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AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION AND COOPERATION IN

RURAL NIGER

INTERVIEWS WITH PARTICIPANTS IN THE FARMER  
EXTENSION SYSTEMS IN ZINDER

AND

MARADI DEPARTMENTS

REPORT # 2 Contract AFR/

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By

Dr Robert B Charlick

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and not available

## Summary of Field Interviews

### Introduction

In the interviews presented here the participants speak for themselves more fully and eloquently than the outside analyst could ever hope to do. These texts reveal in detail the progress and the problems of agricultural extension and local level farmer organization in two of Niger's regional productivity schemes. The texts warrant careful reading by planners, evaluators, and others charged with the implementation of similar "small-farmer development projects." Here all the perspectives are on display--those of the ordinary small farmers, of the "model farmer or paraprofessional extension workers, of the beneficiaries of young farmer training programs, and of local and county level professional extension staff workers. Enough different interviews are presented to permit the reader to draw his own conclusions on technical and social issues raised. To facilitate the examination of evidence for any given issue we have provided an analytic index to the interviews. After each subject a list of page numbers indicates specific places in the interview texts where material relevant to that subject can be found. Hence, a reader interested only in the experience of small farmers with new varieties of millet can quickly thumb through the interviews and form his own impressions of the reaction of Hausa farmers P3 Kolo in the Zinder Productivity Project.

These interviews also provide a particularly rich understanding of the "self-help" extension system in one village group of Matameye County (Zinder Department) which can be read as a case study in different perceptions of the same phenomenon. The list of actors and a map which follow this summary serve to orient the reader who wishes to reconstruct the roles and relationships present in this case experience. No claim can be made that the experience of this village group--the Makerawa Cooperative--is typical of the three counties which have been affected by the Zinder Regional Productivity project. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw lessons from this case and to understand its relationship to the broader universe of experience by reference to the materials derived from interview with farmers in other areas of Zinder Department and in Maradi Department.

Below my summary view of what these interviews indicate is presented. But the texts speak louder than my words I urge the reader to go directly to these texts and discover for himself "what the people think" as I have done in conducting my field interviews. Once again, I am struck by the intelligence and rationality of the Hausa people, and by their willingness to engage in prolonged and sometimes difficult dialogue. Whether or not the reader agrees with my view of their message I will be gratified if the texts are read because I will know that we have both gone to the only source of wisdom on such matters- the people themselves. Although these texts are lengthy and contorted at times, they are in my view, worth many times the summary judgement we form through survey work and rapid quantification.

In this study I have been assisted by a team of particularly skillful Hausa colleagues. My deepest debt is to Sanoussi who no lives and suffers the consequences of still another "poor harvest" and price famine. Dr. Sallaw (Service de l'Animation) helped guide the fieldwork and questioning, particularly in the Makerawa in-depth study. Amadu dan Kusu, toiled for months over a hot tape recorder in his room in Zinder to get these texts on paper. Garba Karaye, a graduate student at Ohio University did an excellent job of rendering a comprehensive English translation while retaining the original color and meaning of the Hausa language. This task was vastly complicated by the differences between Kano and Matameye dialect, and by confusion at times in the speakers' own presentation of material. If errors and obscurities persist I must take responsibility, for I personally selected, edited and verified, and checked the texts a number of times in their various stages of evolution from oral Hausa knowledge to the typed English word.

Finally, I acknowledge my personal debt of gratitude to Mr. Albert Baron, former Regional Development Officer for USAID in Niamey, Mr. Baron's sustained support for this type of fieldwork, and for the presentation of its fruits in a form which others can share made this work possible. I hope that it will be employed in the service of a truly human "development."

## Substantive Summary

### A. Farm Practices--Innovations

It is obvious that a great deal of change has been occurring in the system of small farmers in the Zinder project area. Farmers experimented widely with new varieties of millet during the period of the drought, but since the return to more "normal" conditions a selected millet variety (referred to as "Kolo" in these texts) has gained considerable visibility and credibility among Hausa farmers. With few exceptions farmers in the area of intensive experimentation (Yaouri, Satamawa) are now impressed with the genetic and productive characteristics of P3 Kolo. Outside the intensive area (Makerawa Cooperative, for example) few farmers apart from the paraprofessionals have planted Kolo, but most ordinary farmers already acknowledge its superiority over Zango (a local variety). A few farmers are dubious as to the adaptability of Kolo to their planting techniques, soils and uneven rainfall distribution, but most seem anxious to try it, at least on a portion of their farm.

New cowpeas varieties have been an enormous success in both the intensive and the non-intensive project areas. The smaller, more rapidly developing variety has almost totally displaced the traditional variety. There is little indication of difficulty with the marketing or the home consumption of this field crop.

Groundnut selection has been set back considerably by the efforts of 1976-1977 to provide a basic seed stock to farmers. Everyone recognizes that all kinds of varieties are found growing in the same field. Farmers designate at least three types of peanuts with which they have had prior experience. One variety, "El Dakar" seems to be preferred for its oil bearing characteristics, but is seldom available in good supply. Other varieties are so unknown or mistrusted that the seed is simply consumed directly by the farmer and his family. Consumption and sale of seed has also resulted from over-supply, particularly in 1976. The drive to supply farmers with groundnut seed has introduced confusion into the "selected" seed program and anxiety into the minds of the small farmers. Farmers now have a difficult time distinguishing the seed which the agricultural agent gives them because it is supposedly superior, from the seed given because no other is available. Farmers are anxious because they have received such large quantities of groundnut seed that they realize they will never be able to reimburse these seeds should they be informed later that these are to be treated as loans.

The new variety of "black" sugar cane has made rapid inroads into the irrigated gardening system of both Matam and Maradi with no initiation or promotion by agricultural agents. Once again, it is clear that Hausa farmers will experiment and adopt varieties which have an obvious potential for superior commercial return.

Commercial seed dressing is now a widely accepted farm practice. Farmers seek out the product and use it on all of their field crops. This is true despite the fact that farmers perceive its utility to be greatest for "dry planting" --a practice forbidden by farm agents in the past few years. There is some indication that farmers may not be employing seed dressings at the prescribed dosage. In the intensive extension area agricultural monitors oblige participating farmers to use fungicides properly. In the non-intensive project areas paraprofessionals, such as the "young farmers" and the "farmer demonstrators", have been influential both as sources of supply and as advisors on the proper use of this product.

Commercial fertilizer is now much more commonly known and appreciated than it was ten years ago. The principal difficulties which farmers have in adopting fertilizers involve the unpredictable and inadequate supply, and the absence of credit. Farmers seek out supplies of fertilizer for use on cash crops (particularly for sugar cane) and will pay premium prices and risk customs violations to obtain it in Nigeria. The use of fertilizer on millet or other cereals has not yet become an accepted idea, except among demonstration farmers who have received their fertilizer supply free. Many ordinary farmers have noted the affect of fertilizers on cereal crops and on subsequent or associated plantings and want to receive the fertilizers but few ordinary farmers have thought about paying for fertilizers for such uses. A fear of fertilizer damage to cereals and cowpeas exists among a number of farmers, even in the intensive extension area.

The improvement of farm practices for the use of organic fertilizers (manure and composted vegetable material) has not gone very far. Some agents have demonstrated composting techniques to the paraprofessionals, but neither the farmer demonstrators, nor the "young farmers" employ this practice on their own farms.

Insecticides have recently made their debut as an important contribution to the modernization of small farming in this area. In general farm agents have introduced insecticides in response to indications of severe insect damage to standing crops. Usually, the agents have applied the product directly using gasoline powered sprayers.

In some cases farmers have been asked to help with the application of the product. Farmers indicate a strongly positive reaction both to the new role of the farm agent, and to the product. Farmers have not thus far been asked to pay for insecticides or their application directly.

Animal traction techniques have been strongly promoted by the Young Farmer training programs in the Zinder project. A considerable amount of new cultivation and traction equipment has been introduced into the local farm system. Both the demonstrators, and the ordinary farmers, however, report little use of the new equipment for cultivation. Very few young farmer trainees have begun to use their equipment for "custom work", or cultivation for hire. The primary interest in traction equipment continues to be for transportation. Problems with the supply of incomplete ensembles of equipment and with the lack of professional followup for young farmers once they return home are identified in these texts as the primary cause of the failure of the program to stimulate extensive animal drawn equipment for cultivation.

New techniques of planting and cultivating have also been introduced in the Zinder project. Pure stand planting--the planting of a single crop with no intercropping--has been promoted by the agricultural services, and has been taught to young farmer trainees. Farmer demonstrators have agreed to practice this new technique on test plots in order to demonstrate new varieties and their responsiveness to fertilizers. Few farmers, including the paraprofessional, have adopted pure stand planting on their own fields. Higher density planting has been more successfully introduced using the double-bladed hoe (daba-double) for farmer demonstrator applications, the "cracer" at the young farmer training centers, and simple initiation with conventional tools by ordinary farmers. Many farmers have increased the density of peanut planting. There is still considerable resistance to the use of this technique in millet production. Some farmers believe that high density techniques will yield inferior peanut production as the seeds "grow together." This seems to be related to soil fertility and type in their minds.

#### B. Farming Problems

These texts do not systematically explore the range of problems encountered during the drought years. (See Interviews with Hausa Farmers, 1974). Still, a number of themes emerged from the 1976 interviews. A major farming problem continues to be hunger, the lack of energy and nutrition as well as the physical discomfort. In addition, a number of farmers complained of insect damage, particularly

to peanuts, but also to the sorghum crop during the late harvest season of 1976. Obvious indications of growing infertility of soil such as the increased production of weeds and of particular types of weeds such as the "red weed" concern the ordinary farmer. Some farmers state that the application of fertilizer to the soil reduces the incidence of "red weed" thus giving them a clear indication that the soil is more fertile. A few farmers complained of problems associated with loss of cereals due to inadequate storage facilities. Storage problems were greatly intensified during the 1976 harvest due to late rains. Traditional drying techniques were inadequate to prevent sprouting and spoilage.

### C. Functioning of the Paraprofessional Agricultural Extension System

All of Niger's regional development projects have adopted the use of village-level volunteer workers, frequently paired with farmer supervisors who receive some monetary compensation. In the Maradi Valley project (interview 25) the entire paraprofessional system has been tied into the "Young Farmer Trainees" (JA) program. In the Zinder project the "Young Farmers" are only one element in the paraprofessional extension system which includes farmer demonstrators (PDA), farmer supervisors (AV) and female extension volunteers (Animatrice). Nowhere in Niger is the paraprofessional extension system more highly developed.

In the texts it is necessary to distinguish between paraprofessional workers in the intensive zone (Yaouri, Satamawa) and in the non-intensive Trois M project, (as in Makerawa). In the intensive area the role of paraprofessionals has been substantially reduced due to the presence of salaried agricultural aids at the village level. Here, paraprofessionals seem to be only particularly well connected villagers with a longer history of exposure to the new techniques. They do not appear to be employed in the intensive demonstrations in particular ways. As a result, the system of farmer supervision of demonstrators has all but broken down in the intensive areas. Young farmer trainees have a less significant role as sources of innovative behavior, but the intensive encadrement does not appear to have assured them better follow-up training, since paid aids lack expertise in these areas.

Even in the non-intensive area conflict between village level aids brought on to reinforce the cereals project and farmer supervisors or demonstrators is evident. It is not clear that the aid system improves the extension of farming information beyond the village of his residence, although he may improve the quality of the demonstration or the test plots of the peasant demonstrators.

In the non-intensive area, however, the work of the farmer demonstrators has become more visible in the five years since the initiation of the system. Most villagers now know who the PDA is, and can indicate something about his work. If they have their farm close to his they are likely to have observed his work first hand, and perhaps even to have tried his tools and obtained a bit of fertilizer from him. Farmer demonstrators do not invite villagers to observe their fields, nor do they conduct meetings on their own initiative to explain their work. Farmer supervisors or young farmers sometimes serve as sources of information from the professional extension service to the village. When it is necessary to get a specific message to ordinary farmers (planting dates, marketing decisions) paraprofessionals will occasionally hold an informational meeting with villagers. In 1976 when paraprofessionals were given fertilizer for use on their test plots their importance expanded. Not only were they able to produce more impressive yields, but they could use and distribute (sell?) some of their fertilizer supply thus increasing their influence and communication ability.

The effectiveness of farmer supervisors in the non-intensive area is open to some question in these interviews. It is asserted that supervisors work almost uniquely with farmer demonstrators, but that they follow the work of these people regularly and closely. Some farmer demonstrators, however, dispute this. It may be that farmer supervisors visit the fields of their fellow demonstration farmers without communicating much to them in person. Supervisors sometimes see themselves as agents of the government for the enforcement of correct farm practices. Planting two peanut seeds in a hole, for example, can not only cost a PDA his position, but it can engender action by the county agent or his representative at the cooperative level.

Animatrices have been used to introduce seed dressing and density themes to the women of the village who frequently have their own fields. The animatrices seem to get little attention compared to the farmer demonstrators. They did not, for example, get free fertilizer, in 1976 as did the male paraprofessionals for field trials. Animatrices are administered through the animation service rather than by the professional agricultural extension service.

Young farmer trainees have been the recipients of both valuable equipment and massive amounts of free fertilizer (1976). Yet they seem to have no clear extension role, and suffer from an almost total absence of technical followup. Few "Young Farmers" can employ on their own fields the techniques they learn at the farm center. As

indicated above, few are able to use the animal powered equipment for farming activities.

The recruitment of "young farmer trainees" has been difficult despite the enormous material advantages which they receive. The texts indicate that villagers rarely volunteer to go to the farm center, and are sometimes forbidden by family members from going even if they volunteer. The loss of labor and the risk of bad debt is viewed as more threatening than the possible gains. Now that Young Farmer trainees have received large doses of fertilizer more village members may want to go for training. However, if the free fertilizer distribution stops incentive to volunteer will again be reduced.

Training of young farmer volunteers effectively removes the individual from the family labor force for a full farm year. Much of the training involves physical labor to prepare the land of the farm school. Some of the tools and methods employed at the farm school are clearly inapplicable to use on the village farm, although some trainees hope to be able to duplicate the center's methods at home. Young farmer trainees are given no advice or training on how to communicate the knowledge they have received to other villagers. The model of innovation and change implied is of progressive farmers.

#### D. The Professional Agricultural Extension System

Professional agricultural agents are much more visible in the project area than they were ten years ago. Their visibility derives mainly from their application of insecticides which is viewed very favorably by villagers, and from their initiation of test plots in the fields of local demonstrators. Communication between professional agricultural agents and ordinary village producers is very poor. They work mainly with the paraprofessionals whom they may visit frequently during the agricultural season. The idea of demonstration plots remains a mystery to most ordinary farmers who never learn the principles involved, even if they know of the existence of the test plot. Even the paraprofessionals have a limited understanding of the "carrés" or squares marked out in their fields to obtain yield and density figures. When demonstrators faithfully conduct the demonstration they are frequently told nothing about the technical results or are given a number which they frequently do not comprehend.

Apart from the village level aid--a position which exists in a few villages in each county--the agricultural agent is perceived as working primarily at the market town level (Cooperative Association). Most of his activities are conducted there, including the sale of fertilizers and the supplying of seed dressings. When systematic

field trials are conducted the results are weighted by agricultural agents at their market town office. Demonstrators are asked to bring their test plot production in for weighing on their own.

Aids who constitute the lowest level of the professional agricultural service have an uncertain status and an extremely limited knowledge of their work deriving from rapid and narrow training. Recruitment of aids is frequently conducted in a casual manner which encourages personal ties rather than competence. Urban boys, from Zinder, for example, are sometimes recruited to serve as agricultural aids in areas far from their home, simply because they have literacy skills, or because they have the right connection. Aids do not supply agricultural inputs. These must be acquired from the market-town level worker. Since aids have no training whatsoever in communicating with villagers they rarely conduct meetings or information sessions to explain what they are doing. Aids are perceived as being helpful in identifying insect attacks on crops, or in communicating the awareness of such attacks from farmers to the county or market-town level agent.

#### E. Agricultural Credit and Access to Farm Inputs

Since the onset of the drought (1971) agricultural credit to finance short-term purchases of farm inputs has been virtually non-existent. Ordinary farmers simply cannot obtain loans for fertilizer from the UNCC or from the Agricultural Service. Credit for long-term loans to finance the purchase of animal powered cultivation equipment has been made available only to paraprofessionals, usually only to "Young Farmer Trainees."

Farmers complain bitterly about the absence of short-term fertilizer loans, and they claim they this seriously restricts their purchase of modern farm inputs. This claim may be more valid for farmers considering the use of fertilizers on food crops than for farmers cultivating crops. The latter seem to find financing for their fertilizer acquisitions and state that short supply is the more serious problem for them. Broadening the base of users of commercial inputs for food crop production may require the provision of more credit.

The restriction of loans for animal powered equipment to "Young Farmer Trainees" has not limited access to the material, it has also raised serious questions about the responsibility for these loans. As the Makerawa and Maradi texts indicate the trainees are often selected on political bases either by the village authorities, or by the pro-

professional extension agents. For the past few years villagers have been told that loans for the equipment which "Young Farmers" receive are personal or individual loans. Villagers have accepted the credit on this basis. They strongly resist, however, a return to the joint responsibility of the village mutual or cooperative for these debts. UNCC and Agricultural agents suggest in the texts that the loans must be backed by collective responsibility due to the poor repayment record. An example of the problems caused by the conversion of individual loans into collective debts is given in the discussion of the Dadin Kowa credit mutual. High levels of default coupled with the imposition of collective credit responsibility may engender social and political disorganization at the village level.

#### F. Cooperative Organization

Both the Zinder Trois M scheme and the Maradi Valley Development Project are based on the reinforcement of cooperative structures. The texts shed some light on the current level and nature of farmer involvement in cooperatives. For the most part cooperatives continue to be viewed as marketing organizations. They are not always the preferred outlet for farm products since the price is sometimes higher across the border in Nigeria. Official private markets have been put out of business in most of the areas of Zinder where the Cereal's project is operating. Thus farmers in fact market the bulk of the grains and groundnuts through cooperative channels.

The politics of these marketing cooperatives is elaborate. Holding of office in the "self-managed" cooperative market has become a major goal for localized political cliques. It is evident from the texts that most of the major decisions on election to cooperative offices are made "behind the scenes" in political caucuses.

Participation in cooperative affairs is virtually restricted to the "elected" representatives from each section. The texts clearly indicate the nature of this representation and electoral process. Elections are really designations by the most powerful forces in local level society and not the play of numeric "democracy." Non-elected villagers are neither encouraged to participate in cooperative meetings nor are they very likely to get information on the functioning of the cooperative. They are merely informed of the technical decisions which affect them, such as the dates and prices for marketing their farm goods.

Holding elected office in a "self-managed" cooperative can be both a rewarding and a costly activity. Should debts be incurred by the cooperative section they can be

repaid most readily by garnishing the salary of "elected" office-holders from that section. Rarely is the cooperative made to function in a collective manner to face up to its problems and to take decisions.

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LIST OF ACTORS (makerawa intensive case study)

The following individuals are referred to in texts which deal with agricultural change, extension and cooperative affairs in the Makerawa village group (See interviews A1, B2--13, C15,17--20,C23).

Village Chiefs: Dadin Kowa--Maigari Habu  
Soma --Ibra Serkin Baka  
Ragana Hausa-Serkin Gabas  
Makerawa (Old chief of whole village) Kogo  
Makerawa (chief of new split off section)  
Serkin Daki

Farmer Demonstrators Dadin Kowa--Gale, brother of Maigari Habu  
Soma --Husseini, unrelated client  
of Ibra  
Makerawa --Kamai-son of Kogo. There is  
no PDA for Serkin Daki's section.  
Ragana Hausa-Mani, son of chief  
Hardo Damana-Idi

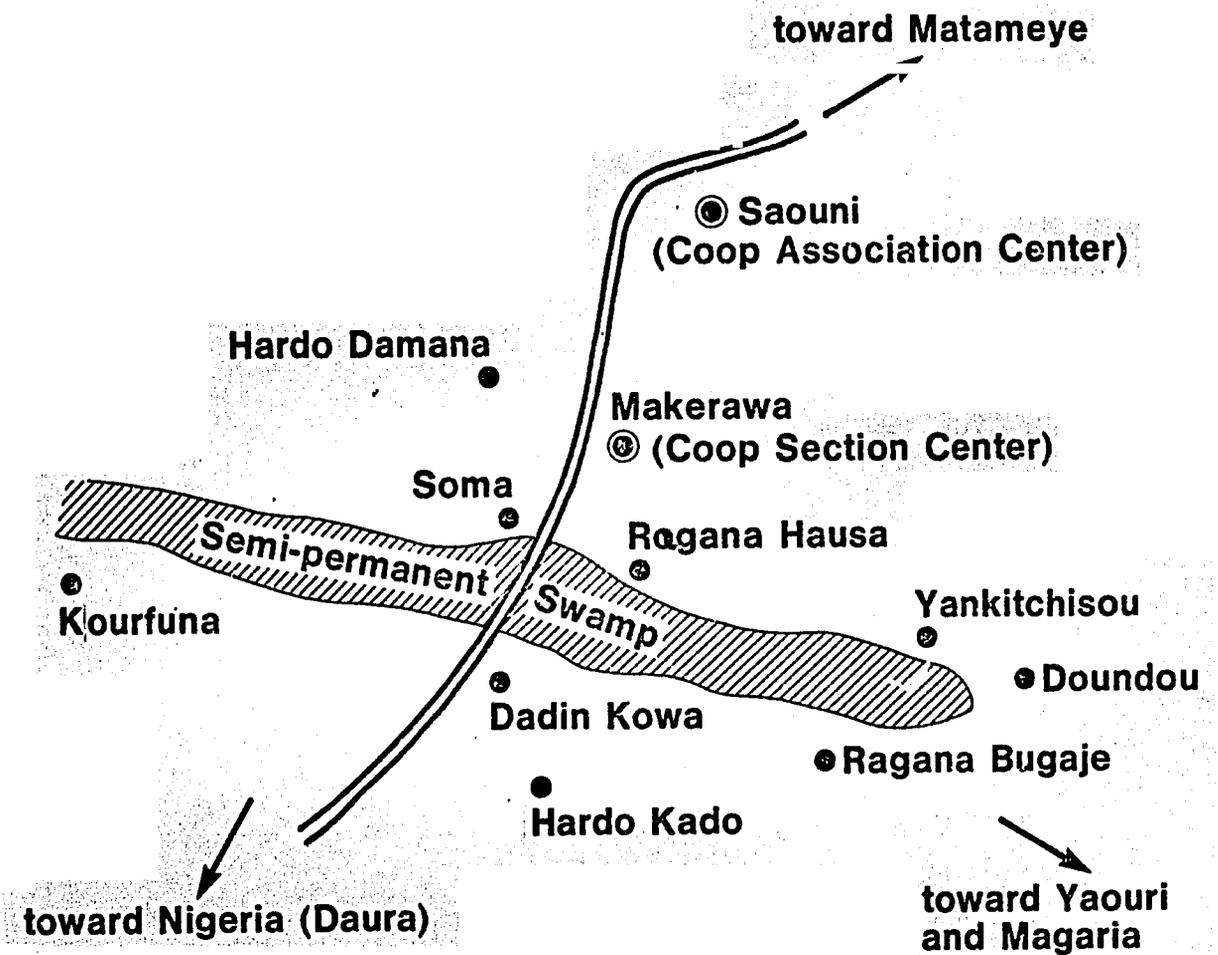
Farmer Demonstration  
Supervisor Gale--brother of Maigari Habu of Dadin Kowa.

Young Farmer Trainees  
for the Makerawa Group Yaou--son of Ladi, elder brother of  
Maigari Habu.  
Buntili--son of Halidu, younger brother  
of Magari Habu.  
Nadadi --son of a Fulani immigrant from the  
town of Saouni. Now Residing  
at Dadin Kowa.

Cooperative Represent-  
atives Dadin Kowa--AlHadji Ado, brother of  
Maigari Habu  
Soma --Amadu Serkin Baka, brother  
of Maigari Ibra  
Makerawa --Kami, son of Maigari Kogo  
Ragana --Leko  
Yankitchissou-Malam Inusa

Agricultural Service  
Professional Staff Aid--Ado, residing at Dadin Kowa  
Agent--Suley--residing at Saouni.

# The Makerawa Experimental Cooperative (Matameye County, Niger)



Interviews on Agricultural Changes and on Farmer Self  
Managed Extension Programs.

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Daden Kowa  
Interview with Town Authorities

Robert: You know when I came two years ago I told you that the purpose of my coming here was mainly concerning the work which is being done by the govt, about seed selection and fertilizer. Now I have come here now to ask you about what the farm agents have been doing and what UNCC has done since I left two years ago.

Maigari: I understand. I know all what you have been saying. Nothing has changed since you left.

Robert: Since I left two years ago, what did the farm agent do? And did the UNCC agents do? What did they do concerning agriculture?

Malam Ado: Concerning agriculture, they talk to us a lot and introduced new millet seed.

Maigari: And that kind of sowing equipment that is being pulled.

Ado: In addition to the new millet seed there was beans. And there was this work which two people were being selected at the coop group to go to Matameye, Manan Rabo's house (The farm training center).

Robert: At the centre?

Ado: Yes, at the centre where agriculture is being taught to them.

Robert: Are five people being selected from each cooperative?

Ado: Only two people are selected. One blacksmith and one farmer.

Robert: Like from the Makerawa cooperative?

Ado: From Makerawa two people are selected. And from the big cooperative located at Saouni, six people are selected.

Robert: How are the people who go to the centre being selected?

Ado: People gather here at the meeting place. If two representatives are gathered from each town, if there are seven towns, that will mean fourteen people. These people will then meet at Makerawa. Then they will say we want one person who will be sent to the centre to learn agriculture. Then they will ask who likes this

Ado: kind of work? Some people ignore the offer if they remember that they will be away from home for one year if they accept it.

Robert: One year?

Maigari: Yes, it is five months.

Malam Ado: That equals to one year. Whoever leaves home in May without doing any farming that means being away for one year as far as a farmer is concerned. That is all. Everybody will keep quite for a moment, then some people will say in their mind I will go, in addition the crowd will nominate another person.

Robert: Who will stand up and say I will go?

Ado: If anybody stands up and says that I can go, he will be sent if the people agree. Also the people look round and suggest somebody's name and say, "he will be suitable for the work." If he says he likes to go, then he will be sent to the centre. But if he doesn't want to, then somebody's name will be suggested again. If he agrees and the people agree, that is all he will be sent to the centre.

Robert: This year when somebody was selected, was there another person who stood up and said he wanted to go on his own accord?

Ado: There were two people.

Robert: Who were the people?

Ado: In the past, whenever there was this kind of meeting, like last year's meeting which Yaou organized, people were sought, but nobody was found, because nobody wanted to go.

Robert: During the first year?

Ado: During the first year to be spent there Isufu said to me if people were sought and nobody was found he would go. So when people were sought and nobody was found I said he could go.

Robert: Isufu said he can go and spend the first year there.

Ado: Yes the first year. The year when the project was going to begin. People were sought. When nobody was found, I said there is a boy in our town who can go.

Ado: then they said o.k. "let somebody go and bring him here." Then Yaou brought him on a bicycle. That is all. He was selected. When the time to go came they came here in a bus. Then I said "let somebody go and call Isufu." When they found him, he remembered the fact that he was going to leave home so he said that dan maigari should also come.

Robert: Dan Maigari?

Ado: Yes, his older half brother. That's all. When they came he said, "if he goes, who will cultivate his farm, since he works alone."

Robert: Can't he go?

Maigari: He can't go.

Robert: Did he hear that he would get some money there?

Ado: No, he only knows that he is going to learn agriculture.

Maigari: People do not know. They are ignorant. They always say if you go who will do such and such for you. So when he was given this advice he came and said to me, people said to him why should he do this type of work (learning agriculture). Then I said to him when he told me this, I said "don't agree with what these people say, this work is going to be useful to you. If you go you will earn more than what you will earn and farm the land." So I convinced him to go but when the time to go came he again refused to go.

Ado: He was the second on the list. The first on the list is Yaou; in his case there was no problem. When Yaou was selected last year in the case of Buntili they sought for him last year.

Robert: Who sought for him?

Maigari: We, the people, who were asked.

Ado: When Isufu was selected and refused to go when it was time for him to go we asked them whether they would accept a substitute. They said "yes" so we asked them to write Buntili's name. We said "since many people were selected from Dadin Kowa and you the farm agents you said you have already got more than enough people at Dadin Kowa, how can we say that nobody is going when the time to go comes?" No, it is impossible. So we told Buntili that he should go.

Robert: Did anybody come from another town and said they wanted to go?

Ado: Nobody came and said they wanted to go. They waited and then selected our people. That is all. Buntili went and had his name written down. He was then taken to the centre.

Robert: Since they returned from the centre with the equipment are there some people now who are saying that going to the centre was useful?

Ado: Everybody wants his name to be written down.

Robert: Are there some people now who will go on their own accord?

Ado: Yes, they will go on their accord, there are many who are willing to go. Right now if you should ask who wants to go to the centre, you will get ten people.

Robert: Who has gone to the centre from Makerawa?

Ado: The son of Dangwari went together with  
And Ado went together with Yaou.

Robert: Why is it if everyone saw the utility of going to the center after the two initial men went, were there no candidates this year?

Ado: When people were sought, they said we should not select people here. So people were selected from Yankitchisou.

Sallaw: Nobody was asked to go from here.

Ado: They said last year Yaou, Buntili and NaDadi all went to the centre from here.

Maigari: During the meeting they (farm agents) said whenever we want some people to go to the centre you don't give us anybody but only those from Dadin Kowa. If these people from Dadin Kowa eventually all went to the centre, from where shall we be recruiting people next?

Ado: If something should be brought and we should decide that it should all be taken to Dadin Kowa, we know you would be annoyed. That is what the farm agents told the cooperative members.

Robert: When they were looking for one person from any

Robert: town but Dadin Kowa, did anybody go?

Ado: I think somebody from Yankitchisou.

Robert: He alone?

Ado: I think it was Malam Gambo.

Maigari: I also think it was Gambo.

Robert: Have they gone to Matameye or Doungou?

Ado: They went to Matameye.

Robert: Why is it that there aren't many people from other towns who come and say that they want to go to the centre, even though they have seen how useful it is? I don't think they know it is useful.

Ado: They have seen its usefulness, everybody has seen it.

Robert: What is its usefulness?

Ado: While they are there working at the centre, they don't have any worries. They have nice accomodations, nice food, it is peaceful and they get some pocket-money at the end of each month.

Robert: Like how much?

Ado: They get 2000 CFA each. They send some part of this money home and ask it to be paid to some people to work on their farms. None of them have any work to be done on their farm which will cost more than 2000 CFA. And when they are returning home, they come back with a plough. They are also given oxen or cart, so whoever goes there comes back with something. Everyone has seen that some of these people were given oxen, some were given cart, they wouldn't hesitate to go and have their names written, even if it is in the dry season.

Maigari: And after some days whoever is not rich enough to afford one bag of millet, will be given one bag of millet for seed, one bag of beans and one bag of corn. All these are too much to be sown. So you sow some and use the rest for food. Peanuts are difficult to get, so they are the first to be given out.

Robert: Do they sow or eat it?

Maigari: They sow it. Those who are the first to be given Peanuts before anybody in the town are: Gale, Buntili, Yaou and Nadadi. But we the peasants are not given any. They just said we have to cultivate our own.

Robert: If the people in the town see this kind of thing, what do they say?

Maigari: They just think about it and regret.

Ado: You see if they have only gone to the centre it could have been useful to them now.

Robert: Is there any jealousy?

Maigari: Yes, there is jealousy.

Ado: Right now from all these towns everybody will be willing to go if he is asked at the end of the year. You can get ten people from one meeting place.

Maigari: And only one person will be selected. I don't think this year I harvested as much crops as they (those who went to the centre) did. They cultivated some beans. It grew very well. At first it was decided they would be given all the beans they cultivated, but now I don't think they will be given all of it because they will waste it. Important people will be informed how much each one of them will be given. If their parents and their Maigari are present they should be given because they know it is useful. It shouldn't be given to the people who went to the centre right at the centre, because they will waste it.

Maigari: Your family must be known before you are given the beans. But people like Yaou and Buntili can be given because they know its usefulness. However, this year they will be given. People now know the use of going to the centre very well. Now many people are hoping that they will be asked to go. You know the main cause of all the problem is lack of permanent settlement. Because they first asked those nomads at Saouni but they couldn't get anybody. Then AlHadji went and said to Danyaro, "Danyaro, Nadadi should go to the centre." People began to say why Nadadi why should his father allow him to be sent. "You see now that he is there, He is being very useful to his parents. I have been there for four days. He was given 4000 francs he sent 2000 home. He didn't even spend two weeks there.

Robert: Did he work for pay?

Ado: They were given loans to pay people to work on their farms. Then after awhile they all come back with oxen.

Robert: Did either Buntili or Yaou work on other people's farms with their oxen for payment either this or last year?

Ado: No they didn't this year. Yaou doesn't have oxen. He only has a cart. And Buntili does not have a cart. He only has oxen.

Maigari: Yaou mortgaged his cart.

Robert: But do they have farming equipment?

Ado: Yes they have farming equipment. They also demonstrate how to use oxen for farming.

Robert: Haven't they started to work on people's farm for pay?

Ado: Not yet, until they train the oxen.

Robert: Are the oxen not trained?

R.A: They are not yet trained the oxen will be brought during the rainy season.

Robert: Hasn't Yaou got some oxen since last year?

Ado: They already said whoever wants a cart will not get oxen and whoever wants oxen will not get a cart.

Sallaw: Can't he be given oxen and a cart at the same time?

Ado: They used to be given at first. This year, it is the same. Buntili has now only oxen, no cart. Now if he got a cart as well, he could have been working.

Robert: Is the cart that was given to Yaou a loan from UNCC?

Ado: Yes Yaou has a loan. Also when he came back he bought oxen with his money.

Robert: How about Buntili? What did he get?

Ado: Buntili was also given a cultivator like Yaou, he was

Ado: also given oxen. He has no cart. But he was given a sowing machine.

Robert: Where can the planting machine be obtained?

Ado: Yaou brought the planting machine. It can be used for planting very easily.

Robert: Is it his own?

Ado: Yes it is his own.

Sallaw: Was it not given to him at the centre?

Ado: Yes it was given to him at the centre.

Robert: Then he got a plough, planting machine and Yaou received plough and a cultivator didn't he? What of Buntili, what did he buy on credit?

Ado: No, that is all.

Robert: So Buntili didn't buy anything on credit? not even oxen?

Ado: He was given oxen.

Robert: Is that the only credit?

Ado: Yes it is the only credit. The plough and sowing machine. I think are being given free of charge. It is only the cows that are on credit.

Robert: What about Yaou, do you know what he bought on credit?

Ado: He bought a cart on credit.

Sanoussi: How much money is he owing them?

Ado: From UNCC, they said he is owing 5000 CFA according to what they said.

Maigari: Some said 30,000 francs

Robert: Did he make a down payment for the cart?

Ado: Yes, he made a down payment of 8000 francs. I even had to give him some part of the money.

Robert: After paying 2000 francs does he still have credit balance?

Ado: There is a balance of 22000.

Robert: So, is Yaou responsible for the credit or is it the whole town that is responsible for the credit?

Ado: He is responsible for it, if he doesn't pay I will have to pay.

Maigari: If he definitely cannot pay, if he has no means to pay I will pay it (the credit). If he becomes childish and cannot get something to pay the loan, Adamu must pay the loan for him.

Robert: Will this be a problem to you?

Maigari: It is going to be a problem.

Ado: You see I have a cart and cows, taitum has cows, malam Leko has cows.

Robert: Malam Leko? Did you also pay for his cows?

Ado: Yes I paid all. I also paid dan Liman's peanut sheller, Maigari's cultivator, dan Ayi's cultivator and Ma'aru's sheller.

Robert: Didn't anybody pay their loan?

Ado: I paid all the loan except for Kadagaki's sheller, which was paid by Malam Manan, and Dan Sodai's, sheller. To God I have. I am one who paid all the loan. We engaged in peanut hauling for one year. The profit which we received is about 2500 francs. After we received the profit, then they (the town's people) refused to bring all their peanuts to the market.

Maigari: Whoever realized that the loan they received was being deducted, they all decided to stop bringing their trade to us peanut traders.

Ado: Malam Leko brought just a little over 6000 CFA. Then when the money was short, I said, "we shall divide the balance between ourselves." You will pay such amount and I will such amount. He had a loan for 12000 francs and he paid only 6000 CFA. Then I made up the balance and paid. I know that I have made all these payments and I am not going to work for the cooperative anymore (The payment were made as deductions from his salary). I was not elected to work as market accountant last year. I know that I am now out of all their problems. I left for haji. But believe me I had to make all the payments.

Robert: Did Malam Leko refused to pay?

Ado: He didn't pay. Gwado and Ma'arou continue to bring their peanuts to us and we have deducted. They bring four or five bags at a time, plus my own peanuts we always take our peanuts to the third scale for sale. They refused to pay the loan. They were influenced by some other people. He refused to pay. I am the one who paid.

Sallaw: Why didn't he pay?

Ado: He just refused to pay. You know I have away for thirteen years working for UNCC. At first I was a buying agent, then I worked as a clerk for about three years. Then I was transferred here and asked to work in his cooperative. I have been here for one year. I don't receive a single penny for all the work I have been doing. They deduct the money to pay off the loan.

Robert: When you formed the cooperative in this town did some people, yourself, Ma'arou and his son make a down payment?

Ado: We all made a down payment of 8000 CFA each. We who have got cows and cart, made a down payment of 5000 each. Those who have got peanut sheller, I think, paid 2500 francs. Those who have got cultivators made a down payment of 1000 francs each.

Robert: Do you mean people like Issa Dan Ayi and Maigari?

Ado: Yes. Like Issa Dan Ayi and Maigari. But DanSodai, Ma'arou, Dadimi, Maigarin Ragana, Malam Mamane of Kadazaki, all received a sheller each.

Robert: Have they come with any part of the down payment?

Ado: Yes, everyone made a down payment.

Robert: Did they receive the materials?

Ado: Everybody received the materials. As for Dum, he received the cows and cart but he sold them right there and left.

Robert: This loan, did they say the loan is for the whole town?

Ado: The loan was for Dadin Kowa. All, Malam Leko, and the rest of these people paid small amounts through one year.

Maigari: As far as Dum is concerned he is no longer in out group. This was said by Abdu Galedima. He said Dum is no longer included in Dadin Kowa area. But we were not given any paper to show this change.

Robert: Doesn't he belong to Dadin Kowa?

Maigari: He is from Magaria.

Ado: Why do they become so reluctant? You see at first they paid the first year's installment, when they received the cart. But in the following year they did some peanut trading, but the profit was not shared with the people of Dadin Kowa. And the profit was 25000 francs. The loan was 250000 francs. The following year, people refused to bring their peanuts to Dadin Kowa, everybody took their peanut to Saouni.

Robert: Don't they go to sell the peanuts?

Ado: They don't pass through the middle of our town. They either pass through Ragana, or Makerawa.

Robert: Is it because they want to get dividend.

Ado: Yes, because they want to get dividend.

Robert: O.K. I hear all the stories you have been telling me but what I don't understand is, since Malam Leko, Ma'aru and the other people received the loan and agreed to sign to pay when the time comes?

Ado: When they see that it is being deducted from the dividend, they refused to pay. And when they see that everybody refused to bring their peanuts they refused to pay the money. They have been asked to pay over and over again but they still refused to pay. That is all. Since they know that I am here spending a lot of money.

Robert: If Yaou and Bintilli could not pay the loan will you pay it for them?

Ado: Yes, I will pay it.

Robert: Will you agree to do this?

Ado: Yes, I will agree. I will ask them to help me with some of my work so that we can be able to pay the loan.

Robert: Suppose farm agents from UNCC come and say that the loan given to Yaou and Buntili now becomes a loan for the whole town.

Ado: We shall not agree. We will not agree. The goods should be recalled.

Maigari: Or he should be arrested and he asked to pay, or the goods could be sold, because if it is either cows and cart, the town will say they are valuable and buy them. Wait, now listen, if the town selects one person to go and get some goods only for himself, he doesn't give the people of the town anything, if he gets anything he takes it to his house. Whatever he wants to do he does it in his house only. So now that there is a problem he wants to involve all the people of the town?

Sanoussi: Why are you being asked to select somebody by yourself?

Maigari: We select somebody and ask him to go so that he can get some benefits.

Sanoussi: If you select somebody by yourself and said that you agree to let him go, so how come you fear him?

Maigari: Just because he is the one who got the valuables (not us). In the future whoever says that he can do it, or that he has some money, or that he has some means to pay, or even just saying that he will do the job it will said, "O.K. you can go without anybody investigating your background to see whether you have some means to pay. All that we people are concerned about is to see that we get the people he said he is looking for. If he says he likes to get some people he will get some. We don't want him to say that he sought for some people but couldn't get any. That is way you see us doing all these things.

Sanoussi: Are you going to select the people now?

Maigari: Yes, and if, this time, it is stated that only rich people are going to selected, we shall tell the people that during this election only rich people are going to be selected who are going to be able to pay whenever they are requested to do so. We know the people whom we are going to select.

Robert: If somebody from his town should stand up next year and say that he like to go, and he come from family that is not well-to-do and he is the only person who likes to go, what will the people do about it?

Maigari: If the farm agents ask us to get them someone who is

Maigari: from a well to do family who can be able to pay in case he accumulates some debts, then we can say that so and so, one of you should go. If they refuse to go we shall then tell the agents that these are well-to-do people. If you insist that you need only rich people, the rich people say they don't like to go. If they want us to give them poor people that's O.K. If they don't want poor people, they can get what they want from another town.

Robert: Did you give them a poor person?

Maigari: Yes, they were given a poor person.

Robert: But won't he pay in the future?

Maigari: If he is responsible he will pay. For instance, those who were given two cows.

Robert: You mean Nadadi?

Maigari: Yes I mean Nadadi. If they have a cart his year, they could have been able to earn enough money to pay the loan. Even by carrying sugar cane one can pay a small loan. You can even be carrying sugar cane for people to the station and this will earn enough to pay the loan.

Robert: Since Bintilli and Yaou returned home from the work (Matameye) have the farm agents been coming to teach them more about the work, since they are now at home.

Ado: This year farm agent Sule has been coming from Saouni to teach them more and to tell them news like that of Matameye. Boubakar has come recently and told them to dig some ditches to buy some manure (composting).

Robert: When he came last year did he give you some seeds or were they given the seeds only this year?

Ado: Yes, he gave them seeds both last year and this year.

Robert: Was last year, the year Yaou started to work?

Ado: Yes, it was the year Yaou came back and started to work.

OR: What did he get last year?

Ado: Yaou was given millet seeds, beans seeds, peanut seeds

Robert: Did he get the new type of beans seeds?

Ado: He got the new type bean seeds, new type of millet seeds and peanut seeds.

Robert: Why are they given all these type of seeds. What are they going to do with them.

Ado: So that they can sow the seeds on different plots, separate plots for millet, a little further on separate plots - some beans to be sowed. A little further on another plot peanuts to be sowed. Thus making three plots.

Robert: Why do they plant the seeds on separate plots?

Ado: So that the difference can be observed. A plot millet should not be sowed on a plot meant for peanuts. Millet is sown only on millet plots. Beans are sown only in bean plots. They shouldn't be mixed with any other seed.

Robert: Liman have you ever seen Buntili's farm?

Dan Liman: Yes we have seen they work together with Gale.

Robert: Have you ever seen Yaou's or Buntili's farm?

Malam Tinao: We share the same boundary with him.

Robert: In these farms which they sow these different seeds have you observed any difference between their farm and yours?

Malam Tinao: Yes there is a difference. Their millet grows rapidly. Even the peanuts grow well. If it were our own type of peanut it might not grow well. Sometimes millet appears as if it is not going to grow well but it later grows well. The millet is really different from our own type of millet.

QR: Have you seen any difference between your millet and his millet?

Tinao: Yes, a great difference.

Robert: What is the difference?

Tinao: Quality. And quantity. You know it is very economical. It produces a lot of grains. It can produce up to twenty millet cobs on a single plant. But you know if the plot is fertile. Their own type of millet produces twenty cobs, and you will find that each cob is good.

Maigari: You see it appear to be small when it is growing.  
Yes that's it's difference from our millet.

Robert: Ma'aru, don't you have a farm near them?

Ma'aru: No, I don't have a farm near them.

Robert: The fact that you don't have a farm near them,  
have you ever seen their farms? I mean Buntili's. and  
Yaou's farms?

Ma'aru: Yes when I get off work from farm, I stop by Makwasa  
to see the kind of work they are doing.

Robert: What do you understand about it.

Ma'aru: The reason why their work looks better than our work  
is because they were given fertilizer to use.

Robert: Were they given the fertilizer from Matameye?

Ma'aru: Yes, they were given enough fertilizer. That is why  
whatever they sow it grows better than ours.  
Because our farms are not fertile. But in this case  
they were given fertilizer to use so as to make their  
peanuts, millet, beans, guinea corn, grow well. That  
is the difference between us. Also the seed they  
use is different from our own.

Tinao: You see this is nice, look how well the peanut is  
growing. The guinea corn he sows at yawtai near the  
road, at the northern side, the guinea corn looked as  
if it would not grow the last time we visited the farm.  
But now it is growing well.

Robert: How do you know that he is being given fertilizer?  
Have you seen it with your own eyes, or just heard  
about it?

Tinao: Yes, I have seen it.

Robert: Have you seen the time fertilizer is being spread?

Ma'aru: Yes, I have seen

Robert: Have you seen or just heard?

Ma'aru: I have seen. I met him spreading it and I begged  
him to help me to give me about one tia, which I  
went and spread over my peanuts. Definitely there  
is a difference between the area I spread the  
fertilizer and the area I didn't use it.

Robert: Did Gale receive fertilizer?

Ado: Yes, he received.

Robert: Apart from them are there any other people that use fertilizer in this town?

Ado: We use it if we get it. In our case we used some of their fertilizer over our farm.

Robert: But apart from your house, has anybody else got fertilizer?

Ado: No, there isn't. Only if someone meets him while he is using it and they ask him to give them some. We asked to buy it on credit at first, but they said no credit. People must buy it with cash money-750 francs.

Robert: He must pay in full at once?

Ado: Yes, he must pay the money at once. They said every town should say how many bags it requires-it was written down, but they didn't give the fertilizer.

Robert: Even that of sugar cane?

Ado: Yes, only if a person has some money to go and buy from the farm centre.

Robert: Are there some who are going buy this year?

Ado: Many people have bought alot of it. Here not many purchased it. They run out of fertilizer for sugar cane at Matameye. Here I only received some from Alhadji Hama. He bought it to spread over his sugar cane.

Robert: Did Malam Leko and some other people who have big gardens used fertilizer?

Ado: Yes, they use it if they get some.

Robert: Did they get some?

Ado: No, they didn't get any. If you didn't get any and if you have the means you can buy it from Nigeria.

Robert: Did Ma'aru go and get it from there?

Maigari: Yes, it is being sold there. If you can't get it here you can go there and buy it.

Robert: Is there anybody who is using fertilizer on millet

Robert: in this town other than these three people?

Ado: Yes, some do get. Whoever finds it uses it.

Maigari: Whoever finds it uses it, but whoever couldn't get it doesn't use it.

Ado: If anybody gets it even if he bought it mainly to use it for his sugar cane he will put some on his field crops.

Robert: Is the same type of fertilizer being used in both marshy areas and the farm?

Ado: Yes, they have been separated, you have the kind for peanuts and the kind for sugar cane. But each one of them is useful. Now the fertilizer that is meant for peanuts has been taken and spreaded in the peanut field. But even the millet that is going in the farm, is better than the millet in other farms.

Maigari: Certainly, millet, peanuts and guinea corn all like fertilizer. We don't know about sugar cane because we haven't yet tried the fertilizer on it to see.

Malam Issa: The fertilizer for sugar cane is very effective. I started using it last year.

Maigari: You don't know another advantage of the fertilizer, Malam Isa, that is no matter how hard the ground is, if you put it, the ground becomes soft and crops grow well.

Ado: Now our only hope is what is done at Yaouri will be done here for us. (huge distribution of free fertilizer and phosphates).

Robert: Is lack of money the main reason why people didn't get the fertilizer before?

Ado: Yes, that is the reason, I mean lack of money to make down payment. If people were allowed to buy it on credit or give 250 francs per bag down payment it would have been better.

QR: Could that have made everybody buy the fertilizer?

Maigari: In the future, since the people have this experience, they will pay whatever price to get the fertilizer. For instance, Malam Leko will buy because he always tries and buys whatever is brought if he has some money.

Robert: Do the farm agents come during the sowing time and ask you whether you want to get fertilizer?

Ado: Yes, they come to inform us. The farm center tells us about something almost every five days. Also we get some information from some agents who come here from Matameye and Saouni. Yes we get somebody to inform us on how to work. Also the agents from UNCC have each got their own transport, so they come together to tell us do this, do that. In case of the peanuts they told us not to sow if there is not enough rain. One day we had some rain. We wanted to go and sow the seed, but they (agents) came and instructed us not to sow. The rain was not enough. So we had to postpone.

Robert: Don't you practice dry sowing now?

Ado: No, we don't. They wouldn't allow us to sow. But this is because they gave us the peanut seeds. If it were our seed we would go ahead and sow it.

Maigari: If it were our own seeds we would go ahead and sow it even if there was not enough rain. But since it is their own we wouldn't sow it because if we sow it they would ask us why, and in case it should spoil (fail to sprout) they will say we have to pay because they already warned us.

Interview with Musa  
Dadin Kowa

Robert: Do you have double bladed hoe?

Musa: No, we don't have it.

Robert: Have you ever seen its work?

Musa: Yes, I have seen it.

Robert: Can you make very close holes like these with your traditional hoe?

Musa: Yes, I can.

Robert: Since you see double bladed hoe, would you increase the density of your seeding?

Musa: Yes, I will reduce it, I will plant them close to together.

Robert: If a place is not hard, if you make seed holes close to one another what happens?

Musa: If they are close to one another they will soon join (the seeds) and produce fruit?

MaiGari Habu: Provided that the place is not hard?

Musa: If the place is not hard we reduce the distance, but if the place is hard we keep the distance the same (like this). You know a hard place is not the same with a place that is soft. But if it has fertilizer if you do this, there will be no difference. But if there is no fertilizer or manure if you plant seeds close to one another it will not be good. If a hard place is used we know what to do. If the place is not hard we plant seeds near one another.

QR: Did you apply seed dressing to your seeds this year?

Musa: Yes, we did apply seed dressing.

Robert: Where did you obtain it?

Musa: It was given to people like Gale to sell. For 15 CFA he would bring you some.

Robert: Do women (animatrices) sell it also?

## Ma'aru (Dadin Kowa)

Robert: Did you apply European seed dressing this year?

Ma'aru: We applied the European kind.

Robert: Is this seed dressing applied to plants?

Ma'aru: If you get it early you can apply it to peanuts and beans.  
It can be applied to anything.

Robert: How much do you put on cowpeas?

Ma'aru: For beans, you apply whatever you get.

Robert: Have you ever sown the new variety of cowpeas.

Ma'aru: Yes, I sowed it indeed.

Robert: Since when did you sow this variety of cowpeas?

Ma'aru: Since last year, this kind of cowpeas was brought to us.

Robert: Is this kind of cowpeas good?

Ma'aru: Yes, it is good.

Robert: What is the relationship between it and the traditional one?

Ma'aru: The only difference is early gestation. The new one produces early, and produces more. And it does not spread.

Robert: If you get some will you sell it or will you eat in your house?

Ma'aru: If it produces alot: you can sell it.

Robert: Do you like to sell all?

Ma'aru: No, you should not sell all of it. You should leave some for seeds.

Robert: When you keep some seed, and also have a big basket more, will you sell all the rest or will you keep it for eating?

Ma'aru: If it is more than the seed you go on and eat some. And if the time for planting comes you take the amount you need for sowing and eat the rest.

Ma'aru (Daden Kowa)

Robert: If you get about ten baskets (of cowpeas) will you sell most of them?

Ma'aru: Yes, you can sell seven and leave three.

Robert: How much will they pay for a kilo?

Ma'aru: Each kilo is 40CFA.

Robert: When you went Mai'aduwa (Nigeria) or Matameye markets were there some buyers of this cowpeas?

Ma'aru: If only they allow us to take it there. It is not allowed. There is money there. It is six shillings a kilogram (approximately 130 CFA).

Robert: If you go there can you find a buyer?

Ma'aru: Yes, indeed. It does not matter how many bags (you take there, it will be sold) even if you take these, it will be sold) even if you take a truck full of it, it will be sold. But the authorities at Matameye forbid its entry.

Q: You are forbidden to sell there, only at Matameye, because that is a market controlled by UNCC. The customs agents prevent our selling in Mai'aduwa (Nigeria) We are afraid, so we sell at Matameye. If we were not afraid we would sell there. Everyone would.

Interview with RABO  
Farmer Dadin Kowa

Sanoussi: Have you ever seen the work that has been done with double bladed hoe?

Rabo: Yes, I have seen Gale working with it. I saw Gale with it at his farm.

Robert: Have you seen him working with it in his farm?

Rabo: Yes, he was digging holes to plant peanuts.

Robert: You have never work it yourself?

Rabo: I have never worked with it.

Sanoussi: Is there any difference between Gale's farm and your traditional farm?

Rabo: I have seen a difference concerning the peanuts?

Sanoussi: What is the difference?

Rabo: The difference I observed is that it produces more nuts than the traditional variety. I observed this two years ago, that it produced more nuts.

Sanoussi: Haven't you gone to observe it this year?

Rabo: I did go this year.

Robert: Do you know why Gale's peanuts produce more nuts than yours.

Rabo: I don't know the reason.

Robert: Didn't he tell you the reason?

Rabo: No he didn't tell me. I saw him but I didn't ask him. I observed it.

## Interview with RABO

Robert: Since last year, when Gale did the work, did he ever collect people to inform them about the work he had been doing?

Rabo: Yes, he assembled people and informed about peanut farming and millet farming. I attended once. Last year I didn't attend because I was away. But this year I attended.

Robert: The meeting that he organized when you were there do you still remember what he told you about work?

Rabo: He was telling us about the work he has been doing with two-bladed hoe. He was saying, "even if you can't finish all the work on your peanut farm with it, you can divide it into two. It is still useful."

Robert: Apart from working with double bladed hoe, did he tell you about something else?

Rabo: Yes, there is a certain fertilizer they will introduce.

Robert: Is similar to manure?

Rabo: They said they will dig some holes and demonstrate a certain fertilizer. He also told us about this (composting)

Robert: Has he ever given you any advice concerning fertilizer?

Rabo: Yes, people have been buying it this year. You mean the fertilizer which is being spread in peanuts farm? Yes, in addition to the advice he gave us when it was introduced, he brought it and said to us that it is useful. Whoever likes it should go and buy it and go and spread it on his farm just to see, even if it is a small quantity, like when four of you are given some money to buy one bag and divide it among yourselves, you will see the difference in the section of the farm where you used the fertilizer.

Robert: Have you, personally observed its usefulness?

Rabo: Yes I observed it. I used it on my peanuts farm, and I really observed that the peanuts were growing very well, and the millet in the same farm was also growing very well.

Robert: Where did you get the fertilizer which you used this year?

Rabo: At Saouni. It was sold there. They sold it at the farm centre.

Robert: About one bag?

Rabo: Yes, we bought one bag at that we didn't have enough money, so four of us bought it to share.

Robert: Did each one receive two tias?

Rabo: Yes, each can then go and spread it in his farm, and whoever has extra money he can buy one or two more tias.

Robert: Is it only this year that you have started using fertilizer?

Rabo: Yes, I saw it for the first time this year.

Robert: Haven't you ever used it before this year?

Rabo: I have never used it before this year's rainy season. I have been using traditional manure.

Robert: Why did you try fertilizer this year?

Rabo: I went to visit Eldawa, and I saw it was shown to me, and I said I would try it myself.

Sanoussi: Do you know the person whose farm you visited there?

Rabo: No, I don't know him.

Sanoussi: Apart from the fertilizer which was already shown to you, has Gale told you any information on millet?

Rabo: Yes, the new variety of millet was demonstrated to us. It is right now growing in his farm. He also planted it last year.

Robert: Did you plant it yourself?

Rabo: No, I didn't plant it.

Robert: Have you seen what Gale and the others did?

Rabo: Yes, I have seen.

Robert: What have you observed about this new variety of millet?

Rabo: This millet, the way I see it, if it is cultivated properly and planted on fertile land, is better than our own. It ripens very fast, and produces a lot of grains.

Robert: Do you want to plant this new millet on trial basis?

Rabo: Yes.

Robert: If you get the seed next year, will you plant it?

Rabo: I would like to plant it.

Robert: The first year you try it would you like to plant it in a small section of your farm, or would you plant in all your farm?

Rabo: Not in all the farm, I like to get a separate place and plant it.

Sanoussi: When you come to plant it, what type of place would you look for to try it?

Rabo: A fertile place.

Robert: Did you hear what they are saying about his millet, like whether it needs to be planted alone if it doesn't like peanuts to be planted among it, did you hear this?

Rabo: Yes I heard all this. He told me that the new millet should be planted alone, no peanuts, beans, or guinea corn should be planted among it.

Sanoussi: Will you be able to try what he told you?

Rabo: Yes, I will be able to get a place and try it to see.

Sanoussi: Are there some boys from this town who go to the farmer training center?

Rabo: Yes, there are some who went. There were three people who went from this town.

Robert: Do you know the reason why these particular people were chosen to go?

Rabo: I don't know.

Robert: Do you know whether they have been selected, or they just went and said they wanted to go?

Rabo: No, I don't know the reason why. The way it happened is, it must have been that the meeting was held when I was not in town. I heard the news that it was held at Makerawa where the cooperative is, and it is there they got these, Buntili, and Nadadi. I didn't attend the meeting.

Robert: Since Yaou, Buntili and Nadadi came back home with their equipment, what kind of work have they been doing?

Rabo: None that I have see myself.

Robert: Have they also gotten fertilizer?

Rabo: They got it.

Robert: What did they do with the fertilizer?

Rabo: They put it where they planted peanuts, guinea corn and millet and guinea corn. They took all the fertilizer that they were given and put it there.

Robert: If somebody from the town, wants to get fertilizer, can he go and buy it from them?

Rabo: From Yaou and Buntili? No. We asked them and said no to us. They said there is fertilizer. There is a different supply for sale at Saouni. They said to us no. They were given it to put on their farms. Any way they didn't sell it to me. I don't know whether they sold it to someone.

Robert: Have ever seen the farm of Nadadi, Buntili or Yaou on which they put the fertilizer?

Rabo: The way they spread it? Yes I saw Yaou. Yaou worked near me and I saw him putting it in his peanut farm.

Robert: Are his farms good?

Rabo: Yes, they are very good I have seen them. And Yaou demonstrated to us how to use the fertilizer. The farm agent called a meeting and thanked us for the way we are using the fertilizer.

Robert: Is there anyone among the three of them who has ever worked on the farm using animal traction?

Rabo: No, I didn't see. If it is any kind of work, except for Yaou they all work away from our working place. So if anybody does anything, you wouldn't see, because he is not near me.

Robert: Did you hear, whether Gale or the three young men have ever called a meeting in their farms and called people to come and see what they are doing in their farms?

Rabo: I have seen Gale, because he calls people to come and see.

Sanoussi: Does Gale call people to demonstrate the work to them?

Rabo: Yes, he demonstrates it.

Robert: Did he do it this year?

Rabo: If he did it this year I didn't see it. But he did it last year.

Robert: Last year when he demonstrated were there some people who went to his farm?

Rabo: We went, four of us went together. I have forgotten about half of what happened. He sought for us and asked us to come and see. He demonstrated to us how to do the work. We have seen its usefulness. He also told us to see whether there is any difference between the kind of millet he planted.

Robert: Is there any difference?

Rabo: Zango is taller than Kolo. But if Kolo gets a good place, you can't even pass your hand through it.

Robert: Does it produce more grains than the other?

Rabo: It produces more grains than Zango.

Sallaw: What stops you from getting the two bladed hoe. Didn't you ask for it?

Rabo: I haven't yet asked for it. You know if you don't understand something, you can't use it at particular time, until you see its usefulness, then you ask for it. You see for example when they brought the ox-drawn plough. They would just come and gather people, but at that time nobody cared for the plough. Even those you have the means of getting it, didn't care to get it. And after the people realized its usefulness later then it wasn't available.

Interview  
Malam Abdu (Dadin Kowa)

Robert: Do you know about the young men who are sent to the Center at Matameye?

Abdu: Yes, like Yaou.

Robert: How was it decided to send them?

Abdu: The meeting of townspeople selected them.

Robert: All the townspeople..

Abdu: Yes, all those who attended.

Robert: Why then did both Yaou and Buntili come from the same household? Wasn't there any young person who wanted to go except for them?

Abdu: If someone wants to go, the people of his gida don't want him to go. People think of it as trouble (difficulty). The town chief's family understood what was being asked of them--to send one man, to send him to go do some work, they select someone to go.

Sanoussi: When they got people together to make the selection, did they explain what the advantages would be?

Abdu: A'a, they didn't say. They just said that if they went they would probably get some benefit.

Robert: Since they have returned have they been doing any work differently?

Abdu: I see the authorities brought them fertilizer, one got 15 bags, another 17 bags. They showed them how to plant millet using fertilizer also how to plant peanuts and cowpeas. They gave them the new type hoe for planting in close rows.

Sansoussi: Have you seen their work on the field?

Abdu: Yes I've seen Yaou--he is planting making rows of millet very close together and peanuts close together. Their work isn't like ours. With their's all the plants come up at once. It's good. But their's doesn't. They make large heads (the millet) like ours does. It is small but good.

Sanoussi: Are there other people here who-plant varieties of millet other than Zango (the local variety)?

Abdu: There are lots of varieties planted here. No two fields are the same.

Robert: Do some people plant Kolo (short head millet)?

Abdu: Yes, but not many. Because of that if you plant Kolo it soon becomes like Zongo because of cross breeding. That spoils the short head variety.

Robert: Have you ever worked with modern fertilizer?

Abdu: No.

Robert: Never, since the beginning?

Abdu: Once I did use it on peanuts, years ago.

Robert: Why haven't you used any in the last two years?

Abdu: They gave it to Yaou and the other but not to us.

We would have to buy and we don't have the money. The Agricultural Service, gives it to them free, and tells them that it is theirs alone. They do sell some (Yaou). They have so much, 13 or 15 bags, that they sell some.

Robert: Do you think that fertilizer is useful on peanuts and millet?

Abdu: yes..for example if you put it on sugar cane you see that the cane gets tall and black and multiples alot (tillers). Do you know how much they sell Nigerian fertilizer for here?

Robert: How much?

Abdu: At first, 2500 CFA a bag. Now you can get it for 1500 CFA. That is for the kind you use on sugar cane. But a Nigerian farmer, he could buy it from the government for 250 CFA. So many farmers brought it that they starting selling it on the private market cheaper.

Sanoussi: Has Gale, the farmer who works with the double headed hoe, ever held a meeting here in town to tell people about his work.

Abdu: Yes, he has and I've gone once. Since I travel alot as a truck agent (Komasho). I'm not here much. Perhaps he has held other meetings, but I don't know.

Robert: Do you know whether Gale has ever called people to come to his field to see what he has been doing there

Abdu: I never saw, but perhaps he did when I wasn't here.

Robert: Has M. Ado--the agricultural monitor, who has been living close to your concession for about six months, ever given you any advice on farming?

Abdu: Yes, he came out and measured a peanut plot on my field. He had another agricultural agent.

Robert: Why did they measure?

Abdu: They said they would harvest peanuts from that plot and take them to Saouni to see how much they weighed. That's the extent of our discussion of the matter. I said, "ok, go and weigh them." I've gotten them together and they are drying now. When they are dry he will come and take them to be weighed. After they have taken them to the agricultural station, they said that they will give me the peanuts back

Sallaw: Didn't they explain why they wanted to know the weight?

Abdu: No, they didn't say. They just said, don't sell them, and they would replace the same quantity that they took to weigh.

Robert: Have you been having trouble with insects attacking the peanuts the last two years?

Abdu: Last year there were no peanuts. I didn't harvest any. This year the agricultural agents came with medicine-- a powder, and they sprayed the plants to prevent insect damage. They said they were going to spray the whole region from the air, but the plane never does work to get rid of the insects. They brought the powder to every town--some towns got five bags, other ten, and they sprayed. I saw they made an effort.

Robert: You remember in the past there was a cooperative here at Dadin Kowa--Malam Adu, Ma'aru and Issa took out loans for peanut shellers?

Interview (Malam Abdu  
continued)

Abdu: I know what your talking about.

Robert: Is there any cooperative like that now at Dadin  
Kowa?

Abdu: No, since that one we have never had another. That one  
didn't make us happy. It caused a great deal of difficulty.  
Now we refuse. The people who took loans didn't repay  
and they took the money from the rest of us. That's why  
we refuse now.

Robert: I know there were people who took out loans and when  
it came time to repay they refused. Why was this?

Abdu: When they took out the loans it was agreed that it would  
be their own personal loans, not for others to be  
responsible. But then they turned it around (the UNCC).  
They said their relatives would have to pay. They  
didn't have to pay then. They knew the loans would be  
repaid from the peanut dividends of the town.

Robert: Did you agree with this system?

Abdu: (Ina) How could I agree? But if you didn't agree with  
the decisions the powerful (saraki) made, there is only  
the recourse of the will of Allah. And we stopped  
marketing our peanuts at the cooperative scale. We  
would sell them anywhere but there. Everyone did this.

Robert: Are the loans which the young farmer trainees (Yaou,  
Buntili) got for farm equipment personal loans or  
town loans?

Abdu: They are personal loans, but if they (the authorities)  
say that they are town loans then the young men will  
never repay them. And we will not sell our goods  
at the cooperative scale. We would even take them to  
Nigeria, it is the same thing. We will never agree to more of  
that. Because of that if people want to get loans for  
fertilizer or other supplies they cannot get them. We  
are afraid to let the same thing happen, and the  
authorities won't give use the loans. I myself would  
not go ask for a loan; I'd be afraid.

Gidan Malam Leku  
Rebuilding The Old Gandu Farm

Q.R: How many boys have started to do field work in your house?

Leko: These are the ones which I listed to you--Yakubu, Abdou and Mamman and Salisu and the son-in-law of Maigari and also in the town is Rigiza, dan Maigari, and Rigiza's son-Lawali.

Robert: Has he started working?

Leko: Yes, he works with Badam and Danjuma. We work together with them. Yes they started to work.

Robert: Are you working on a large family farm?

Leko: Yes, of course.

Sanoussi: Who among them is married to the daughter of Maigari?

Leko: It is the stranger.

Robert: Where is he from?

Leko: He is from Wadi, there in the district of Korgom.

Robert: Did you give him an individual farm?

Leko: No, I have not yet given him. All of them. I have not given them.

Robert: Aren't there some among them who have individual plots or farms?

Leko: The ones that are here (in the bush camp) do not have, only those that are there (in town) do have individual plots.

Robert: Like Rigiza and dan Maigari?

Leko: Yes, they have individual plots.

Robert: Are the plots in your farm?

Leko: Yes, also Rigiza has bought another farm, there it is in the west near Isubit. And that of dan Maigari is the one that I gave him.

Robert: In this large family farm you are working on now do you have grain bins of food stuff that can feed these people in both dry and rainy season or only for rainy season?

Gidan Malam Leku

Leko: No, only for rainy season.

Robert: In the dry season does everybody feed from his individual farm?

Leko: Yes, from his individual farm and from other sources if it is not enough.

Robert: Was what you got this past rainy season not adequate for all the people?

Leko: We can't get (enough). It wasn't adequate. It was better in the past. The one for this year was not adequate, but before we used to get a lot. But this year, this rain and all are not adequate. Yes, last year there was a lot of millet.

Robert: Was there more millet last year than this year?

Leko: Yes, there was more than this year--both millet and corn in my case, are more than last year.

Robert: Why did the millet not grow well this year?

Leko: Oh Robert, we will just say it is the will of God.

Robert: What kind of God's will?

Leko: Well, this year there were no insects, we can only complain of weeds and the rain, when it stops it reduces millet when it is germinating.

Robert: Does weed prevent the growth of millet?

Leko: Yes, it prevents it if it is not pulled out in time. You know doing things early is better.

Robert: Was there millet this year that was put in the grain bin and got spoiled when the rains came?

Leko: The grain stored was not spoiled, only the grain that is now outside. You know the grain that is outside gets smaller everyday.

Robert: Doesn't it become rotten?

Leko: If the inside of it is wet it gets rotten, unless it is spread. Also if it is not too tight together the water inside will drain. You know everybody has his own way of tying a bundle. If someone ties it there will be no space, while if someone does not tie it tightly the water drains out. Also if it falls down and you do not take care of it up to three

Gidan Malam Leku

days or four days, when you go you will see that it has started to germinate, it all shoots out, so you see it has spoiled.

Robert: Do you know that Gale of village authorities household has a job with farm agents who are giving him farming equipments including double bladed hoe? Have you heard about it?

Leko: Yes, I have heard it.

Robert: Well, have you ever seen the work of his double bladed hoe?

Leko: No, I have not seen it. They work with it but I did not go and they did call me to see it. And also I didn't borrow it to try. But if they work with it they say that it is good.

Robert: When they meet in the town is there somebody from your house, or yourself, who attends?

Leko: Well, these boys are the ones at the meeting?

Robert: Like the dan Maigari and Rigiza?

Leko: Yes, sometime they meet when I am absent, you know that he who lives in the country if somebody does not come to inform him he will not know. For example when you came and you do not meet me like if I have gone far away, then you will not have met me, so this kind of thing happens.

Robert: If they attend the meeting in the town and return here to you, do they tell you what they did in the town?

Leko: Yes, they tell me when they meet me.

Robert: Did you get the peanut seed that was brought to you this year?

Leko: Yes, I got some.

Robert: Is this peanut that is brought to you the same as the traditional one?

Leko: That one, no, some are the same, some are different. There are three varieties. There are big ones, (that grows straight up) "eldakar" (name of variety).

Robert: Have they brought you Eldakar?

Gidan Malamin Leku

Leko: Yes, in this bag, some will be able to get two or three tias, but if some one is not lucky he might not get any at all. If you want it you buy it. If you don't want it whatever you get you have to manage. And also there is the traditional one. In this way you can obtain all the three varieties—the big-big variety, and the one that stands up right and Eldakar which has big nuts. There is also another one, El Hausa. There is also Eldakar proper. And somebody can get a whole bag of Eldakar. That is the one he will sow. For you know that the measures are not the same and the farms are not the same. Some are mixed and some are all of the same type.

Robert: Was the peanut seed you were given free or loan which you will repay?

Leko: They said that whoever was given one bag he should repay one and half bags and whoever was given two bags should repay three bags. They also gave me the seed of the big variety that I talked to you about. But I got tias. They brought to me in a small bag. We shelled it and we got three tias of seed. Then we mix it with this one.

Robert: Did they give you another new variety of cowpeas? (blackeye peas).

Leko: Yes, they gave us.

Robert: Did you sow it?

Leko: Yes, I sowed it, but all in the same farm. I did not sow it on a separate farm.

Sanoussi: How did you find this type of cowpeas seeds that you sowed in your farm?

Leko: It produces, but some of the seeds are small. Some are long and hard pods and have seeds - since it grows rapidly, in our case, we sowed it early there in our farm in the west. Also the weed and this rain spoil it (for us). You know the work of a common man is difficult.

Robert: Have you ever sown this variety of short stalk millet?

Leko: No, I have never sown it.

Robert: Only the local variety?

Leko: Yes, only the local variety.

Gidan Malam Leku

Robert: Have you ever seen the short stalk variety of millet in somebody's farm?

Leko: Yes, I have seen it in Galey's farm and also when the boys of Ya'u sowed it I saw it.

Robert: What is your opinion about this short stalk variety of millet?

Leko: It is useful, if it is sown and kept properly, you know that everything needs good care. If it is taken care of it becomes useful. Also I heard from the people that grew it that it was good. We have the intention, if not of planting all of this variety, to get a small place and sow it to see how it grows. If we live to see next year, we shall look for it and sow it.

Robert: Do you think that, this short stalk variety of millet is easier to cultivate than your traditional type?

Leko: Yes, because our traditional type does not ripen as early as their own variety.

Robert: Did you see it at Galey's farm?

Leko: Yes, when they sow it there near the tarred road.

Robert: Do they call people to come and see the work they are doing in their farms?

Leko: If they will call me, I told you, I will be here. And if they are not going to call me but call some other people instead, if I go I will not say they are wrong to have called some other people because they are also our people. They have come here looking for us, but they didn't find us, therefore they are going to work with the other people they met. If they come back one day, we should be notified. But if they forget to notify us again, we shall still be living together because we are their guests. Whoever is away from home experiences this type of problem.

Robert: Do you know the agricultural agent who has just come to live here?

Leko: Yes, we greet each other, but he has not yet visited me, and I do not go to his place.

Robert: Do you know what type of work he does, there in the town? Do the town people tell you about his work or you don't hear about it at all?

Gidan Malam Leku

Leko: I heard them saying that, they (farm agents) go from farm to farm spreading fungicide when the seed's have been planted.

Robert: Fungicide? (seed dressing-anti-fungicide)

Leko: Fungicide is being blown over when the insects come out. Another thing they do is to start a certain machine which makes a sound like this tu-tu-tu.

Robert: Some kind of motor device?

Leko: Yes, wherever there are insects, they go and they also go to wherever millet is planted to inspect it. This is what I was told about what he has been doing.

Sanoussi: When you plant peanuts, millet, or any crop, do you mix the seed with fungicide?

Leko: Yes, I always mix them with seed dressing since its introduction. I have a means of getting it.

Robert: Do you get it every year?

Leko: Yes I get it.

Robert: From where do you get seed dressing this year?

Leko: Seed dressing? I bought it from Galey.

Robert: Does he sell it?

Leko: Yes, he is being given by the farm agent to sell.

Robert: Two years ago or this year, have you used fertilizer?

Leko: I used fertilizer for peanuts, but I didn't use it in my other farm.

Robert: At what time?

Leko: We put it when we are sowing the seeds or during the second weeding it is the time we put fertilizer.

Robert: Did you use fertilizer this year?

Leko: Yes, I used it.

Robert: Where did you get the fertilizer you used?

Leko: I got it from the farmer demonstrator.

Gidan Malam Leku

Robert: Did he sell like a bag or only a tia?

Leko: A bag.

Robert: Did you use it for peanuts in your individual farm?

Leko: Yes I used it in my individual farm.

Robert: Does everybody have his own separate plot for peanuts?

Leko: Well, all that is here is the family farm. It is only one and those farms that are there, are different ones.

Robert: Is there no peanut plot that belongs to the whole family?

Leko: There isn't. There is not enough seed.

Robert: In this plot that you sowed the peanuts that you have mixed with fertilizer, what is the difference between it and other plots, what difference does it show?

Leko: Well, I only see that it is useful, it is good.

Robert: What does fertilizer do to it?

Leko: It makes it grow big, to spread and cover wide space. And also to produce more seeds, more than the one that grows on the plot that I do not use fertilizer. Before, I have not been using fertilizer, the peanuts have not been growing as I like them to grow. But I have been using fertilizer on this one, it is useful.

Sanoussi: What if you get fertilizer in the future?

Leko: Of course I will take it. Either free or credit, or if I have some money I will buy it. Obviously if I get it, I will take it.

Robert: Do you use fertilizer in your garden?

Leko: No I didn't.

Robert: Do you grow sugar cane?

Leko: I grow it.

Robert: What kind of fertilizer do you employ?

Leko: Chemical fertilizer.

Gidan Malam Leku

Robert: Did you get it this year?

Leko: Yes.

Robert: From where did you get fertilizer?

Leko: From Saouni (a neighboring town).

Robert: Did you go to the farm center and buy it for cash?

Leko: Yes, cash down.

Robert: How many bags of fertilizer did you buy this year?

Leko: Two bags.

Robert: Did you grow the new black sugar cane?

Leko: No, I did not grow it, it required its own type of land separately. I just planted between my crops. I have planted on small area on Maigari's land.

Robert: You used to have oxen to pull your cart, but now you have no oxen to pull your cart?

Leko: Yes, I used to have two, one of them became vicious so I sold it.

Robert: Couldn't it do any work?

Leko: No. When I want to bring it home it doesn't agree. It even injures this boy. In my case I fear that it will injure people, so I will rather do away with it.

Robert: Did you buy another one?

Leko: I bought a small one. It is here.

Sanoussi: Do you have ox-drawn cart now?

Leko: Yes I have, but it is not here. I loaned it to someone.

Robert: Did I see it in the town, in Nadadi's home?

Leko: Yes.

Robert: Is it a loan?

Leko: Yes, I loan it to him.

Sallaw: Don't you get anything even if he transports some goods?

Gidan Malam Leku

Leko: Yes, he transports my millet from the farm two times.

Robert: Does he give anything?

Leko: He gives me a small amount.

Robert: Don't you get a plough which is being used for farming, that is being pulled by oxen?

Leko: No we don't have, only cultivator belongs to us. But they can't use this cultivator.

Robert: Who cannot use it?

Leko: These boys. The ox-drawn plough piles the dirt up. But the cultivator is like a sieve.

Robert: Well, I heard that some youth from the town have been sent to the centre at Matameye to learn how to work with ox-drawn plough like Buntili, Yaou, and Nadadi. Is there any person in your house who wants to go and learn how to work with ox-drawn plough?

Leko: Well if requested, I like to go, but even if you like, if you are not requested you can't go. But if some body is needed from my house I will allow him to go. If it is my government work. You have to be requested if you are not requested if you go you will not get the job. You wouldn't have a means of getting it. But if a person from my house is needed for the job, I will allow him to go.

Robert: But is there nobody who on his own said that he wants to go?

Leko: To go on his own accord? No I didn't ask them and they didn't tell me. I know even if they go will not succeed.

Robert: When they want to select boys do the people have a meeting?

Leko: That is what they say they do in the town. If someone that will not go is asked as to whether he will go he will not say that he will not go. When one is asked whether he will go one will say 'yes'. Another man may refuse. Even if someone like Maigari asks, or someone from there is sent to ask the servant of someone or to order people like you go and vote or if people are gathered and someone says 'You, will you go?' the person will refuse.

Gidan Malam Leku

Leko: In the past one will refuse. But nowadays one does not refuse. Nowadays people are enlightened. Nobody refuses (to vote). But in the past one refused.

Robert: When people like Yaou and Buntili and Nadadi returned from the agricultural centre did they bring agricultural equipment?

Leko: They were given oxen and bags of fertilizer and ploughs for their own use.

Robert: Have you, yet, seen them working with the plough?

Leko: Well, I have not gone to their place.

Robert: Don't you know what they are doing?

Leko: No, I don't know.

Robert: Did you hear what the agricultural agents did with Yaou on his trial plot which was laid out?

Leko: I also heard that you have to go to town for that. When we sowed here, it was said that they did not sow there, until their farm was laid out. At that time we did not have the chance to leave our work of sowing in order to go and observe what they were doing.

Robert: In your view what is the use of going to the centre?

Leko: You can see its usefulness, it has come home to us, we see it.

Sanoussi: Can you give some examples?

Leko: Oxen, plough, they were given fertilizer. Earlier it was said that they would be given (ox-drawn cart) but we did not see it. We saw those (I mentioned) and they were, of course, useful. Last year Yaou was given ox-drawn cart without oxen.

Robert: Would you allow Rigiza to go?

Leko: This is like mounting and dismounting, I am now dismounting and he is mounting. Without him the house will not be as normal as it is desired. He is the eldest man in the house apart from me. You know if they stop work in the family farm he is the one to blame. And he will be upset. The rest of the boys will not worry because they are not to blame. In the case of the boys they can be instructed to go and do the work. He (the eldest one) knows what the

Gidan Malam Leku

Leko: actual intention and plan is in the house. The rest of the boys don't know. This is what prevented him from going or this was why he was not allowed to go.

Robert: Will he then be just showing them the work?

Leko: Yes, you see that if he goes, even he alone he knows what to do. But if the boys go by themselves they will not stay and do the work. But he (the eldest boy) will stay and do the work. Even if he is alone if it becomes necessary he will go. He has to be patient to go. But earlier when he did not like to go he has to be forced.

Robert: Among the peanuts, you sow Elhausa, Eldaka and Eltsugume, which do you prefer?

Leko: Among these three we know Eldakar, it is very useful. If you are not well of it helps (us). Since it produces a lot of seeds and it ripens faster. It is better than our traditional variety. Ours takes a long time to ripen. I sowed the new variety this year. If we get this Eldakar we plant it. Since it is rainy season (a difficult time for farmers) you can quickly have a harvest of it and sell it in order to take care of your business. If you run out of millet or something else arises and you don't know what to do you can dig it up and sell it fast. When it is seen that the thing is useful, it was taken next year if we have the chance of buying it or getting a loan we will do it or take it.

Interview with Mai Salati  
Dadin Kowa

Sanoussi: Did you see the type of work he was doing with the two bladed hoe?

Maisalati: Yes.

Sanoussi: What do you think about it? Based on your observation.

MS: Where I observed is O.K., but the peanuts farm is better.

Sanoussi: You mean the peanut farm is O.K. but the millet farm was not O.K.?

MS: Yes, it is a very fertile farm, but the millet was planted very close to each other.

Sanoussi: You mean the plants were very close to each other?

MS: Yes, They are very close. If it were planted according to our traditional method of planting crops, he could have harvested them. If millet is planted very close to each other, it will just grow into a dense bush.

Robert: Have you ever planted a variety of millet other than zango.

R: Apart from zango the authorities gave us another variety. I planted it. They also gave us some guinea corn and millet. I sowed the millet in our hausa traditional way of sowing therefore it just grew tall like our own variety of millet. You wouldn't be able to differentiate it from our own variety of millet. I just happened to know the area I planted on. Otherwise I wouldn't have been able to tell which is which.

Sanoussi: It is similar to Zango, but what about it's quality.

MS: The stalk of Zango is thicker, it has quality.

Robert: Were you given some peanut seeds this year?

MS: Yes, they gave us some peanut seeds.

Sanoussi: What type of peanuts were you given?

MS: We were given the same type of peanut seeds we used to sow, like the traditional type, only smaller.

Robert: Has the farm agent Ado, who came from the farm center, ever given you an advice regarding farm work?

MS: He informed us about whatever he has been told. We did not obey his instruction, but due to God's will there were no insect pests.

Robert: Didn't he bring insecticide?

MS: Yes, he brought insecticide to us. They divided it among us. When the insecticide was brought the farm agents were very busy, so they just demonstrated to us how to use it and asked us to go and try it. Some people tried it but some didn't. Also God prevents insects from the plot on which we sowed peanuts. There were no insects.

Robert: When the farm agent was giving the advice, did he collect people or did he go from farm to farm.

MS: At first he was collecting people, and going to the farms of only those who work with two bladed hoes. He went there to measure their farms.

Robert: But, doesn't he work together with the people of the town?

MS: Yes, only if he was given something that he had to come and tell us.

✓ Robert: How many times this year has Ado called a meeting in this town, which you have attended?

MS: I personally attended two meetings.

Robert: Does Gale have meetings with the townspeople to give them advice on farm work?

MS. Gale does it, yes.

Robert: When has he held these meetings, for example in the dry season or the rainy season?

MS: At first, when they gave us the peanut seed they called us together. That was in the bazara (hot season preceding the rains). The second meeting was with Ado when he brought the medicine for treating the insects.

Robert: Haven't there been any meetings recently?

MS. Yes, we had a meeting recently about peanut weighing as well as selling cowpeas, millet and sorghum. They distributed the cards we have to bring to market. Gale brought the cards.

Robert: Have you ever seen that they place sticks in Galè's field and stretch a rope to mark out a place?

MS. They did it in Gale's field, in Yaou's, and in Na dadi's, in all of them.

Robert: Do you know why they did that?

MS: No, what I heard is that they will harvest them separately and take them to Saouni to have the "monsieurs" there test them.

Robert: Have you heard what they found in their tests there at Saouni?

MS: We think that the peanuts of Galè and Yaou are more abundant, since they gave them fertilizer—they gave fertilizer to Galè, Yaou, Buntili and Na Dadi. Perhaps for that reason, their yield will exceed ours.

Mai Salati-continued-- 46

Robert: Have you ever used fertilizer?

MS: No, only our kind (manure).

Robert: What do you think is the difference between your fertilizer (manure) and modern fertilizer?

MS. There is a difference. The modern kind gives more results, more yield than manure. Also if there is a drought and the area has a lot of manure it will produce too many insects. The soil becomes too hot, and it prevents the plants from growing. If you use fertilizer carefully it will give better results even in drought.

Sallaw: Have you actually seen the results of fertilizer with your eyes?

MS: Yes, I have seen it, since I work in the gardens. We saw the results there.

Robert: Next year would you like to get some fertilizer to try on your own fields?

MS: Yes.

Robert: What prevents it?

MS: If you are not someone who works with the bureaucrats, there is no one who gets any.

Sallaw: Have you asked?

MS: Some asked but they didn't get any. Only those who work with the "monsieurs."

Robert: If they came and said there is fertilizer, you can buy for 1000 CFA a bag, would you buy it or not?

MS: Yes, then I would buy it. There are even people now who go to Nigeria to get more fertilizer for gardens if none is available here. And it is more expensive there. The only problem is there is too little at Matameye. We say, if we are alive next year, perhaps next year they will bring some. We would prefer to buy it that way--no difficulty and cheaper, and no trickery to get it.

Robert: Do you have a garden in which you grow sugar cane?

MS: Yes.

Robert: Do you use fertilizer on the sugar cane?

MS: Yes, I use it.

Robert: This past year?

MS: Yes, I got some from Nigeria. There was none available here.

Robert: How much fertilizer did you use? One bag or more?

MS: No, not even one bag, perhaps only about 9 tias (25 lbs.)

Robert: You grow the black variety of sugar cane?

MS: This year all my cane is that black type.

Robert: What is the effect of fertilizer on the black type type of cane?

MS: It gets big.

Robert: Have you heard about the young people who are taken to be trained in farm work at Matameye?

MS: Yes, like our Na dadi, Yaou, Buntili?

Sanoussi: Do you know how they were selected to go?

MS: They said it was a good thing, they came and Yaou was sent?

Robert: Who sent him?

MS: A meeting was held to select someone, but no one agreed to go. After that so they said Yaou will go. After that, the next year his younger brother (Buntili) was sent. Then last year still no one volunteered, so they (the town authorities) selected Nadadi.

Sanoussi: Aren't there any young men here who want to go, but who have not had the chance?

MS: Yes, if you asked you would find some.

Sanoussi: But none stand up in the meetings to say they want to go?

MS: Yes, that's right.

Robert: How about your own son- Dan Lare?

MS: Wait! I'm the only one in the gida. If he leaves who is going to do the field work during the rainy season?

Robert: Do the young men have to come from large gidas (households) then?

MS: That's it, those with lots of people, but you're only one man...or if it is a good year and you have lots of food at home...

Robert: If Yaou and Buntili go to the Center, when they come home do they bring any equipment with them?

MS: Yes, Yaou--he was given a cart, to Buntilli they gave draught animals.

Robert: Did they get it as a gift or a loan?

MS: A loan, as a personal loan, not for the town. Whatever they owe the next year it is up to them to pay.

Robert: They said in the past that loans were for the town.

MS: Now they say it is for each to take on his own responsibility.

Robert: Have these people--Gale, Yaou or Buntili ever called the people together to see how they work their fields?

MS: Yes, Gale has done it, each year he does it. We go.

Robert: Have you ever gone?

MS: Yes.

Robert: What work did you see?

MS: A'a, since they planted I haven't seen anything.

Planting the New Millet Variety (Kolo)  
In Matameye

Ibra: I asked the farmer demonstrator to give me the kind of millet he received from the farm center. I just said to him to give me a small quantity so he gave me some.

Robert: Did he give you small amount of millet seed?

Ibra: Yes it was a small quantity. Compared to zango it has already grown tall. I didn't sow until the other type (zongo) had grown up tall enough to be cultivated. Then I sowed this type (Kolo) between plants on five rows just like that.

Maigari: Yes, I sowed it between the tall and short millet varieties. Soon the millet started to grow fast so I cultivated it together with the millet I sowed at first. But when I was going to take the millet to sous-prefecture and when I was going to harvest it, I found that Kolo ripened before Zango. And it also produced grain first.

Ibra: When it starts producing head all of it produce the head at the same time. I counted twenty three heads growing on a single plant and all producing head at the same time. This variety multiples (tillers) very well.

Ado: I tried to stop Halidu from planting millet. The time for planting millet was over. Anyhow he took it and planted it in his peanut farm. But we were out of our traditional variety of millet, while Halidu still had some Kolo millet remaining. We plant it and it took a long time to sprout, about two months, so I told him not to plant the millet.

Ibra: Adamu had been telling us that the time for planting millet was over. But I said to Adamou that we better plant it anyhow.

Ado: So Halidu took it and planted it in his peanut farm.

Robert: And what happened?

Halidu: The place we visited, where there are grain stores, heat destroyed our traditional variety of millet there. We said that Kolo millet should be replanted there. The harvest was of Kolo millet which was excellent.

Robert: Since Kolo ripens at the same time as Zango, do they also produce head at the same time?

Ado: It (Kolo) produces head and ripens faster than Zango.

Robert: Do you think that they do cross bred with wind?

Ado: Yes, some gives strength to others. Then it grows tall.

Robert: Do you have seed for this variety of millet in the grain store?

Ado: Yes, there is.

Robert: Will you save some seed?

Ado: Yes, I will save Kolo seed. We used its seed this year. In a place where we normally haven't eleven head loads I have gotten twenty head loads.

## Interview with a Fulani Farmer, at Ragana Hausa

Robert: Do you know me? I am Robert from Dadin Kowa.

Fulani: Yes, I have heard of you.

Robert: I am here to discuss farm problems you have been having in the past few years. What was your major farming difficulty this past year?

Fulani: You were here two years ago. You have seen it yourself, how people were suffering due to the lack of food.

Robert: Did you get a millet and guinea corn harvest this season?

Fulani: Yes.

Robert: Have you ever seen the short millet which the farm agent planted?

Fulani farmer: Yes.

Robert: Where did you see it?

Fulani farmer: I saw it at Dadin Kowa in Gale's farm and at Birji Karama and Birji Babba. (Yaouri area).

Robert: Do you want to try this short millet on your farm next year?

Fulani farmer: Yes, I very much want to.

Robert: Have you ever worked with the fertilizer which the farm agent sells?

Fulani farmer: Yes, I used it in the past when there was no drought.

Robert: Do you have a garden?

Fulani farmer: Yes, I have a sugar cane garden.

Robert: Do you use fertilizer on your sugar cane.

Fulani farmer: Yes, I use it every year.

Robert: From where do you get the fertilizer?

Fulani farmer: From Saouni.

Robert: Do you pay cash for it, or do they give it to you on credit?

Fulani farmer: They give it to us on credit which we can pay after one year.

Robert: Have you ever used fertilizer on millet?

Fulani farmer: No.

Robert: Have you ever seen anyone using it.

Fulani farmer: Yes, it is what I told you, I saw its work with my own eyes at Birji.

Robert: Have you planted the new small cowpeas?

Fulani Farmer: Yes, but I didn't plant it in a separate farm. Those who planted it in separate farms had a very good harvest.

Robert: Wasn't there anybody from this town who went to the center at Matameye and learned farming?

Fulani farmer: No.

Robert: Do you know those who went to the center from Dadin Kowa?

Fulani farmer: Yes, I know them.

Robert: Do you know why nobody went to the centre from this town?

Fulani farmer: Because nobody came to this town and said they wanted some people to go the centre.

Hausa Farmer at Ragana

Robert: This past rainy season what difficulties have you been having with farming?

Ragana farmer: Locusts and insects have given us a lot of difficulty. We kept planting and they kept eating. They kept the millet from ripening last year.

Robert: Did the farm agents come and help you because of the insect problem you were having?

Ragana farmer: No.

Robert: This year did you get a good peanut harvest?

Ragana farmer: I don't know yet because I just harvested it.

Robert: Have you ever seen the short millet?

Ragana farmer: Yes, I have seen it. Some people were given it's seeds and they planted it in their farms.

Robert: Have you planted it in your farm?

Ragana farmer: No, I didn't. I planted our traditional variety.

Robert: Have you seen it growing in other people's farms?

Ragana farmer: No, I don't walk about.

Robert: Has anybody in this town planted it?

Ragana farmer: No, nobody planted in this town.

Robert: Have you ever seen anybody, working with a two-bladed hoe?

Ragana farmer: Yes, I have ever seen it.

Robert: What is the difference between the working of two-bladed hoe and your traditional hoe?

Ragana farmer: The holes are closer and they are in a straight line.

Robert: Have planted the new small cowpeas?

Ragana farmer: Yes, I have planted them but they were eaten by insects.

Robert: Have you ever used fertilizer?

Ragana farmer: No.

Robert: Do you have a garden?

Ragana farmer: I used to have, but now only my brothers have gardens.

Robert: Do they have sugar cane?

Ragana farmer: Yes.

Robert: Do they use fertilizer on the sugar cane?

Ragana farmer: Yes, they use fertilizer.

Robert: Do you know about seed dressings?

Ragana farmer: Yes, I know about them and we use them  
in our peanut fields.

Robert: Don't you use it on millet.

Ragana farmer: Yes, we use it on millet.

Robert: Has any farm agent come here this year?

Ragana farmer: I don't know because my house is not  
situated in the town. Unless they call me,  
I wouldn't know whether the farm agent came  
or not.

Interview: Another Farmer from Ragana

Robert: How have things changed since I've been here last?

Ragana farmer: We suffered before. But this year and last year, there has been some improvement.

Robert: What has been your problem this year?

Ragana farmer: Lack of food. But this year I heard about the short millet.

Robert: Have you seen it.

Ragana farmer: No, but my brother saw it and he told me about it. We didn't get it here.

Robert: Where did you get the fertilizer from?

Ragana farmer: I got it from Saouni.

Robert: Have you ever used it on peanuts?

Ragana farmer: No.

Robert: Have any farm agents come here this year?

Ragana farmer: No.

Robert: Is there anybody in this town who works with the two bladed hoe?

Ragana farmer: Yes, there is somebody.

Robert: What is this name?

Ragana farmer: His name is Musa.

Robert: What kind of work does he do with the two bladed hoe?

Ragana farmer: He uses it to dig holes to plant crops on his farm.

Robert: Was Musa given fertilizer?

Ragana farmer: Yes he was given two bags.

Robert: What did he do with the fertilizer?

Ragana farmer: I saw him putting it on his farm. But  
I don't know whether he used all of it or  
not.

Robert: Does he call people to come and see what he is doing  
on his farm?

Ragana farmer: No.

New Interview: Baraw-A farmer at Soma

Robert: Have you seen the agricultural agent who lives at Dadin Kowa the one with the motor bike?

Baraw: No, I have not seen him.

Robert: He hasn't come here during this past rainy season?

Baraw: Here, in this town? No. He hasn't.

Robert: Have you ever seen the work of Husseini, who has two bladed hoe?

Baraw: No, I have never seen his work.

Robert: Doesn't he call the people of the town to show them his work?

Baraw: No, he doesn't.

Robert: Was there any meeting in this town this year?

Baraw: No, never.

Robert: Since the beginning of the rainy season, no meeting was held?

Baraw: No, I haven't seen any meeting held here.

Robert: And you haven't heard about it?

Baraw: No, I didn't hear of any.

Robert: This year have they brought you peanut seeds?

Baraw: Yes, they brought peanut and cowpea seeds.

Robert: When they brought the cowpeas, did they divide it so that everybody could get their share?

Baraw: The one we were just given was already divided at Saouni (the farm center). Everybody went with their cart and received it. Some were given one bag and some were given half a bag.

Robert: How much did you get?

Baraw: I got one bag.

Robert: Were you given any help concerning millet this year?

Baraw: Help concerning millet, No we were not given any.

Robert: You were not given any millet seed?

Baraw: I was given some millet for seed.

Robert: What kind of millet was it?

Baraw: They said it has short millet.

Robert: Did you plant it?

Baraw: No, they gave me one bag, but I ate it.

Robert: Did any farm agents come here from Matameye this year?

Baraw: No, they didn't come here, only some women (female animation workers) come here about two times and gave malaria medicine to small children.

A. Interview with Adam-A Farmer at Talafiya,  
Magaria (Satomawa Intensive Demonstration Area)

Robert: Did you get selected seed this year?

Adam: Yes, I got three tias of new millet seeds. Out of the three tias which I sowed, not all of it has been sown, I gave the rest of the seed to be eaten. And I harvested twenty-three bundles from where I sowed the seeds.

Sandoussi: Did you combine them together or did you separate the traditional one on one side and the modern one on the other side?

Adam: I seperated them. I planted only the seed I was given separately.

Robert: Did you plant peanuts among the millet?

Adam: I planted only millet.

Robert: Do you also plant Zango? (A local variety of millet)

Adam: We do plant it.

Robert: This year, which one is more useful. Is it short-stalk millet or Zango?

Adam: This year, I have the short-stalk millet which I am sowing in my farm. I have never harvested twenty bundles, but when I planted it this year, I didn't even use the whole farm, I gave out some part of it. But all the same I have harvested twenty-three bundles.

Sanoussi: For instance if you were asked which one do you think is better according to you?

Adam: The short-stalk millet is better.

Robert: Which one ripens more quickly in your farms?

Adam: Short-stalk millet ripens more quickly.

Sanoussi: Have you ever been given peanut seeds which you were told were better than the traditional variety?

Adam: No.

Sanoussi: Are all the variety of beans you planted this year the same as your traditional variety?

Adam: No, there is the small variety which we have been given.

Robert: When was this small variety of beans seeds brought to you?

Adam: They start giving it to us this year.

Robert: What do you find out about this variety of beans seeds?

Farmer: This new variety of bean seeds produce fruit early, and when you want to sell it is always heavy when weighed.

Robert: Do you eat it?

Adam: Yes, we eat it.

Robert: What are the advantages of using fertilizer?

Adam: It is really very useful, as I see it. Because I know the farm. I know that cows did not live in the farm but it grows very well. This cannot be possible without any reason.

Sanoussi: Will it not be due to lack of rain this year? If you put fertilizer, what will happen.

Adam: The millet will wilt. If you use manure the millet wilts, if there is drought. And we think it will be worse if you use fertilizer, because it is stronger than manure.

Sanoussi: What is the difference between the fertilizer and the traditional manure which we are used to? What is their difference when you use them in your millet farm?

Adam: Right now I can't give you an answer to this question, because I have never used it. The

Adam: only difference is, in the case of fertilizer, you can buy it if you have some money, and if you have cows you can have manure, but if you have no cows, you will never have the means of getting the manure. That is the difference I see between them. I don't know whether it doesn't do any harm if you know how to use it. I am only afraid to use it.

Sanoussi: What of the fertilizer that was given out here?

Adam: The one which killed the millet. If someone uses it while he doesn't know how to use it, it will also kill his beans.

## UNCC Self-Run Markets

Robert: When I spoke with the President of the Cooperative he said that the man elected to be market account did not agree to serve and they they would have to find someone else.

Ado: They are the ones who conspired to get him elected Malam Shaibu and some other people supported the other person.

QR: Which one?

Ado: That one from Unwala, Elhadji Amadu that is his name. They elected him.

Robert: Did he participate last year?

Ado: Yes he participated last year and also two years ago. When we other candidates presented themselves they just posted some numbers, and they themselves liked him.

QR: Who?

A: Alhadji Adamu. Both malam Shaibu and Adamu Sarkin Baka like him. You know Amadu is his teacher (local malam) and he is also from their town. We didn't know that they had already made a plan and gathered some people, so when we arrived we just looked at them. I had already been in the job as accountant since the other agent left. So he just stood up. I didn't expect him to stand up. You know he is my friend. We eat some food together in the same room. So when he stood up I said, since this is my job I will not allow you, but if it is the will of God that he will do the job it's O.K.. Then an election was conducted and he got three votes more than myself.

Robert: So how was the choice made between the four candidates?

A: The way it is being done is, each cooperative section sends five representatives. We had six cooperatives, five from each will be thirty people altogether. Then these people were told to vote. Each one entered in turn and picked a ballot paper. Everybody knows which is which so they choose whoever they wanted to chose. Everyone has someone he wants to chose. That is how it is, his people have already planned what to do. So they defeated me. But I know he can't do the job himself He will be giving some amount to one of the agents to do the work for him.

QR: Do you know who will do the work this year?

Ado: He said he will not do it.

Robert: Don't you think they will conduct another election?

Ado: No, there won't be another election they are going to appoint whom they like.

Robert: Why has malam Shaibu been so powerful in this cooperative right from the beginning?

Ado: He has been getting to people personally, like giving them gifts.

Robert: He gives people gifts?

A: Yes that's what is said.

Robert: Who are the people who participate in Makerawa cooperative affairs?

Ado: Myself, Amadu Serkin Baka, Malam Inusa from Yankitchisou Malam Ieko, and Kuli from Makerawa. The people of Makerawa removed Kuli and named Kamai recently.

Robert: Kamai (the son of the former chief of Makerawa) is the representative now?

Ado: Yes, he is the one who participates.

Robert: Since Kamai is from Kogo's house and Kogo is no longer popular with the people of Makerawa how was Kamai selected?

Ado: They put him forward when they got rid of Kuli

Robert: Who did?

Ado: The town's people?

Ado: Kogo's people choose him.

Robert: I don't understand, malam. First you say that he was chosen as if every person had a voice and he won the most votes. Then you say only Kogo's people, who are few in number, named him.

Ado: No, he wasn't elected by getting more votes. He wanted it.

Sanoussi: But how does wanting it determine an election. For example, if one candidate at an election wants the position more than anyone else, but another candidate has one more person (supporting him) than the first, how will he who wants it more be chosen?

Ado: What happened wasn't an election. Kogo removed Kuli because Kuli had split with him. Two separate towns were made from the one Kogo previously headed. When Kuli sided with the other chief Kogo removed him and put in someone from his own household.

Robert: Then it wasn't an election for cooperative delegate of the kind you described yesterday where the whole village mutual votes?

Ado: No, the village mutual selected the delegate.

QR: All the members of the community?

Ado: That was done when Kuli was elected. Then when Kuli was no longer (delegate), when they no longer wanted him, then they changed the process. They put their own candidate in. It wasn't a question of choice by a majority.

Sanoussi: They did it like that?

Ado: Does every arrangement have to involve a majority to be good? This is the type of choice we prefer.

Sanoussi: So this was really not an election

Ado: That's right. It was not an election.

Robert: Is that what happened regarding the young people sent to the center?

Ado: No, those were elected by the people.

Robert: How was the election conducted since nobody stood and said they want to go?

Ado: When two representatives from each town arrive it was asked whether anyone wanted to go to the centre. If anyone here will say he likes to go we would carry his name, even before the meeting. We used to say if such a job became available we like it, if one of us were elected. If nobody among the people here wanted to go, then someone else would be nominated. If the people agreed, that person would be selected. They (the people) would say go and call him to go to the meeting. Even if he is not one of the two representative he will be allowed to go.

Sanoussi: Do they plan this or are you the ones who block it all out in advance. Don't you select different people?

Ado: You mean, do we just appoint someone?

Sanoussi: Yes

Ado: No, we don't do that. We don't say this is the person who is going to work. Only when the people could not get someone from the representatives will somebody be nominated, and if the farm agents insisted that you have to choose from your cooperative section and they did give you a few days to think about and choose whoever you want to give them.

Sanoussi: I think some time you will see those who are selected don't know what is going on. For instance some of the young men who were sent to the centre seem as if they don't know what was going on, or what was going to take place at the centre. They don't know anything. They were just told to come.

Ado: Yes, some were being forced to go so that nobody would say that a given cooperative failed to come up with anybody. So it became necessary just to tell somebody that they must go so that it wouldn't be said that nobody comes from a particular division. His name will be submitted. Then he will be told to go. They will get back to him after some days, and then he is taken to the centre.

Sanoussi: So when they are about to be taken to the centre, do you tell them what they are going to do there

Sanoussi: and what they will get? Do you send them even if they say they don't want to go?

Ado: We just send them. We know what they are going to do there. They said it is a farm centre, and they will work. There are thirty people from the Saouni cooperative association.

Sanoussi: Do you have any precise information as to what they will do there and what they will get?

Ado: We don't know what they are going to do exactly. We only know that they are going to work with cows. They will also be cutting down trees. Only a strong person can do it. Some trees are being uprooted and some were being cut down and they must go and do it. Some run away after working for three days, but we always tell them that they must work for at least this year.

Sanoussi: Can a married person take his wife along with him?

Ado: No.

Robert: Why not?

Ado: Because out of all these thirty men nobody has come together with his wife. They only go back home to their families when they get a vacation.

Robert: If they allow the people to go with their wives, do you think the people who have farms can go and work for nine months there?

Ado: Yes they can work for nine months. Since they have seen the advantage of the work. Somebody can even go and work there permanently for this year and the next year. If it would now be allowed that everyone can go with their wives and even with their children, everybody would be able to go.

Robert: Suppose a person has a garden and a farm, do you think he can stop working on them and go there?

Ado: If he knows he is going to get something to pay some people to do the work for him, then he can go.

Robert: What do you think is suitable to be told to him that he will get?

Ado: Some money which he could be bringing back to his house to be paying some people to work on his farm.

Robert: Should the money be equivalent to the work he will lose at home?

Ado: The work he does at home should be equivalent to what he gets there. Yes, he is going to gain on two sides. He is going to get something at the centre, and his work at home will still be done.

Sanoussi: For instance, if we get a person who works very hard in a farm or garden, do you think he can leave his work and go to the centre because he is expecting to get some profits there?

Ado: He will leave the work and go. After all, what does he earn in farming? He doesn't even feed himself. The crops don't even last through the harvesting season.

Robert: Did Yaou pawn his ox cart which he received at the center?

Ado: Yes.

Robert: How much money did Yaou receive in exchange.

Ado: Fifteen thousand francs.

Robert: Did he go back to receive a thing additional sum of money?

Ado: No, that is the end of it, we plan to get the cart out of hock. I am even thinking of sending Haladu this coming Tuesday to go and get it. He lives somewhere north of Kantche. It is one of Yaou's colleagues who has cows but no cart, and Yaou had a cart but no cows.

Sanoussi: So they teamed up?

A: Yes, when Yaou came he told me that the person was his friend. He was going to hire the cart out to him. But I later realized that he pawned it to him. He first received ten thousand francs, and went back and receive five thousand more. Then I told him not to receive even a single penny from him again. Now Haladu has gone to give him his donkey so as to compensate him for his six thousand outstanding balance and get the cart.

Sanoussi: Suppose he sold the cart.

Ado: He would not do that. He is a friend of mine.

Sanoussi: If he sold it will you not honor the sale?

Ado: I will not honor it. Even if my older brother sold it, if he didn't tell me, I would not honor the sale, since it is not me who sold it (Note: Halidu did get the cart back, but it was badly damaged from overloading and would require substantial repair before it could be used by Yaou).

Robert: Do the five representatives from the Makerawa cooperative attend the cooperative association meetings at Saouni. Were they the only people who attended the meeting at Saouni? Or did some people from the town also attend?

Ado: No, they were the only ones. The others will go only if money is being distributed (peanut dividends). And when the meeting takes place in Saouni, the others do not attend. When the meeting opens at Saouni, only myself, Kamai, Malam Leko, Amadu, Malam Inusa, only the five of us, will attend.

Robert: Were five people sent from each of the six cooperatives?

Ado: Yes, thus making a total of thirty people.

Robert: But, other than you, were there no people from the town who attended?

Ado: None. If you see anyone there other than us, then it must be only to satisfy his curiosity, for gossip. Unless he wants to be a candidate for something.

Robert: If he goes, will he be called a curiosity? (negative connotation -- gossiping or rumor mongering)

Ado: Yes.

Robert: How long has it been since you held a meeting of all the heads of households in this town?

Ado: Heads of households meeting? Just recently when Gale (the farm demonstrator) came back from the centre people were gathered and informed.

Robert: Did Gale call the meeting?

Ado: Oh, he told maigari to order someone to gather the people, so that they can be informed of what we bring with us concerning the time when the buying of peanuts, and millet, will start. And the time the dividend cards are going to be given. This is all what they come to tell us.

Robert: Do many people attend?

Ado: There were many. Only those who were not in the town did not attend the meeting at Maigari's house. The town crier is asked to make a general announcement which says that each and every male should come to maigari's house. They will all come.

Robert: Do women get into the animation program now?

Ado: Yes they do.

Robert: Is Dalla (Ado's wife) now this town's animatrice?

Ado: Yes, she is together with Elsuda, from Dodo's house.

Robert: What type of job were they given this year?

Ado: This year, the one in agriculture is being shown how to sow different seeds.

Robert: Who is showing her. Is it the farm agents or other women?

Ado: She would be teaching women. She also has <sup>a</sup> two bladed hoe

Robert: Who taught her?

Ado: They were taken to Saouni?

QR: Where?

Ado: Where they train the village first-aid workers and mid-wives.

She is learning agriculture. When they were giving out some peanuts, they gave her some. She was given one bag of peanut seeds.

Robert: The new type of seed?

A: Yes, and Sahiya from Dan Inyaw's house, was also given the seeds.

Robert: Is she now the animatrice?

Ado: No, she only said that she would like to try a double hoe.

Robert: Did she really said she wanted to work with it.

Ado: Yes, she said she likes it.

Sanoussi: She wasn't selected?

Ado: She saw the work and said she would like to try it.

Robert: Was it given to her free or did she buy it on credit?

Ado: No, it is a credit, and they have been urging people to start paying..

Interview with  
Young Farmer Trainers - Doundou

Robert: Do you use seed dressing?

Young Farmer Trainee I: Yes, I use it.

Robert: On which crop?

JA: We use it on millet and cowpeas.

Robert: How do you use it?

R: We just use it randomly, we don't know how to apply it.  
We don't know. It might be too small or too much.

Robert: Have you ever used modern fertilizer before?

JA: No, I have never used it.

Robert: You never used even seed-dressing?

JA: I have never used it personally.

Robert: Have you ever used fertilizer at home?

JA2: I have never done so.

Robert: What about here, do you use fertilizer.

JA2: Yes, indeed I use fertilizer.

Robert: This fertilizer you use this year, have you seen how useful it is?

Young Farmer 2: Yes, it is very useful

Robert: What is its usefulness?

Farmer 2: Its usefulness is mainly on millet if you apply it the millet produces more grains. It grows well without wilting.

Robert: Like if you sow it when the rain is not enough how useful it is? What happens if you use fertilizer?

Farmer Trainee I: It becomes drought stricken.

Robert: Have you seen it this year, at a time when the rain was not adequate?

JA 1: We have seen it indeed, growing at the bottom of the hill.

Sanoussi: Will it grow if you apply fertilizer when there is no rain?

Farmer 2: It became dormant. If there is no rain, if you apply fertilizer it wilts.

Robert: Is there any difference between your traditional fertilizer (manure), and our own European type of fertilizer?

JAI: The difference is, in the case of European type, you just spread it about.

Sanoussi: What of qualitatively?

JA2: No, it doesn't show any better quality provided that there is rain.

JAI: The difference is, unlike the traditional type of fertilizer which you can't apply and plant your crops closely because they will wilt, you can apply the European type of fertilizer and plant your crops closely and they will be alright.

Robert: So if you apply fertilizer can you grow your crops closely?

JAI: Oh yes, if you use fertilizer. But if you use the traditional Hausa type of fertilizer, you have to plant your crops further apart. This means it is not very nourishing.

Robert: Do you work with double bladed hoe?

JAI, JA2: Yes, we work with it.

Robert: How do you sow millet?

JA2: They give us a rope. You pull it tight, then you measure the spaces with a piece of wood they call a "tracer."

Robert: If you go back to your house this coming rainy season will you use the tracer (a piece of wood used for measurement) to measure the distance in your farms?

JAI, JA2: Yes, I will use it. The type I saw here. The type we use here.

Robert: Will you work even with the tracer?

JAI, JA2: Yes I will use it.

Robert: Do you have a tracer at home?

JA2: No I don't have. I will use a metre to measure the tracer that you have here so I will have the same length of measure like the tracer - Then I will use it on my own personal farm - on which I will use oxen for farming.

Robert: Were you taught how to use oxen for farming here?

JA2: Yes, I was taught here.

Robert: Well, as soon as you finish your studies here at the centre will you be given ox-drawn farming equipment?

JA2: Yes, I will be given ox-drawn farming equipment.

Robert: If you had your choice of all the equipment you have seen here what would you take?

JA2: The first thing I would like is to be given oxen. Then to be given a plough.

Robert: What kind of plough?

JA2: The one that is being used to cultivate marshy area which has one bladed. Then to be given the two bladed type that is being used on the farm. Then to be given a cultivator, and the type used for cultivating beans and cowpeas. Then the type used for sowing cowpeas. And two bladed hoe, so that if I go back home I will use it for sowing seeds.

Robert (To JAI): If you see all this equipment, which ones will you choose among them?

JAI: The first I will chose will be oxen, then a plough, one bladed plough, a cultivator, three bladed, and and a sieve for cultivating millet and a cultivator, because we don't have a marshy land. I need a cart.

Robert: What are you going to do with a cart?

JAI: Our farm is very far, I can use the cart for taking manure to the farm, and when we harvested the millet, I can use the cart to carry it home. That way my parents will be at ease and I will be at ease.

Robert: Do you earn some money when you work with the cart?

JA1: When people are moving to another place, if you carry their belongings you will be given some money with which you can buy husks for your oxen.

Robert: How do you expect to get the money to pay back the loans for the equipment you receive?

JA1: When we are given some seed grains, such as millet, cowpeas and beans, we work hard when we go back home and using the ideas learned here, we sow the seeds over a wide area. Then using these oxen we cultivate the land. Then after some days the crops will ripen. Then we will harvest the crops and prepare them before taking them to the market. We sell the crops, and when we are asked to pay back the money we borrowed, we pay.

Robert: Will get some money from selling your farm crops.

JA2: Of course

Robert: Will the money be enough for you to pay back your loan?

JA2: It will be enough if you work hard.

Robert: Will go and work on other farms so that they can pay you some money?

JA2: These, your experimental farms, are different from ours. You know the equipment we received are too much for our farm alone. We have to go and work somewhere.

Sanoussi: My question is, will you go and work on other people's farm so that you can get some money with which you can pay for the equipment? Or will you work only on your farm?

Young Farmer 2: You know you have to sell your farm crops and add whatever you earn by working on other people's farm. Then if they ask you to pay your loan you can pay them.

Robert: Do you think you can pay all the loan your received to purchase the equipment?

JA1: Yes.

Robert: How can you pay the loan?

JA1: By following the method I just told you. And also if I get some money I will be giving it to my father to save for me, up to the time I will be asked to pay the loan. I have to do this because I am never sure what the rainy season is going to be like. (Whether there is going to be enough rain or not).

Robert: Do you consider the loan you were given to purchase the equipment a personal loan or a loan to the whole town, or a loan to the cooperative group?

JA1: Yes, it is a loan to the cooperative. But I am the one who is going to pay it

Robert: If you don't get enough money will you get some help to pay the loan?

JA2: It is possible the cooperative will pay. But how can you have oxen with you and ask somebody to pay your loan?

Sanoussi: That is, if he receives the loan, he will not waste it to the extent that some people must pay it back for him he wants to pay it by himself because he is the one who is getting the advantage of the loan therefore he should try and pay the loan by himself.

Robert: What kind of follow-up do you do with the young farmers once they leave the center?

Center Trainer: Those who follow the paper that is being displayed here. You know everybody must be given a paper and he has to be told what he should do to pay. Sometimes the farm authorities give out contracts. All they want is for us to reach a foreman rank so that when the people forget something about farm work they can come and ask us. Or if they can't get enough information at their place, they can be coming round from time to time to observe how we do things, if they forget anything they can always ask. That is all. What we do for the people. We farm trainers help only the people who are willing to come to us with some questions, so when they ask us we explain to them.

Sallaw: Are you going to work in your family farms or in your personal farms?

JA2: We shall work on the family farm. And also on the personal farm. Because the work on the family farm is too much for one person to handle alone.

Sallaw: If you finish your training and you don't get a farm to work on what are you going to do?

JA2: I will clear the bush.

Sallaw: What do you mean by this language of clearing the woods?

JA1: I mean to go to look for a new area and cut down the trees and make a new farm. To clear all the woods. To pull out the stub, because you know the plough gets deep into the soil, and if you don't pull out the stub your oxen will suffer a lot.

Sallaw: Whose land are you going to clear?

JA2: I will ask for it. If the town chief is in town I will ask him. I will tell him that I want to try the collective farming I was taught. Then he will give me the land. I will not tell him how much land I need. He can give me whatever he feels like giving. Since the land is not my own I only ask for it. You know I can only get what he is willing to give me.

Sallaw: Is he going to loan the land to you or is it going to be a gift to you?

JA1: No, he is going to loan it to me.

Sallaw: If he loans it to you are you going to be giving him something at the end of each year or is he going to loan it to you just for the sake of God?

JA1: It is possible that if he gives it to you whenever he is doing some work you should go and help him. If you hear about it you don't have to be invited by him. This is just to make him happy because he also made you happy before. Or if he trusts you, you can go and help him with his work without him necessarily inviting you to come and help. I sometimes take some time off from my work and say let me go and help so and so because he once made me happy. Therefore let me go and make him happy also. So unexpectedly he will see me helping him and this will make him very happy. Also if you see going somewhere or if he wants to send somebody to do something for him somewhere and you see that he is having some difficulty in getting anybody to send you can tell him to give you the message so that you can take it to where he wants to send you know this will also make him very happy. So that is the way it is.

Sallaw: Just a moment ago you talked about the insecticide

Sallaw: that is being sprayed over the plants, you said you heard some people talking about. Whom did you hear talking about the insecticides, the farm agents or the men from town?

JAl: The people from the town told us. The town's people tell us about it. We heard them talking about it so we also started using it on our farms. Since we have come here and we have seen it, when we return home whoever asks us we shall tell him its usefulness.

Sallaw: Since you first heard about, have you been using it on your farms because you know it is useful, or have you just been applying it on your farms just for applying sake?

Young farmers: We have been using it just like that. We didn't know its usefulness like we do now. We have been using it only as insecticide at that time we didn't know about it.

Sallaw: So you only learned about its usefulness after you came to this place?

First Young Farmer: Yes we learned about it thoroughly here. Since we used it here we applied it and observed its usefulness

Sallaw: Do you use it at home in the same way that it is being used here at the centre?

JAl: No, there is a difference. At home where one bag should be used we use half a bag, and that's all. If it is let us say a cowpeas farm we use one or two tias where five tias should be used. Also for beans we use one or two tias at home. We use it sparsely so it is being used differently.

Sallaw: There at home where do you buy it?

JAl: We buy from the market.

Robert: Is it being sold at Kantche's market?

JAl: Yes it is being sold in the market. Also petty traders walk about the town selling it. We buy it for 15 CFA.

Sanoussi: Does this type of farming you are learning here boost your ambition to acquire more land for farming if you return home or will your ambition stay the same as before?

JAl: Yes it boosts our ambition a lot. I think we shall

JAl: increase the size of our farm. We shall push forward from our present farm boundary, since we now know the advantage of having big farms which we didn't know before. It has been demonstrated to us. So if we return home, we shall increase the size of our farms and see whether it would be advantageous.

Interview with Three Young Farmer Trainees  
from Dadin Kowa

Robert: Do you do custom work on other peoples farm for pay?

Yaou: No. I only pay people to work for me.

Robert: Do you ask people to work on your personal farm?

Yaou: Yes.

Robert: If you get cows, can you work on other people's farm for pay?

Robert: Why do you want to do animal traction cultivation on other people's farm for pay?

Yaou: If I work on my farm some people will see that it is good and they ask me to go to their farms and work, and they will pay me.

Robert: Do you know how much is being paid per day to do annual tractor cultivator on somebody's farm.

Yaou: If you work for the whole day you will be given 1000 CFA or 1500 CFA.

Robert: Do you know anybody else who works for pay on other people's farm with cows, in this town?

Yaou: No, there is nobody doing it.

Robert: Do you know why your friends with whom you went to the centre and who have got ploughs and cows have not yet started working for pay?

Yaou: Some of them have alot of work to do at home. And after they finish working on their farm, they sometimes go and work on their relatives farms.

Robert: Do the people who live nearby want to have somebody who will be working on their farms for pay?

Yaou: Yes, some people have been asking us to work for them.

Robert: This year the farm agents come and worked with you?

Yaou: Yes, they have come.

Robert: What do they tell you when they come here?

Yaou: They measure a "square" (test plot) for us and tell us to clear it before planting millet peanuts or cowpeas.

Robert: Why do they measure this "square"?

Yaou: Just to see how many peanut plants are growing in the field.

Robert: When the harvesting season comes do they harvest the peanuts in the square separately?

Yaou: Yes.

Robert: Do you know how much you harvested from your square?

Yaou: I got one hundred and eleven kilos of millet.

Robert: How many meters is the length of the square?

Yaou: It is twelve yards long.

Robert: You can't get 100 kilos in a square of that size.

Yaou: Oh.

Robert: Did they tell you that the harvest has been a good one?

Yaou: Yes.

Robert: When you harvested the millet did you tie it into bundles before they came to collect it?

Yaou: Yes, I tied it into bundles and they carried it away and weighed. They returned it to me after that.

Robert: How many bundles did you get from your "square"?

Yaou: I got one big bundle.

Robert: When you thrashed it, did you get as much as ten tias?

Yaou: No, I got seven tias.

Robert: Did they tell you how much you got from your "square" and ask you to tell other people?

Yaou: No, they announce it themselves when they come. They call the name out and say that your work is good and that you got so many tias.

Robert: Did you have square last year?

Yaou: Yes.

Robert: What did they tell you last year?

Yaou: They said the harvest was not good enough.

Robert: Do you plant the new variety of millet called Kolo?

Yaou: Yes.

Robert: Were you given fertilizer?

Yaou: Yes

Robert: Was it free or credit?

Yaou: It was free.

Robert: How many bags were you given

Yaou: I was given twenty bags.

Robert: Are they 50 kilogram bags?

Yaou: Yes

Robert: Did you use all the fertilizer you were given on your farm or on the family farm?

Yaou: I used it both on my farm, the family farm and my relatives farms.

Robert: So you got twenty bags, and Leko, Bintili and Gale also got twenty bags each?

Yaou: Yes.

Robert: Did Hajiya (the animatrice) get fertilizer?

Yaou: No, she was not given any

Robert: So your family (the town chief's family) got 60 bags?

Yaou: Yes.

Robert: Did you use all the fertilizer on your farms or have you sold some of it.

Yaou: No, we don't sell it.

Robert: Did you give some to other people?

Yaou: Yes, if you know somebody, you sometimes give some to him.

Robert: This year what did you observe about the usefulness of fertilizer.

Yaou: It made all the crops to grow better,

Robert: If they don't give you fertilizer free next year, will you buy it?

Yaou: Yes, I will buy it, because I observed its usefulness

Robert: Next year if you were to choose, what kind of mill would you choose to plant?

Yaou: I would choose 'Kolo'.

Robert: Why would you choose 'Kolo'?

Yaou: Because it ripens faster.

Robert: Do you grow peanuts, or cowpeas between the millet plant?

Yaou: No.

Robert: Why?

Yaou: Because we want each to grow well.

### NaDadi

Sallaw: Since you came back from the centre, have you tried to farm with cows?

Nadadi: No, I have never tried to farm with cows.

Sallaw: Do you think you will not forget how to farm with cows by the time you get them? You haven't tried this for two years.

Nadadi: No I don't think I will forget.

Sallaw: How were you selected to go to the centre?

Nadadi: At first they sought for Dan Yauci. But he couldn't go. So I was forced to go instead.

Sallaw: So you were forced to go. You didn't intend to go.

Nadadi: Yes, I was forced to go, I didn't intend to go.

Sallaw: Since you were forced to go, did you like it?

Nadadi: No, I was not exactly forced to go, I wanted it. Only Yauci gave his name before I gave mine.

Sallaw: If he hadn't given his name, would you have given yours?

Nadadi: Yes.

Sallaw: Before you left for the centre, did you know what you might be doing there?

Nadadi: Yes. I knew some of the things but some I didn't know. Because Yaou had been there before.

Sallaw: What did you know about the work before you went to the centre?

Nadadi: I went there one day and I saw them clearing the farms and shelling some peanuts which they would sow.

Sallaw: What did Yaou tell you about the work at the centre?

Nadadi: He told me about farming with cows.

Sallaw: How many months did you spend there?

Nadadi: We spent eight months and twenty days.

Sallaw: Did many of you go there?

Nadadi: Yes, many of us went.

Sallaw: How many of you went?

Nadadi: About thirty or thirty six of us.

Sallaw: Were you married when you left?

Nadadi: No, I was not married.

Sallaw: Were there some married men among the thirty six of you who went to the centre?

Nadadi: Yes.

Sallaw: When you reached there, were given 2000 CFA immediately or did you have to wait for one month?

Nadadi: We had to wait for one month.

Sallaw: Did some people ask to be given some money?

Nadadi: Nobody asked and nobody was given any money.

Sallaw: How about food at the centre? Do you cook it yourselves?

Nadadi: No. They employ some women to cook for us.

Sallaw: What were you given when you finished your work at the centre?

Nadadi: We were given a plough that can be used to plant millet, peanuts and cowpeas. We were also given cows and some were given carts but some were not given them.

Sallaw: Those who were given cows and those who were given carts, did they have to ask for them?

Nadadi: No, they were just given them.

Sallaw: Those who were given cows, were they called back later to given cows all at once?

Nadadi: No. They were called one by one. The farm agent write their names and send them to the centre.

Sallaw: Did they send your name?

Nadadi: No.

Sallaw: Did you ask them?

Nadadi: Yes I asked them. Only they didn't send my name.

Sallaw: What did they tell you.

Nadadi: They said there are three carts remaining and they said they would give me one.

Sallaw: Since you were given the cows, have you ever worked with them?

Nadadi: Yes, I have worked with them.

Sallow: Did you get the cart?

Nadadi: No, I got a plough.

Sallow: Have you ever hired out the cows to anyone?

Nadadi: No.

Sallow: Do you work for pay with them?

Nadadi: No, I don't.

Sallow: If you get a cart, do you intend to work for pay with your cows.

Nadadi: Yes.

C. Buntili

Sallow: How much can a person earn if he works with cows from morning to evening?

Buntili: He will be paid 2500 CFA.

Sallow: Were you given some seed this year?

Buntili: Yes I was given peanut seeds, millet seeds and cowpea seeds.

Sallow: How many bags were you given?

Buntili: Three bags of cowpeas.

Sallow: What about millet?

Buntili: I got three tias.

Sallow: What of beans?

Buntili: I got five tias.

Sallow: Were you given ground corn seeds.

Buntili: I was given three tias.

Sallow: Did you ask them to give you the seeds or have they just called and given them to you.

Buntili: They just called us and gave us the seeds.

Sallow: Were you given the seeds free or on credit?

Buntili: It was on credit.

Sallaw: You mean all the seeds were given on credit?

Buntili: No, only the peanuts were on credit. The rest were free.

Sallaw: How much do you have to pay back?

Buntili: Four and a half bags of peanuts.

Sallaw: So you were given three bags but you have to pay back four and a half bags?

Buntili: Yes.

Sallaw: What about fertilizer?

Buntili: I was given 20 bags.

Sallaw: Was it also on credit or free?

Buntili: It was free.

Sallaw: Did you use all the fertilizer in your farm?

Buntili: Yes, they told me to use it all.

Sallaw: Didn't you give some to your relatives.

Buntili: Yes. I gave some to my relatives.

Sallaw: Didn't you sell some so that you could get some money?

Buntili: Yes. I sold a very small amount.

Sallaw: How much did you sell?

Buntili: I sold two bags.

Sallaw: How much did you sell it per bag?

Buntili: One thousand francs.

Sallaw: Did they give you seed dressing?

Buntili: Yes, they gave us sixteen bags.

Sallaw: Did you sell some of it?

Buntili: No.

Sallaw: How do you work in your farm?

Buntili: I cut the weeds for the first time and cut them for the second time when they grow up again.

Sallaw: Do you mix crops? For instance do you plant cowpeas in the same farm as millet?

Buntili: No. I plant each crop on a separate farm.

Sallaw: Why do you do that?

Buntili: They told us to do that when we were at the centre.

Sallaw: But before you went to the centre you always mixed the crops.

Buntili: Yes. I always mixed the crops.

Sallaw: What is the use of planting the crops on separate plots.

Buntili: Because if you plant only peanuts in one plot, it can have enough space to grow wide and produce a lot of grains.

Sallaw: The new variety of cowpeas you said you were given, have you seen its usefulness?

Buntili: No. I haven't yet harvested it.

Sallaw: How many bags do you think you will get if you harvest it?

Buntili: I think I will get about one ton.

Sallaw: How many bags are you going to save for seed?

Buntili: I will save three bags.

Sallaw: Will you sell the rest?

Buntili: Yes, I will repay for seed loan and sell the rest.

Sallaw: Do you have a "square"?

Buntili: Yes, I have a "square" for peanuts, millet, and cowpeas.

Sallaw: How much did you harvest from your cowpea "square"?

Buntili: About six kilos.

Three trainees

Sallaw: What did they tell you when you took it to them?

Buntili: They just weighed it and handed it back to me.

Sallaw: Didn't they tell you whether or not you had done a good job?

Buntili: No. They just weigh it and hand it back.

Sallaw: What number did they give you?

Buntili: The number twelve.

Sallaw: What about millet?

Buntili: I got the number five.

Sallaw: How many tias of millet did you get?

Buntili: I didn't thrash it, it was just a small bundle.

Sallaw: And they gave you the number five?

Buntili: Yes.

Sallaw: What about beans.

Buntili: I got the number five.

Sallaw: Do you know what numbers the other people with whom you went to the centre got?

Buntili: No.

Sallaw: Did they tell you to go back and receive something?

Buntili: No, they didn't tell us. They may tell us later.

Sallaw: Are going to start paying for the cows that you were given this year?

Buntilli: No. I will start paying next year.

Sallaw: How much do you have to pay?

Buntili: I don't know. They didn't tell us.

Sallaw: Will you still pay even if they ask for a higher price than the cows will cost in the market?

Buntili: Yes, I will pay, since they agreed to let me use them before saying for them.

Sallaw: Does the farm agent come here to see you?

Buntili: Yes. He comes to see us.

Sallaw: What does he tell you?

Buntili: He just inspects our farm and goes away.

Sallaw: Does he say anything to you?

Buntili: No.

Sallaw: What if he sees that something was done wrongly?

Buntili: If he saw that he would tell us. If he saw that my farm was good, he would tell me that I am doing a good job.

Sallaw: How many times did he come here this year?

Buntili: He came here twice.

Sallaw: What kind of work do you do with farm agent Ado?

Buntili: He shows us how to use fertilizer.

Sallaw: If you don't understand about farm work, whom do you ask? Do you ask farm agent Ado?

Buntili: Yes. We ask him to explain to us anything that we don't understand.

Robert: When people were chosen to go to the centre, someone told me that Issoufou has been asked to go. Who asked him to go?

Issoufou: It was Alhadji who said so.

Robert: Did he say that personally was a meeting called where you were selected?

Issoufou: The meeting was not held here. Yaou came here and told me that I was selected and Alhadji said I should go immediately.

Robert: Did you tell him that you wanted to go?

Issoufou: Yes. I told him if they couldn't get anybody else to go, I would go.

Robert: So you said you go only if nobody wanted to go.

Issoufou: Yes.

Robert: Did they meet.

Issoufou: Yes, they met at Maketawa, and when they couldn't get anybody Yaou told them that I wanted to go.

Robert: Did you honestly want to go?

Issoufou: No, I really didn't want to go, but since Alhadji selected me to go you know if I said no I would embarass him.

Robert: But in your mind you really didn't want to go.

Issoufou: No, I didn't want to go becasue I am along in my house. Nobody will do my work if I go.

Robert: Were you told what you would get if agreed to go?

Issoufou: No.

Robert: So they didn't tell you that you could be give some money at the end of each month?

Issoufou: No

Robert: Has Gale ever called a meeting to discuss something about farming?

Issoufou: Yes. He called a meeting.

Robert: What did Gale discuss with you?

Issoufou: He told us about the double-bladed hoe, and let us borrow the hoe to try it on our farms.

Robert: After Gale told you about the two-bladed hoe, were there some people who said that they liked it?

Issoufou: Yes. Some people said they liked it.

Robert: Have you ever worked with it?

Issoufou: Yes. I used it to plant peanuts

Robert: Did you use fertilizer?

Issoufou: Yes. I used fertilizer.

Robert: When you were shown how to use fertilizer, were there some people who said they wanted to use it asked how they could get it?

Issoufou: Yes, and whenever we needed it Gale went and brought it.

Robert: Could Gale bring all the fertilizer you needed?

Issoufou: Yes. He writes the names of all those who need it and goes to the chief farm agent at Saouni and gets it.

## Interview with a Peasant Farmer Supervisor

Robert: Since last last year, what type of work were you given by the farm agent, regarding your role as supervisor of farmer demonstrators.

Gale: If the time to sow comes, we the farmer demonstrators go and measure the plots of the Fulanis, like their peanut plots. I use a rope and tape measure. I did it last year. And when they sow the seeds, I go round, and see who has used the two bladed hoe, and tell whoever didn't use the two bladed hoe to use it. I also go round to see who is sowing only one seed per hole instead of two seeds per hole. If, I see anybody doing this I tell to stop. I go back to warn them again later. If they do not stop then I go and report them to, their town chief, or to the village committee. I tell them to warn them. If he still refuses to stop I report him to farm agent Sule and tell him what they are doing. I also go round after the sowing season has passed, during the cultivating season, just to see what everybody is doing. And if somebody finishes cultivating the land and he wants to do something we show him how to do it. And if we see somewhere which is suitable for cultivating we tell him to do so. If he does not do it we go back and tell him again. If he still doesn't do what we told him we then report him to his people who will call him and tell him. If he still refuses then they report him to farm agent Sule.

Robert: Do you have seven towns which you go and inspect?

G: Yes, I have seven towns that I inspect. And even an additional village - Makerawa which has not worked out. The Fulani demonstrator there did not take the double bladed hoe.

Robert: Didn't he want to use it.

Gale: He never received it. But he does more or less the same work with the traditional hoe.

Robert: Among the farmer demonstrators from these seven towns is there anyone who did not know their work very well, or have they all learned how to do it?

Gale: Well, there are some who really work, in fact they all work. But there is one among them whom I think does all the work by himself. He doesn't show it to anybody. But all have learned to use the two bladed hoe. Now a farmer demonstrator is given some seeds, hoe, and the two bladed hoe, he is going to sow one seed per hole. This year everybody was given some millet but everyone sowed it on a different plot.

Robert: What do they say about this new type of millet? What do the demonstrators and others say about it after they have sown it and observed how it grows.

Gale: Everybody is surprised. Many people say they will sow it again next year. They have been skeptical about it before, but since they have sown it this year and they have seen how useful it is, they produce a large quantity on a small plot, and it has high quality and ripens early.

Robert: Does it reproduce additional stalks? (tiller)

Gale: Yes, it does. Three stalks may produce up to ten, and some reproduce eight, and it has high quality.

Robert: Does it ripen quicker than zango?

Gale: Oh alot if there is no drought. When my millet ripened, all the other's millet had not yet ripened.

Robert: Will they save some of this new type of millet for seed at home?

Gale: Everybody will save some for seed, if he is given some. He will add to what he has saved and if he is not given he sows the one he saved.

Robert: Are there farmers in many towns who work with the double bladed hoe?

Gale: There are farmers who use it in many towns. The only thing they are afraid of is that if you use it you must not plant millet on the same farm with the other crop. That is why they don't like it. They are afraid to use double bladed hoe. They like to sow millet and make big rows in about one acre. Only the double bladed hoe stops them from doing so.

Robert: Are there some people who dig holes within short

Robert: intervals with the traditional hoe?

Gale: Yes. They do that with their own single bladed hoes. All of us who work reduce the space between rows of peanuts working with traditional hoes.

Sanoussi: If there is a farm which is not fertilized but the holes have already been dug with short intervals, what do you think will happen?

Gale: It may or it may not grow, but it normally grows big and healthy and produces plenty of fruits even if the farm is not fertile. But if the interval between holes is short, it only grows big leaves. It doesn't produce fruits if the rows are far apart and there is no fertilizer. It grows big, but it doesn't produce seeds, because it grows into the plant which is in the hole next to it.

Robert: Are there some people from Dadin Kowa who come to you to ask to get the new type of millet seed?

Gale: Many people ask me alot. And this year I gave many people the seeds. But if they receive the seeds they sow it the way they like to.

Sanoussi: Since they were not given any directions.

Gale: They were not given direction. If they receive it they just go to their farms and sow between some other crops just to see how it grows.

Robert: If they plant the new variety in among the traditional millet how can they distinguish it?

Gale; While theirs is still producing leaves this would have already produced seeds.

Sanoussi: Is it good?

Gale: It is good. There is somebody who harvests five bundles of millet from his farm, but this year he sowed the new type of millet seed, and he harvested twenty-two or eighteen bundles.

Robert: When the farmer demonstrator is working on his farms, are there some farm agents who come and teach him how to apply modern methods of farming and help him to compare the results with traditional method of farming?

Gale: Last year I measured all their farms. But this year we go and do it together with the new farm agent.

Robert: Do the demonstrators who do the work, apply both the modern and the traditional methods of farming on the same farm, or do they choose a farm and apply modern methods and apply traditional methods on another farm?

Gale: If the farm is a large one, the two methods can be used together side by side. But if it is a small farm the two methods are used on separate plots.

Robert: How do you compare the results at harvest time?

Gale: In our case, we can't just understand the difference written on a paper. But if the millet is thrashed, we can identify it, for instance, it is the season for short-stalk millet, if it produces seven tias, some other types produce five or four and a half tias.

Robert: Do they weigh the yield on the farm, or must the farmer go to Saouni for the weighing.

Gale: At Saouni they do the weighing.

Robert: Do they show to the public what has been harvested in this small farm?

Gale: No. They weigh it just to see the difference. They didn't explain this to us, that is to say this is different from that one by so much. They just weigh it and write the difference on the paper.

Sanoussi: But do you see all this yourself?

Gale: We only know the difference when it has been thrashed and is ready to be eaten. Only then do we know which is better. Somebody told me that his wives said, next year he should sow the new kind because, it is economical when thrashed. The women realized it is better to sow the new type of millet. It simplifies their work.

Robert: Are the people of the town being called to come and see the harvest on a farmer demonstrator's farm?

Gale: To see the millet? No, only after it has been tied up in bundles, whoever sees it knows that it is different any other type. They come to see it but they can never tell what type of millet it is. But all the millet we bundle up is being taken to the side of the tared road so that everybody can see it.

Sanoussi: Do you inform them as to what it is that is staked up there?

Gale: Yes we tell them that this is the new type of millet. It is about twelve times more than the amount of traditional type we harvested.

Sanoussi: It is not shown to the people of the town, only those who go to the station can see it.

Gale: The people of the town can be sure that, wherever we work, I always collect the whole of my millet in one place, and I don't start carrying it home until I call everybody to come and see it. There are people who come, and whoever wants to see and can see it. They say is this your type of millet. Is this how it looks like? They look at it. Some even lift it to feel its weight. They see that its weight is different from the weight of the type of millet they know.

Sanoussi: Do you call them? Or only those who like to see it do come?

Gale: Yes, only those who like come and see it.

Robert: In the farm or at the station?

Gale: Yes, at the farm. Also, some people come when I am working to take one cob by themselves and pull it, like this all by themselves.

Robert: Is there anyone among the seven farmer demonstrators that you know, who collects the people in his town and demonstrates to them what he is doing?

Gale: Yes, if we come to training session they tell us something. Then they go to the villages and get the people and teach them how to use a long hoe and also how to use seed dressing. They also show them the tracer and they show them how to dig holes with two bladed hoe if they come during the sowing season. They do this in all the towns.

Robert: Do you know any farmer demonstrator who has ever called a meeting at his farm and called some people to come see what he is doing?

Gale: Oh yes, we ourselves do tell them. All they need is to do what we tell them to do. And there is one Fulani man, we even went to his house. He gathers some people and demonstrates to them how to do the work, and since they are all Fulani he always does

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Gale: the work near the road and informs his relative--  
Sarkin Fulani. He tells them where he is going to  
do the work. Whoever likes can come and see.

Robert: Did you use the fertilizer you were given last year  
in your demonstration plots?

Gale: They didn't give us any last year, only this year.

Robert: How much were you given this year?

Gale: This year they gave us twenty bags. I brought it to  
this town. They came back again and gave us seven  
bags more of fertilizer.

Robert: Did you put all the fertilizer in your individual  
farm plots. Or did you divide it among the members  
of your family?

Gale: No, I gave some to my family, I gave some to Alhadji,  
Maigari and Mohaman. I used it. But there is a lot  
of weed. It is the main cause of drought in places  
where there is both traditional and modern fertilize

Robert: Has it been effective?

Gale: The millet grows so well and tall that it is difficult  
to pass through it. It grows tall and has started  
producing grain. Then the rain stopped for one week  
and everything started to dry up. So it hasn't yet produc  
mature grain. If there is plenty of water the heads become top  
heavy and the stalks start to fall to the ground. When millet  
becomes water logged, the stalks become thin. Then the  
millet falls down, because of the enormous head  
and thin stalks.

Robert: If there is a drought at the place where fertilizer  
has been used, will the millets wilt?

Gale: Yes, if alot of it has been used. The drought only  
happens occasionally, it doesn't happen always.  
It has been very effective except if there is a lack  
of rain. Look at my peanut farm. Nobody's peanuts  
produce more fruit than my peanuts.

Sanoussi: How big a peanut crop did it produce?

Gale: Astounding amounts.

Sanoussi: Is it the type which grows flat on the ground?

Gale: I have all the varieties side by side. Whoever  
picks it up, I tell them that used to be one seed.

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Gale: Then they will be wondering how one seed can produce so many grains.

Robert: The fertilizer they gave you, was it a gift or a credit?

Gale: They didn't tell us what it was. They just gave it to us.

Robert: Didn't they tell you whether it was a loan or whether it was a gift?

Gale: They didn't tell us anything about it. When they gave it to us people were asking us whether it was a loan. We told them no. We were just given it. They sought us out. When we went they said they were thinking that they would give us some fertilizer. Farmers would be given some aid.

Robert: In your opinion what do you think it is, a loan or gift?

Gale: We think it is a gift. If it is a loan we shall not be able to pay. They told us that we would be given some fertilizer as an aid.

Robert: Were you also given some seeds this year?

Gale: We were three big bags of peanut seed each. Each cooperative delegate and each farmer demonstrator was given one bag of peanut seeds.

Robert: Are the peanut seeds you were given the traditional type or is it a different type?

Gale: There is that type of peanut which grows upright and produce large seeds and there is that type which produces small seeds. It is not the Dakar variety but it produces large seeds. So now there is a plot which I have cleared. I am going to sow separate from the rest so that we can get its seeds separate. We call this new variety "Yar Dakar" also .

Robert: What do you call the millet variety they gave you last year?

Gale: We just call it dan america (The American Variety) or we call it "UNCC millet."

Robert: Have you ever seen it before last year?

Gale: No, I have never seen it, only our own type of millet,

Gale: which is in the East, the short type. That is the only type we know. It is called the Damargou, or the Beri-Beri variety.

Robert: When were you given the new variety of cowpeas which ripens fast?

Gale: Last year.

Robert: Was last year the time it was first brought here?

G: Yes, they gave it to us last year.

QR: Haven't you seen it before it was brought last year?

Gale: Yes, only Yaou who went to the centre ever worked with it. They work with it two years ago. Then they gave it to us last year. They also gave it to us this year.

Sanoussi: When they brought it last year, did you sow it just so that you can see it or did you sow it so that you can demonstrate something about sowing it?

Gale: No, only because I had seen it

Sanoussi: Were you told to plant it for demonstration?

Gale: No, we had already planted it. When Yaou came back from the centre he told us about a certain type of small beans.

Sanoussi: Did he (Yaou) receive the new variety of millet seeds.-the type you already received and planted?

Gale: He also received it, he and Bintili. There are three people in all who have worked at the centre.

Robert: If you go to Makerawa this year, will you see Kamai (a farmer demonstrator) in his farms? Will you give him an advice?

G: Yes

Robert: Did he listen and worked properly?

Gale: Yes, he did. He sowed one seed of peanuts per hole and he used two bladed hoe to dig the holes. He sowed millet, but he didn't do it as he did before. He made smaller rows. The millet grew well.

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Robert: Did Kamai use fertilizer in his farms?

Gale: He used it on his millet and peanuts. What he did was to ignore the guinea corn and put the fertilizer only on his peanuts farm. After putting the fertilizer in the peanut farm, he put some on the guinea corn farm. His work was all right and the peanuts grew well. But we don't know what happens to the guinea corn.

Robert: How many times have you seen Mani and Moutari: (other peasant demonstrators), in this year?

Gale: I have been to their farms two times, but they were not there. I inspected the farms and stopped by and informed them that I have been to their farms and I told them all what I saw.

Robert: Have you seen Kamai at his farm?

Gale: No, I saw him at their house.

Robert: When you go round, does the farm agent Ado go together with you or not?

Gale: Whenever he goes round, he goes along. I give him my horse, then he tells me to go and do some work, while he rides my horse and goes round.

Sanoussi: Throughout this year you spent with farm agent Ado, has he helped you with something regarding the farm work.

Gale: No, I just told him if he wants to go round I wouldn't mind following him or if I give him my horse. But we didn't go together. If he comes back he should inform me what he has been doing and with whom he has been doing whatever it is. I want it to be the same whether or not we go together. I want to feel as if it is my work. But he didn't tell me anything yet regarding his relationship with the other workers. But I observe everybody with my own eyes. I have seen where everybody works, and I met everybody on their farms and observe them during the rainy season. We went round, and we observed their farms more than once. We saw the farms of the demonstrators from Ragana Hausa and Soma.

Robert: Since when this year have you noticed some insects which spoil guinea corn.

Gale: It is not more than six days since we noticed it.

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Gale: When we first noticed it we were thinking that it is lack of rain which is preventing it from producing grains. The last heavy rain, the last one, not the recent one, during the last rain all this time we have been thinking that the guinea corn has already ripened. Actually we have cut down all the ripe ones. Only the unripe ones did not produce grains. But now the season is over. No matter what is done to it, it will not produce grains. The rest of it has already ripen.

Robert: When you noticed that the guinea corn was not growing well did you inform farm agent Ado?

Gale: I went to farm agent Ado but farm agent Habu had already picked him up to go to the East and apply some insecticide. I have observed one of the farms. It belongs to one Fulani man. I have seen that it didn't produce grains. When he came back, even before I told him, he said to me that they went and put some insecticides on the guinea corn farms of the East side. The insects have been spoiling the crop. I said to him that I came to see him for the same problem but he was not home. Because of the situation of the guinea corn. Ours have already been spoiled-but we didn't notice it early, since we have never seen guinea corn get spoiled like this before.

Robert: Have they measured the farms of those who work with two bladed hoes last year?

Gale: Only the peanut farms. They didn't measure the millet farm last year. But in my own case, I measured both farms. I did it for everybody on my own accord. I initiated the idea.

Robert: Did you measure only the farms on which fertilizer and insecticide have been used, or did you measure even those farms on which manure had been used? Have you measured the farms and observe any difference between them?

Gale: If we go, we don't choose any particular section of the farm. As long as the farm is within our working area we shall measure it for him.

Robert: When they weigh the peanuts, have seen a difference in the amount you harvested from each farm?

Gale: You know last year we didn't harvest alot. The one on which we used one bladed hoe, was also not good. Our traditional variety produced few peanuts, that is the one I harvested. Others also harvested it like

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Gale: that. They brought it to the market in the bags which were used for sweets. Also when you shell peanuts sometimes you find no grains inside.

Robert: What about this year?

Gale: Oh. This year there is (a difference)

Robert: How do they plan to measure the farms this year?

Gale: This year the agricultural agents will measure the entire farm area. They will do it themselves. They will then count the number of peanut plants in the farm. Sule, Ado and Yaou all came and measure the farms. They have already left the place. Those were the peanuts which we harvested first and we have already brought it for sale.

Sallow: Did you use the same type of measuring instrument for both this farm and the traditional ones?

Gale: Yes.

Robert: Do they also measure your millet yield?

Gale: Yes, I also have some millet. When I and Suley took it to them to sell they asked us to go and thrash it first.

Robert: What about Buntili, Yaou, Hussein, Kamai. Do they also measure the traditional farms of people like Yaou, Kamai and Hussein?

Gale: When I went there, their farms were not measured, and I asked them about it, I went round and I saw no place that had been measured. I came and asked Kamai whether his farm has been measured. He said no, I came and asked farm agent Ado whether he measured Kamai's farm. He said no; I asked Hussein and he told me that his farm had not been measured, I asked farm agent Ad and he told me that he went but did not see anybody. So he didn't measure it for him. I went to Idi at Harido Damana and saw where his field had been measured. So I asked him, I told him to include the traditional farm, the modern farm, the area where he uses the modern two bladed hoe.

Sallow: Do you know the reason why you measure these farms or not.

Gale: What we heard, as far as I know I think we measure the traditional farm and we measure the modern farm

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Gale: to see if there is any difference,--whether the modern farm is better or the traditional farm is better, we think that is the reason.

Sanoussi: In the measured area who will bring the millet for sale? Will it be you yourself or someone else?

Gale: We bring it ourselves. Last year I brought it, and this year also I brought it. Last-year everybody brought their peanuts to me, and I brought all of them. This year everybody has been told to bring his own. And I told them all that whoever has his farm measured should bring the peanuts himself. If they weigh it and see how much it weighs you can bring your peanuts back home.

Sallow: Do they tell you why they want to know the weight?

Gale: This year I asked farm agent Lawali, how many kilos mine weighed. It had not been thrashed. I asked him how many kilos he told me including the bag it weighed 18 kilos.

Sallow: Do they weigh millet?

Gale: They didn't tell me how much the millet weighed. asked the farm agents only about the peanuts.

Robert: You said this year you have been given twenty-seven bags of fertilizer. Do the farm agents want to you to give out the fertilizer or do they want you to sell it? Or do they want you to use all of it in your farms?

Gale: No, they told me that I should use eight bags per acre whether on millet or peanuts. They said if there is some left over, if it is too much, I should keep the rest. Also we can use the rest on our traditional farms. We put some on our traditional farms. Also we gave some to our relatives. I still have three bags remaining.

Interview with a Farmer  
Demonstrator at  
Ragana Hausa

Robert: What is your opinion of the short millet?

Sarkin Noma (farmer Demonstrator): Short millet, we see its usefulness. Apart from myself there are other people who as about it. They want it. I would like to work with it myself, like what was given to Nadadi. It ripens faster and you get more at harvest than you do from our traditional variety.

Robert: Is this the year you first saw the short millet?

Sarkin Noma: I first saw it last year with Gale at Dadin Kowa.

Robert: How many tias of short millet seed were you given?

Sarkin Noma: Two tias.

Robert: Do you plant "Zango" on another farm?

Sarkin Noma: Yes I have it on our family farm.

Robert: Were you given fertilizer?

Sarkin Noma: Yes I was given one bag.

Robert: What did you do with it?

Sarkin Noma: I put on the peanuts farm.

Robert: Did you put it all on peanuts?

Sarkin Noma: Yes.

Robert: Have you harvested the peanuts?

Sarkin Noma: Yes, I have harvested them since the rain has already spoiled the leaves.

Robert: Have you ever worked with fertilizer apart from this year?

Sarkin Noma: Yes, we have been buying it.

Robert: This year your peanuts and millet farms have been measured. Have they also measured your traditional farm?

Sarkin Noma: No, they didn't measure it.

Robert: Were you asked to bring the new millet you harvested to be weighed?

Sarkin Noma: No, not yet

Robert: This how many times did farm agent Ado come to see you?

Sarkin Noma: He came here many times.

Robert: Didn't Gale come this year?

Sarkin Noma: He hasn't been coming as often as he used to. He came here twice.

Robert: What kind of advice has farm agent Ado been giving you this year?

Sarkin Noma: He asks us to report any sign of crop infection we see immediately.

Robert: When you observed that the guinea corn didn't have alot of grain did you inform farm agent Ado?

Sarkin Noma: No, because not all of it didn't produce alot of seeds.

Robert: Do you know farm agent Sule from Saouni?

Sarkin Noma: Yes, I know him very well

Robert: Has he come here this year?

Sarkin Noma: No, he didn't come.

Robert: Only farm agent Ado came?

Sarkin Noma: Yes only Ado.

Robert: Apart from farm agent Ado, has anyone else come?

Sarkin Noma: No.

Interview with Hussein  
Farmer Demonstrator at SOMA

Robert: Last year we talked about your work with the two-bladed hoe. That is why I have come back to discuss with you what you have been doing. Are you the Sarkin Noma (Farmer Demonstrator) of this town?

Hussein: Yes, I am.

Robert: What kind of work were you given this year?

Hussein: This year, I was not given any work, apart from the work with the two-bladed hoe.

Robert: Were you given millet this year.

Hussein: Yes. They gave that short millet. They gave me one bag and I cleared the whole farm and planted it. They inspected it and said that had done a good job.

Robert: This year have you been given any peanuts apart from Yar Hausa (the traditional variety)?

Hussein: Yes. I was given one bag.

Robert: Was it given to you free?

Hussein: I don't know. They just gave it to me. They didn't tell me whether it is free or on credit.

Robert: What type of peanuts seeds were you given?

Hussein: The type that spreads its branches on the ground and has small nuts.

Robert: Was all the seed of the same type?

Hussein: No, there are many varieties. Including the type that grows straight up.

Robert: Were you given fertilizer?

Husseini: Yes, I was given one bag.

Robert: Where did you put it?

Husseini: I put both on the peanuts and the millet.

Robert: Is this the first year you were given fertilizer, or were you given it last year?

Husseini: This is the first year we were given fertilizer.

Robert: Was it given to you free?

Husseini: They didn't tell us whether it was free or on credit.

Robert: This fertilizer you were given what did you observe about it's work?

Husseini: It has been very useful to me. I have never harvested the amount of peanuts and millet that I harvested this year.

Robert: Did you say that the millet you planted is "Zango"?

Husseini: I planted Zango and short millet each on separate farms.

Robert: At the farm you planted the short millet, what did you observe about its usefulness?

Husseini: It grew well, dark green and it ripened faster than our traditional variety.

Robert: Do you tie the short millet with rope into bundles like you have been doing with "Zango"?

Husseini: Yes. I tied it into bundles and stored it.

Robert: Will you reserve some of it so that you can use it for seed to plant next year?

Husseini: Yes. I will certainly do that.

Robert: Do the farm agents come and measure your farm?

Husseini: Yes. They come and measure it. Our farm agent is stationed at Dadin Kowa.

Robert: Has farm agent Ado come here this year?

Husseini: Yes. He came here.

Robert: What kind of work does he do?

Husseini: He came here and weighed the peanuts and millet.

Robert: Did he come when you harvested your millet to tell you what you should do with it?

Husseini: No, he didn't come.

Robert: When he measured the farm where you were to use fertilizer, did he measure another farm where you should use traditional methods?

Husseini: No, he didn't. He only measured the demonstration farm.

Robert: Did farm agent Ado tell you to take the peanuts you produced in the farm he measured to Saouni to be weighed?

Husseini: No. He didn't tell me. But farm agent Sule told me to take the peanuts to Saouni.

Robert: Did he tell you to take all your peanuts, or only the one you produced in the measured farm?

Husseini: I was thinking that he only wanted us to pay back the seed loan.

Robert: Did farm agent Sule come to see you this year?

Husseini: Yes. He came here many times.

Robert: Did he come together with the farm agent Ado?

Husseini: No, he came alone.

Robert: When he came, what advice did he give you?

Husseini: He didn't give me any advice. He has been telling Gale whatever he want from us, but Gale never tells us anything. He hasn't been here since last year.

Robert: Do you know whether Gale goes to other places?

Husseini: No. I don't know whether he does that or not.

Robert: Do you lend the two-bladed hoe, to other people?

Husseini: I explain to them how to use it but some people say they can't work with it.

Robert: Are there any other people apart from you who used fertilizer this year?

Husseini: No. The fertilizer was given only to me in this town. But people come to watch me when I am working with it.

Robert: Was there anybody who went to Saouni to get it.

Husseini: No.

Robert: Since you have been Sarkin Noma here, do you hold meeting of the town is people to tell them something about your work.

Husseini: Yes. I always go to where people gather and tell them whatever I do or hear about farming.

Robert: Do you attend the cooperative union meetings at Makerawa.

Husseini: Yes. I attend.

Robert: Does anybody go with you?

Husseini: Yes. We go together with Amadu.

Robert: Since last year has anybody from this town received any farming equipment on credit?

Husseini: Maigari received two bags of fertilizer, but I don't know what he did with them.

Robert: Do you know the people who went to the centre from Dadin Kowa.

Husseini: Yes. I know them, they are Yaou, Buntili, Nadadi and last year Fararu went from Yankitchisou. But this year I said if they need anybody, I am going to give somebody from my family.

Robert: Why was it that only people from Dadin Kowa have gone to the centre?

Husseini: Because at that time we were not "civilized". So whenever they came, we told them "no."

Robert: Do you know how the people who go to the centre are chose.

Husseini: No. They always conclude their arrangements to Dadin Kowa.

Robert: When Buntili and Yaou came back from the centre, did you see the use of going to the centre?

Husseini: The only use I could see was that they came back with cows. But they don't tell us anything.

Robert: Do you know whether the equipment they were given is on credit?

Husseini: Yes, We heard that it was credit. They would pay in 3 years.

Robert: Is the whole town responsible for the debt or is it the responsibility of only one person?

Husseini: It is the responsibility only of the person who receives the equipment.

Robert: If the person cannot pay, what do you think will happen?

Husseini: I don't know. This depends on them (the authorities) to do what they want to do to him.

B. Interview with a Musa--A Farmer Demonstrator  
in the Satamowa Area (Magaria)

Robert: Did you say that Sarkin noma (supervisor of farmer demonstrators) didn't do a good job?

Musa: The Sarkin noma did not do a good job. Therefore the farm agent fired him, and so his aides, seeing that their leader has been fired, did not do anything. We have been waiting for him, but up to this time he never showed up.

Robert: Have they not appointed someone else?

Musa: No, they haven't.

Robert: And the farm agent hasn't come?

Musa: No. The farm agent hasn't come.

Robert: Haven't you been given any work to do this year?

Musa: This year no work has been done.

Sanoussi: Haven't you been given fertilizer this year?  
I mean you people who have two-bladed hoes.

Musa: We were not given, only the leader was given. The person who was dismissed,

Robert: What kind of offence did the farmer supervisor commit?

Musa: They found him sowing two peanuts per hole. Also he didn't use fertilizer in the peanut farm.

Robert: What did he do with the fertilizer he received?  
Did he sell it?

Musa: Yes, that is what they found out.

Robert: Is that the reason why they fired him?

Interview with a Musa

Musa: Yes.

Sanoussi: What other name do you give to the farmer supervisor here in this region.

Musa: The agent of the farm agents.

Sanoussi: Is he (the supervisor) given some money to do the job of agent of the farm agents, or does he do it free.

Musa: He is given some small amount of money each month.

Robert: How much is the agent of the farm agents being paid?

Musa: In the past he was being paid 2000 CFA, but from last year up to the first month of this year, they paid 3000 francs.

Robert: Why did you plant this new variety of millet, (short short "Kolo" millet), which they brought to you.

Musa: Because I want to see the difference between it (Kolo) and our own traditional variety.

Robert: If you were not a farm agent, would you have planted it?

Musa: Even if I were not a farm agent I would have planted it, because it has been given to all of us at the same time, and everybody has planted it. Everybody wants to see the difference between it (new variety of millet) and the traditional variety of millet.

Robert: Wasn't there anyone who was afraid to sow this new millet and said what if it didn't come.

Musa: Only when the seed of the new millet wouldn't be enough to be sown all over the farm would one look for the traditional millet to sow in the remaining areas. We don't fear anything, because we know that whatever has been chosen for us must have been chosen by people who care about their fellow countryman. I know they won't bring anything here that would fail. That is why we agree to accept it.

Robert: Where would you plant the new millet variety?

Musa: In a place which I know has not been producing good crops. In that place I will put fertilizer. If that area doesn't prove to be productive I know it is weak. So I will put fertilizer on it.

Haru  
A Farmer Demonstrator at Talafiya

Robert: When did you last see an agriculture agent?

Haru: Not since last year, during the cultivation season.

Robert: When the farm agent came here did he give you any advise on farming?

Haru: They came to measure.

Robert: What type of measurement?

Haru: They used a meter I had already measured my farm. They just measure it to be sure.

Sanoussi: What is the reason why they measured it?

Haru: The last time they measured our farms, they told us to plant one acre and divide the other acre into two. One hundred by fifty on one side, and one hundred by fifty on the other. They came to measure it to see. Then they marked the boundary between the two parts so that they can see what is harvested in the traditional farm and what is harvested in the modern farm.

Sanoussi: Do you know the reason why they measure the traditional farm and the other which is not a traditional farm?

Haru: After this they left, and they said the peanuts which are growing in the area they have measured should be separated from the rest during the harvest. The people should collect them in one place during the harvest. We should separate the nuts put this one in a separate bag and the other in another bag, and take it to them for weighing.

Sanoussi: After you have done all this, and you have weighed the peanuts, what else do they tell you to do?

Haru

Haru: After they have weighed it and seen which one is heavier, they would see whether this one is heavier or whether that one is heavier. However, we didn't take ours to them for weighing last year, They just went and told them that we had harvested our peanuts but there were no nuts.

Sanoussi: Did they do the same thing to you this year?

Farmer: No, they didn't.

Robert: Apart from you, since you are a farmer demonstrator is there any farm agent who comes to work together with the other town people, or are you the only one?

Haru: Farm agents do come here.

Robert: Did they come this year?

R: No. Just last year.

Sanoussi: When they came last year did they give not only you but also the other town people, any advice concerning working on the farm?

Haru: They collected us here, under that tree and gave us a lecture on what they have been teaching to the farm demonstrators. They also told the rest of the people.

Sanoussi: What, for instance, did they tell you?

Haru: They told us something about farm work, like how to clear the farm, how to cut small trees and leave them dry, how to plant, how to use the fertilizer. They told us all this before giving us anything.

Sanoussi: Did they give you this whole explanation before the planting season?

Haru: Yes.

Sanoussi: Do they talk to all the people in the town or only you who have two-bladed hoes?

Haru: When they come they talk to us and the people who live near us. This is a hamlet isn't it? So whoever has their houses near us would be included. And those that are far away would not be included.

Haru

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Robert: Are you one of the delegates to the cooperative?

Haru: Yes, I am among them.

Sanoussi: Which cooperative is it?

Haru: Maimaje

Sanoussi: How were you selected to become the delegate from this section of the cooperative?

Haru: We were all gathered here, and people just said "you and you should go to Maimaje and tell them what the people of this town have decided."

Sanoussi: What have the people in town seen in you that made them to select you?

Haru: Whatever we were told there we would tell them when we returned here.

Sanoussi: Was it the people of town that met and decided that your character was suitable for them to select you or was there any special reason why they selected you to be the representative from Maimaje.

Haru: Yes, they observed and selected us there.

Sanoussi: How were the young farmer trainees chosen to go to the farm centre?

Haru: The way they were elected, the farm agents of UNCC came here and collected the people in the council hall, and they were elected, and one of them was sent during the first year. The following year they said they needed one more person, so we elected Nalashi and sent him there.

Sanoussi: So these people that have been elected to go to the centre, have they been told what they should do if they went there?

Haru: Yes, they have been told.

Sanoussi: Are they being asked whether they want to go or are they just being told that they have been selected to go?

Haru: No, they must agree to go.

Sanoussi: If they go to the centre, do they come back home with some farming equipment or not?

Haru: What they back with is, two cows, and a plough.  
But one of them has not yet received his plough.

Robert: Is it being given to them free or on credit?

Haru: We have been hearing that it was given on credit.

Robert: Is there anybody from your town who wants to go?

Haru: Right now we cannot say that there is anybody in this town who wants to go, because nobody has come to tell us that he wants to go.

Sanoussi: Do you hold an election or does somebody just stand up and say he wants to go?

Haru: We hold election. A person sends a message to us and says that he wants to go if he is chosen.

Sanoussi: So a person requests to go personally?

Haru: Yes, he says he wants to go if he is chosen.

Robert: What is the difficulty which going to the training center presents?

Another Farmer: The only difficulty is that you can't have permission, and village people can't be traveling to town all the time. You have your own work to do. You are always afraid to be selected, because you will want to quit doing this work all together.

Interview with a Village-level  
Agriculture Aide-Encadreur  
(Department of Zinder---ALC-Saouni)

Robert: Your name is Ado , and you are an "aide-encadreur" for the agricultural service?

Aide: Yes, I've been here for six months.

R: Who is your boss?

Aide: Sule, the agricultural agent at Saouni.

R: Do you get orders also from the county agricultural agent?

Aide: Sometimes he comes and gives orders.

R: Do you also work with the cooperative agents who are based at Saouni?

Aide: No, they have their own agents for work. There are two aides from the agricultural service for all of Saouni, and there are two aides for UNCC at Saouni. I have responsibility for fourteen villages. It is too much.

R: What kind of work have you been given in the six months since you have been here.

Aide: I measured the plots for the farmer demonstrators and the young farmer trainees. I measure the test plots with a chain.

R: How do you decide where to place the test or demonstration plots.

Aide: I ask them and they--the farmers--show me where they are going to plant it and I measure it.

R: Do you also layout control plots that have not been treated with the demonstration package?

Aide: We, the aides, our job is just to lay out the limits of the demonstration plots, and to show the farmers how to plant them with the double bladed hoe. If they

want to they can plant in their traditional manner in an adjoining field.

R: How are people supposed to make a comparison between the fields which have been "treated" and the traditional fields?

Aide: We were given no explanations on that.

R: When you want to see how much production you have obtained from the test plot what do you do?

Aide: We place a density square. We were given precise instructions on how to place the density squares.

R: What do you tell the farmers after you lay out the density square in their fields.

Aide: I tell them where I have put the density square. I tell them that when they harvest this area they must take the harvest to Saouni to have it weighed.

R: The farmer, himself will harvest the density square and take the harvest to Saouni for the weighing of the yield?

Aide: Yes. We do this with the Farmer demonstrators and the young farmer trainees.

R: Who were the people with whom you worked in this village this year?

Aide: The young farmer trainee (one of the three here), and village marabout, and another farmer. I also placed density squares in the fields of the female animation workers. There were three of them here. They have all taken the production to Saouni, with the exception of the sorghum crop.

R: Do they know why they are taking the crop to Saouni?

Aide: They have to do that to see the weight and to tell others. I tell them why. We tell them that if they take their production to Saouni we will not keep it there, that they will come back with it. They don't really know why they take it to Saouni, but only that they will get it back to take home with them.

R: When they come back to the village what are they supposed to do then?

Aide: We have an aide there. If the farmers come he will have a list of those for whom he must record the information. He will weigh the crop from the density plot and give

(Interview with an aide-encadeur)

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them their produce to bring home. But they do not give the number to the farmer.

R: Then the weighing is only for the records of the service?

Aide: Yes.

R: What happens to the figures then.

Aide: The aide at Saouni gives the number to his chief?

R: And what does his chief do?

Aide: Perhaps he in turn gives it to his chief.

Sallow: When the farmer returns from Saouni where they have weighed his production does he or she communicate the results to the rest of the population?

Aide: I've only been here this season, and the farmers have not finished taking their crops to Saouni.

Robert: Were you given any instructions on how to organize a meeting to report the technical results of demonstrations to the villagers?

Aide: Maybe, but I'm unaware of any method that is unforeseen.

Robert: In the training for aide-encadeur which you had, did you receive any training on how to explain techniques to the population?

Aide: Yes, there were lessons on this.

Robert: What did they tell you about this?

Aide: That we should be patient with farmers and follow their work carefully.

R: Were you given any idea as to how to work with the broader population, apart from those demonstrators with whom you would be working intensively?

Aide: No, we are not here just for the farmer demonstrators. If any farmer comes and asks me to help him I'm supposed to be patient to give him the answer.

Sallow: But if you had any information to diffuse to the entire population how would you do it?

Aide: I would call a meeting. I would ask the village chief to ask the "griot" to call the people to a meeting at a given time.

R: Have you called any meetings this year

Aide: Yes, I've called several meetings.

R: For what purpose?

Aide: I was near the beginning of my stay here. I explained to them that I was here for the agricultural service, that I was here to work with them. I explained everything to them. I also discussed how to use fertilizer and seed dressing.

R: Did any farmers come to you this year wanting to purchase fertilizer?

Aide: I don't sell fertilizer. They have to go to Saouni. If people come to ask me if I have fertilizer I tell them that they have to go to Saouni. I also sell the seed dressings. Before it was the farmer demonstrator who sold seed dressing here, but now it is me. Another task which I have is that if a farmer tells me that there is a serious insect problem I go immediately to Saouni to inform my superiors. I also help fight against insect attacks in other agricultural districts if there is a particularly serious problem somewhere and I am told to go and help. I tell the farmers to tell me about any problem which is bothering them as far as farming is concerned. If there were any problem I would have several farmers tell me about it.

R: How many years of schooling did you complete?

Aide: Six.

R: Did you take any tests to enter in the technical services?

Aide: No, I didn't take any exams. One nice day I was walking with a friend in the sous-prefecture to get an identity card. Passing before the door of the agricultural service the agricultural chief called me in and asked me if I wanted to put in my application to be a seed conditioning aide. He told me that if I applied he could send my application on to Niamey... I said, ok., I put in my request and two people were employed--my friend and myself. It was for the peanut marketing season and I was in the market at Matameye. It was for three months. Since I was there the chief asked me if I wanted to put in another application, and I talked to the agricultural agent at Saouni asking him to help me get any work. I was then trained with the aide-encadreurs who were selected for the Yaouri project. But I was not employed with the Cereal's project. Those who were employed were almost all from other regions, not from here.

R: Where were they from?

Aide: I would say that they were almost all from the town of Zinder. After ten days or so I was told that there was a second training session for agriculture. Seven people were recruited. Those who were recruited for the Yaouri project were told that it would be a seven month job. The seven of us were not told anything about the duration of our jobs. One of the seven wrote a letter to the county agricultural agent asking him whether our work was temporary or permanent. He was told that it would be permanent. Also I make more than they do. They get about 14100 CFA, while I get 20400.

R: Where did the training of the aides take place?

Aide: At the Matameye farm center.

R: How long did the training sessions last?

Aide: For the Yaouri trainees it was a two week session and one week for the agricultural aides who were recruited after.

R: What did they teach in that two week period?

Aide: They taught us the technical themes.

Sallaw: What do you understand to be the work of an aide-encadreur.

Aide: He is an "aide"--he must do whatever work is given to him. Even if a government worker comes and asks him to wash his clothes he must do it.

Interview  
With Saouni ALC Government Workers

UNCG Credit

Sule: Before people who had absolutely no means would come and take an ox-cart and a pair of oxen. They knew very well that at the end of the season if they didn't pay UNCC would get their money from the collective marketing dividend. Now that is no longer the case. People who are not able to pay at the end of the season cannot get away with that.

Robert: Then, it is only the wealthy who can get a loan?

Sule: No, someone who is conscientious. That is not necessarily a rich person. In 1970, for example, there was a person at Doundou who took a loan of oxen and a cart and who didn't pay. Now we ask the village chief who is really serious about using the equipment.

Robert: Then it is someone who is seen as a person of "good character" who gets the loan.

Sule: Right, someone of good character.

Robert: But, in addition he must have the resources to pay back the loan.

Sule: No, if he is really poor, but we consider that he can really work, we could still give him the loan.

Robert: Suppose we take a hypothetical case of someone who is really a good worker, but who is not liked by the village chief. The chief could say, I'm not going to Saouni with you to support your application for a loan." What can that person do?

UNCC: It is not solely the village chief who decides.

Robert: But isn't it true that the village chief is frequently the President of the local mutual group?

UNCC: We explain this very well to the villagers. We explain it's not because you are in a quarrel with so and so that you can refuse a loan. If the guy is really able to pay at the end of the season you must give it to him. Because the loans are for everybody.

Sallaw: In precise terms, do you know of anyone who was in a dispute with the village chief, and who was successful in getting a loan.

UNCC: We have not had a case like that.

Robert: Until recently this has been a purely theoretical question due to the lack of material, especially the lack of fertilizer for sale or loan terms. Have there been any farmers come this year to ask for loans to obtain animal powered cultivation equipment?

UNCC: Yes, we have had that kind of request. But UNCC does not give credit for that material because it does not have enough of that equipment.

Robert: Are there people who came here to pay for fertilizer on cash terms.

Ag & UNCC: Yes, especially 15-15 fertilizer for sugar-cane. Many farmers come to buy this.

Robert: Do you have figures?

Sule: It has only been this year that we had supplies, and we have not yet made up the figures. The problem is that year after year, for as long as three or four years people come to ask for fertilizer loans and they don't get them. After awhile they are discouraged and don't come back anymore.

Robert: The real problem, then, in your opinion is not the farmer demand, but the supply. Why is the supply short?

Sule: We don't know. It is a problem at the national level.

Robert: Do you know if there are farmers who go to Nigeria to buy fertilizer?

Sule: Yes, a lot of them do especially for the sugar cane.

Robert: Is it less expensive there?

Sule: No, it is just that it is not available here

Robert: Who got fertilizer here this year through government programs?

Sule: The young farmer trainees, the farmer demonstrators, and the farm demonstration supervisors. For the young farmers and supervisors it was given free.

Agriculture Agent: The farmer demonstrators and the female animators got fertilizer on special credit arrangements thru the project (Projet Trois M-Zinder).

Robert: How will these loans be recovered according to the methods which have been laid out?

Sule: We have not heard anything about the credit recuperation scheme as yet. This was the first year for these loans. We don't even know if we are to attempt to collect these credits.

Robert: Do the farmer demonstrators know that they must repay these loans for the fertilizer?

Sule: Yes, they know.

Agriculture Agent: We know that they are going to repay, because it is foreseen in the annual work plan for the season (Plan du campagne). They will have to find the money to repay.

Robert: When the farmer trainees get out of the farm center do they get their equipment as a loan or as a gift?

UNCC agent: They get part of it as a gift and part on a loan from the CNCA.

Robert: Does this become a loan on behalf of the individual or on behalf of the GMV. (Village mutual group)?

UNCC: It is an individual loan.

Robert: Those who got out the first year, 1974, from the farm school, they had a payment due on their material last year, didn't they?

Sule: Yes.

Robert: Did they pay?

UNCC and Sule: No they couldn't. It was a bad year and we didn't get anything.

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Robert: Did you cancel the repayment or reschedule it because of the poor harvest.

UNCC: No, we ask for it, but they didn't pay.

Robert: Are there some young farmers who have already sold their equipment?

Sule: Yes, there are some.

Interviews at Gabi and  
Chadakori Cooperatives-Maradi  
Agriculture Aide at Gabi

GABI

Robert: Do people purchase fertilizer for peanuts for cash or on credit?

Agri: On credit, there was credit for it last year. There was no credit this year because the peanut crop was poor last year very few people repaid.

Robert: This year there was no credit?

Agri: No, there wasn't any.

Robert: Were there any people who purchased fertilizer for cash this year?

Agri: No, this year we never received our supplies.

Robert: This year you sold seed dressings?

Agri: Yes.

Robert: Are the farmers here used to using seed dressings?

Agri: The farmers here are obliged to purchase seed dressing at the outset of the rainy season.

Robert: They are obliged?

Agri: They realize its usefulness, and it is in their interest. We oblige them to use it if they get seed loans.

Robert: Did anyone purchase animal-drawn equipment here in the past few years?

Agri: For this district there was no material sold.

Robert: Were there any people who were recruited to go to the young farmer training school?

Agri: Yes, there were some.

Robert: Did those who went get any farm equipment?

Agri: Yes, some material and a pair of oxen.

Robert: Was this equipment given as a collective cooperative loan or as an individual loan?

Agri: Individual, for the oxen and equipment, it is individual.

Robert: Then there is no guarantee on the repayment?

UNCC: We have not had that problem here--there are no bad debtors here for this district.

Agri: Here is how it works. We recruit the young trainees, but before sending them it is necessary to contact their relatives, to get their consent. When the young farmers get out they are the responsibility of the relatives. The relatives are responsible for paying in a four year period.

Robert: Is there any training program to follow-up the young farmers after they get out of the school?

Agri: No. I don't think so. They go home and work in their own fashion. We have never received any forms telling us who are the young farmers, and what we should do with them.

Robert: What is the staffing for the UNCC here in the cooperative of Gabi? Can you work at the level of the ALC and the cooperatives?

UNCC: I am one encadreur for 26 villages. I necessarily can only work at the ALC level.

Robert: Is it the same thing for Agriculture?

Agri: Yes the same thing, except we have the farmer demonstrators who diffuse the seeds to their comrades. But this year this whole system has been upset.

Robert: Upset, how?

Agri: Since I've been here (18 months) I have not encountered that at all. It simply does not function anymore.

Robert: Why doesn't that system operate anymore?

Agri: I don't know. I work with what I have been given.

Galadima (UNCC chief for Maradi project): It is necessary to see the difference between the system here and the system in Zinder Department. Here they worked with the young farmer trainees.

Robert: But he mentioned a system of farmer demonstrators.

Galadima: The farmer trainees were considered the demonstrators here.

Robert: But were these farmer trainees cooperative delegates-- were they selected by the cooperative?

Agri: Yes, they were elected.

Galadima: How were the young farmer trainees chosen last year?

Agri: I chose them myself.

Galadima: Now we have a problem. Can the people who you chose be elected. Because we have a problem for the recovery of loans. If you chose them the cooperative cannot take the financial responsibility.. but if we can have them elected..

Agri: No, it is not really me who chose the students. When I heard that I had to recruit students to go to the CFJA (Farm school) I went to a village where there was a farmer with a certain level of literacy, and I asked the villagers if they could name him.

Galadima: But did you raise the issue of responsibility for repayment?

Agri: We were told to recruit the students, not to tell the conditions of the loans. We did what we were told.

Galadima: You see there is a problem..since the creation of the CFJA we give each year five to ten million francs in loans and not one franc has come in in repayment to the present time. Not one student has repaid his loan.

UNCC: That must be the fault of the UNCC or the CNCA.

Galadima: No, it is also at your level that you must take responsibility.

UNCC: How are we supposed to act if we have no list of the students and of their credit situation. Take the case of last year. We had no idea who owed what. You should have asked us.

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Galadima: But if you select the students...and also you have been selecting school kids for the demonstration program. It is not always the case that school kids are the best farmers. You should be sending the best farmers. At the CFJA they don't give lessons in grammar or geography. They teach people to farm better. If village people who have not been to school are more capable you should send them. Can you tell me now for example, do all the trainees who you have here still have their material, and if they do how do they use it?

UNCC: The students whom I sent last year, when they got out they only had a pair of bulls and no other equipment

Galadima: Have they paid anything on the bulls they received. Normally they should begin repaying their loans this year.

UNCC: I can't tell you anything of that subject.

Galadima: But since you give them....

Agri: It is not I who give them.. I was told to recruit them and send them to the farm school--that's all.

Galadima: (To the UNCC encadreur)..You are supposed to collect the money. Can you tell me what the situation is?

UNCC: Ah..I can't say anything on that either.

Galadima: You have been here for 13 months--that's one year--one agricultural season has gone by. You should know something.

UNCC: I worked with the agricultural agent. We went out and made an inspection tour together. We went out and chose the young farmer trainees. Those students are not yet out of school. There is nothing I can tell you concerning them.

Galadima: Do you have a list of those who have graduated in past years who are from the Gabi ALC. For example--five are graduated, this one has an ox cart, that one a plow etc. You should have a list since the beginning of the program. Do you have such a list?

UNCC: It would seem that the others (UNCC agents before him) were not interested in maintaining such a list. I did not find it in the documentation I received when I came. So I can't tell you if it exists.

Galadima: Besides the young farmer trainee loans do you give other loans?

Agri: This year there was only peanut seed loans.

Galadima: No loans for seeders, plows etc.?

Agri: I put in my request, but until the present time I've heard nothing. There have been farmers who asked for a pair of oxen, a trained donkey etc...

Galadima: For us the problem is primarily with the young farmer trainees. Take the case of the "class of 1974." This class got over 10 million francs in credits. But at present (October, 1976) not one of them has reimbursed anything. Now we can not continue in this manner. We must re-examine the conditions for the choice of the trainees. Were these trainees really chosen by the villagers, and if yes..are the villagers agreed to..can they assure that the student chosen will have the capacity to repay. Do they want us to give the material in the name of the student, or in the name of the cooperative? We cannot continue to give a complete set of traction tools which is worth between 100000 and 200000 frs. as a gift, or at random. We must have a guarantee that the trainee will pay. And also, I find that your choice has not been democratic. You should ask the village to name a candidate, and not necessarily someone who has been to school. The village should be free to name anyone they consider to be serious.

UNCC: In the past, the UNCC has insisted that the trainees be ex-school students or someone who has gone through the adult literacy program. That is how we see it. The services tell us what to do and we do it.

Galadima: This is really unacceptable. You would think that we have a well of money and each year we just dip in the bucket and get some. We are going to recover what has been lent out to the present time. How much of the peanut loans have you recovered thus far?

Agri: The situation is not clear.

Galadima: Not, clear, the recovery program has been on for one month..how much have you gotten back in repayment of the seed loans?

Agri: Not one peanut.

Galadima: How much did you give out?

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Agri: One hundred eighteen tons.

Galadima: You better get on it. The farmers can sell to the merchants and you will never even know. You can't just wait there for the farmer to come and pay back his loan.