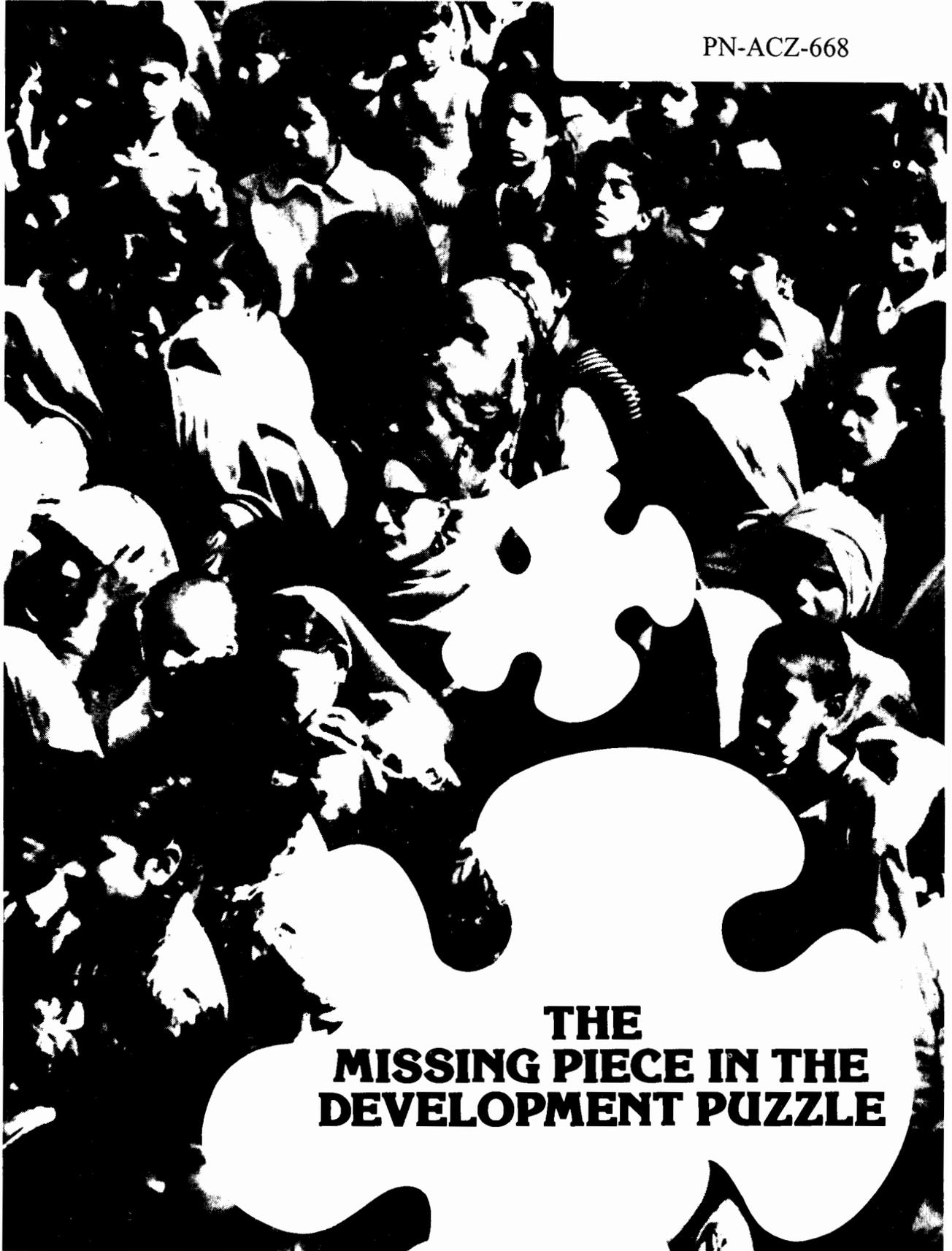


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**THE  
MISSING PIECE IN THE  
DEVELOPMENT PUZZLE**

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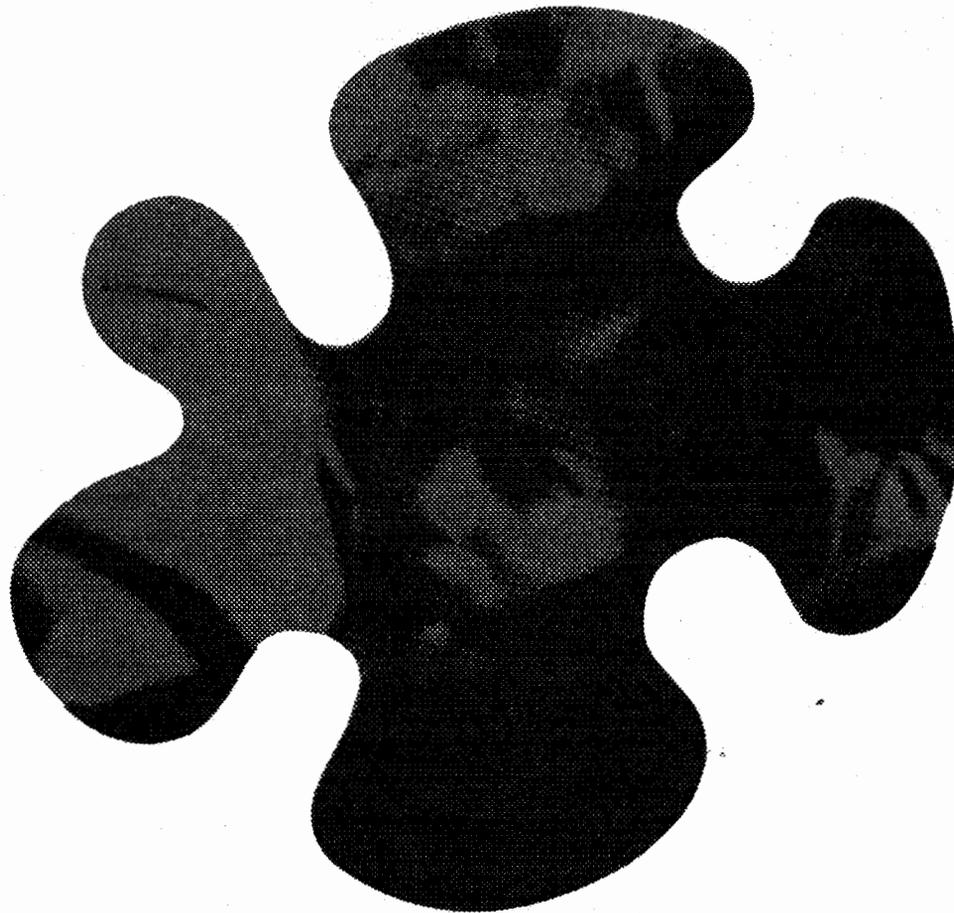
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*Agenda* replaces *War on Hunger* as an AID publication. Those who have received *War on Hunger* in the past will now automatically receive *Agenda*.

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# **WOMEN:**

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## **The Missing Piece in the Development Puzzle**

Women's contributions to the economy—in the home and the marketplace—must become a part of the development picture.

The following is excerpted from **WOMEN AND WORLD ECONOMICS: Some Suggestions for a More Creative Role for Women in World Economics**, written by Mary P. Burke, staff associate at the Center for Concern. The center is an analysis and advocacy group that studies problems of a global nature, particularly as they affect the Third World.

Whatever the details of future arrangements for the global economic order and the struggle to change it, it will influence the lives of women. For women in the developing world, the new order could mean a better standard of living with more food, more education and more employment opportunities. But such improvements will not be automatic. Women have little power

and their concerns are low priority. They will have to work hard for any gains that are made.

For women to respond to the changing situation in a creative, positive manner, it is essential that they have some understanding of the global issues and the processes designed to resolve conflicting interests and goals.

This memorandum represents a modest first step toward such

an understanding by outlining the chief elements of the challenge to women, and to stimulate more refined definitions of the problems and appropriate strategies to be followed.

A basic assumption of this memorandum is that women have the right and responsibility to work together with men to build a just world. The integration of women into every aspect of societal life, including economic decision-making, could bring about profound change. At the very least, those human concerns now labeled "women's issues" should be moved into the mainstream of public life.

Whatever the issue, whatever the forum, development is an ever-present factor in all considerations for the present and future world order. All international decisions, even those pertaining exclusively to the developed world—the North—are analyzed and judged in light of their impact on the developing world—the South. This conscious attention to development is a recent phenomenon in world affairs, the result of the rebuilding of Europe after World War II and the end of colonial rule in Africa and Asia.

The choice of development approach is crucial to women. Historically disadvantaged because they are seen almost exclusively as child-bearers and nurturers, women are discriminated against when economic criteria are used to set priorities for national life. Women's needs and concerns are too often viewed as secondary to the real needs of the economy. The model of development currently dominant—a model that originated in the industrialized world—is based on economic considerations.

No nation, developed or developing, counts the contributions

of women outside the "productive" labor force when calculating the total work done in a nation. Despite protestations to the contrary, no economic value is placed on the nurturing, supportive and maintenance services performed by women—services without which no society could survive. The consequences of excluding women's work—and in effect women themselves—are particularly oppressive to women of the Third World, where rapid changes are eroding their old rights and protection without providing effective replacements.

*The exclusion of women from the economic structure makes women, especially in their non-domestic functions, invisible.*

Development economists, agricultural experts and rural development specialists, did not "see" that in many parts of Africa, most farmers were women. Training programs, modern technology in the form of seeds, fertilizer, irrigation and machinery, and credit and access to markets, were all made available to men, but not to the women farmers.

The goal of this attention to agriculture was development of export-oriented agricultural products such as cocoa, fibers, and coffee. The result was a modern agricultural sector geared to an export market existing alongside a domestic subsistence agricultural sector where the women continued to produce food for their families. This caused a growing dependence on foreign food supplies since the women farmers were unable to meet the food needs of expanding urban centers.





Women in West Africa have always been market traders, setting up shop daily in the market place to hawk their wares. Now permanent stores with standardized stock are replacing the market stalls. Women are neither clerks nor managers in these new structures. Cut off from education, credit and access to new market systems, they—and their children—are denied the moderate standard of living they once enjoyed and are reduced to subsistence level. When they lose their ability to contribute economically to the family, the women lose their status and sense of self-worth.

*Women do not receive their fair share of the benefits of a developing society.*

Women do not benefit proportionately from expanded educational opportunities. Throughout the developing world girls are put to work at an early age, caring for brothers and sisters and performing other domestic tasks. A recent UNESCO report showed that there are now almost a half billion illiterate women in the world—62% of all illiterates. Lack of education has a direct impact on women's ability to leave the home and domestic work. Young women in Latin America, closed out of work in the countryside, move to the city. Illiterate, untrained, and ignorant of the complexities of urban life, many become domestics; others become prostitutes. Some domestics earn a decent income and are able to build a human life for themselves. But for many, domestic service is a life of near-slavery.

*Women are often seen as problems to be corrected, rather than as people who make intelligent choices in the context of their reality.*

A prime example of this is the current approach to the population problem. Uncontrolled population growth puts a severe strain on the resources of a developing nation. But the solution offered by a majority of United States and European aid donors has been to focus population control programs on women. Many of these programs offer women no alternative to the only status symbol they have—children. Nor do they take into account the societal factors that make large families a necessity. Living sons are often the only security most couples have for old age, and children's labor relieves some of a woman's burden on the farm.

There is evidence that the creation of a more just society is a major factor in reducing population growth. But Third World nations that attempt to respond in this manner are frequently accused of not paying attention to their population problem and are sometimes threatened with aid cutoffs.

Debt and debt payment, economic aid and technology transfers are key elements in the relationship between rich and poor nations. Most people know little of these issues because there seems to be a mystique about them that discourages public attention. The subjects are complex, and often involving technical details. But the policies that guide the specific decisions and the impact which different policies and decisions have on the lives of women are neither mysterious nor technical.

With the exception of oil-producing nations, the debt burden overshadows the economic situation for developing nations. The debts are large—over \$150 billion by the end of 1975. The burden of repaying the debt is almost unbearable for the poorest of the developing nations. The recent dramatic

increase in debt is due to factors beyond the control of Third World nations: a sharp increase in the costs of food processing, and essential imported manufactured goods; and a world-wide recession that caused a decrease in demand for Third World products. Third World leaders also point out that many of the loans provided to their nations have been actually spent in the lending nations and have stimulated the lender's economy.

Although the issue seems remote from women, it does have a major impact in their lives. The need to pay off old debts and the reluctance of nations to contract all but the most essential new debts are major factors in establishing national priorities. True rural development, as well as education, health care and other social benefits—all of particular concern to women—must compete with the need to increase exports, to make farming more efficient, and to meet perceived military security needs. Despite shifts in thinking about development, those projects most beneficial to women have a difficult time competing for scarce funds.

In spite of the many criticisms of aid, and the desire of Third World nations to end aid relationships that generate dependency, they still need concessional loans and grants, the basic forms of aid. Many essential programs, such as roads, agricultural, and educational projects, cannot be funded through regular commercial lending institutions because the economic returns on the projects cannot be clearly identified. Projects that directly touch women's lives—health, nutrition, and education—depend heavily on aid funding.

With these needs in mind, the Second Development Decade set a target for official development assistance of 0.7% of a nation's

GNP. In 1960, the US contribution amounted to 0.55% of our GNP; in 1974, this dropped to 0.25%. This amounts to \$1.62 per person per year.

The technology introduced into the developing world has a multiple impact. It can relieve drudgery, increase productivity, and reduce dependence on foreign supplies by substituting domestic products for imports. But this same technology, if not treated as part of the total development effort, can increase energy consumption and produce luxury items at the expense of everyday needs. Too much of the technology provided to developing countries has been inappropriate—expensive, advanced, and labor-saving. But there is a real need for appropriate technology. Without it, developing nations will not be able to produce the goods and services their people need.

Women have benefitted the least from technology transfers. Women haulers in Asia and Africa were replaced by trucks, and male truck drivers. A home-based weaving industry disappeared in the face of manufactured textiles. Women rarely find substitute jobs except in sweat shop conditions with their products going to the export market.

*The technological needs of women are ignored.*

Rural women in Asia, Africa and Latin America—over 60% of the women in the world—spend a disproportionate amount of their time preparing basic foods, especially hand-grinding grains. They need a relatively small, inexpensive, hand-powered grinder to meet the requirements of a small village. Some are already available, and with further engineering could be supplied at relatively low cost.

The list continues: simple farm machinery, equipment for small-scale industries, more efficient but inexpensive stoves, simple wheel barrows for hauling, and refrigeration that uses inexpensive energy.

It is important that technology meet the real needs of women and be honestly offered. This has not always been the case. Advertising campaigns in Latin America and Africa convince mothers that processed milk substitutes are better for infants than breast feeding. In an effort to do what they have been told is "best" for their babies, women have turned away from a nutritious, no cost, sterile food—breast milk. Yet these mothers often lack the money to buy enough formula and the means to insure that the water and utensils used to mix it are sterile. The result is sick babies.

To improve living conditions for Third World women, three related changes are necessary:

1. Women must become more visible and valued as persons.
2. Domestic policymakers in both North and South must realize that development means the enrichment of all aspects of life for all people.
3. The international political and economic order must be structured so that each nation has an effective voice in decisions and is assured of just treatment in the world order.

The United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) can promote the necessary changes to integrate women into the development process. The United States, as the major economic and political power, also has a critical role to play. The Percy Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act mandates that the impact on

women must be considered in all AID allocations. This amendment can be an effective tool in changing the lives of Third World women if:

1. More AID personnel in the field are sensitive to the situation. (AID complains that few good proposals are submitted from the field, yet it has failed to put women into decision-making positions in its structure.)

2. Women are more aware and critical of present AID programs.

Equally important are the policies adopted by the United States with regard to current international negotiations to restructure global economic relationships. Without the creation of a just and humane world order, the task of restructuring domestic institutions so that they may meet basic human needs may be impossible for many nations.

It is important that women have a voice in the current restructuring of the economic order—a voice that is united and sensitive to the relationships between the world order and human needs. The integration of women into public life will not solve all the world's problems, but it will broaden the area of legitimate public concern by moving "women's issues" from the margins of societal attention into the mainstream. The integration of women into public life will be one step toward the cooperation of all people—men and women—in the building of a more just world.



# CIDERE Biobio-

## A Chilean Self-Help Success Story

A joint effort by AID, the Chilean Government and private development resources is bringing the Twentieth Century to isolated areas of the Andes.





**A simple system for drying fish—clothesline in a farmer's field—saves the artisan fisherman 30¢ per kilo on the cost of getting his fish to market.**

**Pictures and text provided by AID's Mission in Chile**

In Chile, a small private development organization is doing more than talking about intermediate technology—it is using intermediate technology to create jobs. Since 1968, it has generated 11.3 million days of employment from roadside weeds, wild mushrooms and industrial waste.

The small organization is Corporación Industrial para el Desarrollo Regional del Biobío—CIDERE Biobío. CIDERE Biobío is located in Chile's south-central city of Concepción, and works throughout Region VIII.

On a recent trip the AID mission's evaluation officer was taken to a prototype fish drying plant in the Peluca in the mountains near Laguna La Laja. The CIDERE manager, Juan Raffo,

explained that the prototype facility, having proved that open air fish drying is feasible in the mountain climate, had been abandoned in favor of a lower altitude production facility on a paved road. The prototype was nothing more than two sets of clotheslines, one under a metal roof, one in the open air. Another facility was simply a clothesline in a farmer's field hung with fish.

Raffo explained that the lower location, although less dry, was suitable and had the advantage of being easier to reach. The drying capacity is limited only by the number of clotheslines that can be strung. Transporting the fish to the mountains and back costs 5¢ a kilo. A campesino girl is paid 5¢ a kilo for guarding the drying fish and putting them in plastic bags for market. That makes the total

cost of drying the fish 10¢ a kilo, rather than the 40¢ the fishermen had to pay for the use of a sophisticated plant in town.

CIDERE Biobio has been developing projects like this since the corporation was formed. On July 25, 1966, several businesses, institutions, and individuals located around Chile's South Central city of Concepción issued a Declaration of Principles that stated in part:

"A region's economic and social development is the result of the skill, perseverance, and hard work of its people and of the institutions by which it is represented. The highly creative ability of private enterprise, together with and complemented by government institutions, must face the difficult challenge of accelerating the process of this development. In order to carry out such development, the Biobio region is generously endowed with natural resources. Their adequate transformation to place them at the service of mankind creates a difficult problem which requires investment and a great technical effort.

"CIDERE is an institution that collects the ideas of a group composed of industries and universities and puts them to work permanently in giving impulse to the progress of the Biobio region, joining its efforts with those of other institutions pursuing the same objectives.

"Therefore, the work that CIDERE carries out must be considered as an obligation imposed by the higher interests of the regional community, with a long-term approach for the benefit of the country."



The first public lighting is installed.

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Though the founders agreed on these common principles, it took almost two years for them to find the path that could give direction to their efforts aimed at the integrated development of their region. Since 1968 they have consistently adhered to the following priorities.

- Take advantage of natural resources, industrial by-products or other region potentials.
- Employ them through technologies adequate for non-skilled laborers.
- Generate sources of massive labor demand.
- In the short term, put productive activities in rural areas.
- Create, in general, small and medium-size industries with low investment requirements.

Between 60% and 70% of CIDERE's budget is devoted to looking for ways to increase employment and promote the economic development of their region. From mid-1966 through mid-1977 a total of 488 possible projects were identified. The enormity of the problem of applying appropriate technology can be appreciated when one considers that, to date, only 15 (3.1%) of CIDERE's projects could be put in place. Even so, this success rate compares favorably with the experience of international organizations, which often must review 250 ideas before one materializes.

CIDERE's work first came to the attention of the AID mission in 1972 through a request for an \$8,000 Special Development Activities project. This was the first outside assistance to a direct CIDERE activity. Raffo says it was this AID project that drew attention to CIDERE's work and enabled it to gain the widespread support necessary to stimulate massive employment.

AID's resources purchased machinery and equipment to operate a rose hips dehydrating plant. CIDERE had started to investigate the possibilities of turning this roadside weed into an economic product in 1970 and 1971. They found that the weed's fruit had a ready market in Europe. The dehydration equipment purchased with AID's donation permitted CIDERE to send samples to buyers and to generate interest in harvesting and processing rose hips in the region.

Following CIDERE's philosophy of moving on to other activities once the feasibility of one activity has been proven, CIDERE is no longer actively promoting rose hip harvesting, although it still provides technical backstopping for the dehydration operation on a reimbursable basis. Between 1975 and 1977 over \$7 million worth of rose hips were exported. At an average minimum daily wage of \$1.71, this means that the equivalent of over four million days of work had been created.

Because of the periodic turnover in personnel, the activities of this promising private development organization were not followed closely by AID. A January, 1975, article on CIDERE in a Sunday newspaper sparked the interest of the AID food and nutrition officer, David Fisk.

Fisk visited Concepción two months later and learned that a severe economic downturn was hurting CIDERE's activities. Although membership support for CIDERE remained constant, the need and demand for CIDERE's services rose dramatically. In 1975 there was a substantial backlog of ideas for subprojects awaiting evaluation and evaluated projects waiting for feasibility studies or waiting for prototypes to be built.

The alarming increase in unemployment—in December, 1975, officially estimated at 19% and unofficially estimated at up to 26-27%—indicated the need for speedy and direct action. Michael Hirsh, then an IDI, developed a project to assist CIDERE with its work.

It was expected that 1,250,000 days of work would be created during the two-year project period. In fact, over the 18-month period of the Operational Program Grant, some 6,711,000 days of work were created. Using CIDERE's formula, approximately 3.8 million of these days can be attributed directly to AID's funding of \$100,000.

Although CIDERE activities have directly created income-producing employment activities for the poor or indirectly created these opportunities through export earnings or savings, they are not directly translatable into income or capital for CIDERE. This is the result of the philosophy followed by CIDERE and the nature of the activities CIDERE undertakes.

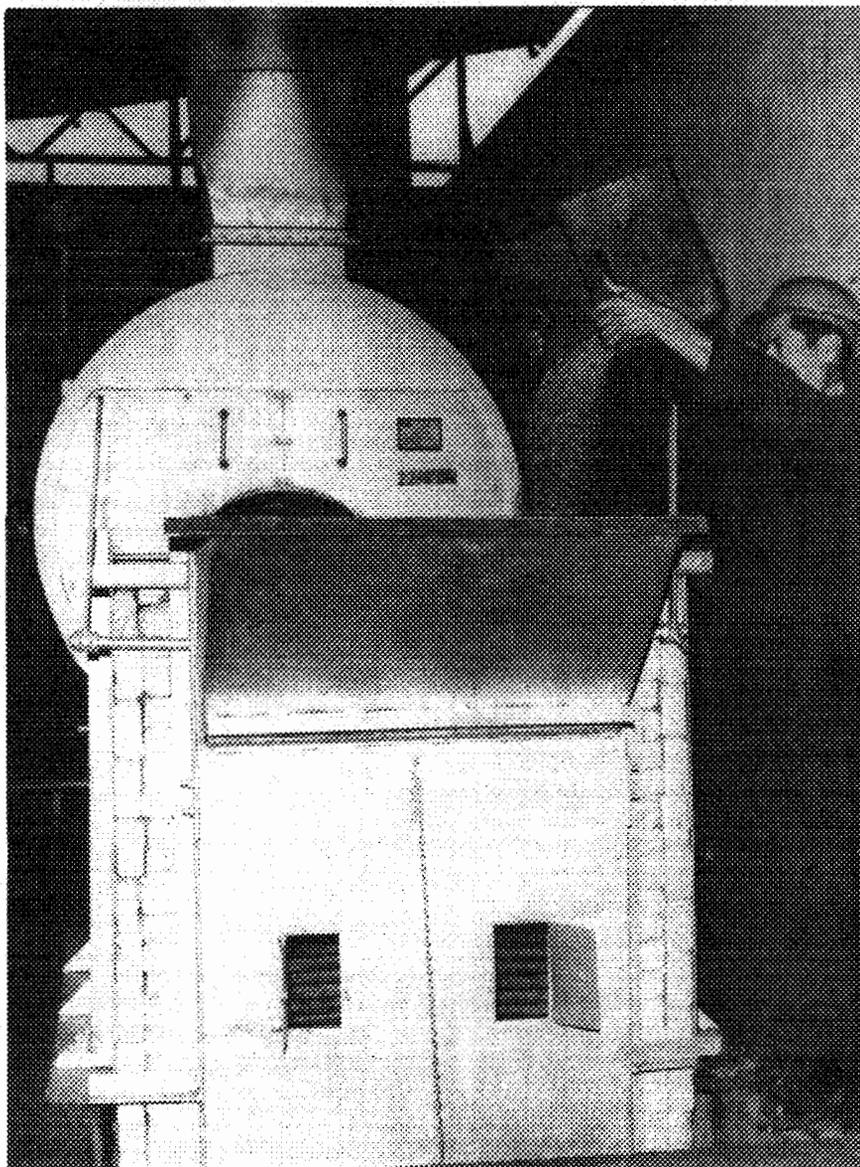
CIDERE sees its *raison d'etre* to be the development of its region, not profit for itself. CIDERE members, themselves mostly medium to large profit-making enterprises, started the organization to promote the development of the region's most

backward sectors. However, as time passed, they found this socially-minded activity also was good business. If the area they operate in is economically depressed, they will not be able to sell their goods and services. If their area has more income, more can be sold. The only tangible reward CIDERE's members receive for their self-assessed contributions is a tax credit.

In keeping with its priorities, CIDERE undertakes unsophisticated activities that can have an immediate impact. Once the "better mousetrap" has been built and proven, CIDERE moves on to other activities.

In addition to its rural activities, CIDERE has promoted the use of sawdust burners to replace increasingly more expensive petroleum fuel furnaces for dehydrating agricultural products and for heating office buildings, hotels, and homes. These burners have a capacity of 150,000 to 1,000,000 kilo calorie hours. Given the 1:5 substitution ratio between petroleum and sawdust, the 400,000 tons of sawdust produced in Chile each year could eventually replace 80,000 tons of petroleum imports at one-sixth of the cost. Last year, 64 furnaces built according to CIDERE's plans substituted 74,000 tons of sawdust for 14,800 tons of petroleum.

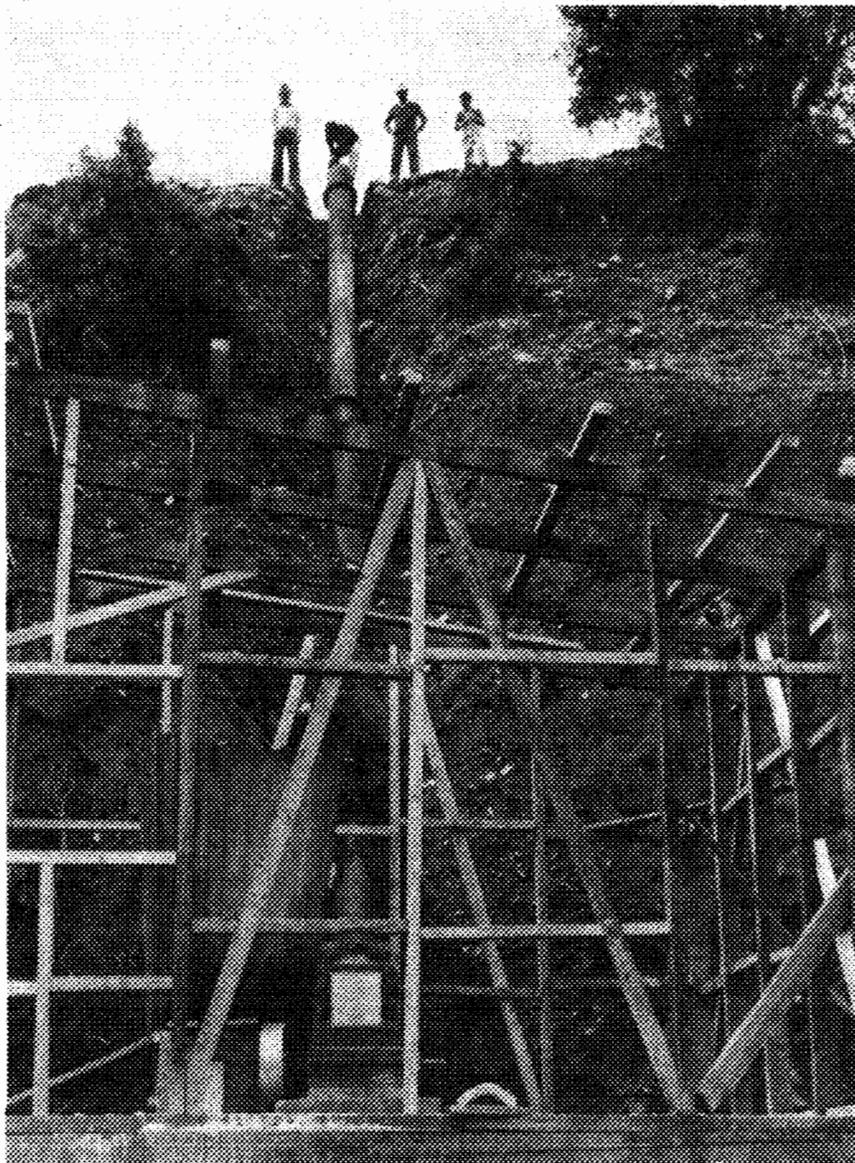
Other CIDERE activities at various stages of study, development, testing, or operation include: greenhouse farming, bee raising in pine forests; high altitude fish drying; biogas generation; production of fertilizers from hog manures; production of hazel nuts; tannin extraction from pine bark; waste wood pyrolysis; chemical and fertilizer extracts from algae; mushroom growing in pine forests; and mini-hydroelectric plants.



A sawdust burner, designed by CIDERE Biobio dehydrates vegetables and other produce, providing additional products for market.

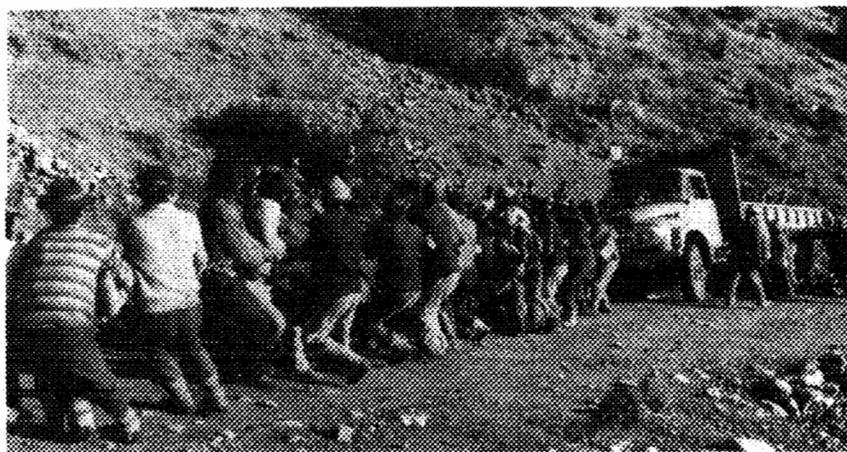
This list shows that, by their nature, CIDERE's activities benefit the rural poor. The activities do not lend themselves to patenting, licensing, or copyrighting, however. Many are so elementary that CIDERE will never be able to capture the payoff for its own profit. This is fine as far as CIDERE is concerned, and its members will continue with this work that has gone on for 12 years.

Based on the positive results of the AID project, the government of Chile recently agreed to provide two years of support to CIDERE's activities using the same system and focus developed under AID's project. The government will match the equivalent of half of the contributions made by CIDERE's members. Membership contributions currently average around \$75,000 a year. The \$38,000



**The small scale hydro-electric project means a new way of life for the Mapuche.**

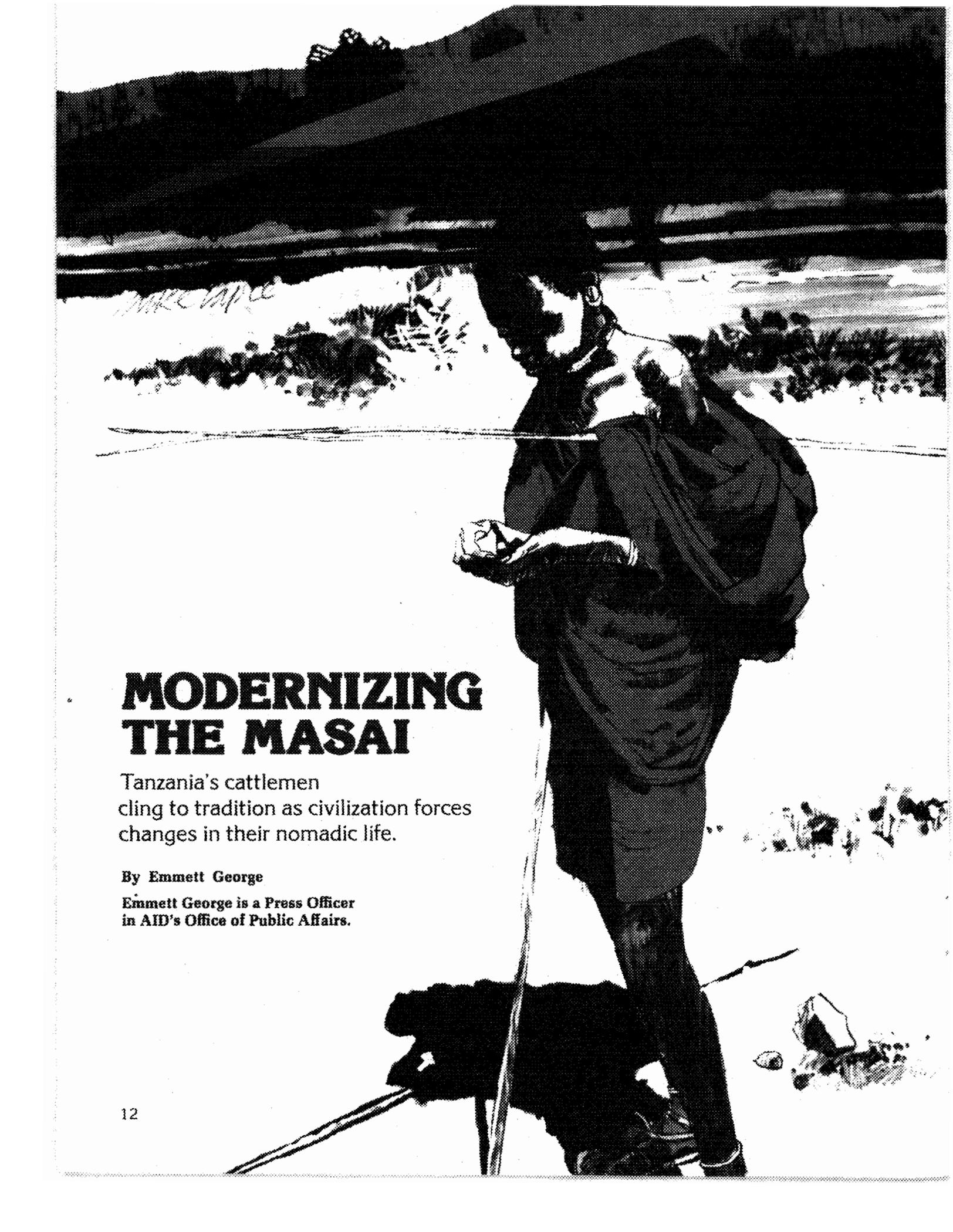
**When 23 days of rain turned the roads to mud, the Mapuche used manpower to haul 8 tons of cement up the mountain for the hydroelectric project.**



yearly contribution from the government will assure that increasing numbers of the needy in CIDERE's area of operation will enjoy additional income producing opportunities.

The government has also announced that, starting in 1978 with the expiration of AID's agreement to assist private development corporations in other regions, it would grant additional funds to CIDERE Biobio to expand this private sector approach to development in other areas of Chile. Following the precepts of another AID project with the other CIDEREs, CIDERE Biobio's long history, established track record, and proven managerial ability will be used to help the CIDEREs in Regions IV, VII, and XII.

In recognition of the higher incidence of poverty in areas around La Serena, the government will provide a matching grant of up to 75% of the contributions to CIDERE IV. The development corporation in Talca, Region VII, CIDERE Maule and the development corporation in Punta Arenas, Region XII, CIDERE Magallanes, will both receive a government donation of half of the contributions made by their members.

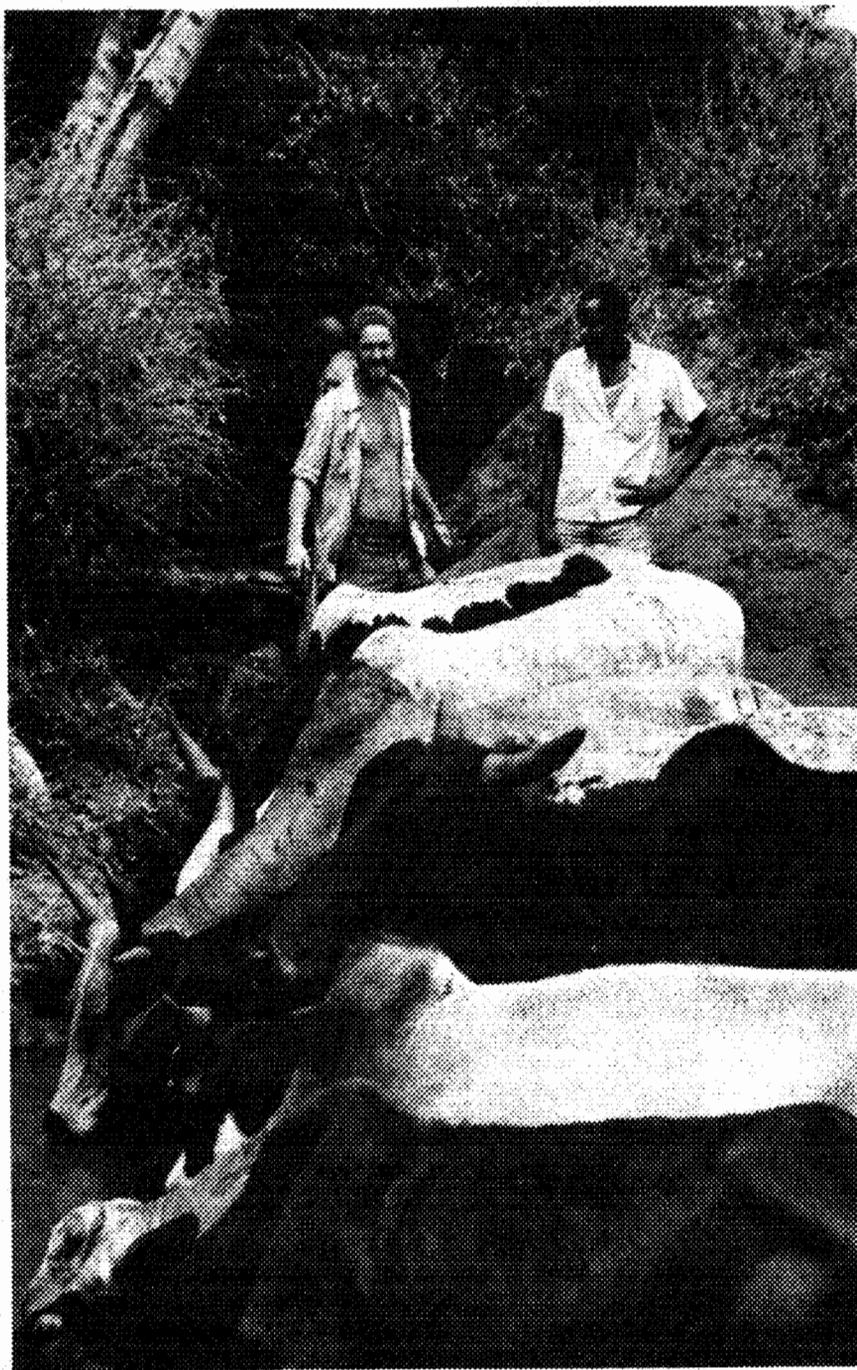


# MODERNIZING THE MASAI

Tanzania's cattlemen  
cling to tradition as civilization forces  
changes in their nomadic life.

By Emmett George

Emmett George is a Press Officer  
in AID's Office of Public Affairs.



Small dams and wells provide water for cattle in Masailand, part of the government's national livestock development project assisted by AID.

The world's cattlemen are conservatives and their lifestyle is difficult to change. The cowboy of the old American southwest, the Karamojong in Uganda, the Somali herdsman in northern Kenya, and the Masai of Tanzania and Kenya share a contempt for farming and other stationary occupations.

For the 125,000 residents of Masailand, a 54,000 square mile strip in northern Tanzania that inches over the border into Kenya, tradition means tending the herds and searching for grazing lands and water.

Historically, the Masai roamed as far north as Mount Kenya, as far south as Mount Kilimanjaro, to the shores of Lake Victoria on the west, and east to the beaches of the Indian Ocean.

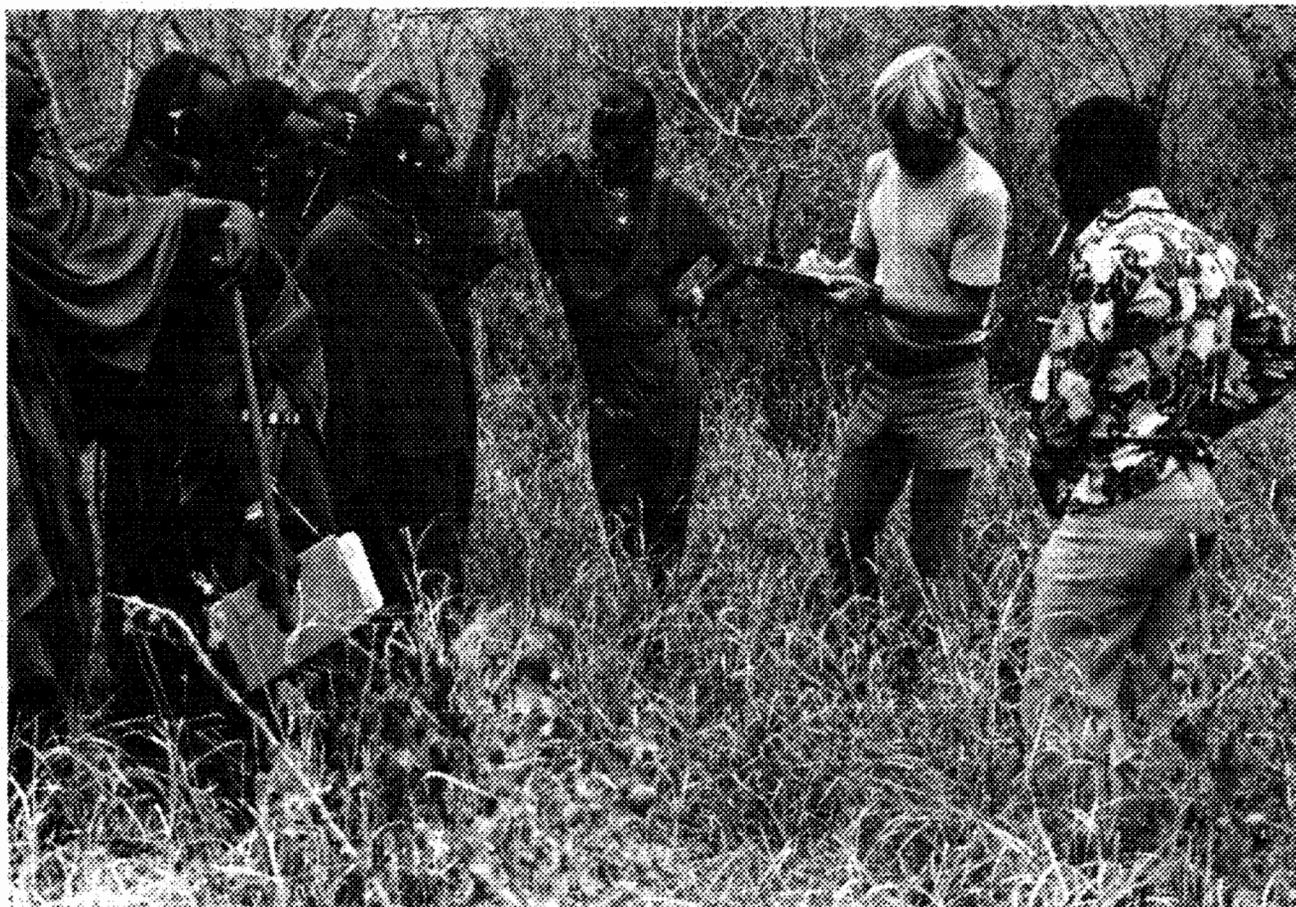
On the range, their cattle must now compete with other aggressive grazers. Herds of goats and donkeys display an uncanny ability to survive in arid lands.

Civilization also threatens the Masai's livestock-raising traditions. Grazing lands are diminishing and a few Masai are farming two- or three-acre shambas, or gardens, to produce food for their families.

In recent years, the Masai have limited their migration at the urging of the Tanzanian government, which introduced programs to limit the Masai to areas with enough grass and water to support their herds.

The Masai are suspicious of strangers. Women cover their face with their forearm to avoid having their picture taken. The elders stomp boldly forward to challenge any outsiders who approach the boma, the Masai family compound.

Rongaltaika Boma, named for an official who supervises it, is perched on a slope with dried yellow grasses and volcanic rock fragments. A six-foot high circle of stiff brush keeps cattle in and intruders out.



**USAID Officials work with the Masai and the Tanzania and Kenya governments to promote better land use, build roads and provide reliable water supplies and centralized services.**

Two teenage boys appear at the opening to the boma as a group of AID officials approach. They smile and run to summon their elders. The women huddle silently in a corner holding babies that cry at the sight of strangers. The first elder appears. The AID group is escorted to a rest hut outside the boma for a meeting. The elder is joined by the two boys. Names are known but not said in introductions.

The elder is willing to discuss the newly-completed all-weather road built with U.S. drought funds. "We use it to drive our cattle to the market, and to take our sick to the hospital. It is a help to us."

Masai problems vary only slightly from boma to boma. The primary concern is the welfare of the animals. A Masai's wealth and social status is measured by the number of animals he owns.

"It's been raining and there are a lot of mosquitoes and disease (malaria). We are worried about the goats. Many of them have diarrhea and several have died. We can't tell why this is happening, but the cattle are OK and the donkeys never get sick."

Israel Ole Karyongi is one of the 25 Masai who have received a college education. After primary school in Tanzania, he studied at Egerton college in Kenya and later at the New Mexico State

University in the U.S., where he earned a bachelor's degree in animal husbandry. After further study at New Mexico State, he returned home last year to become acting regional livestock development officer.

Karyongi has few of the traditional scarifications—the slitted and stretched ear lobes that characterize the Masai. Western ideas have influenced his lifestyle. He and his wife, Pewinah, and their three children no longer live in the boma. But, he says, the Masai have a way of reminding their own about their origin and traditions.

"The elders tell you 'Don't forget home.' They are constantly reminding the young of

their customs. When I return home, I still have to follow the customs closely."

Karyongi has spotted change in Masailand and a greater willingness to accept government development projects.

"Every time I go back I find more and more progress. The progress is slow but there is more development than in the past. The people are building better houses and more are going to school. They are beginning to follow more modern methods of cattle-raising than they were 10 years ago. They are even selling more of their livestock to buy goods and food."

A big change, he says, is that the Masai are now willing to let their children attend school. The days when the government went into the boma and forcibly took children for school have passed. There is now little resistance except to education for girls, who often come home for the holidays and are not allowed to return to school. Like most African societies, Masai culture is male-dominated.

"They are even slowly changing their eating habits and combining rice and wheat with their corn flour. Practically every one wants tea in the mornings." Traditionally, the Masai lived almost exclusively on dried meat and milk. About 10 cows were always kept in milk to feed the boma.

"People said that the Masai always drank blood from the cattle. But that is not so. Blood was taken during times of famine when there was no milk and little water. Blood is full of protein. It helped them survive. They used it to make soup. This practice is going out. It never was the sole diet of the Masai."

The scarcity of prime grazing lands in Tanzania is forcing the government to impose limits on land use and herd size. "You have to do a very big selling job

to get the people to limit the size of their herds," Karyongi says.

"Another problem is that most people won't settle down so they can benefit from the projects. The land is very dry and they feel they must keep moving to feed the herds." To halt migration, the government's village settlement program has been designed to settle people in areas that will support them.

"We don't move that much any more," Karyongi observes. "The government has given the Masai a lot of things like schools and dispensaries. The people have better diets and are wearing better clothing. So it is in their interest to stay near these facilities."

A mystique still surrounds the Masai's reputation as a warrior tribe. This reputation stems from

**Masai women shop for necessities at a small store near Arusha. The AID-built drought relief road provides the Masai with access to markets, schools and clinics.**



their cattle-raiding days and made them virtually unapproachable. Karyongi feels that much of the Masai reputation is undeserved.

"We were very brave during times of war, but I don't accept that we are hostile. We are just very brave people. The whole problem centered around cattle and fighting over grazing rights.

"About 25,000 Masai lived on the Kenya side of the border. They would just cross borders and have to fight with other tribes."

Colby Hatfield, of Denver, Colo., who has a doctorate from Catholic University in Washington, D.C., has spent years researching the agricultural people near Lake Victoria. Since 1973, Hatfield has been fascinated by Masai culture.

Masai society is structured into a hierarchy of elders and warrior groups. Age sets all relationships. For example, boys are circumcised at 12 to 14, and the newly-circumcised comprise one age group while the "morani," or warrior, stage reflects yet another group. The elders are also divided into age categories.

"Theoretically there is no control of animals or political power until a young man becomes an elder," Hatfield explains.

"Masai women remain as children for life, having no formal power of their own. They are wards of the husband. But informally a woman's power can be tremendous, derived from power vested in her son. She serves as custodian of her son's animals in the event he is not of age. When there's a marriage, she gets animals from her husband and son-in-law. She is always vying with relatives to build the animal herds of her son. She also has direct influence over her son because she is

constantly promoting his interests.

"On the whole, Masai women don't work quite as hard as most agricultural women in Africa. They do about as much as the men. The herd boys are the hardest workers. They always have to be prepared to defend their animals from others."

The morani's responsibility varies, but he is generally entrusted with dipping the animals, digging wells, and defending the boma, Hatfield says.

Hatfield corrects another misconception about the Masai. "They don't give every animal a name. Unlike some pastoral societies, they name only special steers. Important human relationships are defined through cattle names. For example, a gift of a goat indicates friendship while a heifer ranks ahead of a goat. A nickname given an animal may have more meaning because it defines a relationship." The Masai refer to each other by names given to animals received as gifts from friends or relatives.

AID has provided \$3.6 million in assistance to the Masai, enabling them to learn modern animal husbandry, new range management, marketing, and disease control. The project also helps the Tanzania Livestock Marketing Company establish and op-

erate primary and secondary markets, develop and plan stock routes, and construct holding pens. In addition, ranching associations have been formed, six centers for veterinary services have opened, and 136 miles of access roads have been built.

The AID project is part of a national effort to build a commercial cattle industry.

A land use survey determined grazing patterns and the amount of grass and water available on the different pastures. The government can now advise the Masai on the location of waterholes and forage. A two-season grazing plan has been introduced, establishing certain pastures to be used for dry-season grazing and others for wet-season grazing. AID support also helped the government field three well-digging crews. \$250,000 was provided for 12 tractors, two motorized graders, two drilling machines, and trucks plus spare parts, creating employment for six mechanics and 15 helpers.

Bob Booth, AID water resource manager for the project, says the need for reliable water sources cannot be over-emphasized in Masailand. Booth supervises the construction of small dams and wells.

The Masai are willing to have smaller sources of water for the livestock, but they are more secure with larger ones because small dams often do not stand up during the rainy seasons. There is little forage, so when it rains the run-off is great.

"There are no major springs in Masailand. Drillers have gone down as far as 2,000 feet without hitting water. This area really needs 600 million gallons of water." The goal is to have at least one permanent source of water for each of the 22 ranching associations being planned.

# IN PRINT

A Book Review by Alexanderina Shuler

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*The Last Caravan* by Thurston Clarke. G.P. Putnam's Sons 1978, \$10.95, 279 pp.

Alexanderina Shuler is the Editor of Front Lines in AID's Office of Public Affairs.

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*When the herder walks without the dust of his animals behind him.*

*When the last cow, who gave the last of the milk, collapses.*

*Then only one thing is certain, that his life will never be the same.*

Truer words, these from a Peul chant heard in Niger, were never spoken. The havoc wrought by the drought that changed not only the face of the land in six west African countries, but also the lives of millions of people between 1968 and 1974, has been told time and again. Numerous books and uncountable articles have addressed the drought's immediate and long-term consequences. Thurston Clarke adds "The Last Caravan" to this endless list of literary accomplishments.

What was supposed to make this book different was that Clarke was going to tell the Tuareg's story "in his own words and in those of the Tuareg." The Tuaregs were to "speak for themselves."

There are just so many ways that the drought story can be told, that one can say the drought was as much an act of man as of God and this type of hardship was not new to that region of the world.

"The Last Caravan" is about Niger's Tuareg nomads, that ethnic group which probably was

most severely affected by the drought. The author estimates as many as 75% of the Tuareg people were uprooted and states that the most seriously affected nomadic regions were almost entirely depopulated.

Clarke, in preparation for the book, did extensive research on the Tuaregs, their history, language, culture and customs, with which he opens his book. His next step was to go to Niger, into the bush and the refugee camps, to meet and speak with these proud people, to make "The Last Caravan" "a moving and vivid work."

There is no question that the book contains a concise wrap-up of the many facets that go into making a life situation—history, culture, government and politics and people. And thus, "The Last Caravan" is a good reference source for historians, anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists.

But Clarke falls short of providing the kind of impact he intended. The Tuareg society was virtually destroyed when the nomads' entire way of living for hundreds of years was shattered. Instead of being left with a sharp mental image of disaster, of tragedy, of impending extinction, this reader has a black and white and grey impression that somewhere "over there" is a sad situation. There is too much dwelling on history, as if Clarke wanted to make certain the reader remembered all the facts and dates he carefully researched.

He refers to sleeping in the streets, storming food warehouses and walking hundreds of miles across the desert without

food or water. Some of the sympathy evoked by the description of men who once "moved as kings, fearing no man, cringing before none and consciously superior," is lost as Clarke fails to strengthen incidents with details, with specifics. This could have been done without sensationalizing; in fact, he attempts it. But he concentrates on a handful of Tuaregs, tracing their movements throughout the book, the flow of action broken by elaborations on previously stated facts. Clarke would have done better to personalize "The Last Caravan" with more people, with more use of the Tuareg's own words rather than consolidating the Tuareg's responses to the author's questions into longer statements.

There is some criticism of the United States' initial reaction and relief efforts in Niger. Later, Clarke praises AID.

"AID's performance . . . was good. In fact, some of the representatives of these (donor) agencies in Niger, who admitted to having been critical of AID in the past, conceded that its operation was probably the most effective."

Two AID officers, Terry Lambacher and Al Baron, are mentioned. Clarke cites Baron's initiation of the two truck caravans across the Sahara to get food inland to victims.

"The Last Caravan" puts together a good account of the drought's effect on one people in one country for those that never got beyond Newsweek's summaries of the disaster. But for those who worked in or on relief and rehabilitation efforts, it's all been said and seen.

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