, cultures, spirituality and knowledge. Indigenous people have their own political, social and cultural institutions which include customary law, consensual decision-making processes, community life and collective sharing. Finally, the lands and territories as well as cultural institutions of indigenous people are violated by states and global forces through acts of domination.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Danida, p. 11

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Danida, p. 12

On the basis of third party identification or self-identification, the following groups can be seen as indigenous;

West Africa – especially groups involved with livestock herding

Central Africa – so-called Pygmies and Batwa

East Africa – essentially livestock herders⁴⁵

The Maasai come under this term since they live in East Africa, are livestock herders and are a group of people who have been living on their land traditionally for centuries.

3.1 The Tanzanian Maasai

The Maasai, which are the largest pastoral group in Tanzania, have an estimated population of 80 000 to 90 000. There are a total of 300, 000 pastoral Maasai living in the Rift Valley region of Kenya and Tanzania.⁴⁶

The social and economic life of the Maasai is centred on livestock. Their subsistence is based on the form of cattle, sheep and goats. Milk, meat and blood constitute their ideal diet although meat is not a daily part of it. It is considered as sacred food.⁴⁷ Agricultural foods also frequently supplement their pastoral diet especially during droughts and in the height of the dry season.⁴⁸ The pastoral Maasai exchange livestock for grain between themselves and their agricultural neighbours. The diet of today's Maasai would, for example, include mainly maize flour as a staple and milk during the dry season. According to Århem, the pastoral economy of the Maasai is subsistence oriented and the highly valued need for grain ties the Maasai to the economy of the larger society.⁴⁹

As mentioned earlier, the wealth of the pastoral Maasai is measured in livestock. Although the Maasai cattle are low-producing they are sturdy and disease resistant. They yield a sustained supply of milk and to ensure themselves of this, individual livestock herders attempt at

⁴⁵ Danida, p. 14

⁴⁶ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 239

⁴⁷ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 241

⁴⁸ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 240

⁴⁹ Ibid.

maintaining large herds.⁵⁰ The cattle play an important role in the Maasai way of life since they serve as store of food and also an insurance against disaster in an environment where drought is recurrent and livestock diseases endemic. Although human population densities are fairly low, the animal-man ratio is high, according to Århem.⁵¹

Cattle as means of livestock constitute a key value in Maasai culture. The entire social system is geared to cattle herding and moulded around a transhumant mode of subsistence.

Transhumant means that grazing areas are seasonally kept fallow to allow for grass generation and reduction of grazing pressure. During the dry season, rich grazing land is used and then left to recover during the wet season when the Maasai move to areas with lower potentiality.⁵²

Cattle are a multipurpose resource according to Århem. The live produce and the different parts of the carcass are used as food, medicine, utensils, clothing and adornment. Cattle are also a sign of wealth and status. They also serve as an exchange medium, legitimise marriage and are a symbol of social relationships. Cattle are objects of affection and of supreme religious significance. They are ultimately the definition of Maasai identity. They give meaning to Maasai life and mean life itself.⁵³

The land that the Maasai live on is not owned by any one man and in a sense belongs to all. The Maasai population are divided into territorial sections where they individually have grazing rights within their territory. The sections are further subdivided into localities and neighbourhood clusters of settlements which effectively control customary grazing areas within the section territory. Since the supply of water and grass is uncertain, the grazing areas are directly related to the requirements of herding in this semi-arid savannah environment. They must be able to move over large areas in search of water and grass.⁵⁴

Incentives toward production are triggered by needs of the personal household. Beyond the household, food and property circulate within and between settlements through paths of kinship, friendship and age-group affiliation. To the Maasai, this is the meaning of good life.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 240

⁵¹ Århem, p. 240

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 241

The Maasai look upon themselves as herdsman by tradition and sacred mandate according to Århem. They are thus *people of cattle*. In their own view, they are distinct from other agriculturalists and hunters who surround them.⁵⁶

The Tanzanian Maasai have since the 1980's had increasing difficulties in reaching their accustomed standards of living. They have been involuntarily drawn into the mainstream of the national economy and the political machinery of the state and therefore have become increasingly dependant on economic and political forces outside of their control. They are unable to determine their economic security and their very existence as an ethnic group is threatened.⁵⁷

Although the Maasai have been grazing their cattle for several centuries in the Serengeti, the Crater Highlands and in other surrounding parts of the Great Rift Valley, they have been forcibly excluded from much of their traditional homeland due to wildlife conservation over the past three decades according to Fitzpatrick. For some time, conservationists have believed that the Maasai cattle compete with wild animals for grazing and water. It is also believed that the large Maasai cattle herds contribute to soil erosion.⁵⁸

Fitzpatrick mentions an investigation made by a journalist named George Monbiot where he points out that in the name of conservation the Maasai have been excluded completely from National Game Reserves such as Serengeti National Park and Mkomazi Game Reserve because tourists have had no interest in seeing the Maasai. They were forced to move onto private farmland on the edge of these areas and became trespassers unable to return to their traditional grazing lands. They were cut off from essential migration routes and grazing lands and their cattle died of starvation. The growth of new roads and hotels built for tourists has also affected the Maasai. They feel that they are seen as less important than wildlife or tourists. This has resulted in resentment towards tourism. The starvation of their cattle has also led the Maasai to poaching. Some poach simply for extra meat however some also for ivory and rhino horn. According to Monbiot, the Maasai have coexisted with wildlife for

⁵⁶ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 241

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Fitzpatrick, p. 225

hundreds of years however; conservation has forced the Maasai to become enemies of nature.⁵⁹

The colonial land policy continued after the independence and it still largely characterises livestock development in Tanzania. This policy meant that inhabitants of the colonies took over the pastoral lands to put them into more extensive use while the pastoralists were compensated with extension services. These services according to Århem were improved range water supplies and veterinary services.⁶⁰

During 1974-75, a nation wide villagisation programme called Operation Imparnati was launched in Maasai land⁶¹. The purpose of this operation was to settle the pastoral Maasai in livestock development villages. These villages are defined as those where livestock production is the main economic activity. These villages differed in concept from agricultural villages which were for settled agriculturalists. It was important for the Maasai to make this distinction since cattle is their definition of wealth.⁶²

By 1975 it was reported that over 2000 Maasai had moved into the development villages. By 1976, an estimate of 36% of the total population in Kiteto district and 31% in Monduli district had been resettled into 27 of 139 planned villages.⁶³

Many changes had been made in the traditional Maasai community as a result of the planned villages. The villagisation represented a step towards the imposition of a new settlement and land-use pattern which was difficult to reconcile with the old pastoral values. A new authority structure was also imposed onto the traditional Maasai community.⁶⁴ The new hierarchy of political offices, the chairman, secretary and manager, weakened the traditional leadership by placing the centre of authority outside the local community.⁶⁵

The economy of the pastoralists has changed radically over the past half of the century. It has changed from being cattle-based to being small stock dependant and also from a self-

⁵⁹ Fitzpatrick, p. 225

⁶⁰ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 242

⁶¹ Imparnati means permanent habitations in Maasai language

⁶² Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 242

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 243

sufficient subsistent economy to an exchange economy, tied to an external market. The increase in size of the small stock herd reflects an attempt by the Ngorongoro Maasai to make up for cattle decline and that falling ratio of cattle per capita. Small stock herds are more and more taking the place of cattle although small stock give less milk and have a lower market value than cattle. Cattle is still a means of wealth to the Maasai and small stock are considered the poor man's substitute, according to Århem. The compositional change of the pastoral herds in the Ngorongoro area over the past thirty years indicates therefore a process of impoverishment.⁶⁶

The diet of the Maasai has changed as has the overall food situation. The Maasai are becoming increasingly dependant on grain as a supplement to their otherwise purely pastoral diet. Grain is the present dry season staple instead of milk which is an increasing problem since there is neither grain nor milk or meat in adequate quantities for the energy needs of every household.⁶⁷

The situation of the pastoralist Maasai has changed radically over the past half century. From a self-sufficient subsistent way of life to a dependence on the market economy with a major change in diet and deterioration in health because of deficit of food, the Maasai are facing major life threatening changes. The conservation policies have also brought falling living standards and increasing poverty to the Maasai.

This together with the move towards a more nucleated and sedentary settlement pattern was seen as a threat to the transhumant way of life and the resource-base on which the Maasai society rests. Similarly, restrictions on the herd and settlement size required by the villagisation programme touched the very core of Maasai culture: livestock as a multiple resource and societal value. Restrictions on individual livestock holdings meant to the Maasai a violation on their freedom and reduction of their capacity to subsist.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 248

⁶⁷ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 249

⁶⁸ Boesen, Havnevik, Koponen & Odgaard, p. 243

4. Education in Tanzania

Education in Tanzania starts at the age of seven and includes 7 years of primary schooling, 4 years of lower secondary school and two years of upper secondary education followed by higher education provided at several institutions such as the University of Dar es Salaam.⁶⁹ Primary education in Tanzania is free.⁷⁰

According to the United Nations World Food Programme (UNWFP), Tanzania was a model for other African countries for education during many years. The government invested heavily in primary education in the 1970's in order to attain the goal of Universal Primary Education (UPE). Since then, however, enrolment rates have declined significantly. In 1980 the primary enrolment ratio (PER) was 93% and in 1997 the PER had decreased 15% to an estimated 78%. This percentage is lower than in many neighbouring countries, according to the UNWFP. Geographical differences in enrolment are also wide between regions and even districts within a region.⁷¹

An increasing number of students are withdrawing from the education system. Dropout rates have increased from 20% in the mid 1980's to 33% in the mid 1990's. The number of students completing at least four years of primary education declined from 90% in 1987 to 87% in 1993. Moreover, only some 15% of students completing the primary cycle find admission into secondary schools.⁷²

Many factors such as the poor state of school infrastructure with many run-down school buildings, the lack of teaching materials or poorly trained and unmotivated teachers can partly explain this. While the UPE policy resulted in rapid quantitative enrolment expansion, the quality of educational services did not keep up pace. This is worsened by the declining resources for the education sector from the government.⁷³

⁶⁹ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 7

⁷⁰ Notes on Primary Education from WFP staff

⁷¹ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 7

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 8

As a result of limited government funding, parents are asked to cover a significant share of the cost of education. While the government essentially pays salaries for teachers, parental contributions support the construction and maintenance of school buildings and furniture or purchase of educational materials and stationary. Considering that one third of the population live in absolute poverty, these costs are beyond reach for many families and add to the growing frustration with education amongst many communities.⁷⁴

Government policies in education have certain goals. These aim at assuring equitable access to education, revitalizing and improving educational strengthening planning, management and monitoring capacity and enlarging the resource base for the sector. The government's Development Vision 2025 for Tanzania gives human development top priority through education, particularly universal primary education. This includes the goal of attaining gender balance in all areas. These goals have been translated into an Education Sector Development Programme (EdSDP), covering the period 1998 – 2003 which also receives considerable donor support. The EdSDP anticipates a general reform of the education sector where growth is ensured and equitable access to high quality education exists in the country.⁷⁵

The northern parts of Tanzania are largely inhabited by pastoralist population groups such as the Maasai. These groups have traditionally shown little motivation for education. Education has been seen as a contradiction with their traditional lifestyle.

The indicators for education in these areas are particularly low. Example of these are the Maasai dominated districts of Monduli, Simanjaru, Kiteto, and Ngorongoro in the Arusha region where the PER does not exceed 40%. The lack of boarding facilities is also a constraint toward the education of nomadic children as well as socio-cultural practices. This is because nomadic families move with their cattle so their children cannot usually attend day schools. They must therefore depend on boarding hostels for their schooling.⁷⁶

A UN mission travelled around schools in Tanzania in order to evaluate the educational situation for the implementation of the school feeding project. Due to lack in government funding the continuous feeding of all boarders is not secured. As a result the facilities are not

⁷⁴ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 8

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 9

used to their full capacity. For example, the headmaster in one school visited by the mission, said that he often had to send the boarders home during the school year for periods of up to three weeks due to lack of food. In addition to this, the number of boarders in the school was said to be less a reflection of hostel capacity than of government's capacity to provide food for the boarders. In other boarding schools the situation was said to be the same. The insufficient food supplies to boarding schools also affect general intake of food of the boarders since existing supplies often are stretched and schools lack funds to provide any commodities other than the most basic ones.⁷⁷

A new decentralization policy on the district level has put the responsibility of financing boarding schools onto the District Council who must distribute their often limited funds along with other competing priorities. Boarding schools are unable to count on any fixed budgetary allocations for their operating costs but must constantly negotiate these matters within the District Council budget. Funding is allocated on a piece-meal basis and often said not to meet the requirements. As well as general budget constraints for education, it was observed by the mission that the on going process of decentralization further complicated the budgetary matters since the increased responsibility given to the District Councils was not matched by funding.⁷⁸

Along with the cost-sharing policy of the government, parents of boarders are asked to pay fees to contribute to the running costs of these schools. These costs differed drastically according to the mission's findings. In some districts, no fees were charged. In some, only a limited number of parents were said to actually pay. Interviews made by the mission with school staff explained the difficulties in enforcing fee payment upon pastoralists with already low motivation for education. However, this similarly does reduce the potential funding fee for feeding of boarders. Two schools that were visited in the Monduli district had other sources for support. However, this case is exceptional. Productive activities generating income at schools seemed limited at the time of the mission's visit. However this aspect of fundraising could possibly be further developed.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 9

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 10

Most of the primary schools in these areas are boarding schools. There is a marked gender imbalance in enrolment rates in pastoral areas. The rate for boys is 62% and 38% for girls. One of the various reasons for this imbalance is lack of girls' dormitories. In some cases facilities are available but not used to their full capacity. The lack of government funds to ensure continual feeding of all boarders is also one more reason. All of these factors added together give parents little incentive to send their daughters to school. Also, they are often too poor to pay the fees that contribute to the running costs of these schools.⁸⁰

4.1 Education of Girls

The enrolment of girls in primary schools had reached parity with boys by 1986 as a result of the UPE policy. However, gender inequalities have since increased. According to the UNWFP, national figures show minimal gender differences but regional and socio-cultural differences persist. The rate for girls is remarkably lower than that of boys in all of the schools visited by the mission however drop-out rates for both boys and girls are high in all regions. The lowest percentage of girls in primary schools was seen to be in the Arusha region in schools which are mostly attended by pastoralists. The exact figures collected by the UNWFP mission were 45% for boys and 29% for girls.⁸¹

The education of girls seems therefore to be particularly low in areas inhabited by pastoralists. This is partly because of traditional practices such as wanting to save or preserve girls for marriage. In pastoralist communities, a girl is almost considered as marriage goods since her marriage results in a significant dowry which is paid to her family. Girls can become the property of their future husband's already right from birth. Girls are also withdrawn from school for circumcision⁸² or simply removed to be able to help out with house-hold chores at home.

Girls are particularly underrepresented at boarding schools. This problem is however due to the limited number of girls' hostels rather than parents not wanting to send their daughter far away from home.

⁸⁰ WFP Executive Board Document 2001/5/4, p. 6

⁸¹ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 10

⁸² Circumcision is still a widespread practice among pastoralists

Many negative practices also keep girls from coming to school. These include sexual harassment by male students and teachers. Rape has also occurred. Early marriages, teen pregnancies and the general belief that girls are not considered to have the same value as boys are other negative factors.⁸³

⁸³ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p.10

5. Food Insecurity

Food insecurity is caused by several factors in developing countries. In Tanzania, the underlying poverty levels, the diversity of agro-climatic zones within the districts (determining the exposure to natural disaster risks such as droughts and floods), the lack of infrastructure and the non-functioning of markets are a few of the various factors that play a direct and indirect role as reasons of food insecurity.⁸⁴

Tanzania is not a chronically food insecure country in terms of supply and potential production. According to the UNWFP, Tanzania is self sufficient in white maize which is the normal staple food. Agriculture employs 84% of the Tanzanian labour force. However, it is characterised by small holder farming, scarce use of inputs, and a dominance of manual farming methods which results in a relatively low productivity. Poor irrigation opportunities and labour availability also contribute to the low performance of the agricultural sector.

The temporary food insecurity in large parts of the country was created by recent inconsistencies in the climate. There are also other underlying factors determining the extent of the crisis. The consequent damages to the rural socio-economic system are not only a result of the transitory crisis. In other terms, the effects of the reduction of overall food supply are intensified by underlying factors related to chronic food insecurity and/or general poverty.⁸⁵

These factors are affecting the access to food resources and/or to coping mechanisms. They differ extensively among regions of the country. Furthermore, they also vary considerably between neighbouring districts or even divisions. They thus reduce the effectiveness of geographical targeting. At household level, the complexity and interactions among groups who use different coping mechanisms can only be captured, according to the UNWFP by a clear understanding of the food economic systems of the local communities. Various factors are to be considered in this context. The following are major structural factors which can be seen as affecting almost all economic systems in the country:

⁸⁴ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 5

⁸⁵ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 6

- Communication/Transport infrastructure
- Market structure
- Over-selling practices
- Poor storage practices at household level
- Low farming technology
- Insufficient access to rural credits
- Low opportunities to develop income generating activities⁸⁶

5.1 Education and Food Insecurity

The general educational problems are worsened by severe food shortages at household level as well as hunger and poor health of primary students in various parts of Tanzania. The UNWFP together with UNICEF among others have visited the Dodoma region where they found that average attendance rates in many schools did not exceed 30% at best and also large numbers of students were dropping out of school. The reason for dropping out was to look for food or income. Some were also too hungry to come to school. These chronic problems often reach forms of crisis during acute food shortages that are related to drought. According to the UNWFP, the public and the government are becoming aware that this represents a key obstacle to education in chronically food insecure parts of the country.⁸⁷

Short-term hunger is a considerable problem among primary school in food deficit areas. Just before the harvest is the most notable time when the food stores have been depleted and new food supplies are not yet available. Most children receive one meal per day at the most in their homes during the lean season. This meal usually takes place during the late afternoon and consists mainly of staple food such as maize, sweet potatoes or sorghum.⁸⁸

45% of school children in 1995 were not receiving any food before going to school according to a report written by the World Bank. This fact is supported by a study carried out in the Singida and Dar es Salaam regions by the Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre (TFNC) in

⁸⁶ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 6

⁸⁷ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 8

⁸⁸ Ibid.

1997 which showed that a mere 24.2% children received a meal before going to school and 36.3% received an evening meal when at home.⁸⁹

The distance between home and school is also a factor which contributes to children's short-term hunger in primary schools. Most students live up to 5 km away from school and must leave early in the morning to go to school. Since they cannot return home to eat during the mid-day break these children go hungry during the school day. The situation is aggravated in areas where food insecurity is high and is affected by drought. The mission visited schools where the majority of students were said to have had no breakfast and did not bring any food to school. Only the ones living close by could go home at lunch time. However, few of these students were said to actually receive food at home. Most teachers interviewed by the mission confirmed that students were frequently drowsy and unable to concentrate in class. According to the UNWFP, these are clear signs of short-term hunger.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 9

⁹⁰ Ibid.

6. UNWFP School feeding

As mentioned earlier, The United Nations World Food Programme is active in Tanzania. The focus of UNWFP development activities is to support rehabilitation of irrigation works, water supply system and dry land farming. The activities within development also include assisting the primary education sector through school feeding. This implies the support to primary education in food-insecure areas.⁹¹

According to the appraisal of a quick action project, the government had requested UNWFP assistance to primary schools in the country. The assistance was to target schools particularly in areas most affected by drought and inhabited by pastoralist population groups.⁹²

The aim of the UNWFP school feeding project has been to give children an incentive to stay in school. The strategic focus of this activity is to support the Tanzanian government's Education Sector Development Programme (EdSDP). This programme gives high priority to the goal of universal primary education and the equitable provision of educational opportunities to children from all regions and population groups. This activity has a special emphasis on girls' access to education. It addresses the UNWFP Enabling Development priority no. 2: enabling poor households to invest in human capital through education and training.⁹³

There are both long- and short-term objectives to this project.

“The long term objectives are to contribute to the implementation of government policies and priorities in the education sector, particularly regarding the goal of universal primary education and provision of equitable educational opportunities to children from all regions and population groups”.⁹⁴

The short-term objectives are to contribute to an increasing enrolment, improvement of attendance and prevention of drop-out students at assisted primary day schools, particularly

⁹¹ United Nations World Food Programme archives, Tanzania Operations, p.1

⁹² WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 4

⁹³ Executive Board Document 2001/5/4, p. 6

⁹⁴ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 15

for girls; the improvement of concentration span and learning capacity of students at assisted primary day-schools by alleviating their short-term hunger is also a short-term objective; as is allowing primary boarding schools to function at full capacity throughout the school year, increasing the enrolment of girls and improve the teachers' and pupils' information regarding HIV/AIDS⁹⁵. Finally, there is an objective to build up local capacity for the operation of a school feeding programme.⁹⁶

For the primary day schools, the students will be given porridge which includes blended foods mixed with sugar. In the past, students at primary schools have received porridge with no sugar added to enhance the taste. The caloric value of this meal has been low according to the UNWFP. The blended food meal will provide both palatability and a high nutrient value, particularly since it is prepared with micro-nutrients.⁹⁷

The porridge made with blended food will be the first meal of the day for many of the children since they live far away from the school and must walk an average of between 1 – 5 kilometres thus leaving home very early. This meal as a start of their school day will boost their concentration for the morning classes. This is especially important for children who may not have eaten the previous night, as it was reported by some of the students spoken to during the mission. The second meal is served at mid-day during lunch hours. It consists of cereal (maize or rice), pulses (beans or peas) and vegetable oil. These cereals and pulses are cooked together into palatable meals or prepared as stiff porridge to give variation in diet.⁹⁸

The commodities that the schools receive, cereal, pulses, vegetable oil, corn soy blend (CSB) and sugar are compatible with the local foods found in the three regions where the project is being carried out. This is noteworthy since most people use these products at one stage or another. In other words, the commodities mix right in with existing food standards.

The ration for each student provides enough energy, protein and fat in an acceptable range as per the World Health Organisation (WHO) recommendations taken from a Health and Nutrition School Feeding Manual. The daily requirements in protein, kilocalories and fat are

⁹⁵ Executive Board Document 2001/5/4, p. 7

⁹⁶ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 15

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 16

covered according to the UNWFP. Furthermore, the provision of fortified blended food will address micro-nutrient deficiencies in primary students which affect their cognitive ability.⁹⁹ Improved enrolment rates for girls, in targeted pastoral areas and also improved attendance and reduction of drop-out students both male and female at assisted schools are expected outcomes from UNWFP assistance.¹⁰⁰

The UNWFP school feeding project has improved the school infrastructure for operating a feeding programme by storage, water supply, separate latrines, cooking facilities, and cooking and eating utensils.¹⁰¹

The pilot project of the UNWFP school feeding programme has been monitored which has confirmed the drop-out rates. The seasonal drop-out rates are higher among boys than girls. This is because boys are deemed more suitable for undertaking casual labour, hunting and farming/pastoral activities during periods of economic constraint.¹⁰²

The implementation of this project is under the overall responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC). At the district level, the District Education Officer (DEO) will represent the MOEC. The day-to-day operations of the activity will however be delegated to the local communities and school committees.¹⁰³

6.1 Project Size and Targeting

Numerous signs have been considered for geographical targeting for the school feeding project. To begin with, various regions have been selected on the basis of high, chronic food insecurity and proneness to drought. General poverty ranking and accessibility for UNWFP operations is also a consideration. The UNWFP sub offices that are close to these regions are an important factor in facilitating project implementation. Within the selected regions, choice of schools prioritised those districts with high food insecurity and educational need. This

⁹⁹ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 16

¹⁰⁰ Executive Board Document 2001/5/4, p. 7

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Executive Board Document 2001/5/4, p. 6

¹⁰³ Executive Board Document 2001/5/4, p. 8

includes high absenteeism and dropout, and low enrolment ratio. Account is also taken of existing educational programs which can complement UNWFP assistance.¹⁰⁴

Since this project is unable to cover all primary schools in a chosen district, further selection has also been carried out to identify divisions within districts with highest food insecurity and educational need. Concentration of the project on divisions rather than selecting individual schools all over a district should ensure that communities and the public at large are more able to understand the purpose and targeting criteria of the project. This will thus reduce pressure on the local authorities from schools not selected from the project.¹⁰⁵

The inclusion of the Arusha region in the project is motivated less by drought proneness, food insecurity and poverty even though the region is also needy in the respects. It is more motivated by problems faced by pastoralists concerning education and the need to support primary schools in these areas. Within this region, the project will thus mostly target boarding schools and some day schools in those districts with the highest percentage of nomadic population. These are Monduli, Simanjaro, Kiteto and Ngorongoro.¹⁰⁶

6.2 Selection of Schools

In the Dodoma and Singida regions where day schools are selected, all primary schools within targeted divisions are qualified for UNWFP assistance. However, it is important for selected schools to have the necessary infrastructure for feeding. In other words, the access to water, storage and kitchen facility is essential. The school committee must also accept its responsibilities for operation of the Programme. This has been verified through school visits before the project beginning, and any school not complying with these criteria is not included.¹⁰⁷

Within the selected districts of the Arusha region, all primary boarding schools are included with the exception of two schools in Monduli district which were found to have other sufficient sources of income.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 17

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

The limited number of day schools in the Arusha region is concentrated in the Monduli district. These were selected on the basis of accessibility and relatively high food insecurity and educational need. Their inclusion in the project will follow the same procedure outlined for the above mentioned schools in Dodoma and Singida regions.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 18

7. Effects of school feeding on Maasai children

Almost half of the population of Tanzania is starving since they live in chronic food deficit areas of Tanzania. These regions have irregular rainfall patterns which result in repeated food shortages.¹¹⁰ According to a United Nations Human Development Report, Tanzania rated 156th out of the 174 poorest countries in the world. It is classified as a least developed country.¹¹¹

A problem that has arisen within these areas of food insecurity is the malnourishment of children. Children lack protein, vitamins, and minerals as part of their daily diet. It results in growth stunts and other physical problems. This is a common problem with school children in these areas according to the UNWFP.¹¹²

The government lacks funding for school meals and poverty-stricken parents are also unable to contribute. As a result of these food shortages, children who attend primary school go hungry and have learning difficulties. Their academic performance is low due to lack of energy. The problem with fatigue and drowsiness is also a reason for learning disabilities. This is aggravated by the long distances children must walk to and from school. They leave home on an empty stomach, arrive at school and are possibly fed for lunch if the school has access to food. Distance to schools is a major reason for short-term hunger. The absentee rate in primary day- and boarding-schools is high in food deficit regions.

Malnourishment is not only a characteristic of children who attend school. It is a general problem for children in food deficit areas. The shortage of food probably has the same effect on children at home as it has on those in school. In other words, they are also most likely suffering from short-term hunger and have concentration difficulties due to lack of energy.

Problems can appear when relieving people of short-term hunger in crisis situations. For example, the goal of self-reliance and sustainability is often not reached. A way in which one could reach this goal is by channelling food assistance through schools. Massive absenteeism

¹¹⁰ Overview of Tanzania, www.wfp.org

¹¹¹ Country Overview, Tanzania World Food Programme

¹¹² WFP Conclusions and Recommendations, p. 11

from primary schools can hopefully be prevented by school feeding. Children will have an incentive to go to school through school feeding and at the same time increase their learning skills through alleviating their short-term hunger.

Hunger is not the only problem solved by school feeding. The UNWFP school feeding project has a standard curriculum for the selected schools. This curriculum includes the knowledge of agriculture, cultivation, health and HIV/AIDS awareness. Along with learning how to read and write they will get practical knowledge of how to maintain their environment by farming the land. They will also obtain knowledge about the effects of HIV/AIDS which is almost turning into an epidemic in Tanzania along with most other countries in Africa.

According to Maryam Niamir pastoralists, such as the Maasai, have gone through gradual changes as their individual households have been faced with environmental and economic stress to make permanent choices between production systems. Either they have retained the traditional Maasai system of living or it has been abandoned for a western influenced system of crop cultivation, trade and wage earning. Many Maasai households are somewhere in between these systems.¹¹³

Many of these non-pastoral strategies were always used to deal with stress. In the past, the stress was usually of a temporary nature in other words droughts passed or local overstocking was alleviated with a move to fresh areas. In recent time, however, the stress is not as temporary and tends to linger. This is due to other cumulative factors such as the changing systems of the modern economy, according to Niamir. As a result of this, pastoralist societies like the Maasai now feel they are unable to return to their traditional system.¹¹⁴

The Maasai live in areas where food insecurity is high. Due to this they need a means of sustainability and self reliance. They need to learn how to cope with food shortages in a changing environment. A way in which to help them solve this problem is by supporting primary schools with food thus giving children an incentive to go to school and learn new skills.

¹¹³ Warren, Slikkerveer and Brokensha, p. 255

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

This gives the children an opportunity to be educated and at the same time receive healthy meals which have the vitamins, minerals and protein they otherwise lack. This will in turn increase their concentration level and give them the energy and ability to increase their academic performance. It will also make them healthier and more resistant to illness.

7.1 Attendance Rates in Primary Schools

Attendance rates in Maasai primary schools have been very low. Since the Maasai are nomads and must move with their cattle in search for pasture, the children cannot attend school throughout the whole year. The attendance rates have varied with seasons and are particularly low for girls.

The absentee rate also has to do with food supply. The rain period will decrease attendance in primary schools since there will be more food in towns according to a teacher at Engaruka Juu school. There is a higher attendance in summer months when food is scarce in the surrounding towns.

The only way for Maasai children to be able to attend primary schools regularly is if they can board at the school or stay behind in the area with their mothers instead of moving with the rest of their family in search for new pastures.

The day- and boarding schools attended by Maasai children have increased in attendance since UNWFP support. The mothers of the day pupils stay in the area to make it possible for them to attend school while their fathers are out hunting or herding cattle.

Another reason for high absentee rates at schools is the dangers that appear on the way to and from school. For example, an encounter with wild animals along the way to and from school is possible. Fierce hyenas and leopards scare the children from walking the far distance to and from school.

The attendance rates for both boarding and day schools have improved significantly in areas where the UNWFP school feeding programme is implemented. Before the UNWFP school feeding project began the children would not attend school if there was no food. This shows the positive impact the school feeding project is having on Maasai children.

A result of UNWFP school feeding is increasing class sizes. This presents a problem when classrooms become too over-crowded. Low resources prevent enlargements at schools.

All primary schools are co-educational. The attendance of girls in primary schools is much lower than that of boys. This is due to traditional Maasai values such as early marriages and female circumcision. While travelling to visit the Maasai schools in Arusha I heard of a case where a grown Maasai man had asked a pregnant mother for her baby in marriage if it was a girl. Girls are seen as valuable assets within the Maasai cultural system. They must stay at home to prepare for marriage. At some boarding schools Maasai girls can stay up to several years without going home in fear of marriage or circumcision. One girl in Engaruka Juu School had not been home for three years for this reason.

The attendance of boys in primary schools is higher than girls. However they have a high drop-out rate. They are needed at home for hunting or cattle herding. While driving through the Ngorongoro crater to visit schools under UNWFP support I saw young Maasai boys, between ages 6 or 7 years up to their teens tending large herds of cattle. This makes evident how the Maasai make use of their male family members as labour from an early age.

UNWFP School feeding in schools with Maasai children has lowered the rate of early marriages and female circumcision. Along with these traditional Maasai values fear of sexual harassment in school by boys or male teachers also hinders the girls from coming to school. UNWFP support has increased the awareness of this problem among teachers.

7.2 School Infrastructure

Many primary schools lack proper infrastructure for feeding the children such as kitchens, water, and storage (see Photo 4, 8 and 9). At some schools in remote areas, the pupils must bring firewood and water to school (see Photo 2 and 14).

The kitchens in many Maasai schools are small concrete houses with no windows. The food is cooked in big pots over log fires on the floor (see Photo 4). The smoke from the fire in these kitchens is unhealthy since it gets in eyes and respiratory systems of both the cook and the children receiving their meals. The ashes from the fire also have a tendency to get in the pots. This makes the food taste of ash according to the children at the schools.

The children must bring their own plates to school since schools lack sufficient supply of eating utensils. Plates are made out of plastic and many are cracked. Not every child has a plate so they must share the plates as well as eat every meal off of them.

A growing problem facing the school feeding programme is the fact that the kitchens quickly become too small to cook food for the increasing number of children. Improvements in school infrastructure such as the installation of fuel efficient stoves in kitchens will be made as per incentive according to Mr. Kundi, a UNWFP Programme Officer¹¹⁵

Thanks to the logistics corporation TPG, who is donating funds, and UNWFP cooperation together with the non-governmental organisation (NGO), Migesado, fuel efficient stoves have been built at several schools which are being assisted by UNWFP school feeding (see Photo 6). Instead of preparing school meals over a log fire in a small hut with no windows, the fuel efficient stoves replace the log fires giving the cook a better environment and more efficient way to prepare the meals. The new stoves are more heat efficient. Only 30% of the heat is lost in these stoves compared to the log fire where 80% is lost. The fuel efficient stoves are brick-made furnaces to fit pots and pans. They have a special chimney that leads the smoke outdoors giving the cook a healthier environment to cook in. They benefit school feeding in a number of ways. They are healthier, more heat efficient and better for the environment since fewer trees are chopped down. Shrubs that are usually pulled out as firewood are given a chance to grow. This results in less erosion, less risk for drought when trees are left to grow and above all, less time and labour wasted by children to go collect firewood.

Another problem of infrastructure is lack of facilities at boarding schools. Some schools have no dorms for girls and therefore girls are unable to attend these schools. Even when there is sufficient room the facilities are poor. Some boarding schools even lack beds. Previously, the boarding school at Engaruka Juu had no beds and the children slept on the floor. Due to the generousities of an external donor they have now received funds for beds.¹¹⁶

In order to monitor the UNWFP school feeding programme the head teacher from each chosen school must supply the District Council with monthly reports from the school. The

¹¹⁵ Mr Kundi, a UNWFP Programme Officer during a UNWFP school feeding trip near Arusha in November, 2003

¹¹⁶ The amount of relief aid organisations working in Tanzania, makes external donors like these available

reports must include attendance rates, activities of students, activities of teachers and other notable information. These reports are then delivered to the UNWFP. According to Mr. Giancarlo Stopponi, a UNWFP Deputy there has previously been a loss of information with this method. He explains how much better it would be if the schools supplied information directly to the UNWFP without going through the District Council.

7.3 Remoteness

The areas in which some schools are situated are remote (see Photo 12). This also causes a problem. Irregular reporting and check-ups from the government are results of this. The schools are sometimes in such remote areas that the roads are just two tyre tracks made by previous trucks or vehicles passing by. These tracks are at times washed away by rain making it impossible for delivery trucks to reach the schools through the sand or mud (see Photo 1). UNWFP support has at times during rainy season had difficulties arriving on time making the food old and uneatable. When roads are too bad food is transported by donkeys or by foot rather than by trucks. This delays deliveries extensively. For example, CSB only lasts for 9 months and due to poor roads the deliveries are at times late. This results in outdated CSB which cannot be used in the schools. Deliveries of maize meal, another commodity, have also been in a poor state and uneatable upon arrival at the schools. This gives rise to criticism towards the UNWFP support from teachers at these schools.¹¹⁷

There has been some improvement and some schools are now easier to access. Some roads have unfortunately also deteriorated in the past year according to Mr. Kundi.

¹¹⁷ Information taken from UNWFP programme officers describing the difficulties of transport

8. The Schools

The following information is taken from my observations on a UNWFP field trip in Tanzania in November, 2003 visiting schools that receive UNWFP support. I have, in this list, only included schools attended by Maasai children. Other schools in drought-prone regions of Tanzania also receive assistance from UNWFP. The following schools are situated in remote areas near Arusha where many Maasai live.

Elerai School (see Photo 11 and 12)

Situated in the mountains. Upon visit it was so muddy that the jeep did not make it to the school. We parked in a nearby field and walked the remaining 500 metres to the school.

Amount of children: 45 children

Amount of teachers: 7

Amount of school hours per day: Standards 1-2 have class in the morning and standards 3-7 have class in afternoon. The students only attend school for half of the day because of increasing class sizes and lack of classrooms.

Improvements since UNWFP assistance: increase in attendance

Criticisms: This school had no criticisms towards the UNWFP school feeding programme.

Other: Due to bad facilities there is not enough classroom space. In worst cases the children have classes together because of increasing class sizes.

Engaruka Juu School (see Photos 5-10)

Situated in a Maasai village called Engaruka Juu.

Amount of children: 548 (339 boys, 209 girls)

249 boarders (170 boys, 79 girls)

Ages: 7 – 14 years

Amount of teachers: 13 (4 teachers board since they live far away)

Amount of school hours per day: 8 hours with lunch and morning break (7:00am – 4:30 pm)

Classes: 7 classes for 7 grades with approx. 80 – 90 children per class

Improvements since UNWFP assistance: High attendance since 2000, the start of school feeding.

Criticisms: This school had no criticisms towards the UNWFP school feeding programme

Other: 75 % of the students are Maasai. The kitchen has new and improved stoves made out of iron. The children eat rice, beans, peas, vegetables and meat. The district Council offers tenders from supply. All boarders eat evening meals.

This school is in a very remote area. It can therefore take up to two or three months to get in contact with the school because of bad roads. During the rainy season it is almost impossible to reach. The trucks that deliver the food get stuck in the mud on bad roads, however, according to Mr. Kundi; the roads are greatly improved. At the last visit two years ago, it was less easy to access.

Engaruka Chini School

A day school situated in a Maasai village

Amount of children: 257 pupils (180 boys, 77 girls)

Amount of teachers: 7

Amount of school hours per day: Children have classes in both morning and in the afternoon.

Improvements since UNWFP assistance: Increasing attendance and concentration of pupils has increased.

Criticisms: The boarding quarters lacked beds and the children slept on the concrete floor of the boarding house. Upon our visit, they have received beds to sleep in.

Other: The second meal of the day is meat, which is usually provided by the District Council.

Industrial Problem: The CSB ransom is finished. It was consumed by the pupils although it was not fresh and had become outdated. Parents contribute salt and firewood and occasionally children bring firewood to school.

Cooks: 2 men and 1 woman. They are paid by District Council.

HIV/AIDS is not prominent here. 2 orphans whose parents have died from HIV/AIDS attend this school.

Ketumbeine School (see Photo 2 and 3)

A boarding school situated in a remote area.

Amount of children: 481 children (301 boys and 180 girls)

Amount of teachers: 8

Amount of school hours per day: Children have classes in both morning and afternoon.

Improvements since UNWFP assistance: The attendance rates have increased by 82%

Criticisms: Due to increasing class sizes, the school has a lack of classrooms. The lunch room has often been used as a classroom.

Other: This school is in a remote area and has become less accessible. The roads have deteriorated since the last UNWFP visit 2 years earlier according to Mr. Kundi.

Engikaret School (see Photo 4)

A day school situated in a Maasai village

Amount of children: 281 children (172 boys and 109 girls)

Amount of teachers: 8 teachers

Amount of school hours per day: Children have classes in both morning and afternoon

Improvements since UNWFP assistance: Increase in attendance

Criticisms: No criticisms

Other: Before this school was available, children went to a boarding school situated 20 kilometres away. The children can stay in the area because of their mothers staying behind giving their children the opportunity of education. Some of the children in this school are orphans. Upon visit, we saw children carrying firewood and tanks of water to the school. According to the teacher, they do this every day. The kitchen in this school is non fuel efficient.

9. Conclusion

The overall result of school feeding is the increase in attendance rates in both boys and girls. The boarding schools have higher attendance rates and are improving their facilities for eating and boarding as a result of UNWFP assistance. 18 of 75 schools in vulnerable areas of Tanzania are receiving UNWFP support.¹¹⁸ The government has now got an incentive for the improvement of primary education since the implementation of the UNWFP School Feeding Programme. In some districts, the problem of food scarcity can be solved in a few years. The Monduli district, which is a heavily Maasai populated district has the funds for sufficient school feeding. Due to bad policy they have previously not had the resources for this programme to be sustainable. As the economy improves with policy, school feeding can be sustained to at least one meal per day according to the UNWFP.

During the UNWFP School feeding trip an interview between Mr. Kundi and a teacher was held at one of the Maasai schools. The teacher asked how long the UNWFP will continue to help. Mr. Kundi answered that no final dates have been set since the objectives of the project must be obtained before ending it. This is a positive sign for the school since hopefully they will receive assistance till the day they can cope on their own.

The role of the UNWFP has been to introduce this programme and policy and now with its success, the government can continue to feed the children in the Maasai schools. Through the shift in policy of the government in the Maasai district of Tanzania, the project of school feeding will be sustainable.

School feeding can help the Maasai keep their cultural heritage in terms of self reliance and sustainability by teaching the young generation how to cope. This will in the long run help them to maintain their lifestyle and survive with changes in the environment.

There are both positive and negative aspects of school feeding of Maasai children. A positive is that the Maasai children can through education learn how to maintain their traditional lifestyle and at the same time handle the long-term stress they face of modern life. Their need for survival will make them integrate indirectly into the modern-day system as both Århem

¹¹⁸ Information from Mr. Kundi, a Program Officer at UNWFP in Tanzania

and Niamir points out. For them, education is a question of survival and necessary even if it clashes with their culture.

Evans-Pritchard description of the political structure of the Nuer indigenous group in southern Sudan is similar to that of the Maasai in Tanzania since they also have a culture based on ecology. The Nuer, like the Maasai are also pastoralists and live in Eastern Africa. Evans-Pritchard relates the social organisation of the Nuer to the ecology. One can similarly do this with the Maasai as seen earlier on by Århem.

Evans-Pritchard further mentions the changes in the society as it integrates with other societies and refers to an anthropological goal of formulating general laws of social organisation. This goal can only be reached through cross-cultural comparison. Therefore he refers to a metaphor that lies at the basis of this sort of analysis. *Society is a set of interdependent institutions that “go together” to make a smoothly functioning social organism.*¹¹⁹

The world around the Maasai is constantly changing both environmentally and economically. In order for them to survive, an educational institution must be built which will teach them how to survive and build up new institutions and systems that fit a world that is constantly changing around them. Their new systems will be functions of the modern environment that surrounds them.

International organisations go in to help in time of disaster. They should not stay too long but instead teach the people in need to care for themselves. Otherwise the aid will be counter productive and tend to generate passiveness and dependence. It should instead be creating self-reliance.

The role of an international organisation like the United Nations World Food Programme is to introduce the concept of self-reliance and sustainability in an under developed area as well as deliver food assistance and security in times of crisis and disaster for example in a time of war. In some cases the aid of international organisations like the UNWFP can be seen as a rather messy process according to Peter C.J. Walker. He states that the alleviation of short-

¹¹⁹ McGee and Warms, p. 200

term hunger ends up in saving lives but does not solve the problem of famine.¹²⁰ This is caused while the beneficiaries in need temporarily are being fed but automatically are becoming dependant on international aid and unable to cope without external support.

The UNWFP attacks the problem from another angle. They alleviate short-term hunger by the assistance of food channelling in primary schools however, long-term hunger is also solved by the education and knowledge the beneficiaries get from attending school. Thus the UNWFP do not leave the geographical targets of this programme dependant on external aid for survival. They leave behind them knowledge and increased capacity and will for survival through education.

This is, in my opinion, the only method to succeed in development in international aid organisations. Sustainability and self-reliance must be built up at the same time as the distribution of actual aid in supplies is being made. At this point the beneficiaries have a chance for survival.

The UNWFP school feeding project is long-term but in the long-run the government and district should continue this project with sufficient funding and effective policies. The goal is to have a self-standing education sector. The education and feeding of children is a hope for the future since the children will grow up to healthy adults and will feed and educate their children in turn. At the same time, they will be aware of the inevitable changes occurring around them. The increased role of the state, urbanisation, rapidity of environmental and climatic change in time will be a challenge for an indigenous system like the Maasai. One way to meet this challenge is to educate the young generation to better cope with a changing world. The UNWFP School Feeding Programme seems to be the best way at hand to accomplish this goal.

¹²⁰ Warren, Slikkerveer & Brokensha, p. 147

10. Photographs



Photo 1: Main road between Dodoma and Arusha



Photo 2: Bringing Firewood to school at Ketumbeine School



Photo 3: Maasai school boys at Ketumbeine School



Photo 4: Kitchen at Engikaret School



Photo 5: cook at Engaruka Juu School making use of UNWFP oil



Photo 6: Fuel efficient stove at Engaruka Juu School



Photo 7: Food storage at Engaruka Juu School being monitored by Giancarlo Stopponi, UNWFP Deputy

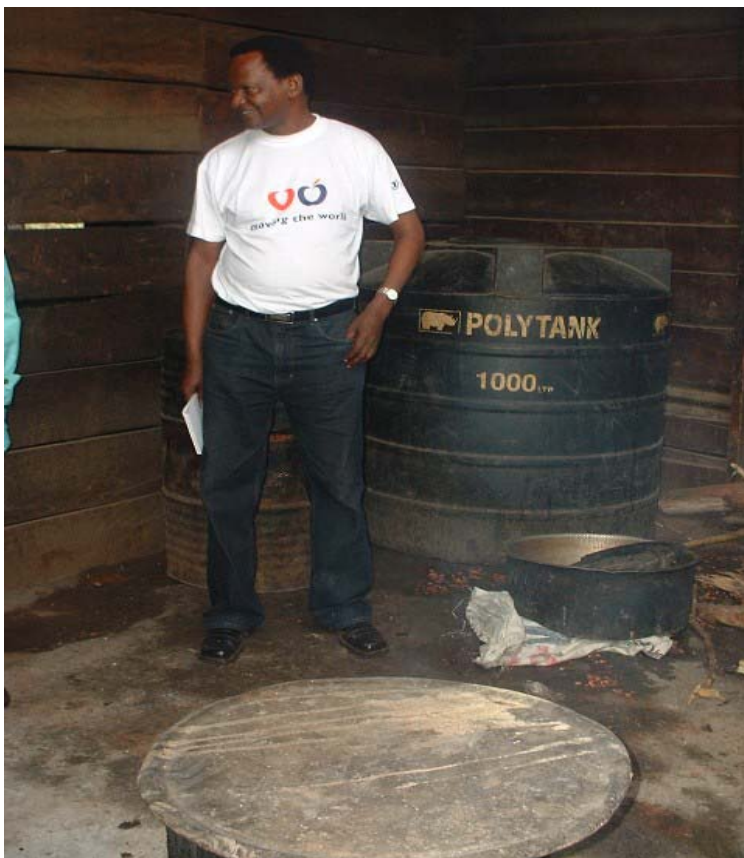


Photo 8: Mr. Appolinary Kundi, a UNWFP Programme Officer visits the kitchen at Engaruka Juu School



Photo 9: Lunch preparation at Engaruka Juu School monitored by Giancarlo Stopponi, UNWFP Deputy.



Photo 10: Children at Engaruka Juu School



Photo 11: View from Elerai School



Photo 12: Children with water bottles at Elerai School

11. Bibliography

Books:

Boesen, Jannik. Havnevik, Kjell. Koponen, Juhani. Odgaard, Rie. *Tanzania – crisis and struggle for survival*. Motala, Sweden. Motala Grafiska 1986.

Coulson, Andrew. *Tanzania: A Political Economy*. Oxford, England. Oxford University Press. 1982.

Danida, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Support to Indigenous Peoples*. Copenhagen, Denmark. Axel Nielsen & Son. 1997.

Fitzpatrick, Mary. *Lonely Planet – Tanzania*. Victoria, Australia. Lonely Planet Publications Pty Ltd. 2002

Johansson Dahre, Ulf. *The International Discourse on Indigenous Peoples*. Lund, Sweden. IWGIA – Lundgruppen för Ursprungsfolk. Sociologiska Institutionen, Lund 2002.

Knight, C. Gregory. *Ecology and Change: Rural modernization in an African community*. New York, Academic Press. 1974.

McGee, R.Jon. Warms, Richard L. *Anthropological Theory*. California, USA. Mayfield Publishing Company. 1996.

Warren, D.Michael. Slikkerveer, L.Jan. Brokensha, David. *The Cultural Dimension of Development*. London, England. Intermediate Technology Publications Ltd. 1995.

Young, Crawford. *The Accommodation of Cultural Diversity*. London, England. Macmillan Press LTD. 1999.

United Nations World Food Programme Archive:

Tanzania World Food Programme Country Overview, October 2003.

Executive Board Document: Agenda 5. Rome, May 2001.

WFP Conclusions and Recommendations: Appraisal of Quick-Action Project: “*Support to primary education in drought-prone and pastoralist areas in Tanzania*”. February 1999.

Web pages:

<http://www.are.admin.ch>

<http://oregonstate.edu/dept/anthropology/glossary2.htm>

<http://www.tanzania.go.tz/economicsurveyf.html>

<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals>

<http://www.undp.org/cso/ip/faq.html>

http://www.vet.uga.edu/vpp/gray_book/FAD/rin.htm

<http://www.wfp.org>

12. List of Illustrations

Photo 1 Main road between Dodoma and Arusha, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 2 Bringing Firewood to school at Ketumbeine School, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 3 Maasai school boys at Ketumbeine School, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 4 Kitchen at Engikaret School, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 5 Cook at Engaruka Juu School making use of WFP oil, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 6 Fuel efficient stove at Engaruka Juu School, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 7 Food Storage at Engaruka Juu School being monitored by Mr. Giancarlo Stopponi, a WFP Deputy, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 8 Mr Appolinary Kundi, WFP Programme Officer visits kitchen at Engaruka Juu School, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 9 Lunch preparation at Engaruka Juu School by Mr. Giancarlo Stopponi, a WFP Deputy, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 10 Children at Engaruka Juu School, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 11 View from Elerai School, Iliana Moore, 2003

Photo 12 Children with water bottles at Elerai School, Iliana Moore, 2003