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## DEVELOPMENT AGENTS AND NOMADIC AGENCY IN THE DAMERGOU, NIGER: FOUR PERSPECTIVES IN THE DEVELOPMENT "MARKET"

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## **ABSTRACT OF THESIS**

### **DEVELOPMENT AGENTS AND NOMADIC AGENCY IN THE DAMERGOU, NIGER: FOUR PERSPECTIVES IN THE DEVELOPMENT “MARKET”**

Discourse between development agents and nomads implies that development for nomadic communities is a contradiction in terms. A “market-oriented” subtext underscores the investors' power of international agencies, the brokers' competition of intermediate organizations, and the nomadic clients' opportunism. Interviews and participant-observation focused on relations between Wodaabe communities, bilateral and local organizations, and government extension services. I compare the data obtained with historical events to illuminate current phenomena. Approaches of structuration, political ecology, and disequilibrium theory aid an examination of communication and discourses, and gaps in understanding between the parties. I find that essential pastoral livelihood strategies of mobility and customary institutions are threatened by the development system. How will social change affect cultural mechanisms that facilitate resource access and allocation? Rather than promoting sustainable development, projects that target nomadic communities may only result in increased stratification, wealth disparity and marginalization for the majority of nomadic households. Will “development” become too costly for households, local ecology, and even national economy? I conclude with recommendations for participative development through collaborative research.

**KEYWORDS:** Fulbe, Pastoral Development, Niger, Nomads, Wodaabe

Karen Marie Greenough

14 April 2003

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DAMERGOU, NIGER:  
FOUR PERSPECTIVES IN THE DEVELOPMENT “MARKET”**

**By  
Karen Marie Greenough**

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**THESIS**

**KAREN MARIE GREENOUGH**

**THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY  
2003**

**DEVELOPMENT AGENTS AND NOMADIC AGENCY IN THE  
DAMERGOU, NIGER:  
FOUR PERSPECTIVES IN THE DEVELOPMENT “MARKET”**

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**THESIS**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky

By

Karen Marie Greenough

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Peter D. Little, Professor of Anthropology

Lexington, Kentucky

2003

## **DEDICATION**

This Thesis is dedicated to my grandmother, Jane Hawes Greenough Reekie Poston who encouraged my explorations, but passed away a year before I embarked on higher education; and to Ana 6i Tunao, Gojen-kejo, who passed away suddenly in the summer of 2002.

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Though many people have assisted in the planning and implementation of the research, and the writing of the thesis, the work is mine and I take responsibility for any inaccuracies or weaknesses.

\*\*\*

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**PROLOGUE -**  
**PLACE AND SPACE**  
**THE PASTORAL ZONE OF THE DAMERGOU**

Two and a half weeks before I left Niger and my field research, and two and a half months after my arrival in the country, I had finally come home to the rangeland. I sat in the evening with my “brother” Janari as the sun sank behind us. The bittersweet scent of sugared green tea wafted from our little teapots simmering on the red coals in his brazier. The west wind, damp from rains far to the south, seemed to settle for the evening and the sky in front of us slowly darkened with dusk. The calves bawled while Janari’s wife milked the cows; the girls on the other side of the camp worked over mortar, pot and fire on the evening meal. The boys were gone, out looking for some stray goats that had not come home after watering. From here, we could just see traces of a distant few of the perhaps thirty Gojen-ko’ en camps on these hills. About ten extended families comprised the scattered collection of camps gathered here, about a third of this Woḍaaḅe (Fulḅe) lineage. Back among the Gojen-ko’ en family with whom I’d lived for three years, I was finally happy after weeks of frustrating and depressing research. My one regret was that my husband, working in Zinder, was not able come with me. But he, a Gojen-kejo from a different secondary lineage, may have been uncomfortable staying with a family whom he considered as sometime rivals.

The previous evening, with my husband’s young son, I’d ridden north in a transport truck the tiny roadside hamlet of Tasha Tchingoragen with some Gojen-ko’ en men and perhaps another fifty men, women and children from the Saturday market in Tanout. We sat on, and were surrounded by, market goods, grain mostly, but also sacks and old cardboard boxes that contained salt, dried sauce leaves, tomatoes and peppers, onions, tobacco, mangoes, and clothing. The truck was heading to towns along the Agadez highway. On the way back to Tanout the next Friday, the smaller van we rode in picked up Woḍaaḅe and a few Tuaregs with animals for sale in the weekly market. Sheep, goats, and even a calf were tied to the top of the vehicle and a small lamb lay under our seat, bleating occasionally. Men driving livestock too large to transport by truck, or those who would not agree to the price the van driver demanded, walked behind their young bulls and rams on the paths that paralleled the paved road.

Around noon that day, Janari arrived in Tasha Tchingoragen, where I'd spent the night, to take me home. We hiked for a few hours in the company of several men, a couple of boys and one other woman across low greening hills. The men and boys were all members of the Gojenko'en lineage; the older woman was Pullo as well, but Katsinin-kejo rather than Boḍaaḍo. She came from the south to find her daughter who had migrated here with her in-laws. Janari thought he knew the leader of the daughter's in-laws and offered to help the older woman find them. Indeed, as we walked, we saw from various distances the occasional Boḍaaḍo, Katsinin-kejo or Tuareg leading or driving cattle, sheep or camels across the steppe. Janari gave me the family news and told me of their trek up from Gagawa, southwest of Tanout, where they'd spent much of the dry season. We joked with Daaji about the heifer he was driving before him.

"Veli gave her to me, *haḅḅa-na 'i*", he explained as he ran after her.

"She doesn't like you," I called, "you'd better give her back!"

Though it was just after noon, the sun was not unbearably hot as it had been before the uncertain start of the rainy season a week or so ago. We examined the grass, dried grass still left through the dry season. It was sparse, but still enough for grazing, and soft, not the burrs of cram-cram.<sup>1</sup> The new green grass had grown about an inch, just tall enough for the small ruminants, but not enough for the cattle. It dusted the tops of the hills with a faint verdure growing stronger as it descended the hills into dells shaded by acacia and long-thorned desert date.<sup>2</sup>

The hill where Janari's camp lay sloped gently toward a sparsely wooded dell, the ghost of an ancient riverbed that wound around the base of the broad hill. We relaxed in the peace of the evening, on mats spread on the light sand, in the lee of a low *bodahe* tree.<sup>3</sup> Thunderclouds, darker blue than the dusk sky, gathered in the eastern distance.

"Are you watering at ponds yet?" I asked.

"We've been taking the stock to the pond down the hill from the Tasha, but the girls are still getting household water from the wells. There aren't really ponds in this area. Water doesn't collect in the dell bottoms."

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<sup>1</sup> *Cenchrus biflorus*

<sup>2</sup> *Balynites aegyptica*

<sup>3</sup> *Commiphora africana*



We talked about the rainy season, fitful and late up until now. This was one of the few areas in the rangelands that had received rain, and it was crowded with nomadic families of different ethnicities, Fulbe and Tuareg. There seemed to be some control exerted over the range here by the *laamido*, the Fulbe administrative chief. It seemed this area “belonged” to him and his family, and they did their best to protect the trees from being cut and the dried grass from being swept up for sale in town. I would later examine damage to trees with some of the men. They variously explained the foliage loss and chewed bark as the result of stock currently overcrowding this range this season, or of the voracity of large locusts that had invaded the region from Zinder north past Tanout into the pastoral zone.

This range, however, seemed to be in better shape than the area of Sallaga where I’d spent the last two weeks with my brother-in-law’s family. I had known the range around Sallaga since 1994, and this summer saw how the wooded valleys there had been thinned, if not emptied, of trees. The major specie had always been *bodahe*, a small softwood tree with little dark green leaves that smelled of pine. Now the economically useless tree seemed to be almost the only specie left on the hills. I saw the tracks of ox-carts, and the Gojen-ko’en camped in that area said that men from Tanout came to cut firewood and sweep up grass to sell in town. The Tuareg smiths cut wood to fashion into tool handles, spoons and stools.

Just south of Sallaga what had once been range was now barren fields, stripped of all vegetation, lying in wait for rain. As my assistant and I rode up from Tanout, we crossed barren dunes of sand until we entered the scrub of the range not yet cleared. When we crossed the fields a second time, a storm had scattered rain across a narrow band of land, and we rode around the pockmarks of seed holes. If the rains continued millet would soon green the fields. If, a more likely scenario at this ecological limit for cultivation, the rain was insufficient, the millet would wither and wind would carry off the sand that acted as topsoil. In the drought of 1984, in which nothing grew and small forests of trees died, sand blown off the tops of the hills filled the dell basins that held seasonal ponds. In 1993 interviews, farmers told me that these ponds were returning through natural erosion of the sand in the basins, but they were still not as large as before the drought. It is probable that the same phenomenon occurred in Tchingoragen, and the basins have not yet been cleared.

After dinner, the wind picked up and thunderclouds moved towards us darkening the sky. Thinking we might get some rain we rushed to cover things with plastic. I wrapped the little

gear that I'd brought. Janari and the boys collected the cattle and sheep, and his wife and her daughters made sure the tent tarp was tightly tied and the *saga*, a "table" that holds all the household gear, was covered. Sound and fury signifying nothing, the storm crashed over us with dry flashes of lightening and earth splitting thunder ... but no rain. The wind blew ferociously until the storm passed, to the north it seemed. Had it rained there? We would have to wait until tomorrow to hear news from herders who moved across the range.

We would have to wait a few days for real rain, when a true storm finally drenched a broad swath of range. I was visiting my friend Amina then, and her husband joyously sent me into her tent, while he went to gather the sheep and cattle. Amina and the children and I huddled there while rain beat on the plastic for half the night. Water ran in small streams down the hillsides, washing away the rest of the dried grass. The new grass received enough water, though, to push up and grow tall enough for the cattle to graze.

When I returned to Tanout on Friday, I saw that the storm's path stopped about ten kilometers to the south of the Tasha. The rest of the range and fields north of Tanout were dry sand, clay and rocks. Sallaga and the barren fields to the south remained dry for weeks after the first bit of rain that fell while I was there. The herders from Sallaga, whom I spoke with in the market, were very worried. Trapped in forageless range by bandits and cleared, seeded fields, an area that had provided sufficient pasture for the dry season was now emptied of grass by wind and fruitless rain. The cultivators to the south would have to replant.



Figure 1: A Boḍaaḍo herder with his cattle just north of Tanout during the dry season.



Figure 2: Two Woḍaaḅe women dressed up in their best clothes.

## CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

On May 9, 2002, I arrived in Niger aboard Air France together with several wealthy Nigerien families and their children, who must have just been leaving school in France for summer vacations at home in Niamey. They could have been European or American children by their dress and the Walkmans and Gameboys they carried. They spoke French. I imagined them with their families driving from the airport in large SUVs to large villas on the Plateau, among the rented homes of ex-patriot NGO administrators, foreign government functionaries and diplomats—walled and gated compounds with security guards out front. The Plateau, high above the Niger River, well shaded with neems, flamboyants, and tall ancient acacias is a far cry from the Nigerien rangeland, but no less so from other *quartiers* of the city. My husband and I spent a couple of nights in what I think of as the bottom of the city, hot, humid and stinking of sewage, in a bar-hotel with crooked stairways. Zinder is slightly more comfortable than Niamey because it is drier and not as crowded. But the dust there, though not the staining red of the west, rises in an ecru haze throughout the dry season, choking in the harmattan wind. When I arrived, the rainy season was as yet barely anticipated. The harmattan wind had not yet reversed, from northeast to southwest, to bring humid air and then storms from the south. We battled the heat of a glaring sun, and thirst.

My field research ostensibly began with a visit to the national office of the *Association pour la Ré dynamisation de l'Élevage au Niger* (AREN). I had had a brief e-mail correspondence with the *secrétaire général* while I was still in the States, and hoped to meet with him. He was gone, however, and we would continue to miss each other throughout my stay. I'd known this man since 1994, when I began to be interested in development among the Wodaabe, when the Gojenko'en first said to me, "You must help us get projects." Thus, though my research for this study began in Niamey on May 10, 2002, it rests on a foundation of experience and investigation stretching back more than eight years.

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Figure 3: Map of the Republic of Niger.

## THE FULBE

The Fulbe today are dispersed throughout West Africa, and into Chad, Sudan and Cameroon. They are by no means a homogenous people, but a group of various lineages related by a self-identifying name, a common language divided into more or less mutually intelligible dialects<sup>4</sup>, and similar traditions. Most groups identify themselves through an attachment to cattle husbandry, if not by subsistence, then as an adjunct to other economic sources of revenue, or as a heritage. Known by different names in different regions of West and Central Africa, notably Peul in French (derived from their name in Wolof), and Fulani in English (derived from their name in Hausa), Fulbe (sing. *Pullo*) is the name that the people give themselves. With a heterogeneous mix of different types of economic ways of life, this large assemblage of people, while bonded linguistically and culturally, has been socially and politically divided through history into major lineage groups. Fulbe groups living in Niger include, among others, Wodaaɓe, Uda'en, Katsinin-ko'en, and Cahidoji, all represented in the *département* of Zinder, and Jelgoɓe in Western Niger. The Jelgoɓe also inhabit Burkina Faso (Hampshire and Randall 1999), while the groups living in Zinder also live in Nigeria. The Wodaaɓe are among the most nomadic of the Fulbe groups. While these families identify with a certain area or well as pastoralists, they practice a very opportunistic<sup>5</sup> strategy of mobility to exploit scarce resources, temporally and spatially unpredictable.

Economically, ethnographers have divided the Fulbe roughly into four different categories based on subsistence economy: nomadic pastoralist, semi-sedentary agro-pastoralist, sedentary agriculturists or town dwellers, and urban Islamic clerics (Johnston 1967:21-22; Stenning 1959:4-11). Except perhaps for the Islamic clerics, these categories are not now and never have been neatly delineated. As will be seen in Chapter 3, in the longer view of history, nomadism and sedentarization are not dichotomous, but fluctuating gradations of recurrent vacillation. Various social, economic and political pressures push nomadic pastoralists towards different degrees and types of settlement, and sedentary families towards different degrees and types of nomadism. The Fulbe themselves, however, recognize a division between the more purely

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<sup>4</sup> A Wodaaɓo friend, who had been to Senegal, estimated that it would take a month or two to learn Pulaar, the dialect of western Fulbe.

<sup>5</sup> I use opportunistic and opportunism in the positive sense of taking advantage of opportunities when presented (cf. Niamir-Fuller 1999:36). Opportunism in the negative sense of unethical exploitation is certainly not absent from many interactions in Niger, however.

pastoral and more sedentary groups. The nomadic groups are called Mbororo'en by other Fulbe, a name, I've been told by Woɗaaɓe, derived from the Fulfulde word for zebu cattle. The Woɗaaɓe make up a part of the Mbororo'en, who subsist by raising livestock, primarily cattle, for dairy products. Fresh milk makes up as large a part of their diet as possible, determined by the amount of livestock available to a family, and the seasonal availability of forage. Cultured milk and butter are used in meals as well as sold or exchanged for grain. The Woɗaaɓe practice relatively constant and opportunistic migration to find the best combination of pasture and water for their herds.

Pastoralism in Africa, when based on cattle, is constrained by two ecological factors, both based on amount of rainfall. In the western Sahel, including the territory from Senegal to Chad, with only one rainy season from June or July through August or September, rainfall below about 200 mm per year is not conducive to pasture growth or ground water replenishment. On the other hand, tsetse flies live in areas that receive rainfall above 450 mm per year. Since the time cattle were domesticated in Africa, from 8-10,000 years ago (cf. Arioti and Oxby 1997; Smith 1992:104), pastoralists in Africa have moved opportunistically between these two fluctuating limits. Nomads move seasonally through the Sahel from area to area and region to region to exploit most advantageously the "patchy" availability of natural resources, pasture and water. These "disequilibrium" environments (see Chapter 2) demand technical expertise to exploit pastoral resources not only during the season of their availability, but also in the places where they are available. Woɗaaɓe and other pastoralist decision makers use a dynamic model of resource exploitation that places the yearly cycle within a broader vision of long-term environmental pressures, such as rainfall fluctuation, that may restrict resources. During periods of adaptation to environmental change or political crises, knowledge of the environment, and the pressures that affect it, critically influences decisions for optimal use of resources (Smith 1992:1-2).

Nomadic pastoralists in the Nigerien Sahel use seasonal ponds during the rainy season, about two to four months depending on the year's rainfall, and for about a month afterward for household and livestock water. During the much longer dry season, men water their livestock, and young women and children fetch household water, from hand-dug deep wells (privately

owned or publicly managed<sup>6</sup>), on average 75 meters and as much as 120 meters deep. Some families negotiate for access to “fields” of shallow wells, from 6 to 12 meters deep, that tap a more or less temporary water table, or pay for water at mechanically pumped boreholes placed in and managed by villages.

“No pastoral groups should be seen in isolation,” writes Andrew Smith (1992:23). Throughout history, pastoral groups have interacted with each other and with sedentary groups, sometimes violently, but more often peacefully, and each culture has influenced the other. In the Niger, Woḍaaɓe negotiate with settled cultivating populations and other groups of pastoral nomads, including Tuareg, Tubu, and other pastoral and agro-pastoral Fulɓe groups. It was colonial administrators who incorrectly determined that pastoralist societies were closed, and isolated them socially and economically from their neighbors. This necessitated the development of what would appear to be autonomous self-sufficiency (Galaty and Bonte 1991:16). The colonialists themselves then perpetuated myths about nomadic pastoralists that held prominent authority until the 1980s, and are even influential today. The Woḍaaɓe have always lived among different peoples, sedentary or nomadic, and have had to negotiate with these people for water, pasture and other resources. Women have exchanged surplus dairy products for grain and other products found in villages, as men have exchanged surplus livestock. Now both gender groups sell their commodities in markets to purchase grain, clothing, salt, sauce ingredients, tea and sugar.

Nomadism in Niger embraces much more complexity than portrayed by many authors, though Dupire (1962; 1970; 1972) has depicted this complexity in the middle of the last century. To outline the current complexity for this thesis I will differentiate between two terms: *nomadism*, random and opportunistic mobility within a habitual area, but with no fixed base; and *transhumance*, which I use to mean a more regular movement between a specific dry season pasture, usually at a home base, and a specific rainy season pasture away from cultivated areas. The *département* of Zinder includes several different agropastoralist and pastoralist ethnicities, from sedentary farmers, through transhumant agropastoralists, to purely nomadic pastoralists. The transhumant agropastoralists usually send the livestock away from home during the rainy

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<sup>6</sup> Wells dug and cemented with project funds have been considered “public”, open to everyone, and sites of conflicts. Recent policy to turn these wells over to communities who will manage them has done little to lessen conflict as many nomads still consider them “open”.



season with young men, some accompanied by their wives. Nomadic pastoralists move with their families, though families may split to care for different types of livestock in different types of pasture. Pastoralist populations in Zinder comprise primarily Fulɓe and Tuareg, with Tubu camel herders in Gouré *arrondissement*. While the Fulɓe include relatively egalitarian groups of various socio-economic systems, the Tuareg culture, based on a strict system of socio-economic castes, comprise an even more intricate and varied society. Though the different Tuareg groups tend to practice different types of economic activity, from agriculture to silver smithing to pure pastoralism, they tend to identify with camel husbandry as the Fulɓe identify with cattle (cf. Bernus 1975:233). Pastoral Tuareg, Uda'en, Katsinin-ko'en, and Cahidooji are intimate neighbors of the Woɗaaɓe in the Damergou, but as my research concentrated on the Woɗaaɓe, this thesis will only be able to consider these other groups as nomadic neighbors.

The Woɗaaɓe (sing. *Boɗaaɗo*) are simply organized into maximal, primary (*lenyi*) and secondary (*taare*) lineages (c.f. Dupire 1962:280). Moritz *et al* (2002:126, citing Dupire 1970) identify this system of pastoralists “living dispersed among agricultural populations” as “fragmentary”. He contrasts this characterization with societies, based on segmentary lineages and age sets, able to organize quickly in defense against war and raids. Though the Woɗaaɓe may have at times organized in this way in the past, it seems that they have always tended to rely more on negotiation with their neighbors to avoid conflict. Figure 1 (next page) shows the two maximal lineages of the Woɗaaɓe in Niger with the breakdown of some lineages in the Damergou. The *lenyol*, the primary lineage, gives a Boɗaaɗo her or his identity. While Stenning (1959:194) distinguishes Woɗaaɓe clans in mid-20<sup>th</sup> century Nigeria, the Woɗaaɓe in Niger have no clans in the sense defined by Evans-Pritchard (1969 [1940]) and Fortes (1940; Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940), or age sets as is common among east African pastoralists. While *lenyi* are ranked by “age”, this ranking seems to carry little more than symbolic weight. Before the Sokoto *jihad*, the *mauɗo lawol pulaaku* embodied a centralized moral authority (see Chapter 3); today the Nigerien government invests centralized authority in *laamiɓe* (sing. *laamiɗo*), a Ffulfulde word for chief. Woɗaaɓe *arɗoɓe* (sing. *arɗo*) are historically migration leaders,<sup>7</sup> the best herders of the *lenyol*. They also negotiate with the leaders of other communities, and still do, for access to pasture and water. Since colonialism, *arɗoɓe* have been officially registered as “chiefs” (*chefs*) of official “tribes” (*tribus*), which more or less parallel *taare*.

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<sup>7</sup> The word is based on the root *arɗ-* for “lead”.

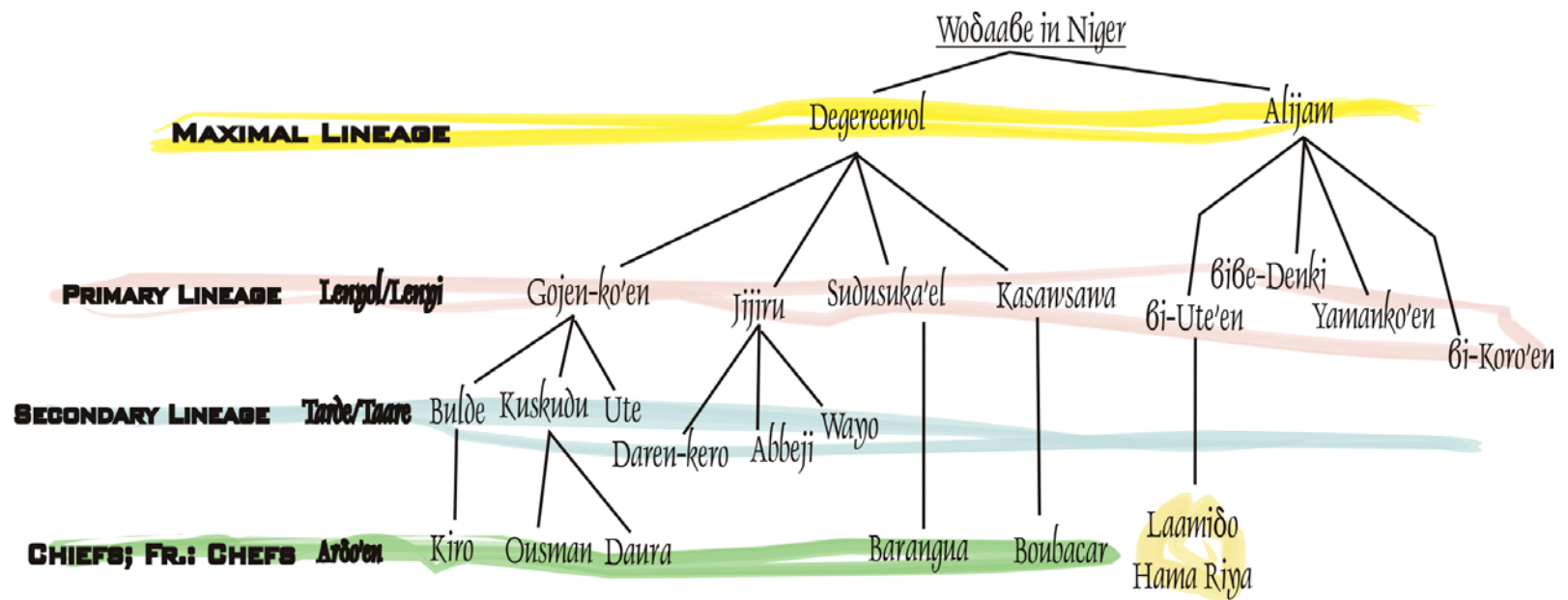


Figure 4: Some of the Wodaabe lineages in the Damergou

While Woḍaaḍe families may usually migrate within certain area because of familiarity, they do not restrict themselves to this area if resource deficiency requires a migration into a new area (*perol*), in which they may live a season, a year, or decide to live there permanently. Primary lineages have in this way spread through out Niger. Stenning (1959:206) defined such movement as “migratory drift”. The *lenyol* Gojen-ko’en, for example, have *taare* in the Damergou, Ader, and Tchintabaraden. Other nomadic Fulḍe follow similar strategies of mobility. In 1996, I met a nomadic family of Uda’en in an area northeast of Tanout who had originally migrated from the Madaoua area, east of Maradi.

Very generally, seasonal migrations in the Zinder region follow a north-south trajectory, with dry season pastures in the south and rainy season pastures in the north outside the cultivation zone (see Map 2, next page). Among the Fulḍe, however, some agropastoralists (and possibly pure pastoralists) make long transhumances from the western cantons in the *arrondissement* of Mirriah and southern Tanout to the *arrondissement* of Gouré. Sheep raising Uda’en Fulḍe of Gangara, southwest of Tanout ville, move between Nigeria and northern Tanout. Some of Woḍaaḍe, including Gojen-ko’en families, may move between Tessahoua, west of Zinder and Aderbissinat in the *département* of Agadez. Katsinin-ko’en agropastoralists send their young people north with family livestock in the rainy season. Some Hausa, Dagara and Tuareg farmers send their livestock north in the rainy season with a hired herder, often a Pullo, sometimes a fellow villager. These herders pasture their livestock not far from the pastoral zone border, and though not as many as the nomadic pastoralists, consume a non-negligible portion of environmental resources in that area. While the Woḍaaḍe, and some other Fulḍe nomadic pastoralists, usually travel in the comforting company of nuclear and extended family, the hired herders often travel alone. A Dagara man I met one summer was herding and keeping camp with his two young sons. Hausa and Dagara herders are further separated from their pastoralist neighbors by ethnic and linguistic differences.

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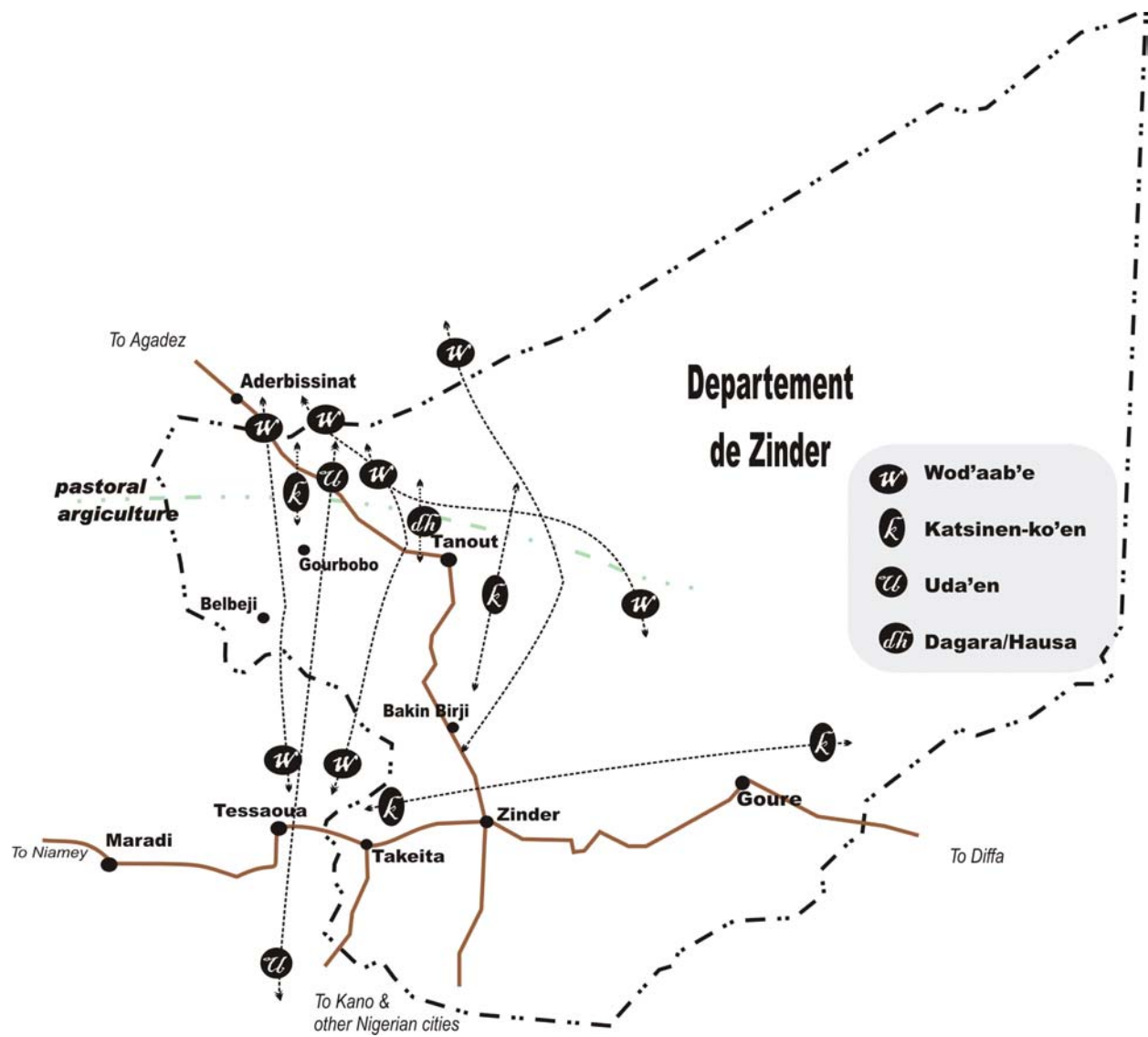


Figure 5: Map showing very generalized migration tendencies. Including some pastoralists and agro-pastoralists who live in the Zinder *Department*.

## **GEO-POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF NIGER**

This section will attempt to outline the present political geography of Niger, currently in a state of flux. The ordinary researcher in the rangelands, who is not in touch with administrators “in the know”, finds this situation confusing. What were *départements* are now called by some government services *régions*. Some services and agents use the new terminology while others keep to the old. The new appellations, not yet official it seems, are part of continued efforts at decentralization, which are in turn closely related to the development of a *Code Rural* that would formally legislate land tenure. This administrative and legal development seriously implicates access to resources in the pastoral zone and the socio-political position of pastoralists, nomadic and transhumant.

### ***Decentralization***

Since before Niger’s independence from France in 1960, the country has been divided into seven *départements*, Niamey/Tillabery, Dosso, Tahoua, Maradi, Agadez, Zinder and Diffa, each of which are divided into *arrondissements*.<sup>8</sup> During the years since independence, some sort of decentralization has been more or less in progress depending on the government in power. In 1974, following the drought of 1969-73, and a terribly destructive famine of 1973-4, Lieutenant Colonel Seyni Kountché instigated a *coup d’état* over Hammani Diori, the first president of Niger, and established a military government. A system of decentralization instituted during this government put in place a hierarchical pyramid of development committees, from the *Comité national de développement* to numerous *Comités villageois de développement* (see Figure 2, next page).

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<sup>8</sup> My recall the following events was aided and supplemented by:

1. Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture & Jean Bonnal  
c. 1997. Etudes de cas: République du Niger. Sourcebook en Ligne sur la Décentralisation et Local Développement. <http://www.ciesin.org/decentralization/French/CaseStudies/niger.html>
2. Tidjani, Alou Mahaman S.  
c. 1997. Decentralization in Niger: An Attempted Approach.  
<http://www.ciesin.org/decentralization/English/CaseStudies/Niger.pdf>
3. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/>
4. <http://www.friendsofniger.org/politics/>

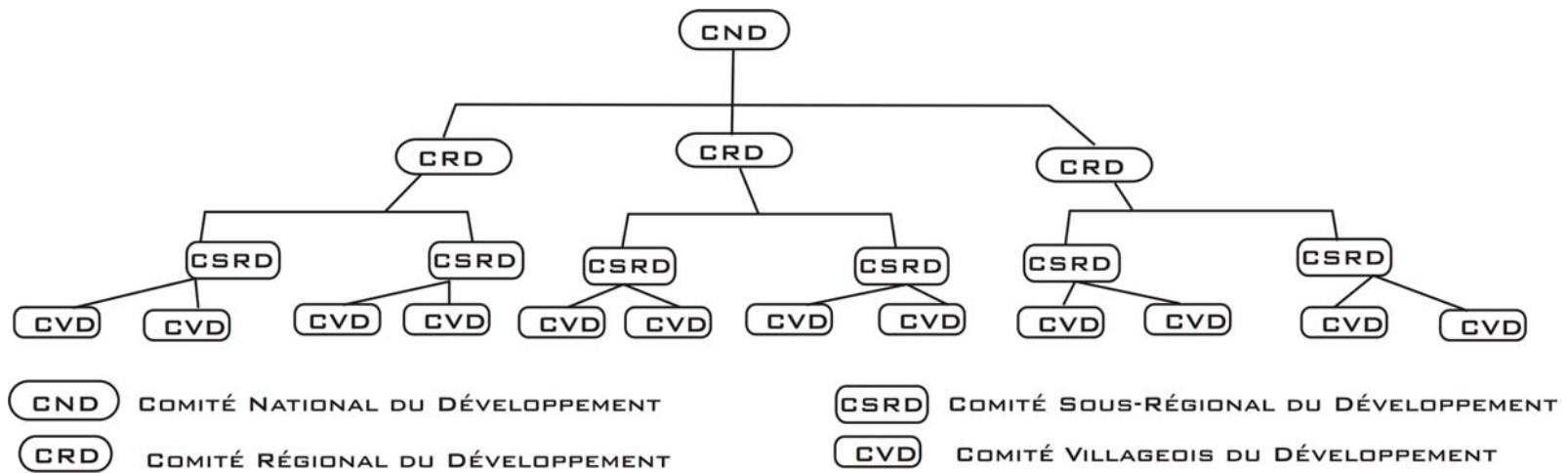


Figure 6: The hierarchical structure of the Development Committees.  
 Established during the presidency of Seyni Kountché.

When Kountché died in 1987 from a brain tumor, General Ali Seybou succeeded him to the presidency of the military government. In 1989, a new constitution reinstated civilian government, but with one party; Seybou was re-elected to power. The next year, after public protests and strikes, Seybou gave way to demands for a multi-party system, and in 1991 a National Conference deposed him without much rancor, set up a transitional government and worked on a new constitution. In 1993, a democratic election put Mahamane Ousman in power, and in the next year a new program of decentralization began its first phase through the efforts of the government of Niger and several bilateral donors, including the *Coopération française* and USAID. This program seems to have been based on the original plan that Diori established in the 1960s (Tidjani).

*Départements* would become *régions*, *arrondissements* would become *départements*, and *cantons* and *postes administratifs* would be transformed into *districts*. The number of *communes urbaines* (such as Zinder and Niamey) would increase and obtain more control over their own affaires. Tanout would become a *commune urbaine*. Most importantly, local administrations would be elected rather than appointed by the national government as they had been since at least the military government of Kountché. Related to this program of decentralization, the government began a process to develop a *Code Rural* in order to codify rural land tenure and usufruct. The alteration of this *Code* became a primary objective for newly established pastoral organizations recognizing that an emphasis on private title could incur a loss of access to rangeland resources for pastoralists.<sup>9</sup> Part of the controversy over the *Code Rural* includes the establishment of *terroires d'attache* (territories of attachment) at which pastoral groups would be required to spend part of the year (1993; Hammel 2001), and the enforcement of the boundary between cultivation and pastoral zones. The boundary first established by the French in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has been pushed further and further north into the pastoral zone by encroaching cultivation. Other concerns, some addressed by the attempted introduction of a *Code Pastoral*, include “island” fields cleared in the middle of expanses of customary pasture, and the narrowing, if not closure, of customary migration routes by encroaching cultivation.

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<sup>9</sup> Lesorogol's discussion of the complexities of changes in land tenure policy among the Samburu exemplifies this phenomenon. (Lesorogol, Carolyn K. 2002 *Cutting Up the Commons: The Political Dynamics of Institutional Change. Paper presented at American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, 2002.*)

During the 1990s, the rebellion of the Malien Tuareg spilled over into Niger, and then spread east to the Tubu people along the border with Chad. These rebellions, and the armed banditry that flourished with them, hindered all decentralization, legislation of the *Code*, and the spread of pastoral associations. The government with the help of international donors, however, continued to organize local elections for the last half of the 90s. Before they could begin, though, another military coup, bringing to power Ibrahim Ba'aré Mainassara, derailed both the program of decentralization and the debate over the *Code Rural*. Ba'aré was assassinated by a cadre of soldiers in April 1999. A transition government, headed by Major Daouda Wanké promised and delivered democratic elections in November of the same year, despite the retraction of almost all foreign assistance and an empty treasury. Mohamedou Tanja, an ex-military campaigner, began his presidency in December. The new government has re-instituted the programs of decentralization; legislation of the *Code Rural*, with a proposal of a *Code Pastoral* from the pastoralist organizations; and the establishment of the *commissions foncières* (CoFo), land tenure committees, at every political level. As will be seen in Chapters 4 through 6, the institution of the CoFo may seriously affect the political position of nomadic communities.

### ***Tanout***

Tanout is the name of both an *arrondissement* (*département* under the decentralization system) within the *département* (*région*) of Zinder, and a town (*commune urbaine* to be) of about 10,000 inhabitants. As the capital of the *arrondissement*, it accommodates the administrative office and extension services of the *sous-préfecture*. The *arrondissement* includes both agricultural and pastoral populations, with most cultivators also raising livestock and many pastoralists practicing some cultivation. The *arrondissement* has been divided roughly in half into a southern cultivation zone and a northern pastoral zone. Tanout is also the name of the canton that contains the town, joining the cantons of Gangara and Olelewa to cover the eastern agricultural zone of the *arrondissement*. The cantons are headed by “traditional” chiefs (*chefs traditionnels*) instituted by the French. Belbeji, which covers the western third of the *arrondissement*, is a *post administratif* headed by a government administrator, and a “traditional” Tuareg chief who governs the nomadic Tuareg population of the west. An eastern Tuareg chief has a base at a well north of Tanout in the pastoral zone. Pastoral and some agro-pastoral Fulbe of the *arrondissement*, especially the Wodaabe, have one chief, the *laamido*, who lives in Gourbobo, northwest of Tanout ville (see photos, next page).



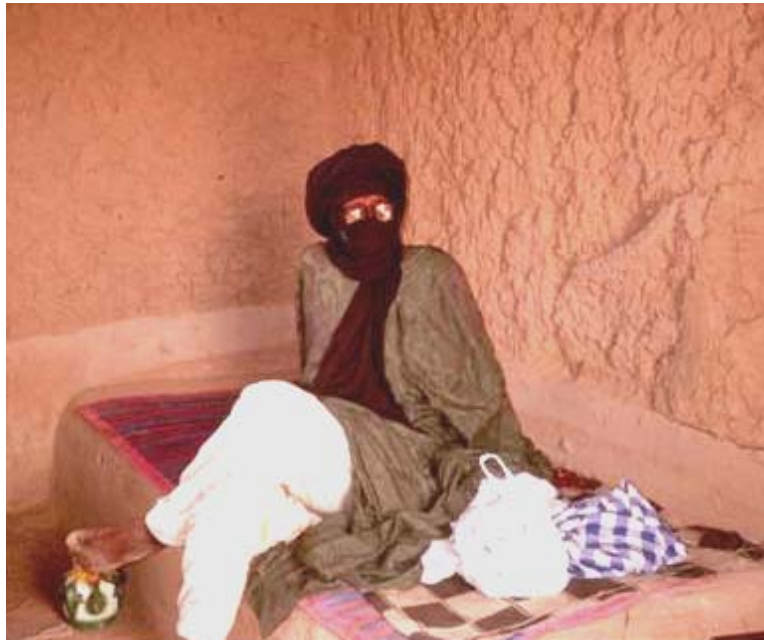


Figure 7: The *laamido* of Tanout.



Figure 8: The men of the *laamido's* court.

A Boḍaaḍo, the *laamido* controls the pastoral zone between the territories of the two Tuareg chiefs. Though the chief of the canton of Tanout has no jurisdiction in the pastoral zone, either he or his followers have crossed the border at least once in an attempt to appropriate land for fields.

Conversations over the years suggest that Tuaregs or their slaves have historically practiced some agriculture in the region, but northern incursions, peaceful or otherwise, of Dagara and Hausa increased land under cultivation. A bloody war with the French “pacified” Tuareg warriors, and the development of peanut cultivation and more than a decade of exceptional rainfall in the 1950s and 1960s encouraged northern expansion of agriculture. Tanout and the Damergou with its mineral rich clay became the breadbasket of Niger. A drier climate beginning in 1969 and the subsequent famines of 1973-4 and 1984-5 convinced some cultivators to migrate out of the area, but also forced the settlement of nomads, especially Tuaregs, and their adoption of cultivation. This phenomenon is especially remarkable at the “border” north of Tanout ville, between cultivation and pastoral zones. Where south of Tanout, towards the cantonal seats of Olelewa and Gangara, and northeast of Bakin Birji, much open space is exploited as pasture by different groups of Fulbe during the dry season, the land north of Tanout to the cultivation zone “border” is crowded with fields. The soil is sandy here, “hotter”—more fertile, and with less rain weeds grow less easily. Cultivation, though harvests are uncertain, requires less labor and larger fields may be put into production by fewer people. In addition to extensive agriculture by Dagara, Hausa and Kanuri farmers, many Tuareg families have settled just north of the border,<sup>10</sup> which they cross to cultivate during the rainy season. In the west, north of Gangara and Belbeji, Katsinin-ko’en agropastoralists have also pushed against the border there. During my research we rode north of Tanout across barren fields for a few kilometers that had once been rangeland within the pastoral zone, covered in scrub. This agricultural incursion is a problem that the nomadic pastoralists have not been able to resolve. Though this encroachment is illegal, the *arrondissement* administration possesses few resources, and seemingly less will, to enforce the border.

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<sup>10</sup> Reasons for settlement may include destitution following droughts and access to schools. Tuaregs or their slaves may also have been settled here in historical times.

### ***Development projects***

Pastoral development projects are not new to Niger or the Damergou. Significant projects in Niger include the Niger Range Management and Livestock Project (NRLP), funded by USAID from 1979 to 1983 (Swift and Maliki 1984) in the region between and including Filingué, Tahoua and Agadez. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD, a U.N. fiscal organization), identified a project in the same area in 1986 (Seddon 1993). The Damergou was involved in the *Projet Elevage du Niger Centre-Est* (PENCE or simply *Centre-Est*)<sup>11</sup>, which started in the late 1970s and lasted about a decade. This project created “centers” in the pastoral zone (notably for this thesis, Njaptoji and Inguini), with mechanized boreholes, human health and veterinary clinics, and research laboratories. Interviewees told us that only the boreholes remain, and the buildings, still owned by the livestock extension service (*service de l’Elevage*), though there may still be an *Elevage* agent posted at Njaptoji. In the 1990s, *Projet Camelin* worked with Tuaregs and their camels in the *département* of Zinder. Though this project took place while I was in Tanout and I heard the name then, I knew very little about it. It seems to have ended in the late 1990s. A project with which I did have some contact, the *Projet Pastoral Nord Zinder* (PPNZ), financed by the French government, operated in the pastoral zones of the *arrondissements* of Tanout and Gouré. When their truck was stolen by armed bandits, just less than a year after they started, they pulled back to Zinder ville and then ended the project. In Tanout, however, they started a cooperative of cereal banks, at least two of which are still run by Gojen-ko’*en* and Sudusuka’*el groupements* based in Tanout ville and the village of Ajiri, respectively (see Chapters 5 and 6). All of these projects have left behind them a legacy of discourse defining *sensibilisation*, local *groupements* and *bureaus* for the nomadic communities. Though, PPNZ made an effort at Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), the agents seemed to understand little about the theory behind the participatory tools of the methodology.

### **RESEARCH BACKGROUND, METHODS AND ISSUES**

Life and work among the Gojen-ko’*en*, and other lineages and households of the Wodaabe of the Damergou region of the Republic of Niger, has equipped me with a perspective literally from the grassroots of the pastoral range. An admitted bias for the nomadic pastoralist accompanies this perspective, but as no work can be unbiased, I hope to advance an

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<sup>11</sup> Elevage in this context means “livestock raising”; it may be glossed as herding or pastoralism as *éleveur* is glossed as herder or pastoralist.

understanding of the constraints and opportunities presented to the Woɗaaɓe nomads in the circumstances of current pastoral community development. During three months of research, from May through August, 2002, I explored the interface between development agents and pastoral nomads, and the discourse of pastoral development in the Damergou region of Niger. My original objectives were:

- 1) To examine the present communication between nomadic communities and the agencies, non-governmental organizations, and associations they interact with, including modes of communication and the different discourses surrounding the interactions;
- 2) To evaluate current and potential projects with which the communities might be involved;
- 3) To explore ways in which communication between nomadic communities and agencies, associations and project implementers might be improved.

My field research included about 25 semi-structured interviews, many informal conversations, participant observation and a collection of documents. With the help of my assistant Maman Manzo, I focused on the interactions between four groups of actors<sup>12</sup> within the development framework: Woɗaaɓe nomadic pastoralists, national and regional pastoralist associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government (extension) services, and bi- and multi-lateral donor agencies. About a third of the interviews took place in the city of Zinder. The majority of my research occurred in the town of Tanout and a few of its surrounding market villages. In the rangeland, I carried on conversations and informal interviews primarily with men and women of the Gojen-ko'en *lenyol*. We spoke with people in French, Hausa, and Fulfulde, trying to converse in the language that our interlocutors felt most comfortable with. I obtained consent for interviews according to the standards defined by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Kentucky. I taped interviews when possible: when only a few people were involved in the conversation, when I had obtained permission from the participants, and when my tape recorder was working.

The discourse of this paper, reflecting my bias, tends to represent, for reasons of simplification, the interface of development as rather falsely dichotomous, with nomadic

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<sup>12</sup> As I use practice theory to ground this thesis and “agents” to refer to both implementers of development and government employees, I will use the word “actors” to refer to the “agents” of practice theory.

Woḍaaḅe on one side and everyone else described as “development agent”. Reality, however, evinces a scenario far from “us vs. them”. A few Woḍaaḅe have been elected to the *bureaus* of *arrondissement* level intermediary organizations. A very few government agents have a nomadic heritage. Nevertheless, the discourse surrounding pastoral development falls very roughly into two relatively polarized camps: the one, nomadic, concerned with pastoral livelihood strategies (see Chapter 2), and the other, development, concerned with projects, whatever the societal, ecological, or economic cost.

Neither should the pastoral nomad or the development agent be viewed as homogenous categories. This thesis will show the hierarchy that obtains in the development system. Pastoralists also have differing levels of wealth and access to resources. A pastoralist wealthy in livestock and possessing a well will have a different perspective to the “development” offered, than a pastoralist poor in livestock and with no secure access to water or rangeland. A few pastoralists have also made tenuous connections with national political parties, and, of course, others have allied themselves with national pastoral associations.

A consideration of gender implications constitutes a serious deficiency of the research and this thesis. Although I interviewed one woman as women’s affair secretary for a pastoral association, few pastoral women are involved in associations or project. We looked for one woman, whom we were told might attend Ajiri market, but we never met her there. Otherwise, I found it difficult to talk to women who knew me, and almost impossible to talk to women who didn’t know me. My Woḍaaḅe women friends were not involved in project work, and seemed to consider it to be part of men’s affaires. I needed a different methodology, with different questions, and a concentration on women’s perspectives, none of which I allowed for during these three months. Thus, the nomadic pastoralist of this thesis might well be considered male, except in specified interviews, a circumstance I regret and hope to rectify in the future.

This thesis will address three general and interrelated matters that have concerned me since I began to live and work with Woḍaaḅe, and that still trouble me. The first concern calls attention to the tendency of development agencies to present nomadic communities with project models evolved in and for sedentary communities. The way in which organizations and agencies ignore, or are ignorant, of the motives, rationalities, opportunities, constraints and strategies of and for nomadic life reinforces this issue. Nomadism according to the sedentary members of organizations and agencies is an obstacle to overcome, a complication to dismantle, or an

anachronism to modernize. It is a problem. In order not to reinforce my false dichotomy, I must make clear that a few agents do understand the rationale and opportunities of nomadism, and some Woḍaaɓe had come to appreciate a settled life in town more than the hard life on the range.

My second concern, closely related, addresses what I've observed as a one-way communication from agent to nomad, from project administrator to project recipient. Development in Niger (and probably elsewhere in francophone Africa) is still usually conducted through the principle of *sensibilisation*. The French word translates into English as “sensitization”<sup>13</sup> and may have a much more benign sense in France than it does in Niger. Those communities targeted (*ciblées*) for projects in Niger are sensibilized (*sensibilisées*) in order that they might understand what is expected of them and how they must act. Little, if any, dialogue takes place in which sedentary agents might be brought to an understanding of the nomadic pastoralist systems and situations. This lack of understanding contributes, of course, to the dearth of projects appropriate to a nomadic way of life.

My third concern, again closely connected with the first two, involves the notion prevalent among the Woḍaaɓe that they cannot themselves initiate projects appropriate to the lives they wish to lead. They seem to have no mechanisms for innovating projects that would address their needs. Neither do they see ways of communicating such projects to agents who might be able to facilitate them, though this is ostensibly the way, according to association statutes (cf. Thébaud 2001), in which community development is to occur. I was constantly told by Woḍaaɓe men and women, in almost identical wording, “We must be shown the way,” and, “We'll see what projects come along and choose what works best for us.” A shortage of resources is implicated in each of these concerns, primarily of money, especially on the part of the intermediary organizations, of time, and of knowledge on all sides.

I also brought to this research of 2002 an understanding of Woḍaaɓe history, presented in Chapter 3, which informed hypotheses and subsequent analyses of my field notes. The evolution of their pastoral livelihood strategies as the Woḍaaɓe moved northward into the Sahel has its roots in precolonial and colonial history. The present day possibilities of lineage fissions, growth of socio-economic stratification and wealth disparity, and further political and/or economic marginalization of nomadic pastoralists, have precedent examples in the political, social, and

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<sup>13</sup> I must thank Rial Nolan for bringing this to my attention at the SfAA conference, Portland, 2003.

economic disruptions that took place over the course of the Sokoto Empire and then colonization of Nigeria and Niger.

The attitudes reflected in the three concerns above, and the placement, spatially and situationally, of different actors contribute a metaphorical atmosphere of “marketing” to the development interaction among development funders, agents and nomads. International agencies invest in the development of Nigerien communities and wield an investor’s financial power. Intermediary associations and local NGOs engage in competition for projects, funding and client communities. Nomadic communities who wish to become clients arrange and adapt themselves to attract projects; others shop carefully or negligently depending on their relative wealth and willingness to become involved. This atmosphere relates to that of “new thinking”, my phrase that includes not only non-Woḍaaḅe agents who advocated some kind of change in nomadic life, primarily sedentarization and “organization”, but also the (sometimes evangelical Islamic) discourse of Woḍaaḅe influenced through work in Nigerian and Nigerien cities. Other perspectives of “old thinking” (expressed in Hausa as *tsohon tunani*) concerned the ways in which nomadic Woḍaaḅe thought of projects, how they should be involved in them and how they must contribute. “They do not understand; their heads are still in the bush,” said one Boḍaaḅo man who had settled in order to attract a project.

The atmospherical metaphor of marketing will be discussed in the penultimate chapter as a dialectic of control, a discussion that will describe the contradictions between two interacting systems, development and nomadic, and include the implications of different aspects of power within and between them. The next chapter will discuss the combination of different theories and models that informed this research and its subsequent analysis: Giddens’ structuration, Little’s political ecology, and models of pastoralist livelihood strategies and of forces of change in and on nomadic communities. I also discuss the need for an application of discourse analysis in development. Chapter Three presents the historical context of the Nigerien Woḍaaḅe. I use the works of three authors, Dupire, Stenning, and Bonfiglioli, to examine the history of the Woḍaaḅe and begin to discuss the relation of that history to the situation of today. This history includes ideological and institutional aspects of Woḍaaḅe society, and the intimate relationship between the Woḍaaḅe and their natural environment. The “new thinking” of pro-development Woḍaaḅe and agents is not so “new”, but has been extant for centuries. Chapter 4 presents structure of the development system through the data collected in interviews with organization

*bureau* members. Chapter 5 depicts the positions of different *Wodaabe* groups and individuals relative to the development system, and the communication between the *Wodaabe* groups and the organization *bureaus*, the *services* and the agencies of the development system. Chapters 4 and 5 establish the background information that assist in the analysis of the latter chapters, which discuss the research data in relation to the theories and models presented in Chapter Two. Chapter 6 describes the discursive requisite of restricted mobility or sedentarization expressed by most development agents, and explains its detrimental consequences in a disequilibrium environment. Chapter 7 addresses the issue of customary institutions and their uncertain fate. Under a discourse of *vie associative* or associated life when combined with the ideology of *sensibilisation*, these institutions are invisibilized, and ignored, to the possible detriment of the regional economy and natural environment, and ultimately those of the nation. The final chapter summarizes the issues addressed in light of the concerns broached above. In this chapter, I conclude with suggestions for mitigating the bases of these issues and the overall amelioration of development in the rangelands of Niger.



## CHAPTER TWO - THEORY: FRAMEWORKS AND MODELS

Several different social theories have been used to examine Woḍaaḅe society, including structuralism and functionalism (cf. Dupire 1962; Stenning 1959) and, in reaction to these more static frameworks, a framework based on process (cf. Bonfiglioli 1988:4-5; Horowitz 1975:388). Other social scientists have used other theories, including adaptive ecology (cf. Horowitz 1975; Smith 1992; Swift 1975) and political economy (cf. Chang and Koster 1994; McCabe 1991), to examine the relatively independent household unit within a pastoral economy (cf. also Dyson-Hudson 1991; Stenning 1969). Most recent development literature examines the problems of land tenure for nomadic pastoralists (cf. Lane and Moorehead). Development and government agencies rarely undertake theoretical analyses; their folk models tend to look through an essentialized lens of evolutionism: groups of people have moved and will move through various “pre-modern” to “modern” stages. For nomadic groups, this teleology translates into the preordination that all nomadic groups will naturally settle, and that “development” demands this sedentarization. Such a teleology has been discussed and dismissed by several authors (cf. Baxter 1975; Dupire 1962; Gulliver 1975; Niamir-Fuller 1999a; Oxby 1975, 1985). The “frontier” between nomadism and sedentary life is vague, wide, and crossed throughout history by various groups, including the Woḍaaḅe, as will be seen in the next chapter.

Most of the literature and theories cited above examine an individual society of nomadic pastoralists, or perhaps look comparatively at a number of societies. This thesis will look at the convergence of two social systems, broadly defined: that of the nomadic Woḍaaḅe and that of “development”. I will use a mixture of aspects from a few approaches that seem to complement each other. Giddens’ theory of structuration and agency, with a strong emphasis on the agency of pastoralist nomads, originally informed this research. While working in the Sahel, among the Woḍaaḅe, disequilibrium theory and the triadic system of pastoral resources are always at the back of my mind. Throughout this thesis, I rely primarily on Giddens’ theory of structuration as a basic framework, within which I will incorporate aspects from the other approaches, predominantly Little’s elucidation of political ecology. Little’s political ecology and a model of

pastoral livelihood strategies<sup>14</sup> emphasize the delicate dynamic balance of opportunistic agency and resources within the variable ecology of the Sahel.

## GIDDENS

Overall, I find Giddens' dynamics particularly appealing. Giddens focuses on the *duality* between structure and agency, each interrelated with and effecting change in the other. Giddens' principal of duality of structure explains that human agency produces social structures which in turn are the medium for their on production and reproduction, again through human agency or practice (Giddens 1976:121). Because a society's structure is the medium in which societal rules are reproduced, a society may appear to be static at any one time. Yet structure is at the same time the medium in which societal rules are modified, and in this way all societies are dynamic (Giddens 1979:18). Giddens refers to "sequences of change which are of medium term duration, but which have far reaching consequences for the society or region in question" (Giddens 1979:228). The history, analyzed in the next chapter, produces and reproduces the present.

Figure 3 (next page) illustrates a model of Giddens' structuration, placed on a three-dimensional frame of axes. In his effort to expand on and transcend structuralism, Giddens works to integrate a synchronic with a diachronic perspective. To describe the situatedness of all social activities he explains, "Social activity is always constructed in three intersecting moments of difference: temporally, paradigmatically (invoking structure which is present only in its instantiation) and spatially" (Giddens 1979:54). He later defines a syntagmatic dimension as "patterning in time-space," which I have put here on horizontal axes, and a paradigmatic dimension as "continuity-producing, virtual order of elements" (*ibid*:62-3), which I have put here on the vertical axis. Saussure first defined syntagmatic as the temporal and spatial relationship of one sign to another; paradigmatic is an oppositional relationship, why one sign was chosen over another (Duranti 2002:164). One might imagine the intersection of these three moments as a point, an actor (**I**) at an ascribed or achieved position, within a social structure moving across space and through time, within the conditions and constraints placed on the actor's agency.

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<sup>14</sup> My word for the model (see below) from: "The art of strategy." *The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition*. Copyright © 2000 by Houghton Mifflin Company. <  
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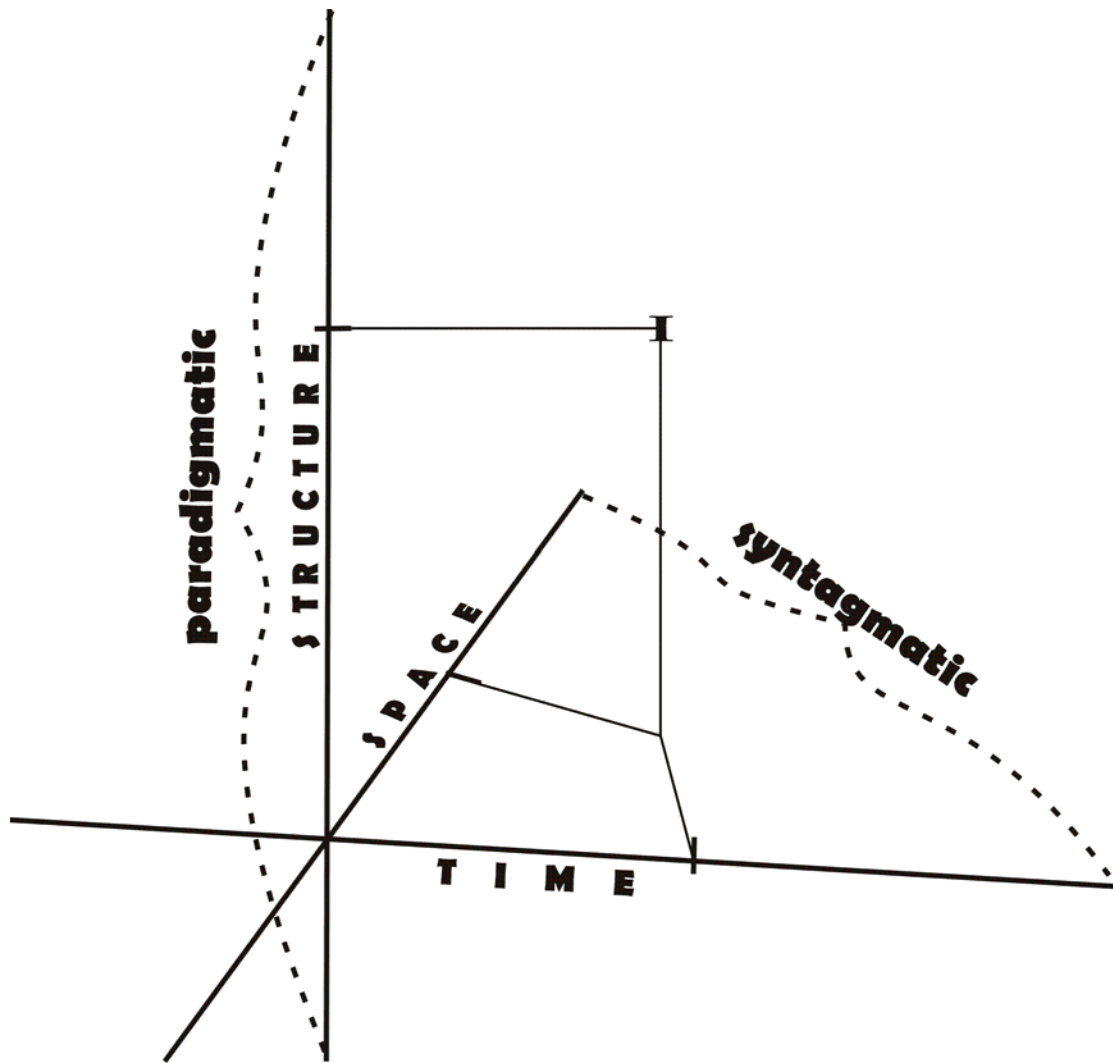


Figure 9: A graph of Giddens' theoretical system.

“Structure” according to Giddens (1979:64), the paradigmatic axis of the framework, should refer to “structuring properties ... the ‘binding’ of time and space in social system ... understood as the rules and resources, recursively implicated in the reproduction of social systems.” Within this reproducing and modifying structure, or structuration, the actor is influenced by and utilizes three interrelated sources of cognition: the *unconscious*; the *practical consciousness*, or tacit stocks of knowledge; and the *discursive consciousness*, or knowledge that enters reflexive discourse (*ibid*:5, 25). Structures include knowledge on the part of actors of what must be done. This knowledge may be “practical” and tacit, something an actor may not be able to explain, or it may be “discursive”, something the actor is able to discuss and analyze. The production of practices mobilized by actors through stocks of knowledge and capabilities necessitates access to resources under the constraint of rules—though what constitutes a rule in one sense may become a resource in another (Giddens 1976:108). The rule that restrains relations and speech between Wodaabe in-laws also acts as a resource for a young wife who wishes to keep a distance between herself and her father- and elder brothers-in-law. Actors’ practices result in consequences, intended and unintended, that reproduce, perhaps with modifications, structuring principles. The actor’s reflection on consequences feeds into the consciousnesses of the actor: unconscious, practical and discursive. Discursive consciousness is, of course, most important to the interviewing ethnographer. The most deeply layered or sedimented practices, those actions reproduced over and over again, become institutions.

One actor alone, of course, cannot produce or reproduce a social system. Indeed “social” structure or system implies an interaction between actors. In Figure 4 (next page), I have fleshed out the intersection point of Figure 3 (above) into practicing and interacting actors. The two actors use their own stocks of knowledge and capabilities, and access resources and are constrained by rules, to interact, thus recreating the structure that those rules and resources constitute (Giddens 1979:71). The actors reflect upon the intended and unintended consequences of their practices and interactions, adjusting their reactions and thus modifying the structure. Practices reproduced over and over become institutions. I argue that ideologies might be considered sedimented cognitive practices, and discourse the verbal expression of sedimented practices, or institutions. This thesis will advocate the necessity of recognition of customary pastoral institutions, complexes of actions reproduced over time to precipitate as rules and resources.

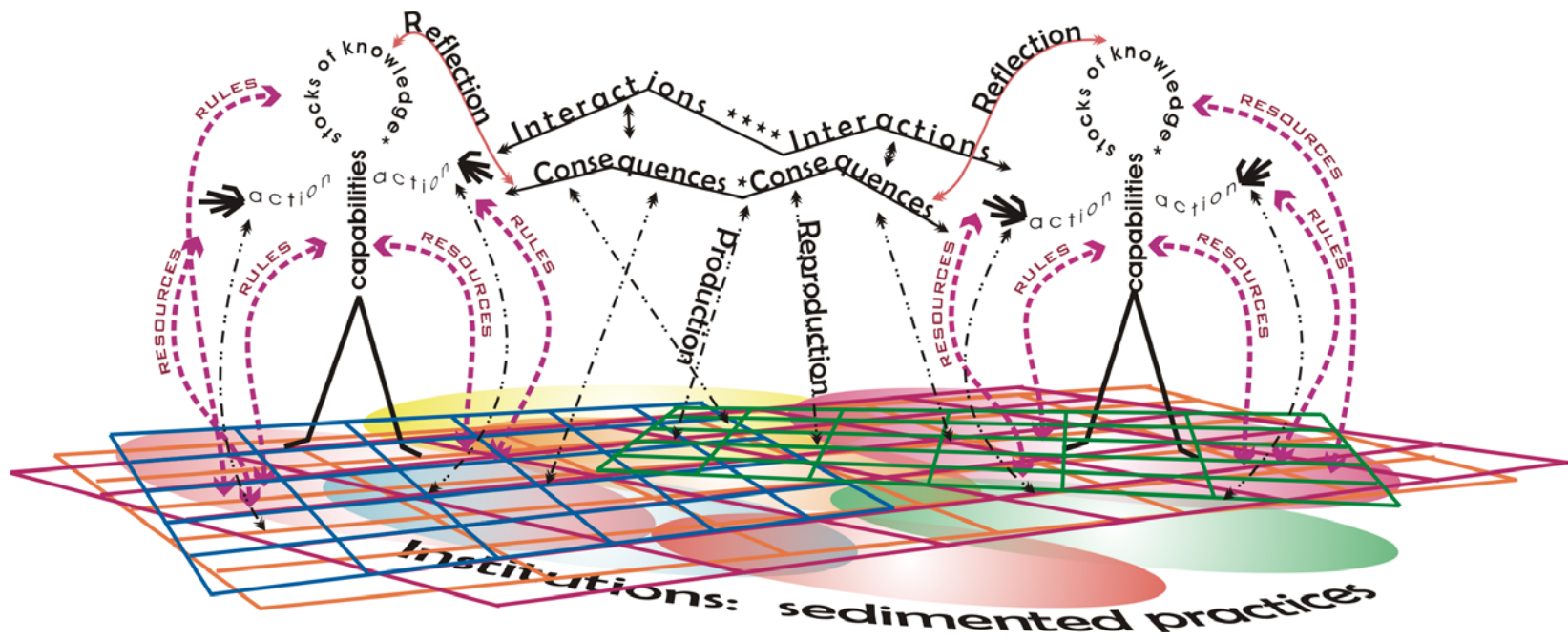


Figure 10: Giddens' production and reproduction of structure through interaction.

Nomadic pastoral institutions among the Woḍaaḅe include the leadership of the *arḍoḅe*, alliances between lineages, and institutional practices of pastoral management through scouting and opportune mobility. Ideologies among the Woḍaaḅe, such as *pulaaku* (see Chapter 3) and valuing negotiation over conflict, uphold and support these institutions.

Institutional practices, ideologies and discourses operate as resources as much as they do constraints, and as resources carry power. Giddens defines power as “the transformative capacity of human action” (1976:110), and the “capability of an actor to achieve his or her will” (1979:69). It is also “a property of the collectivity” with resources as its structural foundation (*ibid*). Within the pastoral system, control of wells increases the power of individuals and groups, but this power is diffused through the lateral reciprocity of resource exchange integral to this system. The development system brings new resources into the pastoral system, along with new powers concentrated at the top of a vertical hierarchy that contrasts with the more horizontally concerned relationships and linkages of the pastoral system. In the pastoral system, power is balanced between individual agency and responsibility, and communal reciprocity.<sup>15</sup> The ideologies and discourses of the development system, such as sensibilisation and sedentarization, may disrupt and erode the institutions and ideologies of the pastoral system—differing principles in a systemic contradiction that I address in the final Chapter.

### **DISEQUILIBRIUM, POLITICAL ECOLOGY AND PASTORAL RESOURCES**

The resources that nomadic pastoralists rely on do not, of course, exist purely in the social structure. Giddens, as a sociologist concentrating on industrial societies, does not examine interactions between actors and the natural environment (except very occasionally in reference to Marx, power, and the actor’s ability to convert natural resources). When considering a land-based society, one must consider natural resources. Several authors identify the primary resources of nomadic pastoralists as *livestock* or animal capital, *labor* or human resources, and *land* or natural resources, including pasture and water (Dahl 1987:249; Fratkin and Smith 1994; Thébaud 1988:47). To explain the mechanisms that integrate these resources into the social system, I turn to aspects of political ecology described by Little (2003).

Constraints as well are not confined to the social system, but must also be considered in the natural environment. In the pastoral system, constraints in the natural environment are identified

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<sup>15</sup> I must thank Teferi Abate Adem, PhD, for this image of horizontal vs. vertical foci on resource access and allocation.

as “risks”. As the defining feature of a disequilibrium sahelo-savannah system, the factor climactic variability is the factor that most determines the character of pastoralism in Africa. Instead of a simple connection between rainfall and growth of vegetation, the complex relationship between pasture development and precipitation involves not only quantity of rainfall, but duration, spacing and tempo of storms (Bollig and Göbel 1997:70; Horowitz and Jowkar 1992; Scoones 1994). In semi-arid and arid environments, rainfall is not only impossible to predict temporally, but spatially as well, and fluctuates from year to year, in amount and in quality (from short, heavy, eroding torrents to long, gentler, soaking showers). At the 1993 workshop, *New Directions in African Range Management and Policy* in Woburn, UK, range ecologists (Behnke *et al.* 1993; Scoones 1994) recommended a focus on mobility and adaptive flexibility within development, land tenure planning, and conflict negotiation, specifically in disequilibrium environments (Scoones 1994:31-32). While disequilibrium theory was primarily developed to explain the failure of theories of carrying capacity in arid and semi-arid rangelands, for this thesis, I consider disequilibrium theory in relation to mobility. Behnke and Scoones (1993:12) discuss the different roles that livestock movement play in equilibrium environment (those in which rainfall is less variable and more predictable) and disequilibrium environments. In both environments, if livestock is confined to one area “viability and productivity are limited by the scarcest resource in the scarcest season in that place.” In an equilibrium system, where resources are more constant, risk of loss of livestock is not as considerable in a disequilibrium system where rainfall and natural resource availability fluctuate significantly from season to season.

The costs of a sedentary production strategy are likely to be much higher in non-equilibrium settings because of the wide, unpredictable, and largely uncontrollable swings in productivity which characterise these environments. Here effective management is more a process of responding flexibly to stress rather than preventing it, and movement provides a means of circumventing stress under certain ecological conditions (*ibid*).

Little (2003) uses this “rangelands at disequilibrium” theory to complement his elegant, simplified approach to political ecology. Three basic dimensions define political ecology, all revolving around resources: a political dimension of *access to resources*, the socio-economic dimension of *resource allocation and management*, and the physical ecological impacts that

*feedback* into the first two dimensions (*ibid*:165). Though the political ecology model seems to concern primarily natural resources, when applying this model to the research described in this paper, all three of Thébaud's categories must be kept in mind. In the latter chapters of this thesis I will argue that development resources—food aid, cash loans, education—must also be considered within this political ecology framework.

Figure 5 (next page) shows how these different models might fit together dynamically with aspects of practice theory and structuration. Human, animal and natural resources must be accessed, allocated and managed through the agency of the pastoralist. While the reproducing and modifying structure, or structuration of society partially determines access, allocation and management of resources, feedback from the natural, climatically variable environment presents risks as well as opportunities to pastoral livelihoods. Access, allocation and management of all resources must be carefully balanced in a disequilibrium system to maintain a positive ecological feedback—which in turn affects the access and allocation of resources.



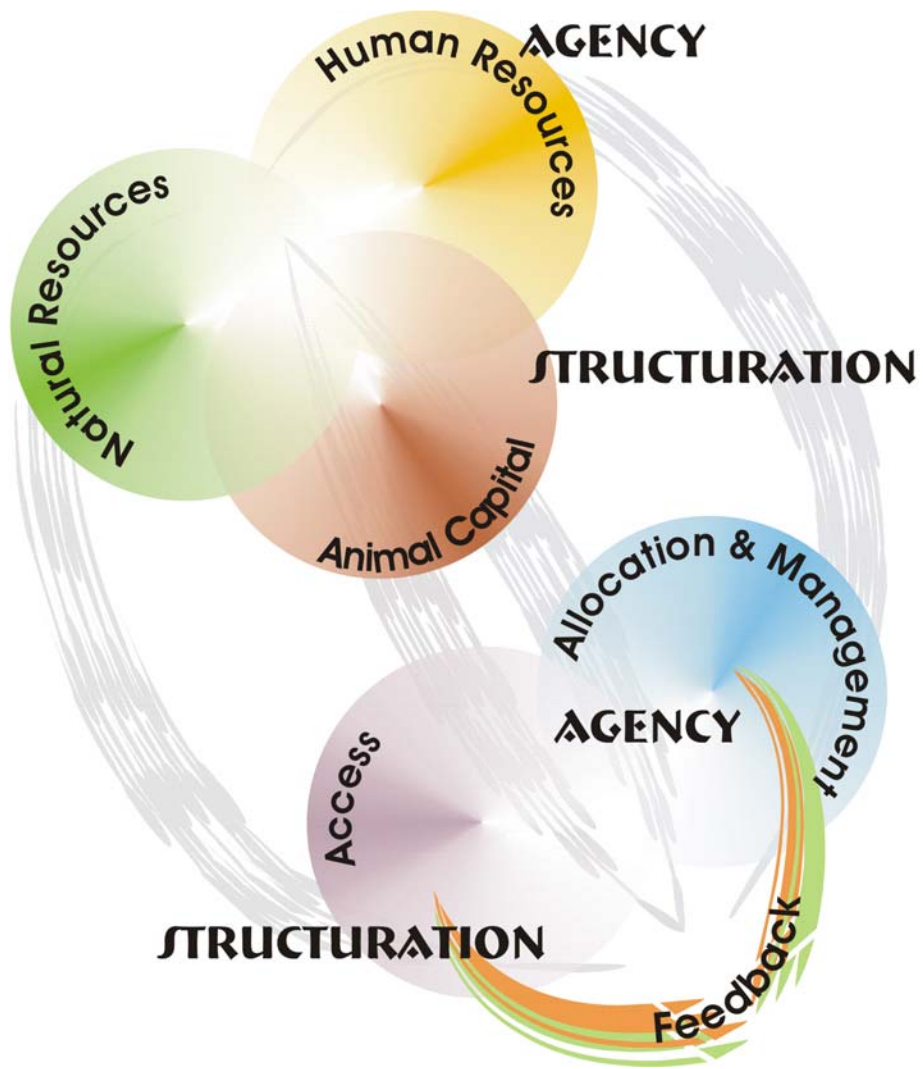


Figure 11: Combining agential structuration with political ecology and pastoral resources.

## STRATEGICS

Five years ago, several authors reviewed different pastoral strategies for risk management in a special issue of *Nomadic Peoples* (Bollig 1997; Bollig and Göbel 1997; McCabe 1997; White 1997). Figure 6 (next page) shows a synthesis of the arguments presented in these papers, the complex interactions between strategies, variable costs, and the risks or crises with which each strategy is designed to cope, a dynamic structuration in which opportunistic agency becomes of key importance. All risks should be examined on a continuum between relatively low-level (climactic variability) and high-level (capital shortage) hazards from maintenance or subsistence strategies to coping and recovery strategies. Through this perspective the actor must consider the benefits and costs of the strategies used as responses (Bollig and Göbel 1997:14). The goal of these strategies, instead of attempting to eliminate the risk fundamental to such environments, is to *absorb* risk through adaptive management (White 1997:90). The herder attempts to maximize sustenance in a risk situation and recover from a crisis situation. Thus, the herder's objectives become 1) to minimize the risk that production will drop below subsistence levels; 2) to minimize the risk of heavy stock losses; and 3) to protect institutions that guard communal resources and enforce stability of entitlement exchanges (Bollig and Göbel 1997:66-67). A breakdown in risk reduction strategies will result in conditions of greater uncertainty (White 1997:91) and greater risk of crisis. Important for this thesis are the strategies of mobility and social institutions. Social institutions include mechanisms for range management and wealth redistribution, such as livestock loans and gifts of milk. Of note, the strategy of production diversity, including cultivation and outmigration for wage labor, is the only strategy that incurs a significant ecological cost. This cost comes through direct or indirect constraints on mobility.

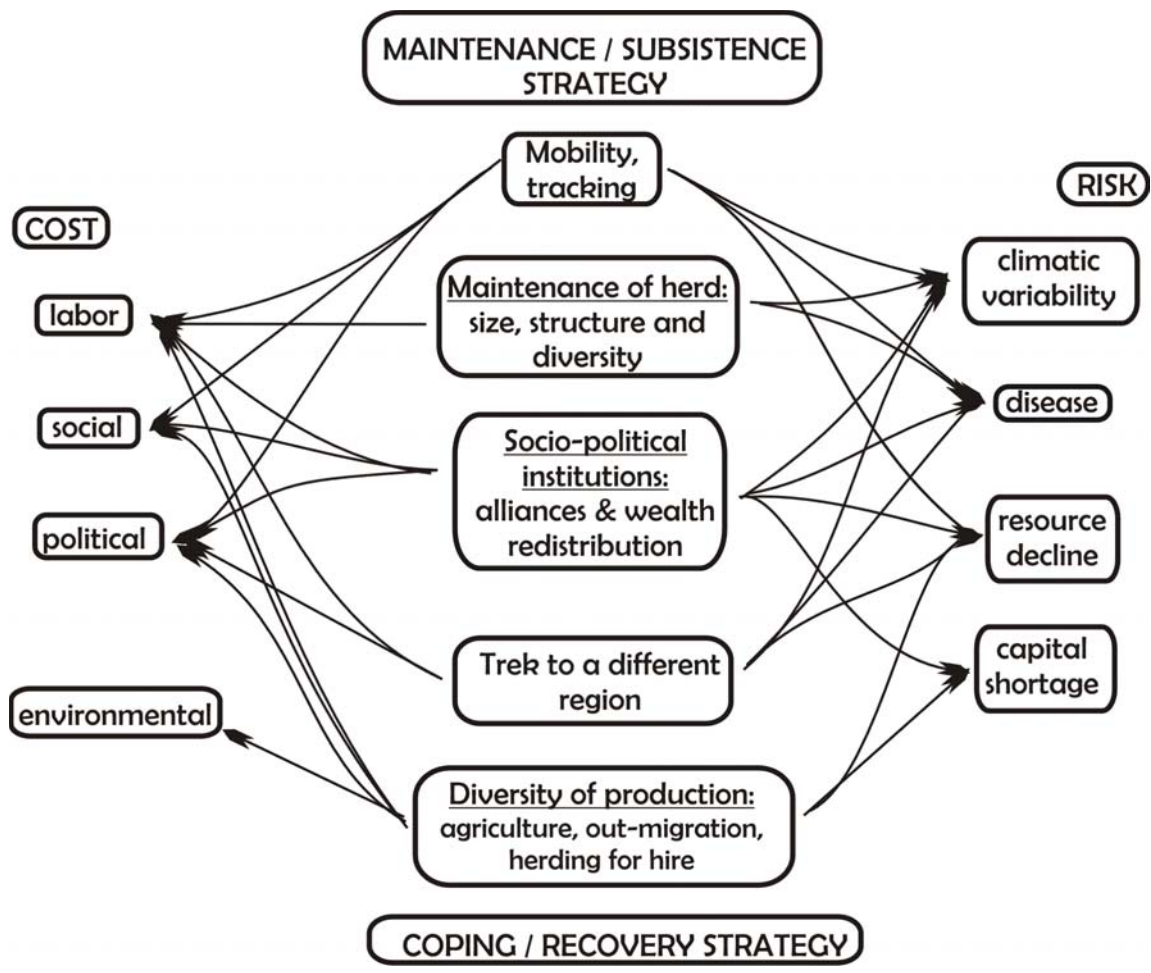


Figure 12: A model of pastoral risk management strategies.

Showing correlating risks and costs. Of primary importance to this thesis are Mobility and Socio-political Institutions. Note the only production diversification has a major environmental cost.

In the early 1990s, Prior (1994) remarked on the decrease in available rangeland in Somalia and generally throughout pastoral Africa. As a consequence, the density of pastoral populations has increased. In conjunction with spontaneous settlement of nomadic households, and a trend toward market-oriented livestock production, this increase has resulted in land degradation and the resulting impoverishment of pastoralists (*ibid*:chap. 2). Prior charts the links between recent forces of change disturbing dynamics between pastoral households, social structures, and access to and allocation of the pastoral resources of labor, livestock and land or natural resources. I have adapted Prior's model here (Figure 7, next page) to include my observations of change within nomadic and ex-nomadic communities in Niger. The development of government waterpoints, especially mechanized boreholes, livestock centers and schools, has contributed to reduced mobility if not settlement, conflict and encroachment of agriculture. Though Prior focuses primarily on the problems of settlement and its relation to increased risk of famine, central to his diagram is the breakdown of customary pastoral social institutions leading directly to pastoralist marginalization and impoverishment. I argue that the "development" offered to nomadic communities in the Damergou threatens such a breakdown.

Prior recommends changing policy directions within pastoral development from a focus on technical change to one based on adaptive change. Development policy should be redefined, from an emphasis on "improved" technology that may not be appropriate, to *cultural* mechanisms—technical, social and political—which will allow pastoralists to adapt to faster rates and new types of change. This redirection needs the cooperation and behavior modification of governments, intermediary organizations and donor agencies to accept new, experimental models of development, a recommendation that I will expand upon in Chapter 8. Prior advocates the strengthening of traditional livestock production systems (Prior 1994:122), and urges the need to respect pastoralists' independence and traditional resilience in the face of change. He cites the "enormous challenges" that NGOs in particular face, and the behavioral changes that they must make when they move into pastoral development (*ibid*:129). I would add here that even if national or regional NGOs and associations have (agro)pastoral roots, they also face enormous challenges when confronted with nomadic populations, as evidenced in my research.

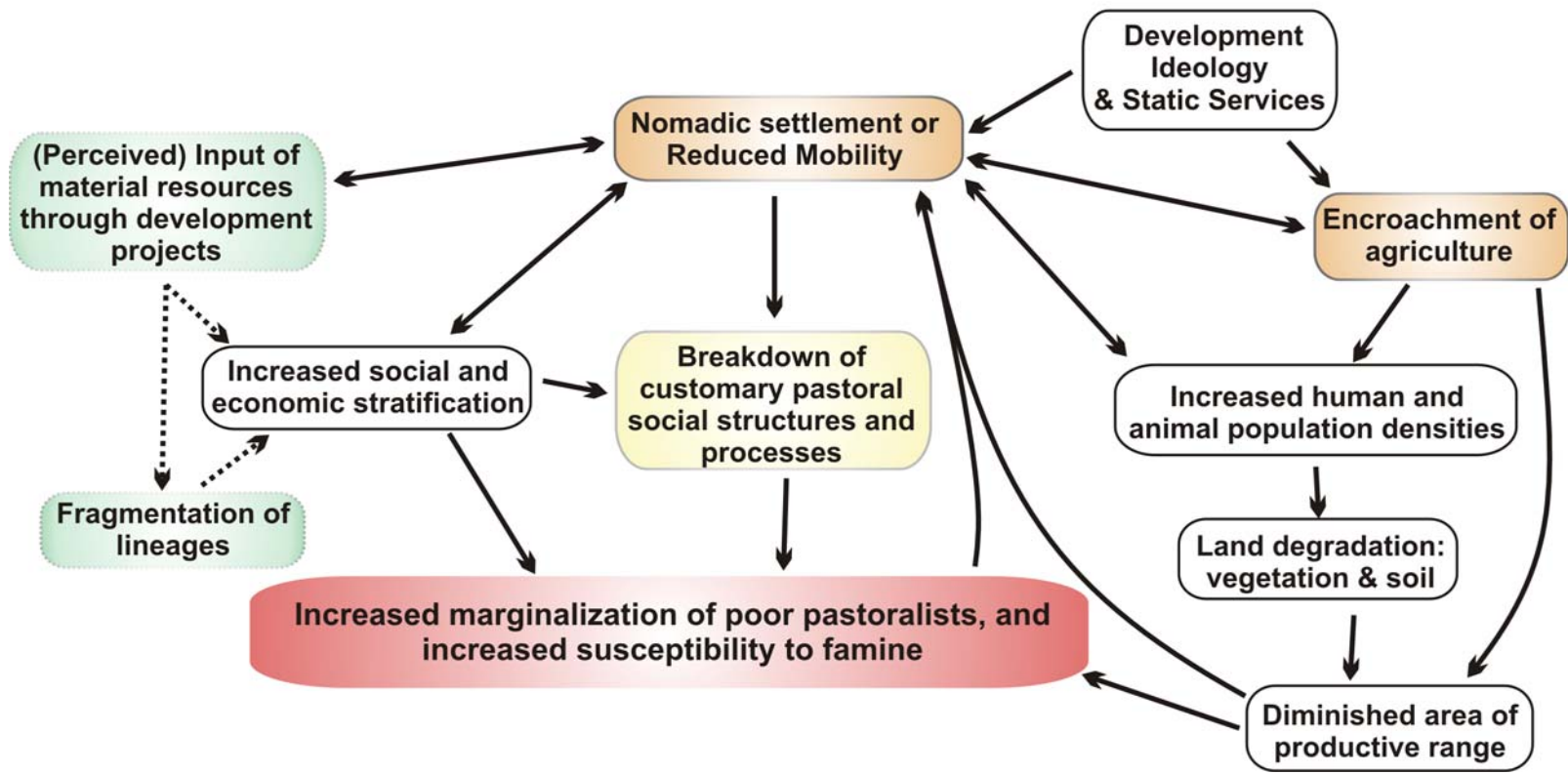


Figure 13: Some suggested causal links between recent forces of change in pastoral systems.

## DISCOURSE

The discussion this thesis broaches essentially concerns the efficacy of communication and the manner in which it is used. One way in which ideas (and ideologies) are communicated within and between social systems is through discourse, a body of signification that may seem to have an independent structure of its own. One must not forget, however, that actors produce and reproduce discourse as they do any structure. So do the various individuals engaged in different ways and capacities into the development system produce, reproduce and effect change in the discourse that runs through that system. While this thesis will not exhaustively thrash out the subject of discourse within the Damergou development system—an endeavor requiring much more data, theory and document space—discourses, such as what I call “new thinking,” form a part of the system I examine and cannot be ignored.

“Does development mean anything?” reads the back of *Power and Development* edited by Jonathon Crush. The book’s authors use this question to examine the power of discourse in development, and the power of those who dominate the discourse of development. When applied-oriented minds think of the study of any discourse, qualms loom of foggy postmodern discussions filled with arcane esoterica (cf. Crush 1995:4), that such a study will turn out to be an exercise for its own sake. Must the study of discourse be an exercise without application? Here I will discuss the possibility of the application in a consideration of discourse within and about development, outlining general structural layers of development, to then examine the links or disconnects that might occur between layers.

The idea that there can be discourse both ‘within’ and ‘about’ development suggests that different circles of discourse exist simultaneously within and surrounding different development groups. It is tempting to think of these circles as concentric, and the essays on development discourse often imply that there is one discourse that encompasses all the actors within development. This is true of Ferguson’s *Expectations of Modernity* (1999), where discursive themes of “modernity” weave through the lives of not only Zambian government officials and mine owners, but also of many of the mineworkers and other residents of the Copperbelt. It also is tempting to think of the different discourses involved in a “development scene” (such as Ferguson’s Copperbelt) as layers or levels, suggesting a hierarchy of strata. A Venn diagram, however, more appropriately models the circles of discourse that interconnect and overlap, or co-exist temporally but do not “meet” discursively. Different discourses depend of course on the

different situations of different groups of actors, not only their different goals and objectives, but their different epistemologies—the knowledges that they bring to their situations. They may be thought of as corresponding with Giddens’ discursive consciousnesses (above). Figure 8 (next page) illustrates the dominant development discourse (DEV) almost encompassing the two overlapping subdiscourses carried on by local organizations and associations (LOA) and government services (GS), which interact and influence each other. The discourse of nomadic *groupement bureaux* (NCB) intersects with several subdiscourses, LOA and GS, as well as that of what might be called nomadic reformers (NCR), certain *Wodaaɓe* who have lived in the cities and adopted an inclination toward urban life and Islam. The discourse of sedentarization, very prevalent in the development discourse is also present among nomadic reformers, but with different motivations. The conservative discourse of nomadic communities (NCT) intersects and interacts with the subdiscourses of NCB, NCR and GS, and touches the large discourse of development. The discourses of the bilateral agencies (BLT) intersect and interact with the general development discourse, and the subdiscourses of the local organizations and associations and the government services. I do not want to imply any sort of hierarchy, as the discourse circles, big and small operate at the same level, but include greater or fewer members of communities, or may have greater or lesser influence over the individuals who take part in them. These different circles of discourse may operate at different levels of development, transit<sup>16</sup> between levels, or encompass different levels into one discourse. Examples of these discourses will be discussed in the latter chapters.

In contrast to circles of discourse, different levels of development do seem to have a sort of hierarchy. Figure 9 (next page) illustrates the two broad levels that incorporate most Southern development, and perhaps much of Northern development. The “higher” level includes national and international programs, usually highly capitalized and industrial. The “lower” level is comprised of community-based programs and projects. These programs are historically rural, though recently more take place in urban settings as well. They work with comparatively little capital and may follow some sort of participatory methodology. The two broad levels seem to rarely work together, and, at the field level, seem to have little awareness of each other.

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<sup>16</sup> If this is not a word then it should be: to exist across, esp. boundaries.

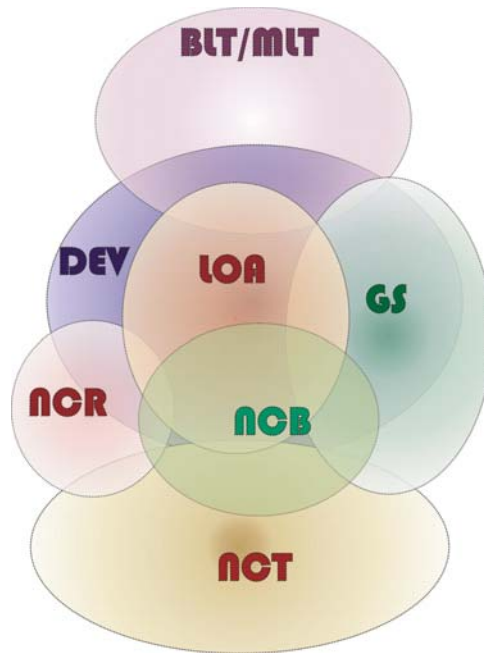


Figure 14: A Venn diagram of hypothetical discourse circles.

Corresponding with different groups of actors. BLT: bilateral agencies; DEV: dominant development discourse; GS: government *services*; LOA: local organizations and associations; NCB: nomadic *groupement bureaux*; NCR: nomadic reformers; NCT: nomadic communities.

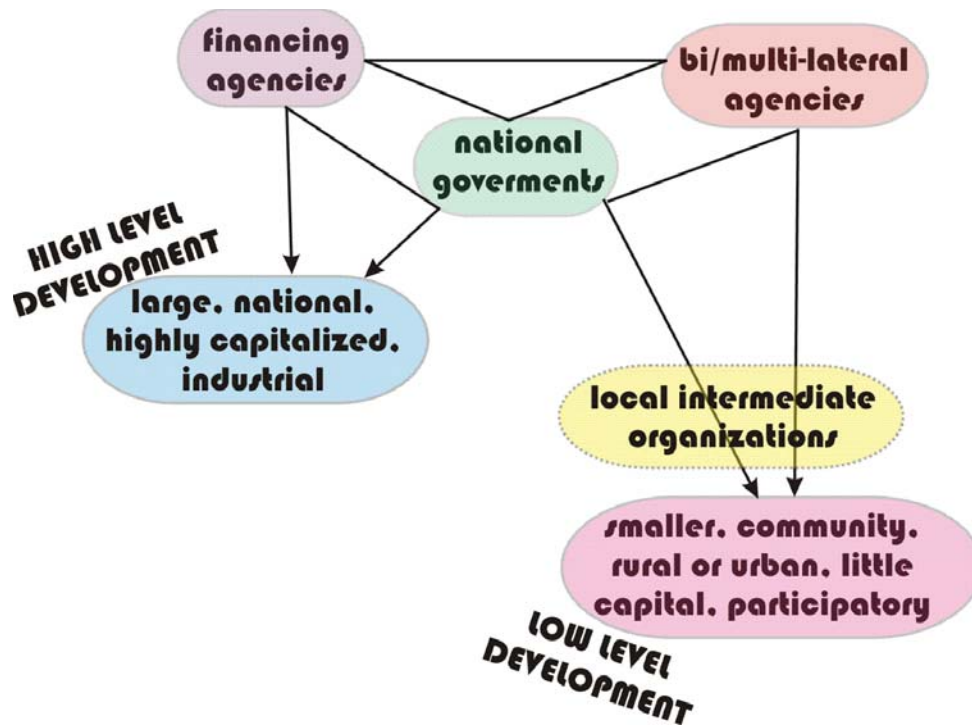


Figure 15: The two major levels of development.



Though it may be possible for the two levels to interact, each level of development has very different qualities, and their connection may occur only at the level of national and bi-lateral administrators and policy. It is probable, however, that they influence each other, and this influence may occur within the circles of discourse. Within the “lower” level of development, a second hierarchy obtains from international funding agencies through intermediate organizations to the “targeted” communities. This hierarchy will be discussed in later chapters.

Why study of discourse in the context of development? Crush reasons that “this form of analysis ... offer[s] new ways of understanding what development is and does, and why it seems so difficult to think beyond it” (1995:4). He follows the postmodern thought that development, its concept and materiality, is over. While this is debatable (especially at the “lower” level, where development seems to be alive and kicking), discourse analysis might offer a window to look within development, or a mirror to reflect the influences, connections, discontinuities, and negotiations that occur between the different stakeholders of development. A study of discourse reveals patterns in ways people speak and write about subjects, such as development, and in ways different groups talk to and about one another. Researchers can plot these patterns reproduced over space (the different groups of practitioners, actors or stakeholders) and time. Crush (1995:9) describes how development implementers tend to erase or reinvent the past. A study of changes and continuities in discourses over time reveals the evolution (non-linear) of development itself, and how different levels of development and different circles of discourse have affected each other. One can see this in the sedimented discourses in Niger and pastoral development of *sensibilisation*, sedentarization and organization or association.

The study of discourse is often a study of power. Discourse becomes a resource of development intricately linked with more material resources: the actors who control the discourse would seem to control the development. In this case, the actors who control resources (funding agencies) control the discourse, whether they realize it or not. Key discourses in Nigerien pastoral development include sedentarization and organization, also key in the state government of the Sokoto Empire. As discussed in Chapter 3, rulers of the Empire encouraged sedentary pastoralism and organized urbanization among their subjects. When the contemporary discourses are combined with the ideology (which I define as “sedimented” or institutionalized discourse) of *sensibilisation*, one is confronted with the power of those who control the discourse of *sensibilisation*, the development agents.

The NGO also sensibilizes [*sensibilise*] and trains.... But we work [give vaccinations and grain] before *sensibilisation*. We go to the herders when they look for us. But we need to give them what they need before we conduct *sensibilisation*. ... The *sensibilisation* is working very well. It's based on organization: organization of life and of livestock raising (*élevage*). There is no organization now, even in marketing of animals. The way animals are marketed now isn't the way things should be done (*a regional organization president*).

*Sensibilisation* as it is used in Niger might be correlated with Foucault's idea of discipline. Development "targets" (*population ciblée*) become disciplined through *sensibilisation* to the demands of development agencies. On the one hand *sensibilisation* increases their "capacity" through training (literacy, accounting); on the other it reverses the course of any power that they might gain from that capacity, turning the relationship into one of subjugation (Foucault 1979:138). Foucault also argues that discipline distributes, organizes and codes space (*ibid*:141, 143), as the discourse of sedentarization would like to organize and code *sites* as belonging to pastoral *groupements* in order to be able to "find" the nomadic herders (see Chapter 6). This "disciplinary space", codifying different pastoral peoples, and corresponding to the spaces of sedentary villages, renders these spaces and the people within them "interchangeable, since each is defined by the place it occupies" (*ibid*:145). Thus disciplined, pastoral groups might more easily accept development models created for sedentary populations, without the development agencies having to take the trouble to create new models appropriate for nomadic pastoral development. When citing Foucault, however, one must keep in mind that discourse and ideologies do not create themselves. Actors produce and reproduce them and possess the agency, however constrained, to change them.

A study of discourse may reveal contradictions in meanings between what implementers intend and what actually occurs. Porter (1995:65) argues interestingly that participatory methodology, though intended to increase the agency of the subjects of projects, instead "de-authors" development and denies agency. "[P]articipation ... by metaphorical design ensures that human agency does not become a constraint on development" (*ibid*:80). Certainly the application of participatory methodology without a solid grounding in participatory theory (institutionalizing participation, as will be argued in the final chapter), becomes an exercise in

diffused ambiguity. Such insights are worth investigating at the field level, and such an investigation ensures that the study of discourse is not an end in itself.

How does one apply the study of the discourse of development? If one studies first the aspects of different circles of discourse, what individuals are saying and how, and then how these different circles interact and influence one another, such research will reveal patterns of power and meaning, understanding and misunderstanding. Such research will discover discontinuities and gaps in communication and understanding. A study of subdiscourses will reflect differences in ideals, goals and objectives between groups of stakeholders. An applied study of development discourse should be able to link ideas, negotiate goals and objectives, examine constraints on agency, and the significance of discursive ideologies for access to and allocation of resources. A study of development discourse over time may be able to get beyond discourse as it brings the past into the present. Such a discursive consciousness develops historicity, “the consciousness of progressive movement ... in which that consciousness is organized actively to promote social change (Giddens 1979:210).

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The following chapter explores the histories of three different groups of Woḍaaḅe as perceived by the heritors of those histories and recorded by European ethnographers. These histories begin with the *jihad* that ushered in the Sokoto Empire at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in present day Northern Nigeria. They illustrate the reproduction and change of social systems through the interactions of human actors. They also illustrate the reproduction of institutions as sedimented practices. The examination of history reflects upon and may help to explain current events and anticipate future developments.

**CHAPTER THREE -**  
**STRUCTURE AND RESTRUCTURATION**  
**THE LESSONS OF HISTORICAL LEGENDS**

For us *pulaaku* is something very important. For us, it's the way to act properly. It's part of our traditions, of our heritage.

“M”, a Boḍaaḍo woman in Niger (Maliki 1984:2)

**INTRODUCTION**

In community development among people with no written tradition, agencies and organizations tend to ignore the deep histories of the people with whom they work. Without a strict tradition of oral recording of history, it would seem that beyond two or three generations the “factual” history of communities passes into legend and myth. Mudimbe (1988:195), however, writes, “History is a legend, an invention of the present. It is both a memory and a reflection of our present.” He cites M. Bloch and Braudel to illustrate the relation between conceptions and models of the present and the “multi-level rhythms of the past” (ibid). In this way, legend/history affects the present through cognitive mechanisms, conscious and unconscious within the society and in the interactions of a society’s members with those of other societies. While one might argue that a discursive consciousness of history requires an active *historicity*, historical legends certainly contribute to practical consciousness, and discursive consciousness in the form of folk models of social organization. Giddens’ definition of *historicity*, a social consciousness “organised actively to promote social change”, would limit the idea to “certain societies”, primarily the industrialized West (Giddens 1979:199-200), a proposal that entreats testing in the field. Certainly a disregard of history, legends and myths contributes to a perception of an *ahistorical* society and an ignorance of the underlying foundations of a certain culture and the interactions of that culture with others.

This chapter will argue for an awareness of the underlying unconscious structuration of a social group and the duality between that structuration and various environmental forces over time; that such an awareness is essential to an understanding of the present cultural situation of that group. Ignorance of this structuration, and its reproduction and modification over time, is

detrimental not only to development work, but also to the community within which such development is carried out. One of the worst manifestations of this ignorance is the perception on the part of project implementers of a narrow teleology that presumes the “best development” for the “beneficiary” group. I will later argue that a sensitive awareness (with an implication of *sensibilisation*) on the part of the development and government agent will contribute toward efforts of collaborative research and participatory development.

In 1996, I coordinated a team that facilitated a community analysis of four *Woḏaaḅe tribus*, the people of three Gojenko’*en arḏoḅe* and one Kasawsawa *arḏo*, using the methodology of Participatory Rural Analysis (PRA). Though we tried to transcend a “textbook” application of the tools, we did not completely understand how to do this. As an example of this misapprehension, we asked for and recorded the histories of the different *arḏoḅe* as the cumulative histories of the different groups with whom we worked. We were able to estimate basic timelines of migrations and leadership changes, but because we lacked any rationale for acquiring this history we were not able to either explore or apply these histories usefully in collaboration with the Gojenko’*en* or Kasawsawa. It was an exercise that contributed little to the understandings of either party in the analysis. The histories played no part in our elaboration of the consequent project proposal.

This chapter is unfortunately not a collaboration; it is, in fact, based on hearsay—the ethnographical reports of other anthropologists. I hope, however, that it will prove no less useful to an understanding of the position of the *Woḏaaḅe* in Niger, their relations with other peoples and their connections with the natural environment in which they find themselves. The chapter explores the practices of actors to frame the pasts of particular groups of people in a way that their presents, or even presences, might be better understood. An application of Giddens’ theory of agency to the histories presented here will reveal the different levels of consciousness throughout the *durées* of *Woḏaaḅe* culture and society.

Among ideological aspects, lineage endogamy reinforces a perception of the continuity of the *lenyol* and the *duḏal*, the intimate connection between patriliney and cattle lineage (Bonfiglioli 1988:1). The *Boḏaaḏo* maintains a special symbiotic relationship with his cattle. A system of taboos, and *pulaaku*, the “*Woḏaaḅe* way”, inform Nigerien *Woḏaaḅe* culture at all levels of consciousness. Among socio-political aspects, though the *mauḏo lawol pulaaku* (the leader of *pulaaku*) seems to have been lost in Niger and if not lost, greatly politicized in Nigeria, the

general institutions of mobility, the *arḏoḃe*, and an egalitarianism assisted by nomadism persist, at least at lower socio-economic levels, through the centuries. Negotiations between pastoral and sedentary groups are reinforced by economic exchange of dairy products for grain.

Environmentally, the Woḏaaḃe are still kept by their practice of cattle herding to an ecological niche between too little rain and tsetse fly. Now in Niger, however, they have been pushed to the northern limits of the Sahel. This habitat requires new strategies, including greater mobility, greater diversity of livestock and the institution of new relations with different peoples.

With the rise of the Sokoto Empire, the Woḏaaḃe way of life became threatened by the pressures of an Islamic government. The ideologies of Islam came into conflict with the practice of *pulaaku* and *mboda* taboos and magic. Droughts or long epidemics cause oscillations between agriculture, agro-pastoralism, nomadic pastoralism and even urban residence. Socio-political changes, including the succession of rulers and administrations from Hausa to Fulḃe to Europeans drove other economic changes. New economies among Woḏaaḃe, based first on war booty and slaves in Sokoto and Bornu, and then taxes and salaries in Nigeria, created and perpetuated stratification.

Among socio-political events, violations, confiscations, battles, negotiations, treaties, tributes and taxes effect changes in leadership and the splitting and joining of fractions. Interactions among actor, structure and event, each affecting the other, combined with ecological aspects. The events of droughts, famines, floods and epidemics effect changes in structure and yet the actions of individuals are not without influence as well, within these events and upon them. Ritual events include the practice of annual assemblies with their contests, dances and games, marriage contracts and naming ceremonies. All of these events reproduce the structure of Woḏaaḃe culture but are also mechanisms for change through practices of actors, rationalized and reflected upon. Most important for this thesis, the divergent histories of different Woḏaaḃe presented here help to explain how mobility is a rational response to environmental constraints of actors carrying out pastoral production. The histories also illustrate the agential reproduction and modification of institutions, strategies and social systems over time.

I will look at three sub-groups Woḏaaḃe, which followed spatially and ideologically divergent paths during two consecutive eras in what is today Nigeria and Niger: the century of the Sokoto Empire, and subsequent European colonialism. I assume the following thesis: A mutual understanding of long term history of a people will result in development policy that is

more concordant with the structuration of that people's culture and society, and thus will be more appropriate and durable. Two specific questions need to be asked: 1) In the long term, how did this group of people become who they are today? 2) What does long-term history tell us about possible future directions of the group? I begin in what is today northern Nigeria, in the land along the Rima and Yobe Rivers, occupied by the Hausa people.

#### **THE HAUSA STATES AND THE MIGRATIONS OF THE FULBE**

The seven original Hausa States probably came into being in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Johnston 1967). They are bonded by an origin myth in which the founders are the offspring of the queen of the people of Daura and an Arabic warrior who saved the Daurawa from a monstrous snake that lived in a well (cf. inter alia Johnston 1967:5). Seven additional states were either colonized by Hausa or assimilated into the polity, adopting Hausa language and culture. Conquered at different times by different neighboring empires, Songhai to the west, Bornu to the east and Jukun to the south, it seems most of the States were rarely entirely independent. The Hausa people, however, seem to have become more interested in commerce than political power. Situated at strategic junctions along trade routes that ran between the Ashanti Empire (in present day Ghana) and Egypt, and north from Kano to Ghat (in present day Libya), rich Hausa traders moved gold, cloth, salt, iron and slaves across the Sahara. Though none of the states ever gained supremacy over all the others, independent Gobir grew in strength in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and began to threaten its neighbors.

Islam probably came originally to the Hausa States in the 14<sup>th</sup> century with Wangarawa or Mandingo immigrants from Mali (Hopen 1958:7). At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, while the Hausa lapsed back into traditional "paganism", the efforts of a North African cleric El-Maghili reinforced the Islamic code among Hausa *sarakuna*, chiefs or kings (Johnston 1967:9). Since then, centuries of state history have been recorded by Muslim clerics in such works as the *Kano Chronicle* and the chronicles of other Hausa states and the Bornu Empire. It is these chronicles and other works by Muslim clerics that historians cite for the early histories of chiefdoms and states of West Africa.

Authors suggest two separate, though possibly not discontinuous, waves of migration of Fulbe east into Hausaland and Bornu in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Dupire 1962:28; Johnston 1967:24; Maliki 1982:4-5). Stenning (1959:22) proposes that the phenomenon of migratory drift, through which nomadic pastoralists move away from adverse political or ecological

conditions, helped to spread pastoral Fulḡe throughout West Africa. Bonfiglioli<sup>17</sup> (Maliki 1982:5) cites the *Kano Chronicle* that records an infiltration of nomadic Fulḡe passing through Kano to Bornu before the conquest of Maacina in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and subsequent expulsion of nomadic pastoralists. An “invisibility”, often cultivated by nomadic groups to avoid political difficulties, would have helped them to arrive unnoticed by recorders of history (Adebayo 1997:95). Certainly, in the “official” history of the Sokoto *jihad*, the Woḡaaḡe are invisible. It is only through their own stories that their roles might be discerned.

Bonfiglioli (Maliki 1982:5-7), relying on Arabic texts from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, describes the diaspora during the 16<sup>th</sup> century of Fulḡe people from the region of Maacina, on the upper Niger River, after the rise of Sonni Ali Ber and the Songhai Empire. Many Fulḡe, including Woḡaaḡe, moved west into what is today Senegal and Guinea, and more importantly for this thesis, east into Hausaland. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, different groups of Fulḡe, pastoralist and agropastoralist and town dwellers, inhabited every Hausa State, much of west Bornu and some of the neighboring states and chiefdoms. Two groups of Woḡaaḡe resided in this region, one in Bornu and one between Daura and Kano (Bonfiglioli 1988: 26, Dupire 1962:26; see Map 3, page 52).

### **THE SOKOTO JIHAD**

Johnston (1967) gives a most comprehensive history of the Sokoto *jihad* and its originator, Usman ḡan Fodio, know as Shefu, (Hausa for sheik). Western Fulḡe, especially the Tooroḡḡe, were among the first peoples in West Africa to convert to Islam brought from the north by Malikite Mauritanian Arabs and later reinforced by the Almoravids in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The leaders of the “pagan” Fulḡe states of Fouta Toro and Fouta Jalon (in today’s Senegal and Guinea) persecuted the Muslims and the Tooroḡḡe became focal groups for insurrections that ultimately conquered the “pagan” leaders and instituted Islamic Fulḡe states in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Johnston 1967:24; Stenning 1959:14). These western states would inspire Usman ḡan Fodio and his followers at the end of that century. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Sokoto Empire would become the largest of the Fulḡe Islamic states, stretching over what is now northern Nigeria and down into the Adamawa highlands along the border with present day Cameroon. Shefu Usman

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<sup>17</sup> Angelo Maliki Bonfiglioli has authored papers under two different names. At times he uses Maliki or Maaliki, and at times Bonfiglioli. For consistency, in this thesis he will be identified as Bonfiglioli in the text.



is revered even today as a saint by Fulɓe and Hausa, and many miracles are attributed to him (c.f. Edgar and Skinner 1968:105-112).

Usman was born in 1755, into a Torooɗɓe family who had migrated into Gobir around 1450 (Johnston 1967:26). Educated in the Koran and juridical tradition of Islam at Agadez and in Hausaland, he became a Koranic teacher a young age. As an itinerant preacher-proselytizer, he gathered students from throughout Hausaland and beyond. In his late thirties, Usman began to protest the harsh cattle tax imposed on the Fulɓe within Gobir. He also charged the ruling classes of Gobir with oppression, corruption, self-indulgence, and technical offences against Islamic code (*ibid*:30). Finally he and his followers joined in war, a *jihad*, with the Gobir military in 1804, and an early, miraculous victory for Shefu won him the title of “Commander of the Faithful”. Some of his students, Fulɓe and Hausa, led uprisings in their homelands, which were assimilated into the *jihad*. The victory and the supreme title inspired other uprisings of Fulɓe throughout Hausaland and in neighboring states and chiefdoms. The history of the *jihad* is recorded in books, papers and letters written by Shefu and his close associates: his brother Abdullahi, and his son Muhammadu Bello. Azarya (1996:12) notes that most Fulɓe actively engaged in the uprisings of the reformers, and were subsequently incorporated as privileged members of the new sultanate. Smaller groups of Fulɓe, especially nomadic pastoralists, avoided or opposed the *jihad* and steadily became marginalized from their relatives. As will be seen below, the 19<sup>th</sup> century was an era of great disruption for the lineages of the Fulɓe.

In 1810, Katsina, Kano, Zaria, Daura had been taken by the Islamic forces, and Shefu’s son Bello established Sokoto City as his capital (Johnston 1967:91-94). Upon Shehu’s death the Empire was divided between Bello, who took the larger and more powerful Sokoto, and Shefu’s brother Abdullahi, the more or less independent Emir of Gwandu. As followers of the *jihad* were granted emirates and chiefdoms, the Empire became a sort of feudal jigsaw puzzle with an intricate hierarchy of vassalship. Though the Empire was generally consolidated as early as 1810, the rest of the century knew little peace on its borders (see Map 3, next page).

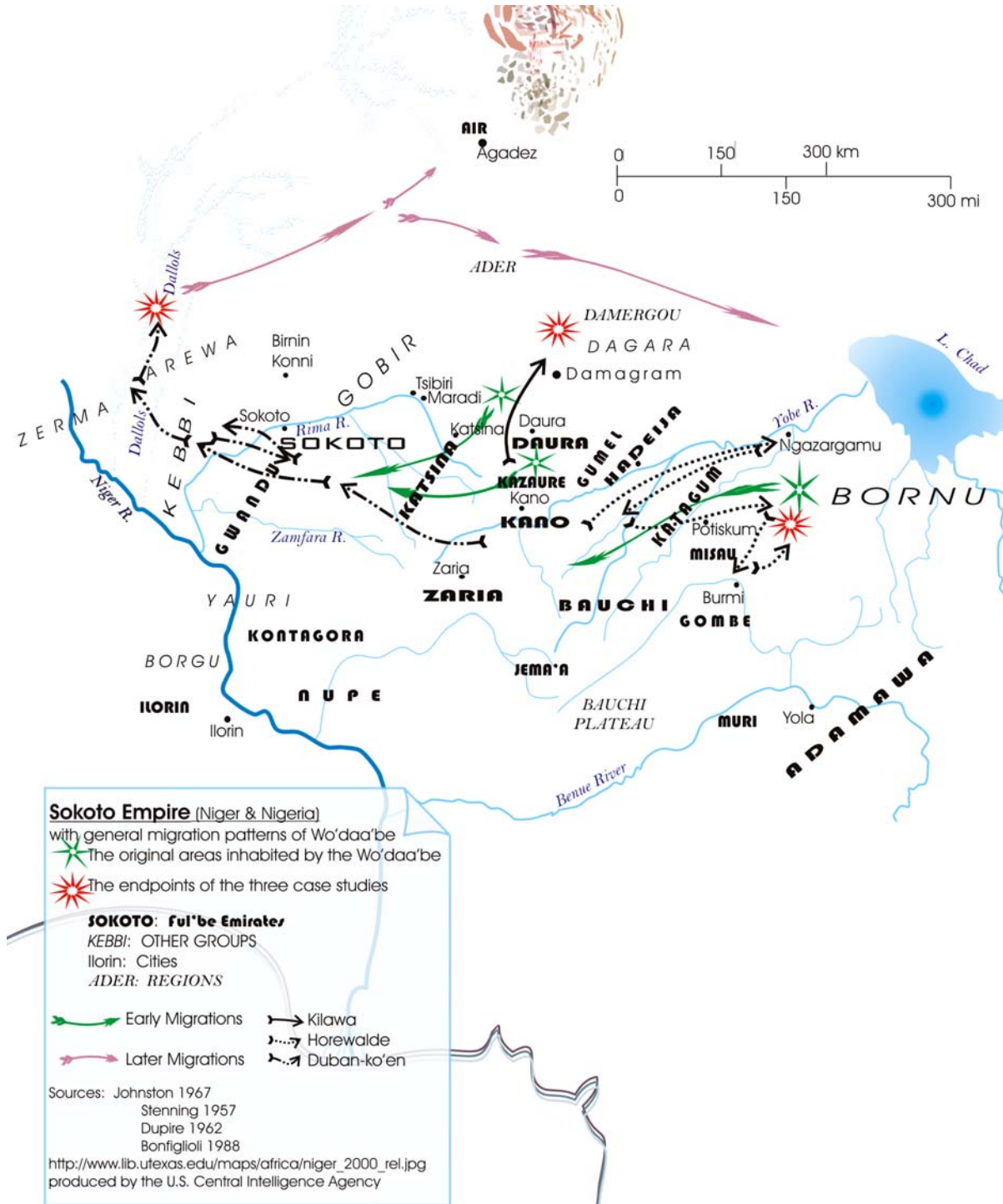


Figure 16: Map of the Sokoto Empire at its height.

Showing the areas in which the Wo'ɗaa'be lived before the *jihad*, and the subsequent migrations of the different groups of Wo'ɗaa'be discussed in this chapter.

Three major conflicts simmered and boiled at the western, eastern and northern borders of the Empire. In 1808, Fulɓe followers of Shefu took Ngazargamu, capital of Bornu. For the next few years, Bornu oscillated between the Fulɓe and El Kanemi, the Kanuri sheik of Bornu. In the meantime, most pastoral Fulɓe, including the Woɗaaɓe, left Bornu. War continued with El-Kanemi from around 1825 until 1846 when Bello, now Sultan of Sokoto and Umar, el-Kanemi's son, agreed on a border between the two countries.

In the east, in 1805, when the Fulɓe took the capital of Kebbi, the Hausa chief fled and the Kebbewa rebels established themselves south of the Zamfara River (Johnston 1967:52). Around 1820 hostilities broke out between the rebels and Gwandu. The Kebbewa recruited allies among the Arewa and Zerma peoples who had never been conquered in the *jihad* to conduct raids into Gwandu. From 1830 until the Peace of Toga in 1866, Kebbi was a constant thorn in the side of Sokoto and Gwandu.

During the *jihad*, many of the ruling class from Gobir fled north and established themselves on the northern bank of the Rima River in the towns of Maradi and Tsibiri, raiding across the border into Sokoto. Bello attempted to contain the raids by setting up a chain of war fortresses (Johnston 1967:132). In 1835, the Gobirawa created alliances with Tuaregs and rebellious Katsinawa, and in 1840 with the Dagara of Damagaram. Though subsequent Sultans led expeditions against the Gobirawa alliance, they were never able to conquer or expel them and in later years, as the Empire weakened, the northern rebels raided further and further south and west toward the cities of Sokoto and Kano.

### **THE WOɗAAɓE IN THE SOKOTO EMPIRE**

Through interviews of Woɗaaɓe in Bornu, Nigeria, Stenning (1959) created a glimpse of pre-Empire Woɗaaɓe culture. He describes the institutions of kin relationships and *worso*, the rainy season *lenyol* assembly. Ideology was based on the three aspects of *pulaaku*, “the way of the Fulɓe”, reserve and modesty, patience and endurance, and care and wisdom (Stenning 1959:55). As ideological leader, the *mauɗo lawol pulaaku*,<sup>18</sup> guardian of the Fulɓe way, must be a descendant of the eldest and purest *lenyol* (*ibid*:58). The epitome of Fulani virtue and modesty, he sanctioned people who infringed on *pulaaku* code. While the *mauɗo lawol pulaaku* seemed to supervise the activities and discipline of all Woɗaaɓe in one region, the *arɗoɓe* led lineages.

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<sup>18</sup> Literally: great person of the way of pulaaku

Bonfiglioli, interviewing Nigerien Woḍaaḅe, as well as Stenning describe the *arḍo* as the socio-political leader, chosen from among the most competent herders. He acted as migration guide and negotiator with sedentary communities for pasture and water. His authority rested only on the confidence that his followers placed in him (Bonfiglioli 1988:51).

The Woḍaaḅe in Niger practice both intra-*lenyol* endogamy and inter-*lenyol* exogamy. While both authors describe *kobgal* as the institution of endogamous family marriage, only Bonfiglioli (1988:44) describes *teegal*, “stolen” marriage, as a contract between a man and woman of different *lenyi*, at the same time legitimate but outside the control of families. Stenning (1959:58) speaks briefly of the *gerewol* as a form of adolescent initiation. Bonfiglioli (1988:50) describes this competitive dance gathering as the reinforcement of the consciousness of belonging to the same maximal lineage. It is at the same time a contest of endurance and beauty between the youth of maximal lineages. Stenning does not mention the *mbodangaaku* or *mboda*, which Bonfiglioli (1988:7) describes as norms, practices and values of the Woḍaaḅe. Other authors (cf. Bovin 2001:11) describe *mboda* as taboos and the source of the name *Woḍaaḅe*, people of the taboos. These discrepancies may reflect the divergent ideologies of the Bornuan Woḍaaḅe whom Stenning interviewed, more influenced by Islam, and the Nigerien Woḍaaḅe.

Bonfiglioli (1988:48-51) creates a picture of Woḍaaḅe life in the northern Hausa States before and during the *jihad* through a description of different levels of social organization. The individual belongs to the household (*wuro*), which in turn belongs within the *ḍuḍal*, a combination of immediate human paternal kin and the cattle lineage of the human lineage’s herd. The *ḍuḍal*, according to Bonfiglioli, belongs to three interrelated “consciences” (*ibid*:50). He defines the *kinnal* as a constantly remodulating social affiliation of herders, usually close relatives, who camp together, sometimes joining their herds to share work. The *lenyol* translates best as lineage. The *worso* assembly, in principal held annually, celebrates such rituals as endogamous *kobgal* marriages and the naming of new babies. The *worso* “cements the cohesion of the group and creates the conditions for its reproduction” (Bonfiglioli 1988:49). In the Hausa States, Woḍaaḅe families lived in a situation of high demographic density, raising primarily red zebu cattle, with a few sheep goats, and horses. In this time of great insecurity, several tens of families camped together practicing seasonal transhumance to avoid fields during cultivation. Water within the Hausa States was not a problem (Bonfiglioli 1988:27).

The rise of Shefu engendered great hope among all Fulɓe. The call to arms resounded with nationalism, the end of exploitation and distrust, and the beginning of social justice (Bonfiglioli 1988:34-35). The Woɗaaɓe were soon deceived. Their nomadic culture became embroiled in a situation of internal religious crisis, and social and political change. The Fulɓe reformers encouraged all Empire residents towards sedentarization, even urbanization, Islamicization and acculturation into Hausa life (*ibid*:55). The Woɗaaɓe and other Mbororo'en occupied an ambiguous position during the *jihad* and the subsequent administration of the emirates. While the livestock of the pastoral Fulɓe was appreciated by the administration because it fed the armies, the mobile population, living on the margins of sedentary societies, was mistrusted, and criticized for not conforming to Islamic code (*ibid*:57).

The necessities and opportunities of war caused changes in pastoralist economy. The militant administration of the reformers urged the pastoral Fulɓe to raise horses for the cavalry, which necessitated sedentary cultivation of hay and grain. Many Mbororo'en who took part in the battles, including Woɗaaɓe, acquired booty, became wealthy and settled, depopulating some nomadic lineages (Bonfiglioli 1988:38). Woɗaaɓe who refused settlement and acculturation developed cultural and economic mechanisms to reinforce their values and nomadic identity. They became a conservative core of attraction for other Fulɓe who also resisted acculturation (*ibid*:63). During this time of great disruption, fragmentation, adoption and assimilation, the century saw the break up and disintegration of lineages as households gravitated toward either the pole of Islamic settlement, or that of conservative nomadism.

### **THREE LEGENDS**

The following three historical legends correlate with history but have no corroborating written reports. They exemplify, however, three divergent developments of different Woɗaaɓe groups, and the creation of three new lineages. They illustrate how aspects of Woɗaaɓe culture have been reproduced and modified in different ways, in response to different events and interactions over time, including changes in mobility and socio-political institutions.

#### ***The Creation of the Kilawa***

Dupire (1962:22-23) relates the legend of the killing of the son of the emir of Kazauré, occurring around 1850, as told to her by a Woɗaaɓe informant. The prince would visit the Woɗaaɓe camps taking livestock and wives at his pleasure, until finally one husband killed him as he slept with the man's wife. When the elders of the lineages were told what had happened

they decided that they must leave immediately. While the women, children and elders left during the night, the young men began to follow with the livestock at dawn. The emir sent his cavalry out to capture the Woḍaaḅe and battle ensued with the young men. Some of the men escaped to the west; many of the rest were killed or enslaved. The slaves and others settled, mixed with local Hausa, and re-structured their social alliances into new lineages with place-based, Hausa names: Kilawa (or Cilawa), Katsinawa, Daurawa. They retained modified Fulḅe traditions, such as transhumance during the rainy season, and some ritual contests.

At the turn of the century, some Kilawa and Katsinawa moved north into the Damergou region of Damagaram (Dupire 1962:23), perhaps attracted by the peace and prosperity established by Tanimoun, chief of Damagaram (Bonfiglioli 1988:83). The Kilawa put themselves under the protection of local Tuaregs. As Woḍaaḅe residing in the west gradually moved north and east into the Damergou, ex-Woḍaaḅe and Woḍaaḅe began to mix. Some of the Kilawa began to “refulanzize” (Dupire 1962:23). They became more mobile, began to relearn Fulfulde, and ceased intermarrying with Hausa. In 1996, Janari pointed out to me the nomadic camp of a Kilawa family when we were camped near Olelewa, just south of the Damergou. He told me that the Kilawa were a small group of people who spoke a mixture of Fulfulde and Hausa.

### ***Buuba Manga and the Horewalde***

For this story I cite Sáenz’s observation (1991:102) that stratification arises in pastoral societies in arid or semi-arid conditions only when other economies are brought into play. Azarya (1996:13) also describes the stratification of the Fulḅe that accompanied the bureaucratization of the Empire. The Sokoto *jihad* created opportunities to gain wealth and power for the Woḍaaḅe who took part. Slaves and livestock were up for grabs, Stenning quotes a Boḍaaḍo informant, during “the period of the war, when our horses stood the whole day bitted and bridled, ready for action. ... Then Buuba grew strong. He held all the Horewalde and prestige and power grew around him” (Stenning 1959:76). During the battles of the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Western Bornu between the Fulḅe and the Kanuri, the Woḍaaḅe fled Bornu early in the war and negotiated relationships with newly established eastern emirs of the Fulḅe Empire. It seems some households pushed their way back into northern Bornu during a lull in the war and acquired the name and new *lenyol* status of Horewalde; the word *hore*, head, seems to lend the sense of leadership to their name. New skirmishes back within the eastern emirates

provided new opportunities for battle, booty and titles, of which of the Horewalde took advantage (*ibid*:65). The 1846 accord between Bornu and Sokoto opened up rangeland depopulated by the war. Buuba Manga obtained a letter from Aliyu, then sultan of Sokoto, to Umar, sultan of Bornu, and went to Umar to ask permission to settle his slaves (*ibid*:69-70). The phenomenon of slave settlements point up a socio-economic difference between the stories of eastern and more conservative western Woḍaaḅe (see below), who owned few slaves. Through negotiations of gifting, Umar asked Buuba to settle. Buuba and his followers settled their slaves in Bornuan rangelands where they would cultivate for their Woḍaaḅe masters. Buuba returned yearly to the Bornuan capital to pray on Islamic holidays, pay a tribute of cattle and receive gifts. The Woḍaaḅe now maintained two allegiances, to the Bornu Empire and to the emirates of Sokoto that they had recently left (*ibid*:71).

The earlier immigrant groups, whose leaders ascertained the rights of Woḍaaḅe pastoralists in Bornu, became the socio-political focus of subsequent arrivals. As the Woḍaaḅe became established in Kanuri society, their own society began to stratify. The leaders were given titles; the Shefu in Bornu now conferred *laamiḍo*, a Fulḅe title, on certain *arḍoḅe*. The families of the *laamiḍo* adopted Kanuri and Hausa princely titles. Stenning calls these new structures clan-chiefdoms, but notes that they were no more stable than the previous lineages; sub-clans might still split from one *laamiḍo* and join with another. The yearly assemblies now incorporated celebrations of allegiance to the *laamiḍo*, with mock cavalry charges adopted from Hausa ritual, and dances by slaves. These assemblies also began to reflect an increasing Islamicization (*ibid*:75).

At the turn of the century the society of eastern Woḍaaḅe was disrupted by three crises that shocked the Bornu Empire (Stenning 1959:78). Rabeḅ, a Mahdist<sup>19</sup> soldier-bandit from the Eastern Sudan invaded Bornu in 1894 on a rampage of terror and conquest. Rinderpest, a highly contagious cattle epidemic, arrived from the east in 1895, and then spread west. Both Rabeḅ and rinderpest ravaged the herds of the Woḍaaḅe in Bornu. Some Woḍaaḅe settled into agriculture. Rabeḅ's depredations affected the Horewalde more than rinderpest and they escaped to Burmi on the eastern frontier of Sokoto (Johnston 1967:205). Meanwhile both the French and the British were rapidly taking over what would become the territories of Niger and Nigeria, respectively. In 1900, the French killed Rabeḅ, and then advanced into British Bornu to kill his son in 1901.

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<sup>19</sup> From a fanatic Islamic sect that appeared in the mid-century along the Nile in the colony of the Sudan.

The British entered Bornu rapidly in 1902 to establish their rights to the territory. The Kanuri in Bornu “were so impoverished and exhausted that they welcomed the prospect of security and peace which the British brought with them” (Johnston 1967:238).

Stenning (1959:81) reports that the British held ambivalent views of Woḍaaḅe in Bornu: they were possible Fulḅe militants, possible Mahdist sympathizers, or simply “a harmless racial minority” that needed assistance in organizing against expanding agriculture. The administration employed the taxation of cattle to establish administrative control over the pastoralists and include them in new civil rights and responsibilities (*ibid*:82). A period followed, during the evolution of Indirect Rule, in which different administrations attempted different policies of taxation, registered *arḍoḅe* as chiefs, and counted cattle. Some Woḍaaḅe groups left for less regulated territories, migrating as far south as Adamawa.

World War I brought about a reorganization of British administration and the end of slavery (Stenning 1959:86-7). A new policy, encouraging the Woḍaaḅe chiefs to establish permanent residences in wet season pastures in exchange for salaries, placed the chiefs in intermediate administrative positions (*ibid*:89-90). This settlement included the demarcation of range boundaries, which helped to protect grazing rights from encroaching agriculture. The increasingly stratified clan-chiefdoms now centered on village headships, incorporating enough land for transhumant subject pastoralists.

### ***Mannga and the Dubanko'en***

Bonfiglioli traces the combined history of one Boḍaaḍo's combined patriliney and cattle herd, through interviews conducted in Niger in the late 1970s. The story begins with the earliest known ancestor, Mannga, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mannga's life took an entirely different trajectory from that of either the Horewalde or the Kilawa. He left his *lenyol* of ḅi-Hamma'en of the maximal lineage Alijam, probably in the Daura-Kano area, and migrated with his wife and only son to join an entirely different maximal lineage (Bonfiglioli 1988:39-40). He joined with two other independent households and all three became a new *tarde*, the Dubanko'en, incorporated into the *lenyol* of Cahidooji, in the maximal lineage of Degereeji.

The Cahidooji, as the eldest *lenyol* of the eldest maximal lineage “assumed the particular role of crystallizing a certain form of ‘resistance’” against the acculturation promoted by the Sokoto administration (*ibid*:74). Bonfiglioli notes that the Sokoto reformers named several chiefs of new fractions of Woḍaaḅe lineages, creating new little “dynasties”, presumably similar



that of the Horewalde in Bornu. This was not the case among the Cahidooji who were able to keep their traditional egalitarianism and acted as a conservative force among the Woḍaaḅe (*ibid*:76). Bonfiglioli suggests that at this time the resisting Woḍaaḅe reinforced their system of social values, creating a new ideological term, *mbodangaaku*, to represent the values of the Woḍaaḅe and the purity of their *pulaaku* as compared to the Hausa-tainted Fulḅe (*ibid*:63).

When the Peace of Toga of 1866 cooled the conflict between Sokoto and Kebbi, the Cahidooji moved out of crowded Sokoto into Kebbi, probably in the 1870s. They paid fees for pasturing rights to the sultan of Kebbi. The sultan, glad to have a new income for his depleted treasury, named chiefs among the Cahidooji for easier tax collection. At the end of the century, the western Woḍaaḅe were scattered in very mobile groups from Gwandu and Kebbi to Sokoto and Wurno. The groups in Sokoto passed the rainy season as far north as southern Ader. This greater mobility and distribution already reflects a major change from the pre-Empire, consolidated demography described by Dupire and Bonfiglioli.

Bonfiglioli (1988:87) describes “an epoch of crisis” between 1890 and 1922 beginning with rinderpest, which, moving west, devastated the herds of the pastoral Fulḅe. Many Woḍaaḅe turned to agro-pastoralism in order to subsist while they reconstituted their herds (*ibid*:93-4). The great grandson of Mannga, Maabo, was born in the 1890s in the southern Dallol among the children “who knew no milk” (*ibid*:99) because of the rinderpest. His father Ado and his mother practiced foraging and agriculture for two decades while they reconstituted their herd. The French entered the territory in 1897, establishing a military post at Say, on the west bank of the Niger River. In a few years, they controlled most of what would be the new colony of Niger. In 1900, they attacked and defeated the Tuaregs in the Damergou. Taxes and revolts in the first years of French occupation caused great waves of internal and external migration. A long dry period between 1898 and 1904 and then a dramatic drought from 1911-1914 compounded the troubles of the new French subjects, including resident Woḍaaḅe.

The Woḍaaḅe began their return to nomadism around 1910, with new confidence from the reconstitution of their herds, and impelled by a lack of pasture and the imposition of taxes. Taxation and the encouragement towards peanut cultivation as a cash crop forced farmers in the area to expand their agricultural production. The French at this time paid little attention to the Woḍaaḅe, aiding their escape of the new taxes (*ibid*:95-6). External migration of farmers

mentioned above coincided with a general withdrawal of “pacified” Tuaregs from their southern territories to open northern pastures to the Woḍaaḅe (*ibid*:94).

Around 1910, Ado, his wife and son Maabo moved north with their small herd. It seems the family was able to escape not only taxation, but also the famine of 1911-14. A sharp turn of the market in favor of livestock further encouraged the Woḍaaḅe to concentrate on pastoralism, and provoked another scattering of *lenyi*, some of which moved northeast into Ader to take advantage of rich pastures there (Bonfiglioli 1988:93). The Woḍaaḅe groups become more and more “nomads without territory” (*ibid*:108). Mannga’s descendants now negotiated between Hausa and Tuareg chiefs for pasture rights. The first small groups of Woḍaaḅe, of which Ado and his family made a part, were able to co-exist peacefully with the Tuareg. When the expansion of agriculture pushed more Woḍaaḅe north, this co-existence began to degrade, especially from the 1940s (Bonfiglioli 1988:109). In the 1930s, the colonial administration began to pay more attention to the nomadic Mbororo’en. They instituted a strict census regime, and named fraction chiefs, usually the traditional *arḍoḅe*, as tax collectors. These new fraction chiefs were incorporated under a *laamiḍo*, the pastoral equivalent of the sedentary canton chiefs (Bonfiglioli 1988:125-7). While the *laamiḍo* in Niger may settle in a town, in contrast to Bornu the Nigerien fraction chiefs, the *arḍoḅe*, remain nomadic.

As Ado and his family moved north up the Dallol Bosso, they developed new patterns of seasonal migrations. In the 1930s they retained a base in cold season pastures, moving south in the hot season and north in the rainy season. A drought and famine from 1931 to 1934 pushed many cultivators north in search of gathered foods and game; with the return of the rains they began to farm there. Serious conflicts with these farmers pushed the Woḍaaḅe further north and they lost their hot season pastures. The drier ecological zone effected an ever more mobile nomadism, and the adoption emulating Tuaregs, of camels and donkeys as mounts and pack animals (Bonfiglioli 1988:129-30). A severe drought from 1968-73 and resulting famine in 1973-4, drove nomads throughout much of the Sahel into poverty<sup>20</sup> and once again Nigerien Woḍaaḅe were forced to diversify production while they reconstituted their herds. This time many nomads looked for urban employment, or took on herding jobs for sedentary cattle owners.

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<sup>20</sup> Questioning a few of the Gojen-ko’en about the 1973 famine suggests that some pastoralists in the Damergou may not have suffered as much as farmers in the region and people further west. The Gojen-ko’en remembered migrating south toward Gouré, but no great loss of livestock. Certainly remembrances of wealth before the truly devastating 1984 famine indicates that livestock was spared in 1973 by timely migration.

## CONCLUSION

These three stories have presented three very different historical courses of groups who belonged originally to the same society and culture. A reader of Stenning's ethnography who knows the Woḍaaḅe of Niger hardly recognizes the Horewalde and their compatriots as Woḍaaḅe, just as the Kilawa are not recognized as Woḍaaḅe by other Fulḅe (Dupire 1962:23).

Does history repeat itself? An understanding of the different levels of consciences through the *durées* of history will not create a mechanism that predicts the future actions of a group of people. It is nevertheless important to understand how different, but intimately interrelated, aspects of the structuration of that group affect present realities. Through such an understanding we realize there is nothing teleological about the evolution of a society of people through time. Though the Woḍaaḅe in Bornu have become more stratified and more Islamic, they have retained their transhumance in order to keep their herds of cattle in an environment of variable climate and patchy resources, and *lenyol*-based endogamy in an effort to sustain their perception of their patrilineal lineages. Bonfiglioli (1988:1, 10) explains this perception through his definition of *duḍal*, the integration of human and cattle lineages. Bovin (1998:99-100) discusses the desire to increase the beauty of the *lenyol* through cousin marriage. The Nigerien Woḍaaḅe reinforced customary institutions and ideologies in order to strengthen the bonds of their society before outside forces that would tear it apart. They became more nomadic in response to these forces and a drier ecosystem. The Kilawa, renewing ties with old kin, and perhaps in response to the drier northern climate, have begun a return to nomadism and endogamy.

These interrelated oscillations of socio-politics and ideology in response to outside forces are not random, but based in a dialectic between a foundation of the unconscious level of cognition and conscious interactions with outside forces. One cannot predict greater stratification with development, but the researcher, development agent or Boḍaaḍo nomad might be able to better apprehend the process if it occurs. We could also understand the possible conservative reaction to "deculturation" that could accompany the push for sedentarization, an acceptance of the development system, or Islamic proselytizing. The underpinnings of the unconscious, the practical consciousness, and the discursive consciousness in interactions between various actors must be taken into consideration in order to create development projects and policy that will mesh with the structuration of the societies concerned in them.

## CHAPTER FOUR - THE DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM

### LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS, GOVERNMENT SERVICES, AND INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

Daunted by the complexities of the pastoral question and the difficulties of finding appropriate ways of intervening to improve the livelihoods of pastoral peoples, many of the larger aid organisations are becoming less and less involved in pastoral regions in the West African Sahel.

(Thébaud and Batterbury 2001:69)

#### SETTING: ZINDER & TANOUT

A *préfecture* capital, Zinder is the economic focus for southeastern Niger (see Map 4, next page). Compared to the tree-filled, western cities of Maradi, Dosso or Niamey, Zinder's drier, dustier environment cannot hide the aridness of the Sahel. A few neems, mesquite, desert dates or acacias spread scanty shade on the sandy clay sidewalks, or stretch over the yellowed cinderblock and adobe walls of houses. Many more trees crowd the southwest neighborhood of villas that house the administrators and offices of international agencies and NGOs (non-governmental organizations). In the dry season, the harmattan drives through the city in blasts and eddies from the northwest, often filling the air with choking, light ochre dust. In May and June we waited for the wind to change, to come from the southwest, humid with the promise of rain.

In Zinder, I collected my husband's thoughts about the plight of the Woɗaaɓe. My husband is a Gojen-kejo Kuskudu, who has lived and worked in the city off and on since the end of the drought of 1984. He has since become variously involved, limitedly, in politics and projects. At his house, I sat in on conversations with his brothers, other Woɗaaɓe, and a few Fulɓe development agents occupied in literacy and organizational schemes. In Zinder, in the regional offices of pastoralist associations, NGOs and donor agencies, my assistant Manzo Maman and I conducted about a third of my semi-structured interviews. I also collected information on livestock market activity from the *départemental* livestock service (*service de l'Élevage*).

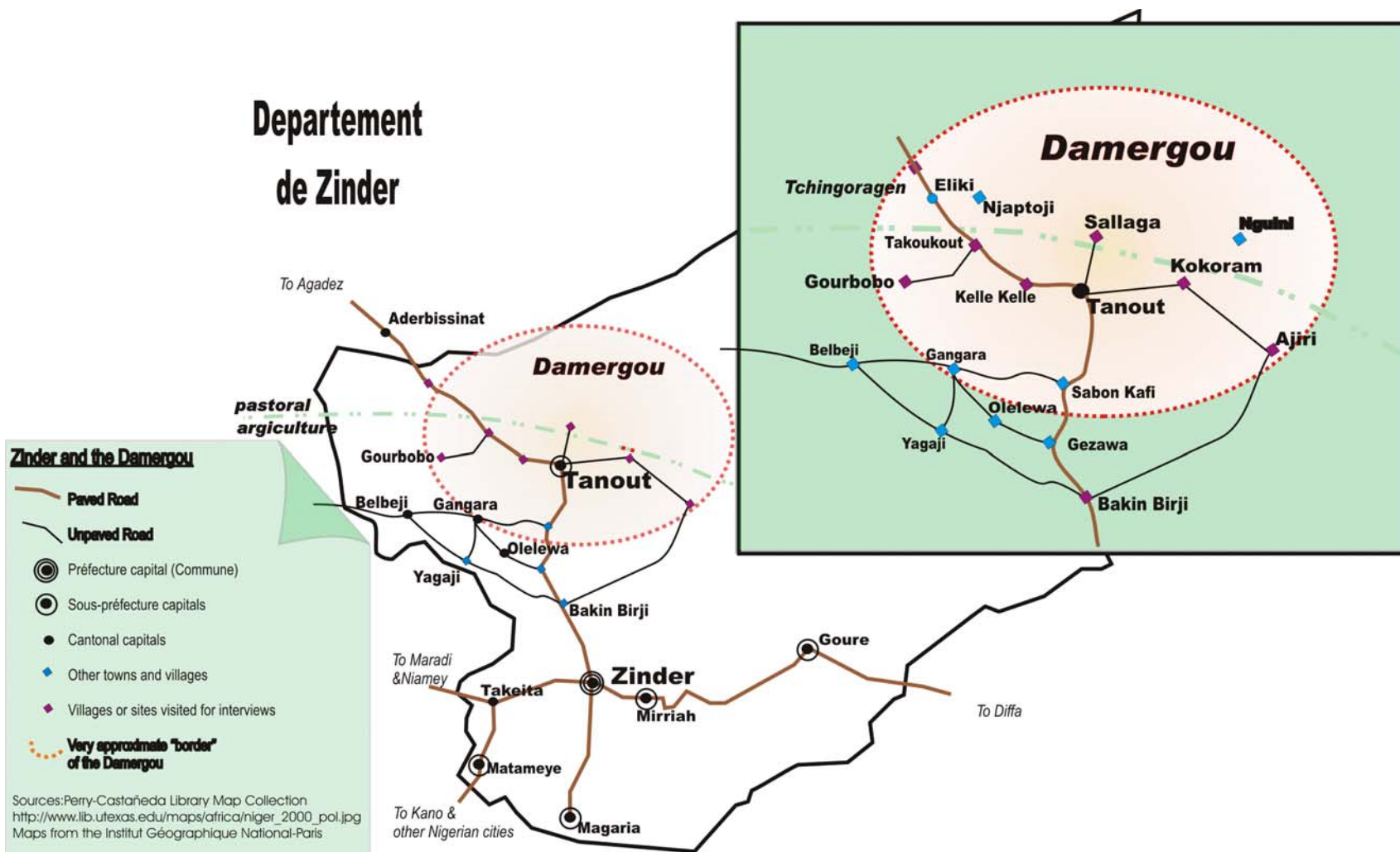


Figure 17: Map of the *Département* of Zinder, with the Damergou, my area of research, inset.

Since the end of the military government and the renewal of democracy in Niger in December 1999, international aid and development agencies have flooded into the city of Zinder. The main road north is now lined with the offices of recently established local NGOs and associations, and clusters of walled, tree-filled compounds contain the offices of international NGOs and bilateral organizations. *Appuis Danois au Développement Rural—Cellule de Coordination* (ADDR) sits solidly in the center of the *quartier* where are located, among others, SOS-Sahel-International United Kingdom, AQUADEV (a Belgian NGO), and a project financed by a number of bilateral organizations including USAID. The European agents of SOS-Sahel and DED (Deutsche Expertengruppe Dementenbetreuung, German Development Service) actively assist the formation of the *Collective* of local organizations concerned with pastoralism and natural resource management. They have also assisted some of the regional organization *bureaus* (executive boards) materially and organizationally. SNV, an independent Dutch development organization, directs trainings for local organization *bureaus*. ADDR, a program that administers funding and manages projects for DANIDA, the Danish aid agency, is the only Zinder international agency that consistently works with a pastoralist association. The agents of the *Lutte Contre la Pauvreté*, financed through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), inhabit newer red-plastered cinderblock buildings, set in a large compound in the neighborhood of other *préfecture* compounds and buildings. One agent here works with a *Wodaabe groupement* at Eliki.

I often walked in the oily sand at the worn edge of the pavement on the road north from the yellow plastered, cinderblock post office past the office supply shop and then the Chamber of Commerce; north past the round point where the central “boulevard” leads to the main *autogare*<sup>21</sup>; north, past people standing, sitting, or pushing by me, on bikes, riding or driving donkeys; past goats, sheep or an occasional cow; north toward the Tanout-Agadez *autogare*. I marveled at the seeming explosion, over the past year and a half, of *ONGs* (*organisations non-gouvernementales*) and local associations. Two impressive signs of painted sheet metal—one at the round point on the central boulevard, the other just south of the Tanout *autogare*—declared the existence of *ONG-Assistance Nomade* (see photo, Figure 18, page 66). An older, more solidly established organization, *Association pour la Rédynamisation de l’Elevage au Niger*

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<sup>21</sup> The “bush taxi” and market truck station.

(AREN), relied more conservatively on a sign above the door to a dusty blue office with broken glass in the door and windows. Notices posted on the glass that remains advertise meetings.

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Almost every Saturday I attended the market in Tanout, often traveling there from Zinder. In the *autogare* on Saturday mornings vans fill with people, mostly merchants transporting goods to market. A traveler to Tanout arrives over a hill of broken, black laterite to look down upon rusty blocks of adobe buildings. The iron-rich rock is ubiquitous in the Damergou, where the wind seems to have worn away the flesh of the weary earth to expose the bones (see photos, next page).

This town of ten thousand inhabitants, nestled in the heart of the Damergou, lies in a small valley surrounded by such hills. In the two months of a good growing season, the town would be enveloped by a green sea of millet. During the rest of the year, the hills were yellow, red and black. One hundred and fifty kilometers north of Zinder, Tanout lies in the northern edge of the agricultural zone, about 30 Km from the southern border of the pastoral zone. Townsfolk, farmers and nomadic herders mix colorfully in the Saturday market. Tanout had always made me think of a frontier town, particularly during the mid-1990s when armed bandits threatened the northern rangelands and the highway to Agadez.



Figure 18: The billboard for ONG-*Assistance Nomade* in Zinder. Pointing to the compound across the road where the office is located.



Figure 19: Coming down a laterite hill north of Tanout. Tanout is just visible on the distant right.



Figure 20: A small village just north of Tanout.



In the real market in Tanout, I found a remarkable transformation. Five years ago, the Woḍaaɓe involved in the community analysis study (Greenough *et al.* 1997), expressed distress over a lack of money to buy household goods and food. At that time, the price of grain in the market had risen drastically over the past few years, while the price of livestock remained stagnant. In 2000, and during this study, the prices of livestock had risen as well. As a very rough example, data from the *service de l'Élevage* in Zinder shows comparisons of prices in the market of Bakin Birji, the most important livestock market of the Tanout *arrondissement* (see Table 1, next page). The month of January is generally a good month for livestock sales, however during my research in the dry season, a notoriously difficult marketing season, the prices of camels and rams were still high.

An agent of the *départemental service de l'Élevage* suggested that the construction of a new livestock market in Nigeria might have created a stronger demand for Nigerien animals. Otherwise no one was able to explain to me this general rise in livestock prices, though I observed the consequences in the Tanout market. Merchants supplied a greater number and variety of the products normally bought by nomadic pastoralists. Every week I attended the market I saw Woḍaaɓe women buying expensive, carved bed poles and bed mats woven with leather, purchases that a few years ago they found difficult to make. Tuareg women wore gold jewelry. Merchants displayed decorative Tuareg “accessories” (leather bags, sandals, and jewelry) in a several stalls, much more than I had ever seen before.

| <i>Livestock</i> | <i>January 1999</i> | <i>January 2002</i> | <i>Difference</i> | <i>Percentage of rise</i> |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| Bull             | 130,625             | 272,500             | +141,875          | 108.61%                   |
| Bull calf        | 54,500              | 142,500             | +88,000           | 161.47%                   |
| Cow              | 77,250              | 122,500             | +45,250           | 58.58%                    |
| Ram              | 15,594              | 44,500              | +28,906           | 185.37%                   |
| Ewe              | 10,875              | 18,500              | +7,625            | 70.11%                    |
| Male Camel       | 60,750              | 175,500             | +114,750          | 188.89%                   |

Table 1: Average market prices (fCFA) – Bakin Birji market.

Table compiled from data given me by the *Service de l'Élevage*, Zinder, collected by agents of the *Service de l'Élevage*, Bakin Birji.

## THE AGENTS: LOCAL ORGANISATIONS

Local intermediary organizations, for this thesis, national or regional non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and national or regional associations, comprise the focal points for the interface of development between community *groupements* and international funding agencies. I will use “organization” to mean either association or non-governmental organization; when I want to specify one or the other, I will use the latter terms. These organizations fit into the middle level of the development hierarchy. As discussed in Chapter 1, persons interviewed from these organizations had various backgrounds, including agro-pastoralist and Woḍaaḍe. I was able to interview members of the *bureaus* of six different intermediary organizations at the regional (*département*) and sub-regional (*arrondissement*) levels, which work with nomadic communities and individuals. Most of the organizations were established as pastoralist organizations, though not concentrating on nomadic pastoralists. The founder of one NGO, however, had set up his organization in order to help the nomads “disconnected (*déracinés*) from the rest of the world.” All of the three or four organization *bureau* interviewees who’d come from pastoralist families lived more or less permanently in either Zinder or Tanout. Two Woḍaaḍe, subregional coordinator and vice coordinator of *ONG-Assistance Nomade* and AREN respectively, lived more or less permanently in Tanout. Figure 10 (next page) shows the different levels of the development system, as well as the backgrounds of different representatives.

Before I present descriptions of the agencies and agents interviewed, some definitions and distinctions are in order. First I will discuss the usages of the words *bureau* and *coordination*, the perceived and official distinctions between “association” and “NGO” and the process of establishing both, and then describe *groupement*. I intend the following descriptions of this structure, including the organizations, *services* and agencies, as an informational reference for the discussions of issues that follow in Chapters 6 and 7. One might note that on paper this structure appears large and complex, but the actual realization of appropriate, effective and sustainable pastoral projects is minimal at best. Chabert (2002:7), working with *départemental* pastoral organization *bureaus*, estimates only 7-10% participation of nomadic pastoralists in local organizations.

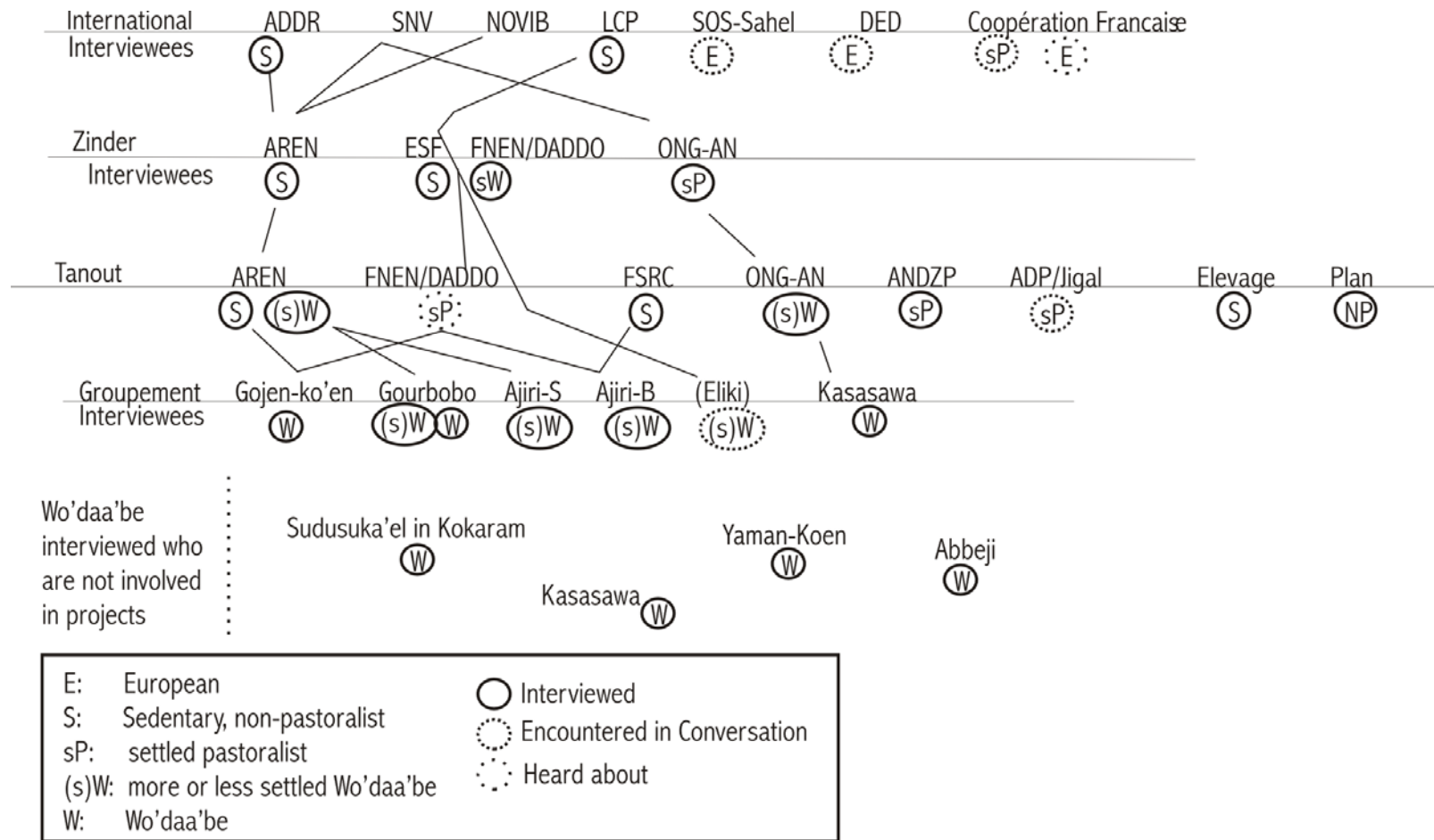


Figure 21: The different levels of the development system in the Damergou. Showing the heritage of each actor interviewed, conversed with, or heard about.

### ***Bureau and Coordination***

The word *bureau*, employed to describe what might be called the “executive board” of a United States organization, is the common term for the group of administrative members of any organization at any level. A vice-president of FNEN/DADDO detailed the exemplary structure of their regional *bureau*:

This is composed of a president, a general secretary, an adjunct to the general secretary, a general treasurer, as well as an adjunct to the general treasurer. There is a secretary of organization, a secretary of exterior relations, a secretary in charge of women’s affairs. There is a secretary for juridical affaires and conflicts, that is, for the conflicts and all that touches the members of the association that’s linked to justice, such as conflicts between herder and cultivator. There is also a secretary for pastoralism. There are also consultants whose number varies according to the aggregate [of members]. Thus, here in the *bureau* there are two consultants. And there are two commissioners of accounts who are outside the *bureau* (*deux commissaires de compte hors bureau*).

In the case of AREN, the structure of the association is intended to be very decentralized, with a focus on the autonomy of local *groupements* and an attitude that the national administration (*Secrétaire Exécutif* and *Comité Directeur*) serves the local *groupements*. The regional and sub-regional boards are defined as *coordinations*, the members of which are elected by the local *groupements*. Thébaud (2001:7) expresses a concern that the establishment of the intermediate *coordinations* as points of contact for the *groupements* introduces a sort of centralized hierarchy into AREN’s structure. She also notes, however:

The formation of a regional *coordination* has responded to a pressing need to establish a point of contact in the town of Zinder, as much for the *groupements* on the range [*en brousse*] as for the development partners, who experience difficulties in identifying and localizing these *groupements* (*ibid*).

I will discuss in following chapters how the *coordinations* themselves find the nomadic *groupements* difficult to “localize”, and the vertical hierarchy of the development system.

### ***NGO and Association***

In Niger, legislation distinguishes between “association” and “NGO”. The departmental agent of the *Service du Plan* explained the constitutional difference between the two in the *Grande Rencontre*, a networking meeting in Zinder of representatives from organizations

concerned with pastoralism or natural resource management. His definition is simple and to the point: “Well, I think we all know that an NGO is created to help others. An association or *groupement* is created by people so that they can work together to help themselves.” In another interview, the regional vice president of an association elaborated on the above definition, describing the goals of the NGO *Éleveurs sans frontières*.

The objectives of the NGO are to create actions of development for the herders, obtain financing, discuss with international agencies and intervene between the Association and the international agencies. [*Éleveurs sans frontières*] doesn't just support DADDO, but it's the primary association partner. There are other groups, such as *Gaina* and some women's groups, that they help.

Any application for outside financing or government help requires legal registration of either an NGO or an association. At the *Grande Rencontre*, the *Plan* agent also explained:

First you have to create the *statute* and the *règlement* (statute and rules) of the association or NGO, and then the plan of action. With this you make a *demande d'agrément* (application) asking permission to be officially recognized. From city hall, the *demande* goes to the *préfecture* and the *service du Plan*. From there it is sent to the Ministry of the Interior in Niamey for the “big” permission. You need to follow up on the *demande*, though. If it's sat around “for 10 years” and you never received permission, then it's probably not a good *demande*.

The chair of the meeting remarked that *demandes* had stacked up since the military government had been in power (see Chapter 1). Manzo and I were under the impression that several of the representatives present did not really understand either the all of the requirements for legal recognition or the difference between an association and NGO (see photo of the *Grande Rencontre*, next page). This may have been a result of the recent sudden increase of local organizations in the department. I asked a member of a long-established association what he thought might be the cause of the seeming explosion of local ONGs and associations. He replied, “They [organization founders] haven't understood the reasons for creating ONGs or associations. They create them just to support themselves [attract money]. They're not serious.”



Figure 22: The *Grande Rencontre* in Zinder.

## **Groupements**

The nomadic communities that subscribe to these organizations are organized as *groupements associatifs*. Though different organizations may sometimes label them differently (e.g. *communautés locales* or *communautés de bases*), *groupement* is used generally by all parties, including the technical services. The associations seem to have no rules as to the form of the *groupements*, other than the composition of the *bureaus*. *ONG-Assistance Nomade*, however, required a grouping of fifty families in order to establish a *site*. *ONG-AN's groupements* were composed along the lines of the official *tribus* registered for census and tax purposes (see Chapter 1). My experience with the *Woḍaaḅe* told me that most *groupements* paralleled the *lenyi* and *taare* (primary and secondary lineages). The vice coordinator of *AREN* in Tanout (a *Boḍaaḍo*) specified the *Woḍaaḅe groupements*, most corresponding to specific *lenyi*. The Zinder coordinator of *AREN* tersely distinguished between the *groupements administratifs* that assemble the registered *tribus*, and *AREN's groupements associatifs*. *AREN's* nomadic *groupements* are established by gender, and correspond among *Woḍaaḅe* primarily to the *lenyi* and *taare*. *FNEN/DADDO's* groups seem to follow the same rule, though neither association required this uniformity. From experience, I also know that even though a *groupement* may be *Gojen-ko'en*, members of other *lenyi* may belong. *Arḍoḅe* (*chefs de tribus*) are not usually permitted to be presidents of *bureaus*, but often act as figureheads, their influence depending on their overall influence within their *lenyol* or *tarde*. Most *arḍoḅe* probably choose the presidents of the *groupement bureaus*, who are often their sons or brothers. Cooperatives, which could be considered a synonym for *groupement*, also exist through a hierarchical structure, a federation of cooperatives with different levels of administration, in Tanout the *Fédération sous-régionale des coopératives* (FSRC).

## **STRUCTURE, PROJECTS AND RELATIONS**

The *Association pour la Ré dynamisation de l'Élevage au Niger* (*AREN*) and the *Fédération Nationale des Éleveurs du Niger/DADDO* (*FNEN/DADDO* or simply *DADDO*<sup>22</sup>), another association, had been nationally established for several years. They received their start in the early 1990s, *AREN* just before the National Convention of 1991 (see Chapter 1), and *FNEN/DADDO* a few years after. Closely associated with *FNEN/DADDO*, the NGO *Éleveurs*

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<sup>22</sup> A name borrowed from the Fulfulde word for the household area where the men gather.



*sans frontières* was created simultaneously by the association's founders. At the time of my research however, the NGO, at least in Zinder, had lost much of its viability. Each of these organizations have national offices based in Niamey and have grown nationally, in a double manner of subscription and enlistment, throughout the different populations that practice different kinds of pastoralism.

One NGO, *ONG-Assistance Nomade*, as well as two smaller associations, *Association du développement pastoral (ADP/Jigal)* and *Association Nigérien pour la Développement de la Zone Pastorale (ANDZP)*, were only about a year old. I was able to interview members of the *bureaus* of ONG-AN and one of the founders of ANDZP, but only interviewed a man who was involved in the start up of ADP/Jigal. Nomadic groups also subscribed under the auspices of the *Fédération sous-régionale des coopératives (FSRC)*, a semi-governmental organization described below.

The greater part of my interviews was concentrated in Tanout, and the market villages around it. Here, I found the immediate interface between nomadic community and development agency. I met with members from three of the four different perspectives that I focused on; funding agencies tend to remain in the cities. Several of my informants here fit into two or more categories: *Woḍaaɓe* have been elected to organizational *bureaus*; a government service retiree with nomadic Tuareg heritage now acted as the permanent secretary of a government commission and an association founder and president. My interviewees reflected the ethnic and occupational mix that constitutes the general population of Tanout. In Tanout, I spoke with the subregional coordinator and vice-coordinator of AREN and the subregional coordinator of ONG-AN, and the secretary general of the *Association Nigérien du Développement de la Zone Pastorale (ANDZP)*.

### ***AREN***

AREN is the only association working among the *Woḍaaɓe* of the Damergou with relatively secure access to project funding. This funding and the long existence of the national association give it some prestige and legitimacy among agencies and nomads alike. The office—a medium-size, dusty, open room, painted blue—faces one of the busiest streets in Zinder and much traffic noise invaded the room. The regional coordinator of AREN explained to Manzo and I the composition and development of the *coordination* in Zinder, which resembled that of other organization *bureaus*, including seven people in including the coordinator. A Gouré *bureau*,

established in 1992, became the first *bureau* in the *département*, while the Zinder *bureau* was founded about five years ago and soon became a regional *coordination* for all of the *bureaus* in the *département*. The coordinator told us, “Everyone in all the *bureaus* is equal, forming a network.”

In Tanout, it took quite some time for us to obtain an interview with the sub-regional coordinator of AREN, a very busy man. He described the projects that AREN carries out in the *arrondissement*: two different types of cereal banks, one in which NOVIB (Oxfam Netherlands) gave eleven groups 175 *mille* fCFA each for cereal banks, but didn’t build buildings. Other bank buildings were financed by *Cellule Crise Alimentaire* (CCA),<sup>23</sup> which built six banks for *groupements*, and gave 100 sacks (ten tons) of grain to each building.

NOVIB has also given loans to five women’s groups of 200 *mille* each for small businesses, and is financing the construction of a cement-lined well at Ajiri. NOVIB intervenes in Maradi through the *base regional* of AREN, a *bureau* with indemnified administrators. Though they may administer overall activities in Maradi, project activities in Zinder and Tanout are implemented by the regional and sub-regional *coordinations*. NOVIB was the bilateral agency furthest removed from the nomadic communities of the Damergou. While this might not have been a problem if AREN had been able to have more control of projects, it seemed NOVIB insisted that the Maradi office hired all technicians and laborers involved in projects. In the case of the Ajiri well, well diggers had been sent from Maradi (possibly Niamey) with their families. While excavation was stopped for lack of water, the Maradi crew required care from the *Woḍaaḅe groupement* who would own the well.

*Appuis Danois au Développement Rural* (ADDR), a *Cellule de Coordination* for DANIDA, the Danish bilateral development agency, worked closely with AREN’s regional *coordination*, administering 10 million fCFA for AREN projects in Tanout, Gouré, and Mirriah. AREN’s Tanout sub-regional coordinator described the two-year project that he manages, funded through the PSPB (*Projet pour la sécurisation et protection de bétail* [livestock]), the goal of which is to ameliorate livestock health. The regional and subregional *coordinations* had just had a meeting with ADDR to come up with a three-year strategic plan. The sub-regional coordinator described his other activities, explaining the *coordination*’s objectives.

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<sup>23</sup> A coalition of aid organizations coordinated through the prime minister’s office.

We are invited to meetings at the *sous-préfecture* when different guests come. And we're involved in different meetings and discussions among the services. We're carrying out different trainings: *sensibilisation* about associations, paraveterinarians, cutting hay. NOVIB financed the awning shed for the hay and we've started the training. We also want to have literacy classes; field trips (*voyages d'étude*) to see how other projects are being run; classes on the Code Pastoral, and on civic responsibilities of pastoralists. We also conduct *sensibilisation* on how associations work—that's the *vie associative* [which] teaches the difference between an association and a project.

We want to hold trainings in how to prepare cheese, butter and milk. We want to help them to find a place to sell the dairy products, in the market or in town, where they'll get good prices. A clean place. Now they sell their milk at the edge of town or in dirty places in the market. We'll have trainings in animal health, laws, and how to obtain titles to land, the *terroirs d'attache*.

We also want to *sensibilize* them so that they put their women and children and men in school and literacy classes. They need to stop avoiding putting their children in school. We'll dig new pastoral wells and forages. We're concerned about the migration routes. We want to reopen the old routes, take them back from the fields that have overrun them.

This descriptive discussion raises several issues of concern to this thesis, especially *sensibilisation* and *vie associative*, cereal banks and *terroires d'attache*. The vice coordinator, a Boḏaaḏo, also focused on the cereal banks, and communication between the *coordination* and the *groupements*. I take up all of these issues in the last three chapters.

### ***ADDR***

Dense, damp foliage screens the office building of the *Appuis Danois au Développement Rural* from the front gate of the compound. The lobby of the villa is spacious with an area partitioned by a tall counter for the secretary, table and comfortable chairs for guests and posters and photos on the walls outlining all the projects that they manage. We met the pastoral technician who works with AREN, a relatively young Nigerien, in his office, another spacious, air-conditioned room. A computer sat on his desk among piles of documents. We spoke in French, which he speaks well. While we were there the electricity kept going out and was picked up by their generator.

The office in Zinder facilitates communication between the organizations here and the head office in Niamey. The technician told us:

We follow projects in Zinder and Diffa, but we don't execute projects. [The nomads are] a fringe population that has been forgotten. They rarely benefit from projects. The *Code Rural* and democracy have pointed out the need to help this population to participate actively in the economy. DANIDA is very interested in this domain and has put funds here specifically to help *élevage* projects.

The technician depicted the *Projet de protection et sécurisation de bétail* in much the same way that the sub-regional coordinator had in Tanout. He went on to describe the training that ADDR provides for the AREN regional *coordination, sensibilisation* through AREN that includes *vie associative* training, auxiliary paraveterinarian (APV) training, and *sensibilisation* about vaccinations.

From the 16 to the 26 of March we held a workshop on *suivis* (follow-up evaluations) to train the members of the *bureaus* how to carry out a *suivi*. They need to understand the importance of *suivis* even if they don't have an active project.

My role in the cellule with AREN is to make sure that they respect the "convention" that they signed with us ... to help make sure that everything goes right. That is my regulatory (*contrôle*) function. As a pastoral technician, I support and aid the program by giving counsel on the proposals for funding. I go on trimestrial *suivis*. If we find difficulties we recommend training and/or funding, and we organize workshops.

I will take issue with this "regulatory function" in Chapter 7. This self-description of this technician's role is not unique, but rather exemplifies the disconnect of funding agencies from the communities that they ostensibly intend to benefit. He told us that he had very little contact with the *groupements*. He did not know how many there were, perhaps the *coordination* could tell us. This man's job is to allocate funds and training resources to projects and then evaluate the use of those funds and resources. I noticed an e-mail on his desk concerning MARP<sup>24</sup> and asked him if he or the agency used participative methods at all. He shook his head and said that the agencies had just briefly discussed them.

### ***ESF and FNEN/DADDO***

Though AREN was ostensibly established to advocate for pastoral rights (Thébaud 2001), FNEN/DADDO has a stronger repute among *Wodaabe* in the Tanout region for helping nomads in conflicts with either farmers, government administrations or among themselves.

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<sup>24</sup> *Methode active/accelere de recherche participative*, the French version of Participative Rural Appraisal (PRA).

Just north of the Agadez *autogare*, a busy mechanics' garage belongs to the vice president and Zinder founding member of the *Fédération des Eleveurs du Niger-DADDO* and the NGO *Eleveurs sans Frontiers*. He receives visitors under a large straw awning in front of his tiny cinderblock office at the rear of the busy compound. We sat on mats in the shade of the awning while mechanics repaired cars and trucks and the garage proprietor gave orders to his mechanics and advice to his sons. He explained the structures of the association's *bureaus*, from the national *bureau* that "caps" the national structure to the *département* or regional *bureau*. The sub-regional *bureaus* in the *arrondissements*, the cantonal *bureaus*, and the local *bureaus*, "in direct contact with the herders", are all "formed in the image of the regional *bureau*" (see above).

Neither the association FNEN/DADDO nor the NGO *Eleveurs sans frontières* have the same legitimacy that AREN enjoys. Organizational difficulties at the national and regional levels have kept them from obtaining funding. My interviewee explained the different obstacles to the smooth running of the NGO at the regional level:

The NGO [*Eleveurs sans frontières*] has worked with the SNV [a Dutch NGO] on the preparation of a proposal for financing. Without the president, though, nothing's been done. The *bureau* fell apart without him. ... The NGO *bureau* members haven't been able to get together. The president is not here and is too busy.

The vice-president had also been gone for about four months on a religious tour of Chad and other central African countries. These difficulties illustrate the time commitments that confront the volunteer organization administrators.

Early in my research, Manzo and I walked north of the Agadez *autogare* to speak with DADDO's secretary of women's affairs, an older woman with the lightly tattooed face of a Boḍaaḍo. I'd been told that she had been born into a Gojen-ko'en family. On one side of the large compound of her house, an unshaded open space, we escaped the bright heat inside a long, mudbrick hall that served as the entrance to bedrooms. While she is not formally educated, younger adults living with her had gone through school; one young woman seemed to be a teacher. Though her speech was quite rambling, she was very eager to tell me everything she could. She wanted the nomadic pastoralists to transcend *lenyol* and ethnic barriers: "What we want, God willing, is for all herders to work together." She emphasized that she did not ascribe to any lineage. "I'm a Pullo. I'm not in any *lenyol*."

Several times she emphasized the importance of wells. “We need wells. Wells are better than milk. If we have wells, then we can have schools at the wells.” She also expressed the need for women’s access to credit and training in the marketing of dairy products, especially cheese (which few *Wodaabe* women make). As we left she showed us about fifteen 100 lb. sacks of cottonseed stored in the compound’s entry room, which she said could be marketed to pastoralists as supplemental feed—a common project for organizations, especially FNEN/DADDO, and some agencies. It was difficult to tell (as it would be with other *bureau* members) if these remarks reflected her own thoughts, or, what seemed more likely, mimicked what had been told to her. Her insistence on a sort of “pan-pastoral” identity was remarkable and exemplified a possible dimension of the “reforming” or “progressive” consciousness of urban-based *Wodaabe*.

### ***ONG-Assistance Nomade***

Photographs lined the pale walls in the front room of the three tiny rooms that make up the regional office of *ONG-Assistance Nomade*. In the photos, ONG-AN’s president and other *bureau* members stand with herders, *Wodaabe* and Tuareg, out in the scrub of the rangeland with cattle, sheep and camels. A dark room to the side held a desk, and the slightly less dark, larger room in the back was filled by the desk of the president-founder, a standing fan, and chairs for visitors. The president and two colleagues squeezed around behind his desk while Manzo and I sat before them. The president began right away to announce how glad he was that we’d come, that this is the kind of research that’s needed. Very enthusiastic and dynamic, his opening declaration was so immediate and rambling, in Hausa, that I barely caught it in my notes. The rest of the interview continued, more moderately paced, in French. We were interrupted for about an hour on the first day of the interview by some Europeans who wanted to talk about financing.

He’d received financing thus far from relatives who lived outside Niger. He established the NGO in Zinder, with branches in Tanout and Gouré, and “mobile” *bureaus* (without buildings) in Diffa, Magaria and Aderbissinat. The regional (national) and subregional *bureaus* have a similar composition, with perhaps fewer secretaries, as FNEN/DADDO. The president explained the structure of the NGO’s *groupements*:

There are the members of the NGO in the *cellules*, the “producers” (*producteurs*), the herders (*éleveurs*). There is some representation by the traditional chiefs, and why

not the associations? And there are the technicians of the services and the merchants—a few—who help with “assistance” to the herders. Our objective now is to create *sites* for the nomads in the furthest, most forgotten, most difficult, least supportable places. There are four sites now in planning. Each site will have a well, a cereal bank. We ask for an animal, a buck or a sheep and 15 *mille* [fCFA]<sup>25</sup>. That’s the herder’s contribution for everything. We won’t ask anything more of him.

With this contribution, the nomads could ask for medicines or loans of grain. The NGO would buy grain from merchants on credit and then sell to nomads again on credit and at a subsidized price. The president’s overall goal was to create centers of fifty families each, which would act as, or enter into a cooperative (no relation to FSCR). The cooperative would market dairy products, livestock, meat and hides. He spoke as if the NGO would centrally administer the cooperatives, including all marketing. His ambitious objectives seemed as unrealistic as his subsidized cereal banks, which, I later heard, landed him in jail when he couldn’t repay his debts to the grain merchants.

In Tanout, we spoke with the subregional coordinator of ONG-AN in the hot and dark back room of the office of the NGO, two of four rented rooms in a new mud-brick building in a compound just off the main road through Tanout. The coordinator, a young Boḍaaḍo, was very open and we were able to be quite friendly, though we were never sure about the truth of his statements. He made several exaggerated claims that we had trouble accepting; some that were later refuted by other informants. As an example, he would have us believe that he had no problems working with Woḍaaḍe of other lineages, and generations. Several other Woḍaaḍe men, one from his own lineage, told us that they could not accept him as an NGO representative, that they “didn’t get [understand] him” (*o keptataako*). Otherwise, he repeated what the president-founder told us about the activities of the NGO, implemented and proposed. He did have some interesting comments regarding the need for literacy, which I address in Chapter 6.

### ***FSRC***

We spoke with the director of the *Federation sous-régionale des cooperatives* (FSRC) in his Tanout office in a yellowed cinderblock building. This building stands among the administration buildings for the *sous-préfecture*. We’d waited for some time before being able to enter the office. The director was engaged in a lively discussion, almost an argument, with the

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<sup>25</sup> *Mille*: one thousand francs CFA; please see Appendix.

coordinator of AREN-Tanout, the subregional coordinator of ONG-AN and others. He is a large, jovial man with the Hausa of someone trained in the language for *animation* and *sensibilisation*. We spoke in French, however, until about halfway through the interview when the president of the FSRC entered—an older man from a village just north of Tanout. Near the end of the interview, the director translated everything we’d discussed into Hausa, starting with the consent form that I’d given him. He began the interview by describing the objectives of the *Fédération* as supporting “structured” groups, such as cooperatives (from all different milieus) and women’s groups (*groupements féminines*), and collaborating with *services* and different NGOs.

We give trainings in how the *coopératives* should operate, what the tasks of each person in the *bureau* are. We’ve trained 146 members of different groups. All the *agrément*s [registration applications] should go through us. We can act as a sort of control. Some groups are well organized, others not so; some are organized just to get money for themselves. A group without an *agrément* is not really organized and we can’t work with them.

He explained a project for which they were applying for financing, one that we’d heard descriptions of from different people, including Woḍaaḳe and service agents. Until now we’d never been able obtain a clear explanation. The *Projet de promotion des exportations agro-pastoral* is a national project financed by the World Bank and managed under the Rural Development Ministry. *Coopératives* registered through the FSRC open accounts at the *Banque Internationale de l’Afrique* (BIA) in Zinder with at least 200 *mille* fCFA.

[The Ajiri] group has put 400 *mille* in the bank and they’ll receive 2 million [fCFA; see *Groupements* below]. They have planned an *élevage* project so that’s what the money must be used for. They’ve made a contract to that effect through the *sous-préfecture*. We will follow their project for five years to make sure everything goes well, but they will manage their own money. If they don’t do what they’ve said they’ll do, then we’ll take the money away and give it to someone else. This is not a loan. It’s a subsidy. We tell them it’s “credit,” a loan, so that they’ll be careful with the money. But it’s their money as long as they spend it the way they say they will.

The director showed us several pages of records of more than a hundred bank accounts opened by different *coopératives* in hopes of receiving funding. While the FSRC had applied for



this funding, their project had not yet been approved. In the meantime, the Tanout *Fédération* was storing money for individual *coopératives* in their individual bank accounts.

### ***ANDPZ***

We met the secretary general of the *Association Nigérien du Développement de la Zone Pastorale* (ANDZP) in his office in the *sous-préfecture* building. He also acts as the permanent secretary of the *Commission Foncière* in Tanout (discussed below in Government Services). The office appeared temporary, filled with stacks of tables and chairs. No fan or air conditioning dispelled the heavy heat in the room; only a slight breeze from the window gave a little relief. The permanent secretary had retired from his governmental position, in the *service de l'Agriculture*. From our conversation I understood that his people are a group of Tuaregs residing about 30 Km north of Tanout. He was friendly, but serious, and later in the conversation, considering his nomadic pastoralist heritage, I ventured questions about the encouraged settlement of nomads. First, though, he described the objectives of the ANDZP. Though they currently work with Tuaregs, he explained, “We’ll also include the Peul [Fulɓe] communities. Their way of life is the same as the Tuaregs.” When I questioned this, he explained, “They’re both nomadic. They both herd. They both pull water from deep wells with large bags.” This remark seemed to exemplify the homogeneity with which the development system would like to portray the pastoral system.

The association has had to focus on sedentary communities because they’ve had trouble finding funding for nomadic communities.

Someone went all the way to France to try to get money for a project but the French said that they wouldn’t finance a project for a mobile population. When the French came here and met the community, they saw that they only move five or ten kilometers from the well. They said they hadn’t realized that the movement was that little and that was okay.

This account entails tremendous implications for the issues of mobility and land degradation addressed in Chapter 6, and the roles and responsibilities of funding agencies addressed briefly in Chapter 8. After the brief discussion about the ANDZP, we moved on to the *Commission Foncière*, a government entity (see below).

## GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN TANOUT

My planned interviews with the directors of government services were disrupted for a few weeks by first the preparations for, and then the actual visit of, the president of the country, Mohamedou Tanja. I spoke briefly with the adjunct to the *sous-préfet* and the directors of the *service de l'Hydrolique*, and the *service de l'Environnement*, and more extensively with the directors of *Elevage* and *Plan* (see photo of a *service* agent, next page).

Several government services are involved in one way or the other with nomadic communities residing within the *arrondissement* of Tanout. Both the services of *Hydrolique* and *Génie Rural* (Rural Engineering) are concerned with water provision. *Genie Rural* also helps to build cereal banks for some projects. The director of the *service de l'Environnement* told us in a brief interview that the primary role of this service in the rangeland is implementing food-for-work projects cutting firebreaks to prevent the spread of bush fires.<sup>26</sup> The *service du Plan* is concerned with demographic information and organizational development. This *service* should coordinate the projects ongoing in the *arrondissement*, though interviews with the adjunct to the director and the director revealed their regret that this is not necessarily the case. I have related above how *Plan* in Zinder (at the communal or departmental level) concerns itself with the establishment of associations and NGOs in the city and the *département*; the same is true at the *arrondissement* level. The new *Commission Foncière* groups the *sous-préfet* and the directors of several of the *services*.

### *Elevage*

The service most concerned with pastoral groups is the *service de l'Elevage*. We met with the director of the *service de l'Elevage* in his office in the *Elevage* building—a cinderblock structure near the top of the “administration hill”. It was very noisy in the office with a fan and refrigerator (for vaccines, I assume). Though he was friendly and seemingly open, his answers were vague until the end of our conversation when he brought up the problem of vaccinations among animals of the Fulɓe herds. I’ve heard about this “eternal” problem from every director and agent of *Elevage* I’ve spoken with.

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<sup>26</sup> Despite my skepticism about the utility of such projects, never having seen evidence of bush fires, several Wodaabe assured me that bush fires have caused damage, including injuries and loss of livestock. They consider these firebreaks are very important in preventing their spread.



Figure 23: A government *service* director with his son.

A veterinarian by training, the director seems to have worked mostly in the Zinder department, beginning in Gouré, then working in a laboratory in Zinder before coming to Tanout. He described his personal history with pastoral development projects in the *département* of Zinder. He began his career with the project Centre-Est (PENCE) in Gouré, in 1978 until 1987, and then was involved in *Projet Camelina* from 1992 to 1996. He had been in Tanout as *service* director for two years. Among other projects, *Élevage* was currently involved with two supplementary livestock feed banks (*banques alimentaires de bétail*) funded by the *Cellule Crise Alimentaire*, and two cereal banks funded by the *Lutte Contre la Pauvreté*, a UNDP<sup>27</sup> intervention in Zinder. One of these cereal banks was part of the project at Eliki that concerned a FNEN/DADDO *groupement*. *Élevage* also works with the various local organizations in the *arrondissement*, though the director seemed to have trouble remembering which. It's possible that these partnerships were handled by his adjunct. Near the end of the interview, he expressed his view that the nomadic pastoralists must leave their extensive form of pastoralism and follow a more "intensive" system of production. I discuss this conversation in Chapter 6.

### ***Commission Foncière***

We'd been hearing about the *Commission Foncière* (land tenure commission; CoFo) in different interviews, including our conversation with the adjunct to the director of the *service du Plan*, who told us:

The CoFoB is the *commission foncière du base*, which will be located in each village. These are not yet in place, but will only be placed in fixed locations. Nomadic groups will have to be represented on the level of the *chef de groupement* or they can be members of a village CoFoB. It will be too difficult if they aren't fixed.

We finally received the whole story directly from the permanent secretary of the CoFo-Tanout in our last "governmental" interview. The CoFo consists of the traditional chefs, the directors of eight technical services, including *Agriculture, Elevage, Plan, Développement Social, Génie Rural* and *Environnement*. Different associations send representatives, including a limited number of *bureau* members. The sub-regional president of FNEN/DADDO (a Tuareg residing in Tanout) represents the nomadic pastoralist *groupements* of the *arrondissement*. The

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<sup>27</sup> United Nations Development Programme

*sous-préfet* presides over the *arrondissement*-level CoFo. The permanent secretary described the commission's evolution:

The CoFo of Tanout was put in place on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September 2001. Its purpose is to manage the prevention of conflicts, between farmer and herder, herder and herder, and farmer and farmer. We will soon begin work, but have no means as yet. We've put in requests for financing. The CoFoBs will be put in place in the cantonal capitals and *groupements* [*administratifs*] between now and the end of July. They will be placed in the villages as well, but we need money for training and documents to set up all these commissions. It will be expensive.

Prospective partners included several bi-lateral funding agencies and International NGOs. I discuss the implications of the CoFo structure for nomadic communities in Chapter 6.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to illustrate the structure of the development system in Zinder and Tanout, and its notable feature, the hierarchical access to material resources and information. International agencies possess vehicles and relatively comfortable offices in the regional capital, with the amenities of electricity, indoor plumbing, air conditioners, and computers. Regional *bureaus* might be able to rent offices, and might own a vehicle. Sub-regional *bureaus*, whose members have most contact with the *groupements*, may have an office, but borrow vehicles, or contribute gas money and *per diem* for access to *service* vehicles. Contributions from *groupement* members to their organizational *bureaus* may be able to offset this imbalance to a small extent, and AREN, cashing in on their authority as a funded, active organization, seems to have made some progress in this area.

Organizations and projects are still perceived as “provisioners”, however, and the *groupement* members contribute primarily because they hope to receive material goods in return, a source of frustration particularly for the organization *bureau* members. The next chapter will portray the situations of different Wodaabe, association members, project beneficiaries, and others who have opted out of the “development market”. I also depict the different aspects of communication and relations among the various development groups and between them and the nomadic communities.

## CHAPTER FIVE - PASTORAL *GROUPEMENTS*, COMMUNICATIONS AND RELATIONS

### THE WOḐAAḐE

The final part of this chapter sketches an outline of the attitudes and perceptions of the WoḐaaḐe toward development projects, agencies and agents. This outline will become completed in the following chapters, but here it will illustrate the implications that the structure and sedimented practices of the WoḐaaḐe system encompass for pastoral development: the influence of the leadership role of the *arḑo*; the perceived place of women in development; the importance of wells as resources. It also shows the willingness of some WoḐaaḐe to adopt different strategies to secure new resources, and the refusal of others to chase after resources that offer them few perceived benefits. The data indicate possible correlations between livestock wealth and the perception of project benefits. There were certainly no projects that directly benefited pastoralism, except for wells and possibly vaccinations, though benefits from the latter are not always recognized by the WoḐaaḐe.

#### *The Kasawsawa in Kelle Kelle*

At the edge of the Kelle Kelle market, under a concrete and metal hangar, Manzo and I held a long conversation with two Kasawsawa men, one a friend of mine, the other an acquaintance (see photo, Figure 24, page 90). We asked both men about their experiences with organizations and projects. Our conversation was open and friendly, helped by my previous relationship with HKs and the Kasawsawa.

HKs and the people who followed his *arḑo* brother were involved in two projects, both cereal bank buildings (*mangaza*<sup>n</sup>) constructed at their well. They built one bank with help from the government (possibly through the CCA), the other with ONG-AN. The government cereal bank is just an empty building; they've never received grain for it. They contributed small stock and money to ONG-AN so that they could receive grain and vaccines, both human and animal, from ONG-AN. That NGO bought 50 sacks of grain for the cereal bank in the cold season (*çavol*). The president of ONG-AN had told them he would return with more grain but he hadn't done so. This *groupement* had also subscribed with the FSRC, possibly the organization who had helped to build the "government" cereal bank. It was obvious that HKs was puzzled about

this project. We did not understand at this time what the FSRC was doing, and HKs could not explain it to us. This reflects some of the confusion over the definition of each project and organization, even in the minds of people who are intimately concerned with them.

TKs was not involved in project work. A “government” cereal bank (*mangaza*<sup>n</sup>) had also been built at his *arɔo*’s well, and it too is empty, though they have a cereal bank committee. TKs said he will do whatever his *arɔo* does, and thus far his *arɔo* hasn’t entered into any project, and. It’s up to the *arɔo*, he told us, whether or not they enter into (*naate*) a project. We asked to interview TKs’ wife who was in the market shopping. They said that the woman would come talk to us, but both TKs and his wife gave what became the “standard” excuse that she wouldn’t know anything about the project work, implying that this is men’s work. Finally we saw her at the edge of the market packing her donkey and knew that she was on her way home without talking to us.

### ***Sudusuka’el and Jijiru in Ajiri***

Manzo and I had come to Ajiri looking for a woman, a Daren-kejo member of DADDO, but SSd found me instead, and took us to his “town” house. A large yard contained three separate mud brick rooms against the walls and a straw hut in the center. He put us in the “guest room” large enough for two mats and a bit of extra space. SSd and his friends were hoping we’d finally brought a project to them though we told them from the start that we were only doing research. Throughout the day they became progressively disappointed as they realized that we’d brought nothing.

The people who gathered in the room represented at least three groups. SSd is the president of a local Sudusuka’el DADDO *groupement bureau* (see photo, Figure 25, next page). The much older brother of their *arɔo* sat with him, but said little. While SSd spoke energetically, his friend AB spoke quite solemnly and thoughtfully. The two friends live together at SSd’s wells. AB is active in a local *groupement* of AREN. Another man, a member of Ngaina, a Gouré-based organization, had come from Gouré *arrondissement*, seeking better pasture (*durngol waddniyam ɔo’o*). Other men, two of them *arɔoɔe* from other *taare*, came and left during our lengthy conversation.



Figure 24: The Kasawsawa at Kelle Kelle.



Figure 25: The Ajiri Sudusuka'el with the grain of their cereal bank.



SSd began the interview by showing us papers, some of which documented the bank account through which they'd invested in the FSRC project.<sup>28</sup> Other papers showed their affiliation with FNEN/DADDO, with whom they'd worked for four years.

When we started working with DADDO they helped us with our papers and sold us cards, for 500 fCFA each. We kept 200 f and they got 300 f. We haven't done anything with DADDO, though. I don't see what good they are doing. Some of us stayed with DADDO. Others left to join AREN.

In 1997, SSd and his group obtained money as a DADDO *groupement* from the *Projet Pastoral Nord Zinder* (PPNZ) to start a cooperative cereal bank (see chapter 6). Though they'd lost money when they invested the cereal bank profits in sheep, the Sudusuka'el were able to continue their autonomous management of the cereal bank after the PPNZ pulled out.

SSd explained that they had settled east of the town of Ajiri in hopes that they could attract a project. They had created a center at their wells where about 30 families had settled. They kept some animals and cultivated fields. They'd had some problems with lack of water, which forced some families to leave.

We want a project to come and find us there. Then we'll be able to get more water [dig a new well]. The place is about an hour and a half on foot east of Ajiri. We've made a border with the farmers (*Haabé*) [to the west].

AB's *groupement* was very active in AREN. They had received money for a cereal bank, and members had participated in training for hay cutting and *vie associative*, and just completed an auxiliary paraveterinarian (APV) training. Their biggest project, however, was the well mentioned above (see Chapter 4). We'd already heard about the frustrations surrounding this well from brief conversation with the Tanout coordinator of AREN. AB told us:

We haven't found water yet. The water needed to build the well [cement walls] is about 6 hours away. We bought a cart and a bull to bring water to the site, but it doesn't last. The funders brought four well diggers from Niamey [Maradi?] and pay them, but now the well diggers aren't working. They came with their families and they're just sitting there. The only thing that's been done is the mouth of the well.

Manzo and I had met up with the AREN coordinator in Tanout two days before this. Agitatedly, he said that he had to rush up to the *sous-préfecture* to try to get a truck to take water

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<sup>28</sup> We still had not made the connection between the "cooperatives" and the FSRC (see FSRC above)

out to the well at Ajiri. We did not understand why well diggers had been sent in from Niamey, when competent people could be found in Tanout and Zinder.

### ***Kokaram Market***

We arrived in Kokaram the next morning after spending the night in Ajiri. We found a large spreading desert date at the northern side of the animal market—sheep and goats—and camped out for the day in the shade near its roots. Two Woɗaaɓe families claimed space with their belongings on either side of us, and we traded the use of our brazier and matches with them for a bit of good charcoal to make tea. Truck owners and drivers, brokers (*dilalis*), and other men selling animals in the market—all Hausa, Dagara and Tuareg formed a raucous group under another side of the tree. I spoke with a young woman who replied frankly without inhibition. They were Sudusuka’el located not far from Kokaram.

We’re watering at Baboulwa. We spent the dry season there (*min ceeɗi*). No, we haven’t heard of any project work. We haven’t heard of the women who’d received money to do small business. None of the others have heard either.

The Yaman-ko’en family on the other side of the tree, a couple and their young son, were traveling to Tanout from Ajiri. He had heard of project work. Some of his group were trying to get a cereal bank. “But you have to have time to go to town and stay in town,” he said. “I’m with the animals out on the range. I don’t have time.”

### ***Gojen-ko’en at Sallaga***

We met with four Gojen-ko’en men after breakfast at my brother-in law’s camp where Manzo and I stayed in the sparse shade of a thorny acacia. This country, full of small, softwood *boɗaaɗi* trees (*Commiphora africana*), does not offer much shade. Everyone was reticent, perhaps because we’ve had this sort of conversation before. It seems that project talk always comes down to what they think they should say versus what they really think or want, and, according to them, it all generally comes to nothing. My questions may have seemed somewhat inane to them, because I should have known what they’d done with development, except for the most recent years.

We’re in both DADDO and AREN, but AREN’s working and now DADDO’s “cooled” (*feevi*). Grain (*gauri*) is what AREN does most. They give money to people to buy grain when it’s cheap and then the people sell amongst themselves, when it gets

expensive, at a lower price. Last year we got 750 mille to buy grain during the dry season (*ceeđu*) and sold it. Everyone [in the *lenyol*] received some grain.

They have also been able to continue on their own with a cereal bank funded originally by PPNZ (see Chapter 6). They keep this grain separate from the AREN grain. I asked about DADDO.

DADDO says that they'll help, but they haven't come. We gave money for cards, but they just talk about an association. AREN works everywhere in Niger. They're Fulbe all over. They work with honesty (*gonga*).

When I asked what they thought would happen with associations in the future, they replied with statements repeated in conversation with other Woḍaaḍe.

It depends on whatever they [the associations] bring. We haven't seen anything yet. If we find something that will improve our situation (*nafata min*), we'll take part, of course (*doli*), but we haven't seen anything. AREN's been useful to us because they gave food. If we got a well and had enough water .... We need permission to dig a well and strength (*seembe*)—help with the well. Then we could build a school and a store/storehouse (*mangaza<sup>n</sup>*). We can't have a school without a well, can we? And a storehouse.

Two brothers dug a well a few years ago, but its walls are weak, it is said to be impossible to clean, and does not have much water. They are eager to find help in cementing the well and talked to me about a project the next day. Their *arḍo*, also their first cousin, talked to me later about digging a well in the same area, or cementing his cousins' well. My husband and his brothers inherited the Sallaga well from their father about 20 years ago. The well caved in a couple of years ago and they have also been struggling to fund re-excavation and cementing.<sup>29</sup>

### *Abbeji*

The last day that I spent at Sallaga, my brother-in-law told me that some Abbeji had camped just to the north of our camps. They'd come down from the south. Manzo and I walked down the hill from the group of Gojen-ko'en camps through a herd of scattered, grazing cattle punctuated with several camels. To the west of a camp, an elderly man, seated in the shelter of a bush, sent a young man to greet us and bring us into his *ḍaḍo*. He thought he recognized me as "belonging" to the Gojen-ko'en, and this assumption colored his conversation with us. As with many of the people I interviewed, he thought I had some project that I was bringing. He spent our brief conversation figuring out how

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<sup>29</sup> In April 2003, I learned that the *arḍo* had excavated an unlined well near his cousins' well and the Sallaga well had been excavated to the water table. The latter is cement-lined down to a stratum of stable rock.

he was going to get in on it. He told us proudly that even during the famine of 1984, however, he hadn't asked for food aid or any other help; he didn't see any need to now. He'd heard of projects but hadn't heard or seen anything good. There wasn't anything that would benefit pastoralists (*nafi wainabe*).

After we left this camp, I realized we had spoken with the brother of a man described to me a few days earlier as one of the wealthiest of the Woḍaaḅe. His evaluation of projects concurred with my opinions and those of a member of the *Éleveurs san frontiers* bureau in Zinder. Development projects, planned in city agency offices and borrowed from village projects, are rarely appropriate to pastoral production. Some Abbeji, however, are involved in the one proposal, the “subsidy” funds of the FSRC, that has the potential to contribute to projects designed in the rangelands. This project, however, also contains the possible dangers of a vertical refocusing of resource access and allocation, and greater wealth stratification and disparity (see Chapter 7).

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#### **RELATIONS BETWEEN NOMADIC COMMUNITIES AND INTERMEDIARY ORGANIZATIONS**

When AREN and FNEN/DADDO first began to work in Niamey and Zinder, FNEN/DADDO seemed to focus much more on recruiting nomadic pastoralists. AREN, based in Niamey, had few resources at that time to travel to the rangelands to enlist nomadic communities into *groupements associatifs*, and seemed to rely on word of mouth and subscription for the formation of even agropastoralist groups, at least in eastern Niger. In 1995, I encouraged the Gojen-ko'en to join AREN so that, as a recognized *groupement*, they might be able to access project financing. It was through this affiliation that we carried out a training of paraveterinarians with funding from Lutheran World Relief. In 1997, however, FNEN/DADDO, with contributions from wealthier members of ESF, held a three-day festival convention in Zinder during which they fed participants and paid Woḍaaḅe dancers to perform. The national founder of ESF and FNEN/DADDO spoke eloquently on the radio in Fulfulde about pastoral rights—especially the right to mobility. This extravaganza, and the subsequent work out in the rangelands of the Zinder and Niamey *bureaus* to recruit members, generated much support among the nomadic pastoralists for FNEN/DADDO and the subscription of many *groupements*. Members of the FNEN/DADDO Zinder *bureau* received many Woḍaaḅe looking to redress what

they perceived to be infringements on their rights. The vice-president in Zinder explained some of the problems that concern FNEN/DADDO:

The authorities, state and traditional, must be prevailed upon to manage conflicts justly. For example, when the rainy season starts, the rain falls first in the south, but the advance north by the nomads is very timid. They know that the rains haven't come to the north and they don't want to leave the cultivated zone too quickly, but there is not enough pasture. We have asked for the migration routes to be re-established with large spaces of pasture so that the herds have places to graze besides the fields.

On the return to the cultivated zone after the harvest, the authorities don't want to take responsibility for regulating (*régler*) the affairs of the herders within the cultivated zone. They don't want to give a date to liberate (*libérer*) the fields even though they're empty. The herders see that the fields are empty, come down, and they are jailed, fined, and their animals impounded. And the money that's collected can be exorbitant and it doesn't go into state accounts.

By 1999 and 2000, pastoralists would come looking for help where they could find it. They had the example of help from DADDO. The president of ONG-AN explained how the Wodaabe from the Damergou first contacted him:

The first contact we had with people from Tanout was during the rainy season. Two Sudusuka'el came looking for me—before we even had this office. They'd heard about my work in Gouré—the millet and vaccinations. They said their animals needed vaccinations and they wanted millet. We sold them the millet at a lower price on credit. Others came, including the people from Bathé. They also wanted vaccinations and millet.

While both of the first organizations (AREN and the combination of ESF and FNEN/DADDO) had primary objectives of obtaining and maintaining pastoral rights, pastoral organizations are now popularly associated with projects that will provide material help: grain, medicines, cash loans, wells, schools. The FNEN/DADDO vice-president criticized the pastoralists:

What remains is that right now the herders just search for whatever's easiest (*facilité*). Even someone with a herd of 220 head just looks for the quickest path to free food. There's too much begging. [Some *lenyi*] are exceptions to this. They want to carry out their own development.

When I asked Woḍaaḅe about problems, pastoral rights were never mentioned directly, though this issue was expressed in other more subtle ways. In Ajiri, I was told by two different people:

We're tired of the trouble of living in the bush. We're tired of having to pay so much to get water from other wells. It's the lack of literacy that brings all this trouble. If we could read (*jaange*) we wouldn't have these problems.

Settling doesn't work, but nomadism (*dimdol*) doesn't work, either.

The life of a pastoralist is not easy in the marginal environment of the Damergou. It is made more difficult when a family must fight for rights of way between pastures and access to water. Conflicts often result over access to wells still thought to be government-owned, especially those in villages, and seasonal ponds in the cultivation zone. Some village managers of wells also charge exorbitant fees for access to water. Sometimes farmers plant fields in the middle of the customary common pasture between villages, it seems in order to trap livestock into damaging crops. Herders whose animals stray into these isolated fields may be fined. Farmers have also been accused of burning pasture (and camps) between fields in order to chase pastoralists from the area.

Besides pastoral rights, some organization *bureau* members and service agents focused on marketing of pastoral production in my interviews with them. ONG-AN was especially concerned with forming marketing cooperatives. One *Élevage* technician expressed his dismay at how he saw some herders cheated by brokers in the animal markets. These concerns about marketing were also never expressed by the Woḍaaḅe (non-agents) with whom I spoke, possibly because of the increase in livestock prices. From my limited observations in the markets and in the rangelands, I gained the impression that pastoralists had experienced a rise in living standards. Herds, especially cattle, seemed larger. Gojen-ko'en families who had had to stay close to livestock markets in order to sell small stock more often, now migrated far north into the pastoral zone. These longer moves indicate an ability to sell a bull(calf) every once in a while to live for longer off the profit gained. This economic trend, as can be seen by the growth of the Tanout market (see previous chapter), has ramifications far beyond the population of nomadic pastoralists.

This upturn in the livestock market, though, did not prevent many Woḍaaḅe from rejecting food assistance or subsidies when offered, however they expressed little concern over the actual

marketing of livestock or dairy products. The “ideal” project according to some of my Woḍaaḅe interviewees ...

A good project would have a school for kids and a healthcare (*likita*) and food. In a good project, everyone would work honestly, with truth (*e gonga*).

All the commoners (*talaka*) would be able to get food according to their needs and pay for it according to what they have, with money or through loans.

We need a route/way (*lawol*) to get grain and healthcare (*likita*) for people and animals. And [obtain] livestock (*bisaje*), too.

Although, several people may have thought that they could get some sort of free aid from me and this hope colored their replies, I also heard the desire for more and better communication between nomadic communities and organization *bureaus*.

You have to put your hand in to pull something out. We must have coming and going between us and Tanout and Zinder. We must do what we can to communicate with the *bureaus* at Tanout and Zinder.

Woḍaaḅe working with AREN had generally favorable comments, reflections of the hard work of the Tanout coordinator. I heard many complaints, however, that organization *bureaus* never came to see their affiliate *groupements* or did not deliver promised projects. These complaints reflected some unjustified impatience on the part of the nomads, but also a lack of material resources on the part of the *bureaus*, as well, perhaps as a lack of planning and/or motivation. Though the Zinder coordinator claimed that AREN held meetings in the rangelands with nomadic groups, the Tanout coordinator objected that without a truck and other equipment he found it difficult to keep in contact with all AREN’s *groupements*.

We also need to obtain things to work with (*kayan aiki*) such as rural radios, a computer, a truck. We have a lot of groups, fifty, all over [the *arrondissement*] now. It’s very difficult to get to them all. There’s fifty groups—men and women separately. There’s a lot of territory to cover.

Primarily it seems that *groupement* members, especially the leaders, are called to meetings or trainings by notes (*ereji*) passed through *groupement* or *lenyol* members who’ve come to market, or the market truck drivers. Some agents expressed frustration at the amount of time it took to gather a meeting together. Another seemed to have no problems: “If we send messages people come quickly to meetings.” The *bureaus* held meetings in Tanout as well as in the

rangelands. If they had time and money they would take their own truck (ONG-AN and AREN from Zinder) or hire an *Elevage* vehicle for a tourney (FNEN/DADD0 and AREN, as well as other organizations).

The organization *bureau* members in Tanout seemed to be much in contact with each other, especially the leaders of AREN, ONG-AN and FSRC. They were attempting to establish a *Collective* similar to that in Zinder. The *Collective* network meetings in Zinder were well attended both days that Manzo and I were present. Both meetings manifested an interesting dynamic between the Europeans who had helped to organize the network and the organization representatives. Language—the use of French or Hausa—seemed to be the primary difficulty, but the format of the *Grande Rencontre* presented another complication. A European international NGO (INGO) representative went through a lengthy explanation as to the difference between the *Grande Rencontre*, large meeting, and the *Rencontres Thématiques*, thematic meetings. Unfortunately this representative came across as somewhat patronizing, and the Nigerien representatives expressed a little resentment, though most talk (in Hausa) excused her, saying that she was just trying to clarify things.

The INGO representative became very frustrated when the Nigerien facilitators of the meeting switched to Hausa, which she did not understand well, though she was one of only three people in room who did not speak Hausa. The facilitators spoke French while the INGO representative was in the room, and made a good effort to translate French into Hausa, and Hausa, when called for, into French. In the *Rencontre Thématique* some weeks later, this INGO representative expressed frustration at the previous discussion held in Hausa. At this meeting the two Europeans present conveyed great relief that the attendees, mostly *service* directors and agents, were able to speak French—at least no one protested when it was decided that the language for the meeting would be French.

Language has been an issue at other meetings I've attended or heard about, especially when a meeting is held in Fulfulde, which few non-Fulbe understand. Language also became an issue in the management of project business.

Another problem is that the members of the *bureaus* need training in management and accounting, but they don't all have the same level of education. Some don't know French at all and one must know French to learn accounting. Either that, or find someone who is an expert in Hausa who can translate accounting terms into Hausa.



Our experience of the *Grande Rencontre* helped us to better understand the dynamics between organizations. I had derived a general feeling that organizations competed for *groupement* affiliates, perhaps precipitated by ONG-AN's enticements of grain and medicines, and some implications that organizations discouraged their *groupements* from enlisting with any other organizations. The networking meeting, however, and my interviews with *bureau* members, suggested that organizations did try to work with each other, and complement each other's activities. This was especially true of AREN and FNEN/DADDO at the regional and sub-regional levels. This cooperation unfortunately did not extend to the national level. I heard some suspicion of ONG-AN's motives, however, from several different parties. Organizations and technical services also seemed to work well together, though I heard a couple complaints that the technicians and drivers required *per diem* or gas money to take *bureau* members out into the rangelands. Other *bureau* members seemed to think this condition was justified. ONG-AN had had disputes with some technicians about their activities, but seemed to be able to hire others for small stipends.

Relations and communication between government services and pastoralists, especially Woḍaaḅe, is minimal. Even *Elevage*, whose veterinary services should be of great benefit to pastoralists, had difficulty creating a productive connection, which for the current director (and directors before him) meant bringing their animals to vaccination locations during the annual campaign. The Woḍaaḅe fear that the technicians are diluting the vaccines, giving the wrong doses or actually causing sickness, and that the process of vaccination causes animals too much stress. They would like to be able to give their own vaccinations. Though a few herders have been trained, either in Chad or Nigeria, or by knowledgeable people outside *Elevage* (e.g. Europeans), the director of *Elevage* in Tanout explained dismissively:

They want us to teach them to give injections, but we don't have the right. Yes, they learn in Nigeria and come here with the equipment, but it's not [legally] allowed here. If they want to give injections themselves, they should put their kids in school so they can learn. It's too difficult. It's something for *Elevage* agents to do. We can't teach them in two weeks.

The gap in understanding between the Woḍaaḅe and *Elevage* is rooted in mutual disrespect and distrust of each other's practices. During a training of auxiliary paraveterinarians (APV) in 1995, I watched with a couple Woḍaaḅe men as some technicians laboriously sewed together the

vulvar labia of an unanaesthetized cow so she would not give birth prematurely. The Woḍaaḅe described in detail how they would accomplish the same procedure very quickly with much less pain for the animal. When I questioned AB in Ajiri about the “exchange of knowledge” promised in the schedule of his APV training he said, yes, they were asked how they treated different illnesses. They even watched as the agents helped with the birth of a calf. He was not impressed, however.

If there is trouble with a birth we pull a little. If we feel the sac tear, we stop and let things happen naturally. They just pulled and the sac tore. We told them some of the sac might be left inside. They said it would come out, but ....”

He shook his head. He felt that the agents didn’t really listen to what the Woḍaaḅe had to say.

Though the funding agencies seem to have a strong network among themselves—the doors of their pickups and SUVs have painted on them, besides their own logos, the names and logos of several NGO and bi- and multi-lateral partners—and work with the regional bureau members, they have very little contact with nomadic groups. ADDR’s technician working with AREN told us:

The communication is simple. We really only have contact with the regional *bureau*. We do visit the sub-regional *bureaus*. We are flexible enough to visit and exchange with them and even work directly with them. I can’t really say how many local *bureaus* of AREN are in the project. We don’t work directly with them. AREN could tell you.

There are a few exceptions to this detachment. While I was in the Damergou, the *Cooperation Française* was carrying out a literacy project in Njaptoji with twelve to fifteen Woḍaaḅe. I understood that the French administrator and his Nigerien assistant met with different *arḍoḅe* in the rangeland in order to recruit students. The *Lutte Contre la Pauvreté* (UNDP) agent had gone to Eliki to meet with the Jijiru there, but only one international agency that I heard of worked directly the field with local communities with any consistency. AQUADEV, a Belgian NGO, also seemed to be the only group conscientiously using participatory methodology. They worked only with settled cultivators and agro-pastoralists, however. One of the Belgian agents told me that the “nomads are very difficult.”

A salient feature of communication between development agents and nomads was its one-way direction from agent to nomad. The target communities need to be informed and trained.

The nomad needs to be “sensibilized” (*sensibilisé*): about vaccinations, *vie associative*, paying back loans, marketing livestock and dairy products, and even raising livestock. Even Thébaud’s (2001) recommendations to AREN reflect this unidirectional transmission of knowledge in some of the objectives for the *Plan stratégique 2000-2003*:

- ◆ Support the local *groupements* in their comprehension of the stakes surrounding pastoralism, notably through trainings.
- ◆ Assure the training of the local *groupements* on the essential themes relative to the present stakes, notably those of decentralization and land tenure. (*ibid*:17)

While such training is essential for the nomads’ understanding of the political life that surrounds them, there is no corresponding proposal that development agents become “sensibilized” or trained in the nomadic perspective of “the stakes surrounding pastoralism”, and the strategies that nomadic pastoralist employ to manage those stakes. A proposal from a DED<sup>30</sup> agent (Chabert 2002) that would fund another Nigerien organization to engage nomadic *groupements* in development discussions, while remarkable in its support of truly mobile pastoralism, advocates little in the way of soliciting and sustaining the knowledge that drives this production system.

The unidirectional discourse of *sensibilisation*, the gaps in communication between nomadic communities and development agents, and the lack of appropriate projects for nomadic communities all involve important implications for the sustenance of nomadic communities and their pastoral production system. I discuss these implications as issues in the final chapters of this thesis. The most important issue, dramatically illustrated in the case of the Ajiri Sudusuka’el, is the presumption that projects are not compatible with mobility. I take up this issue in the next chapter.

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<sup>30</sup> Deutsche Expertengruppe Dementenbetreuung: German Development Service

## CHAPTER SIX - EMERGENT ISSUES: MOBILITY

We have one precise goal: to give to our animals the best possible pasture in the best conditions possible. During the rainy season ... we want that our animals benefit the most from pastures that are not found only in one place, but are scattered. ... We stay the necessary time in a place: not too long in order to not ruin these pastures in which we ourselves or other herders will pass the dry season .... The endeavor is to always move on, to be always on the move is a necessity. We search for the most tender grass ... that which is the best for our animals. ... [E]very good herder knows that when his animals no longer pasture around the camp at night, all the grass having been eaten, it is time to strike camp and go elsewhere.

a Boḏaaḏo *ngainako* (herder) (quoted in Maaliki 1981:141-142)

The existence of contemporary modern states burgeoning in the framework of technological development and the extensions of markets can no longer delight in the persistence of an errant mode of life, without fixed domicile, ... nomadism. ... [P]astoral production in the form of [an] errant life ... appears ... incompatible with the development of a trade production that now characterizes the economy of the major part of the world .... But ... before condemning nomadism *a priori*, let us try to understand why the general tendency in the pastoral milieu is toward sedentarization, and in what measure this dominant form of life on the part of the contemporary world will strangle nomadism.  
(Sanoussi 1975:1-2)

One might ask instead why the “dominant form” of sedentary life has not, after almost thirty years and another drought-famine, strangled nomadism.

The storm that drenched a broad swath of range around Tchingoragen did not fall on the range around Sallaga. The Gojen-ko'en there endured a frightening hailstorm and several gritty windstorms that scattered rain showers leaving patches of dampened pasture. The wind and rain destroyed the dried grass, and a hiatus of rainfall withered any new grass. Woḏaaḓe households moved erratically through the area, searching for edible graze for their cattle. The rains were late and when I left Tanout, pastoralists and farmers alike spoke nervously of the season—would the rains ever finally come? Would grass and millet grow?



Figure 26: A Gojen-ko'en camp south of Sallaga just before the rainy season of 1996.  
In the same area where the fields have pushed into the rangeland today (see Figures 28 and 29, below).



Figure 27: Three generations of Gojen-ko'en women.  
On the rangeland south of Sallaga just before the rainy season of 1996.

I was nervous as well. My summer's research raised several disturbing issues woven through the discourse surrounding pastoralist development. This chapter will focus on four interrelated thematic issues: the insistence by almost all development agents that at least some, if not all, nomadic households within a community settle; the establishment of cereal banks; "scholarization" by which I mean both schools for children and adult literacy classes; and what I call the "new thinking". These thematic issues all interconnect with the issues discussed in the next chapter: the erosion of customary institutions with herders' associations; the discourse of *sensibilisation* and *vie associative*; and the disconnect between nomadic communities and funding agencies. All of these issues contribute to my observed metaphor of the development market, where nomads peruse projects on offer and choose what they might gain some benefit from. The thematic issues addressed in this chapter all deal with the perceived necessity of some sort of sedentarization. I argue that this perception is truly "old thinking" contrasted with the "newer thinking" of the mobility paradigm.

## **THEMES**

In the middle of my research, after completing some fourteen interviews, I made note of several motifs and questions that occurred and over again. Some motifs proved insubstantial, but others persisted throughout my interviews and fieldnotes, and became discursive themes that interact within and between discourse circles. Some themes seem to subsume others, umbrella-like, as the necessity of sedentarization seems to include the concepts of cereal banks and scholarization. Or do cereal banks and scholarization include, per force, sedentarization? "New thinking" manifests as a push toward "modernization" on the part of agents, and on the part of more or less settled or urbanized Wodaabe toward project benefits, literacy and Islamicization. It certainly includes at least the suggestion of a more sedentary way of life. Some themes are material and tangible like the grain and buildings of the cereal banks, whether or not the latter actually contain the former. Opportunism in this milieu, whether of the nomads or the organization *bureau* members, is almost as palpable as the bricks of a cereal bank's building. Other themes, such as schools and literacy, are more ephemeral, less concretely understood than dreamed of. Even the mechanics, implications and consequences of sedentarization are little understood by those who promote it—an indication of the ponderable disconnect between nomadic community and funding agency, tenuously bridged by self-interested intermediary organizations.

### *Sedentarization*

In order to work on or be involved in a project, nomadic communities, or at least some individuals within the communities, must disrupt their normal socio-economic strategy of extensive and exclusive pastoralism. From Woḍaaḍe who had not become involved in development, I heard that projects required too much time away from the herding that is their subsistence. To “enter” (*naate*) into project work meant time spent traveling between the range and town, and time spent in town. A Boḍaaḍo in Kokaram (see Chapter 5) told me he had no time to be involved in a project. Only one development agent out of all my informants, including Woḍaaḍe members of *arrondissement*-level organization *bureaus*, allowed that a project could proceed without some sort of settlement, although different people expressed this exigency in varying degrees.

Sedentarization is a complex issue with different meanings or manifestations for different people. Some agents thought that one family’s settlement at a well would suffice for contact with a nomadic *groupement*. Others thought that the elders and children should settle, while the rest of the family (or just the young men) move with the herds. Most agents seemed to refer to models lived by agropastoralist Fulḍe and some Tuaregs groups who had become more sedentary over the years. The most common reason given by the agents for the necessity of settlement was, “So that we can find them.” The most common complaint from the non-Woḍaaḍe agents was that the nomads were “difficult” because they couldn’t be found; they moved too much. Even one Boḍaaḍo *arrondissement*-level NGO president complained,

The problem is that herders don’t settle right (*wainaḍe zotaaki dai-dai*). I have to wander around looking for all the families. It’s impossible to get them all together in a hurry.

In the opinion of many agents, the nomads must be “fixed” (*fixer*) somehow in one place. The president of one NGO seemed to counter this attitude, “We do not want to *fixe* the nomad in one place. That is too advanced (*trop avancé*). To sedentarize them completely is impossible. But they must come to one place to get their grain.” This one place would be a *site*, a central location at a well owned by the community involved in development. These *sites* recalled the *terroirs d’attache* proposed in the *Code Rural* of Niger (1993; Hammel 2001; Lund 1993 : see Chapter 1 of this thesis), though only one technical service director used that term. Informants demonstrated no awareness or concern for the probable consequences of pastoral sedentarization,

whether ecological, social, or economic. A few nomads who understood that they must settle in order to have a school believed that either the government or the “project” would feed them. A government service agent said, “Well, they have their cereal banks ....” In reality, most cereal banks were empty and depended on grain given or loaned through project funding.

Even the director of the *arrondissement service de l’Elevage*, the government agency that should be most concerned with the ecological state of the range and the socio-economic security of the nomadic herders, seemed unaware of the environmental exigencies that surround the raising of the livestock that contributes so much to the national economy of Niger. He stated:

... one comes, little by little, to sensibilize them; to make them understand that *voilà*, the *élevage* system has become another form. It isn’t like before. ... They must completely change their mode of *élevage*. [*And how will they change?*] It’s with the method .... It can’t be too extensive. It must be ... at least it’s not extensive anymore. [*What will they do so that it will be less extensive?*] ... in *fixing* themselves. They must become fixed.

His answer, such as it was, faded away. Like his colleagues, he did not make the connections between variable climate, marginal environment, needs of cattle, and extensive nomadism. For him it was simply a matter of out of date tradition.

The issue of sedentarization cannot be viewed as a dichotomous matter of nomad anti-settlement versus agent pro-settlement. During this research I heard rumors of two Kasawsawa *taare* who had constructed school buildings, and spoke with Sudusuka’el who had settled in hopes of attracting a project (see Chapter 5). On the way back to Tanout I saw the large cereal bank at Eliki built by a group of Jijiru just south of Tchingoragen. Some of the families seem to have settled more or less in the area. Those Woḍaaɓe who have spent time living and working in Zinder, Niamey or the cities of Nigeria are often less eager to return to the range and more willing to settle, encouraged by social, economic and religious ties with townsfolk. It might be noted here that the agents, though they have offices, are also not “fixed” and can at times be difficult to contact. Though the Woḍaaɓe only complained that the development agents did not come to see them, I wondered how hard it was for them to find the agents in their offices when they went to town to meet with them.



### ***Cereal Banks***

The cereal bank (Fr. *banque céréalière*; Hs. *bankin cimaka*), a project seemingly borrowed from sedentary villages, with a slim history of at least two decades among Nigerien pastoral projects (cf. Seddon 1993; Swift and Maliki 1984), physically manifests “fixing” *groupements* at “sites”. Although I heard in 1996 of a long running cereal bank established among pastoralist groups in the rangelands of Dakoro (Maradi) by a Catholic missionary, success in the Damergou with cereal banks is far from confirmed. The adoption of cereal banks seems to be more a tactic of convenience for agencies: It is easy to provide people with grain, or the money with which to buy it and chalk up the donation or loan to improving food security. The cereal bank, whether an actual building or simply grain sold by local managers to their *groupement* members, is currently the most frequent project accomplished by either agencies or communities in pastoral Damergou. It would seem from my interviews, however, that most buildings are actually empty of grain.

I did encounter two cereal banks managed more or less successfully since their inception in 1996 through the *Projet Pastoral du Nord Zinder* (PPNZ). The Gojen-ko’*en lenyol* (three *groupements* corresponding with the three *ardoobe*) and a *groupement* of Sudusuka’el had been able, on their own initiative, to keep their funds rolling over every year. The managers buy grain at a low price at harvest time and then sell it to members at a slightly higher price later in the year when the market price can double or triple. Each household head who originally paid the membership fee may purchase a certain number of sacks of grain. In theory, the *groupements* will make a small profit every year.

I had little confidence in this project the first year, less fear for the accountability of the managers than for the actual benefit that the families would derive. That first year we had moved far east of Ajiri—perhaps into the *arrondissement* of Gouré. There was no pasture anywhere else. The grain had been stored (where it remains) in a borrowed room in Tanout. At the time the grain was sold, I traveled with Janari and some other Gojen-ko’*en* for the two nights into Tanout. We spent the day in the market and then headed slowly back towards Ajiri, the hungry donkeys loaded with double sacks of grain. Other men waited in Tanout until Monday when they could hire a Landrover pickup to transport their grain to Ajiri market. The cost of the grain plus the cost of its truck transport to Ajiri was more than the cost of grain in Ajiri market.

The Sudusuka’el stored their grain in Ajiri after the first year of the project (see Chapter 5). SSd told me that they’d had trouble one year when they invested the money in sheep and lost

much of their investment. They went back to buying grain and now seem to have rebuilt their funds to the original amount. The Gojen-ko'en, despite my doubts, have also continued more or less profitably with their bank, though now they experience some dissension among the three *groupements*. Various individuals have borrowed money out of the profits and some people question this practice. The Buldi are dissatisfied with the management of the bank, which they believe to be too secretive. In rebuttal, the Kuskudu claim that the Buldi don't participate in the management when asked. The Buldi want the funds to be broken up among the three *groupements* contained in the *lenyol*.

These two examples of long-running cereal banks managed without outside intervention contrast with three examples of recently initiated cereal banks. A regional vice-president of FNEN/DADDO told us that he had had trouble reconciling the accounts of the manager of a bank built and stocked with the help of *Lutte Contre la Pauvreté (Fight Against Poverty)*, a UNDP program).

The cereal bank ... has been very badly managed and the LCP is very upset.

They've threatened to pull out. I went up to try to sort things out. There were all sorts of notebooks for everything, but no one knew exactly what was what.

When Manzo asked if they'd had training in accounting, the vice-president said, yes, but that it hadn't helped. As we did not interview the Woḍaaḍe involved with the cereal bank, I can only guess that perhaps money had been used for purposes other than grain (such as the loans of the Gojen-ko'en), in which case, the cereal bank is not a complete answer to the needs of the community. It wasn't clear whether the Woḍaaḍe involved needed to reimburse the original funding of the cereal bank. The Gojen-ko'en and Sudusuka'el were not required to repay their funding.

AREN's *coordination* in Zinder distributed 750,000 fCFA from NOVIB to each of eleven *groupements*. Members of two *groupements* told us that the money was allocated during the hot season (*ceedu*) when the price of millet was already high. Both banks' managers sold the grain immediately at market price, as they saw no point in storing the grain for later. The *groupements* collected the money from the sale and returned it to the *coordination* with no profit to the *groupement* and perhaps at some cost for transport. ADDR also gave funding for cereal banks distributed in the cold season (*çawol*) through AREN's *coordination*. The AREN members in Ajiri told us that they had bought their grain when the price was low and stored it. Just before

our interview they had met with members of the *coordination* who told them that they would soon be able to sell the grain.

The above examples illustrate the possible success of cereal banks, but also the possible complexities involved when the profits from grain sales are used to fill other needs, and when the agents or agencies try to control the management of the banks. The fact that the Ajiri AREN *groupement* had to wait for permission to sell the grain seems to embody Thébaud's fears that the *coordinations* will turn the association's focus on the *groupements* into a top-down hierarchy that "is in contradiction with the true spirit of AREN" (Thébaud 2001:8). The construction of bank buildings at wells (see Kasawsawa, Chapter 6) reinforces the ideological equation of settlement *sites* with "development".

### ***Scholarization***

In the future, agents and some Woḍaaḍe presume, school buildings will physically manifest pastoral *sites*. The Woḍaaḍe we talked to feel strongly aware of their lack of education and are very frustrated by the fact that they must go through the intermediation of other Fulḍe and Hausas to access projects and services. "If we can read then we can work with white people (*Nasara-ko'en*)," claimed a Boḍaaḍo sub-regional coordinator. Many Woḍaaḍe, especially those who live or have lived in town, tend to believe that literacy will solve all their problems. When I asked the about reading, the Boḍaaḍo told me that he did not have time to sit and study but, "If you can read, you can think about everything. You know everything, all the news and discourse (*habaru fuu*)."<sup>7</sup> Many of the development agents seemed to think they had to convince the Woḍaaḍe to put their children in school, but interviews with Woḍaaḍe presented a completely opposite picture. They want their children to learn to read, but cannot imagine how such education could happen.

Only settled schools were ever mentioned by nomad and agent alike. It is questionable whether a settled school would attract enough children to be viable. Even the schools I heard the Kasawsawa built may have had difficulties actually attracting students. In a 1974 thesis, Komma remarked of the Tuareg nomads in Tchintabaraden,

... very often the *éleveurs* say, 'our children are more useful to us when they remain with us to guard the herds than to go to school which renders them impolite, lazy, and against the Muslim religion (Komma 1974:23).

The many Tuareg families in the Damergou (the “model” pastoralists in the sense that they are more or less settled) who have put their children in school have more or less settled just north of the pastoral zone border. They clear fields south of the border and have been instrumental in moving that border further and further north. Woɗaaɓe children are essential to the household pastoral production system, and very few Woɗaaɓe are willing to send their children away from home to go to school. As a minority ethnicity, they fear their children will be disadvantaged in a school attended primarily by children of another ethnicity. They also fear that, growing up away from their families, their children will lose cultural knowledge. Until the very end of my stay, I heard no talk of a mobile school. The organization *bureau* member, the last I spoke with just before I left the country, the only Nigerien agent who accepted and advocated for the mobility of pastoralists, agreed with me whole-heartedly that mobile schools were the answer to education problems. He cited mobile schools in Nigeria that he claimed had been successful.

During the participatory community analysis that we facilitated in 1996-7 (Greenough *et al.* 1997), we spoke with the Woɗaaɓe participants about the differences between a mobile school and a stationary building. Those who advocated stationary schools talked about the food aid that would accompany them. It became obvious to Manzo and I that a few of the participants were remembering refugee camps during the 1984 famine when they spoke of the food for work that accompanied the literacy classes in which a few Woɗaaɓe took part. When Woɗaaɓe now expressed the need to settle at their wells so that they could acquire a school, I asked how they would feed their families. They answered hesitantly, “the project, ... or the government” would provide food. Public boarding *écoles nomades*<sup>31</sup> do feed children that spend the year away from their families, but their families receive nothing. These schools, however, reinforce the idea that food aid accompanies schools. Two of these schools serve the Tuareg population more or less settled on the cultivation-pastoral border, where the pasture is crowded and arguably degraded.

### **“New Thinking”**

A dichotomy between “old, bush thinking”<sup>32</sup> and “new thinking” ran subtly through many interviews and conversations, with most agents and some Woɗaaɓe. The *Élevage* director was not the only agent to recommend “new thinking” for the nomadic pastoralists. Woɗaaɓe who had lived in town, less inclined to return to their nomadic life, also advocated a “new thinking”.

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<sup>31</sup> Schools ostensibly for nomadic children, not mobile schools.

<sup>32</sup> (bush: Fr. *brousse*; Fl. *lydde*)

An Ajiri Sudusuka'el remarked as he explained their settlement, “There are some older people who don't agree with settling. They just don't understand.” Another Boḍaaḍo claimed that pastoralists who didn't agree with or understand settling had the heads or minds (*hoore*) of cows, meaning that they cared and thought only about pasture and not about larger social, political and possibly religious issues. This “new thinking” proposed by Woḍaaḍe often contained at least a hint of Islamic morality. Many Woḍaaḍe cultural practices—especially the sexual license that accompanies the *gerewol* dancing, and the exogamic seduction of wives—clash with Islam, as the practices of Islam—five daily prayers and fasting—are difficult to follow in the uncertain milieu of mobile life on the range. Other Woḍaaḍe who had had close interactions with urban cultures (including Christian missionaries) began to question the cultural proscriptions of *pulaaku*. One man thought that the social norm of reserve<sup>33</sup> between him and his wife and first born was of little use. Whether propounded by Woḍaaḍe or agents, it seemed the “new thinking” must replace “old thinking”, never supplement or complement it.

### THE MOBILITY PARADIGM

Since they adopted the husbandry of domestic animals 6500 years ago (Smith 1992:251), pastoralists all over Africa have dealt with similar risks and crises, modified by regional environments. As described in Chapter 3, between the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and that of the 20<sup>th</sup>, many Woḍaaḍe in the Sokoto Empire who wished to remain nomadic moved north from what is today Nigeria. Discovering rich pastures in what became central Niger, the Woḍaaḍe eventually became trapped in the northern edge of the Sahel by the steady encroachment of rain-fed cultivation from the south (cf. Bonfiglioli 1988; Dupire 1962; Maliki 1982). Annual rainfall in the Damergou varies between 150 to 300 mm, rainfall not only of unpredictable temporal distribution, but spatially and qualitatively variable as well. Woḍaaḍe cattle pastoralism today in Niger exploits more or less successfully a very marginal sub-desert that can only be exploited by pastoralism. In the latter half of the twentieth century, however, Dagara, Hausas, Katsinawa Fulḍe and Tuaregs have attempted the extremely risky venture of agriculture at the northern limit of the cultivation zone. Even this year we saw fresh fields cut into the rangeland scrub—fields of sand dunes completely denuded of vegetation (see photos, next page).

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<sup>33</sup> *Mi hooli mo* : roughly glossed “I am afraid or shamed before him/her.” *Pulaaku* requires that Boḍaaḍo does not speak the name of his or her spouse nor the name of his or her first-born child. They should show little emotion or affection toward them.



Figure 28: A field at the edge of the cultivation/pastoral "border".  
The field has been completely denuded of vegetation.



Figure 29: From the field into the rangeland.  
Manzo is moving back into small trees and bushes.

The Tuareg cultivators, pushing against the very northern edge have been impoverished through the droughts and famines, and have little to lose in labor by attempting to cultivate the arid, sandy clay. This December 2003, after my research, I asked during a phone call to Zinder if these fields had produced a harvest. I was told, no, they hadn't received enough rain. North of the fields, villagers from Tanout cut trees and rake grass for sale in town, with impunity, we were told, though the practice is illegal. The Gojen-ko'en at Sallaga told me that the Tuaregs around Tekgar allowed no exploitation of their land without permission, severely punishing trespassers. The Gojen-ko'en, habitual negotiators who normally avoid conflict, were afraid to employ any retaliation. They said that they'd been to the *sous-préfecture* to complain against the woodcutters, but had received no help.

When nomadic pastoralists settle voluntarily, they generally do so for two reasons: either because they have become wealthy enough to invest in land and hire herders, or because they have become too impoverished in livestock capital to sustain themselves through herding (Azarya 1996:15; see also Salih 1995:189, citing Barth). In the latter case, pastoralists, including Wodaabe, may settle for a time to practice agriculture. Women will take up menial labor such as pounding millet, braiding hair, and repairing calabashes in villages. Men will migrate to cities to look for work, sometimes with their wives. As the herd is built back to a strength that will permit mobility once more, most nomadic families will return gradually to nomadism. Even after losing everything, families who are given animals and the chance to take up their nomadic way of life will do so (cf. Oxby 1975). While I was on the Sallaga range, one of the Gojen-ko'en told me that the pastoralists in the area had collected enough livestock to help one Tuareg cultivator return to pastoralism. "But we can't do that for everyone," he said. Fratkin and Thébaud note that in the former case, wealthy pastoralists take risks by putting their livestock under the care of hired herder. These herders may steal or neglect livestock, or deprive the young by consuming too much milk (Fratkin and Smith 1994:96). Hired herders also tend to care much less about the environment in which they herd. They must remain closer to the settled areas where livestock owners live, tend to water at mechanized boreholes, and move less, leading to over-pasturing (Thébaud 1988:97).

Even Lewis (1975:437-439), who in the early 1970s seriously examined the prospect of incentives to sedentarization, questioned the economic advantage of settling nomads who exploited arid regions. As "excellent entrepreneurs" nomads are "willing to adopt new

techniques and economic concerns” but these techniques and concerns must be presented as “paying propositions.” Dupire (1961), however, wrote for the Nigerien Ministry of Education ...

“... of the extreme interest presented by the *semi-fixation* of certain Bororo [nomadic Fulɓe] fractions around deep wells (Tanout and Tahoua regions) situated in the middle of good pasture in the Sahelian zone and on accessible roads. Around these wells will develop small commercial and social centers .... [T]his new form of pastoralism tempts the greater part of the Bororo fractions who wish to find favorable conditions to assemble in this manner: a solution that will considerably facilitate health, medical and administration controls and scholarization ... as well as commerce (Dupire 1961:10).

Dupire then calls for more socio-economic study as to the favorability of this plan. It would seem that the agents who propound a discourse of “new thinking” and sedentarization are referring to this very report. Written forty years ago, however, it has itself become “old thinking”. While many Wodaabe would be probably tempted to an easier life around deep wells in good pastures, such ideal conditions rarely exist in Niger today.

Since the time that Lewis and Dupire wrote their papers, the work of range scientists, ecologists and social scientists have advanced new paradigms. Niamir-Fuller and Turner describe the latest paradigm, the “new thinking” of researchers in pastoral development, correlating closely with disequilibrium theory. This “mobility paradigm”...

... argues that transhumant [or nomadic] pastoralism is not an archaic remnant of the past [and] asserts that it is a necessary precondition to sustainable development in arid lands. ... The new paradigm does not advocate turning the clock back ... [r]ather, it wants to ensure that the appropriate policies, legal mechanisms and support systems are in place, in order to allow self-evolution of pastoralism towards an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable livelihood system. (Niamir-Fuller and Turner 1999:31, my emphasis)

The “mobility paradigm” culminates more than a decade spent expanding new approaches towards pastoral development in arid and semi-arid lands. New understandings include the theory of disequilibrium environments and the adaptive strategies utilized by pastoralists to subsist in such environments.

In recent years, pastoral research has emphasized the rationality of traditional maintenance-survival strategies that constitute a viable way of managing risk and uncertainty in disequilibrium environments (Behnke *et al.*; Scoones 1994). Today the risks and crises that



constrain pastoralists' sustenance livelihood are compounded by modern issues entailed in the events and institutions of colonialism and subsequent nationhood (cf. Prior 1994). Researchers, focusing their studies on risk and risk minimization in pastoral production, demonstrate that pastoralists conduct a rational management of environmental and socio-political risks. Bollig (1997:66) defines risk as a variance in access to central resources, the three resources of labor, livestock and land or natural resources. Such variances range from seasonal stress to loss of important resources or entitlements, and are more or less predictable or unpredictable. Drought and epidemics exemplify unpredictable risks; entitlement decline and resource degradation are more predictable.

Sahelian ecological research has shown that the temporal and spatial distribution of grazing is of ecological importance to well-managed herds and range. Thus, "mobility plays an important role not only in reducing drought induced risk, but also increases livestock productivity and distributes grazing pressure. ... [I]t should be viewed as a management parameter of economic as well as ecological importance" (Turner 1999:103-104). Mobility, at the top of the pastoral livelihood strategies model (Chapter 2), is the most important of pastoral strategies in the semi-arid Sahel, as it allows pastoralists to exploit the variable resources of their ecology most effectively. Disequilibrium environments, including the unpredictability in time and space of the distribution of pastoral resources, demand technical expertise, developed through generations, and opportunistic mobility of the herder to exploit pastoral resources during the season of their availability. Mobility also allows pastoralists to avoid areas infested with disease (human or animal), or where resources have been degraded, and eases access to optimal markets. Mobility also allows institutional gatherings, such as the annual *worso* lineage gatherings. A consideration of this strategy is extremely important in light of the sorts of development projects on offer to the Woḍaaḅe today.

Confined as they are during the rainy season to the shrinking pastoral zone, most Woḍaaḅe move into the agricultural zone after harvest where their stock feeds on stubble, grass, browse and wild squash-melons (*cucurbitae*) in and between fields. This December, I heard, after a less than productive rainy season, the Buldi Gojen-ko'en began moving south toward Yagaji, west of Bakin Birji. Depending on the coverage of rains, nomads will move back north or further south, east or west to search for pasture and water throughout the dry season. While these movements are known to the mediating agents, including government technicians, they are either ignorant of

or ignore the integrative implications of mobility in the ecological and household dynamics of pastoral livelihood. Two predominant suggestions, “A few families can settle,” or “The families will settle and the cattle can move,” entirely disregard the critical, intimate correlation among pastoral resources. In actuality, the great majority of young Gojen-ko’ en men, among the young men of many other *lenyi*, currently migrate to urban areas in search of work because their family herds are too small to support them, nor do the herds require the labor of all hands in the family. Wives may join the men in cities such as Zinder, Niamey or those in Nigeria. While the young men will probably not earn enough money to build herds back home they are able to “save” their herds from consumption through sale. The absence of young families from rangeland households, however, does increase the labor of those men and women left behind, without contributing much in the way of remittances. The agents who would have the Woḍaaḅe follow the transhumant mode of life practiced by the agro-pastoral Fulḅe, don’t consider that the young people who would herd the livestock in such a case are not presently living with their families. Many pastoral households today are struggling to keep the fine balance between livestock and labor in an increasingly marginal environment.

Agents also do not consider the fact that the great majority of agro-pastoralists live well within the agricultural zone where rain-fed cultivation is a worthwhile occupation. Two hundred years ago, the Woḍaaḅe in the Hausa States and the Bornu Empire, while not agro-pastoral, probably practiced a more regular transhumant mode of pastoralism, moving long distances only to remove their herds from fields during the rainy season. With likely ready access to surface water and more abundant pasture, only pasture quality, cleanliness of the cattle’s sleeping area, risk of disease or conflict would instigate other movements. Today, at the edge of the Sahara, the Woḍaaḅe can no longer follow what seems to have been, pre-*jihad*, a much more relaxed mode of life. Not only must they struggle to search for and provide their livestock with water and pasture, they must negotiate for access to such resources, sometimes at great cost, in the cultivation zone.

The development discourse currently running through the Damergou demands that the nomadic pastoralist shift to an alternative mode of life, with no explanation as to how such a mode of life can be made environmentally compatible and economically feasible. The progress of decentralization, the *Code Rural* and the *commissions foncières* interact with this discourse to create in the pastoral zone the same competition for key land resources that has occurred in the

agricultural zone for fields (cf. Lund 1993). Some nomadic households and secondary lineages have secure access to pastoralist resources, including wells and their surrounding pasture; livestock sufficient to sustain a pastoral livelihood; and sufficient labor for livestock and family production and reproduction. The individual members of these households may feel that they need not enter the competition for “new” resources offered by development agencies. They look over what is offered to them and think the price too high for the value of the project. For other households, a “project” may bring food or a well, both of which may contribute to household production and reproduction. The calculated choices individuals make reflect rational decisions based on the information they have at hand, and their ability to access and mobilize resources.

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The next chapter will take up the theme of “association” among the Wodaabe and the disruption and possible decay of customary institutions. I will further discuss the implications that *sensibilisation* and the breach of disconnect between funding agency and the nomadic community hold for those institutions. Niamir-Fuller and Turner emphasize that the dynamism of human and ecological factors call for an iterative approach toward the study of pastoral systems (Niamir-Fuller and Turner 1999:31). I would suggest that this dynamism needs a dynamic research conducted collaboratively with “emic” indigenous researchers already familiar with and living in “the field”. Such researchers embody the dynamism of the pastoral system in which they subsist. I address this proposal in the final chapter.

## CHAPTER 7 - EMERGENT ISSUES: CUSTOMARY INSTITUTIONS

By the mid-1980s ... [m]any projects created and legally registered ‘pastoral associations’ to which the responsibility (but not ownership) to manage a defined land area was given. The main problems faced by this approach were that it was too ‘top-down’, and not subject to consensual agreement by land users; the relationship of new institutions to customary ones were left undefined, leading to a lack of effectiveness at best, or a further breakdown of customary institutions at worst (Niamir-Fuller and Turner 1999:29).

### *KINNAL*

My second night on the Tchingoragen range, I stayed with Dede Lime, my “mother” here among the Gojen-ko’en. In the morning, the sun rose on a mostly clear sky—clouds lined the northern horizon, where some rain might have fallen the night before. After breakfast, Dede Lime’s two middle sons came to southern end of this family line of three camps to meet with about six or seven other men from the scattered, surrounding camps. As they gathered, they gossiped about a missing girl—a run-away who’d refused her husband. Either someone had helped her travel to Nigeria or, more likely, some of the young men were hiding her in the bush. Then they tossed around the idea of the move. I’d heard the day before that they might move closer to Janari’s camp.

*Should we move? Well, Veli is moving today. Is he?—where did you hear that? Tambaya told me—they’re all moving further south. Is the pasture better there? It’s no worse than here—there are the dells where the grass has grown well, and browse for the goats. Well, it’s closer to the rest of the group. More gossip about a fight between a man and his wife. Well, if we’re going to move, we’d better get going. Which direction? Janari and Jaho are directly south. If we head southeast, we should be able to find places north and east of them.*

And so they called to the women to pack, and told the boys to gather the small stock. Dede Lime was already rolling her bedposts into her mats.



Figure 30: Packing the household gear for moving.



Figure 31: Loading a donkey with household gear.

That evening I asked my “brother” Janari (because I’d read about the *kinnal*) if there was some sort of association of herders within the *lenyol*, besides the *tarde*. I used the Hausa word *kungiya*, used as a loan word in Fulfulde for any type of “association”, and hoped he’d understand what I’d meant.

After I explained more, he finally said, “*Kinnal?* When we get together in the morning to decide whether to move or not. Or which way to go. First we have to send out scouts and then ...”

“I know,” I said, “it’s *kinnal?* I thought it was like *kina*’ (nose).”

“*Kinnal – min kinne*, we greet each other. But it’s not a *kungiya*.”

“It’s not the camps that group in one place?”

“No, it’s just getting together in the morning to decide about the move.”

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#### ALLIANCES AND INSTITUTIONS

Bonfiglioli suggests that the concept of *kinnal* is a more particularly defined institution than Janari indicated. “[T]he *kinnal* ... is a sociopastoral community, regrouping different *dude* (camps) on a basis of common pastoral interests, precise and immediate” (Bonfiglioli 1988:47). Loftsdottir (2001:8) describes the *kinnal* as a meeting of two or more men to discuss movement, or a large group of men who gather to decide an important seasonal migration. She remarks that only men may gather in a *kinnal*.<sup>34</sup> While Bonfiglioli (1988:48) suggests that the *kinnal* might be the starting point for a more solid association, my experience among the Gojen-ko’en suggests that such an attempt would require more research in to the social organization of Woḍaaḅe *lenyi* and *taare*. Even the *lenyi* and *taare* are not necessarily stable as has been demonstrated by fragmentation and fusion through history. Actual association of herding households often crosses the permeable boundaries of primary or secondary lineages. Woḍaaḅe herders in the Damergou form alliances, from informal migration and dinner companions, to formal partnerships that join herds for the purpose of sharing labor. Camp alliances are usually intralineage and most often between brothers or first cousins, though they may be variously made across lineage lines. Other socio-political or socio-economic alliances cross ethnic boundaries, for instance between Woḍaaḅe and Tuareg or between nomad and farmer.

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<sup>34</sup> Bonfiglioli worked among the Dubanko’en in the Filingué area in the 1970s and early 80s, about 650 Km west of the Damergou. Loftsdottir worked among the Gojen-ko’en of Tchintabaraden, north of Tahoua.

In the model of pastoralist livelihood strategies (see Chapter 2), the herder aims to maximize sustenance in a risk situation, or recovery in a crisis situation. In addition to the definitions discussed in the last chapter, the herder's objectives become to minimize the risks of production decrease and stock losses. He also endeavors to protect customary institutions that manage communal resources and reciprocal exchanges of resources and wealth (Bollig and Göbel 1997:66-67). A breakdown in risk reduction strategies will result in conditions of greater uncertainty (White 1997:91) and the possibility of crisis. Important elements of the strategies model include social institutions for pastoral management, for livestock exchange, and socio-political alliances. Prior (1994:21) illustrates how recent forces of change disturb dynamics between pastoral households, social structures, and access to and allocation of the pastoral resources of labor, livestock and land or natural resources. Though Prior focuses primarily on the problems of settlement and its relation to increased risk of famine, central to his diagram is the breakdown of customary pastoral social structures leading directly to pastoralist marginalization and impoverishment.

Niamir-Fuller and Turner (1999:38) define institutions of common property as “rules, social norms and regulations”. Giddens defines institutions as “deeply layered practices” (1979:65), or a “standardisation of behaviour” that is chronically reconstituted through every day activity (*ibid*:96). Institutions, he writes ...

... even the most deeply sedimented [... do not ...] come about because ... societies need them to do so. They come about *historically*, as a result of concrete conditions that have in every case to be directly analysed; the same holds for their persistence (Giddens 1979:11; author's emphasis).

As defined by Niamir-Fuller, institutions play a regulatory role in society, but they can also be resources that actors draw on to negotiate social roles or access to resources (Giddens 1976:108). For instance, the institution of *teegal*, the “seduction” of a wife by a man from another lineage, allows a woman to leave a marriage in which she is unhappy. More importantly for this chapter, in the institution of *haḅḅe-na'i* or *nange-na'i*, a Boḍaaḍo is given a heifer for a period of about two births. The recipient of the original heifer keeps the calves and returns the cow to the donor, often with another heifer as a “tail” (*bokorde*). This customary institution helps impoverished pastoralists to rebuild their herds, cements social relationships, and reallocates resources. A herder with more livestock than labor may distribute cattle to his less

wealthy relatives, lineage members, or friends outside the lineage. The strategic institutions of migration (*gonsol*, *dimdol*, *baartol*, *perol*), of *arɔo* as migration leader, *garso* as migration scout, and *kinnal* as discussion group, help to manage natural resources within as well as between lineages and ethnic groups. Other unnamed institutions may play similar regulatory and expedient roles between lineages and ethnic groups, and the Tuareg and other nomadic Fulɔe will practice similar institutions appropriate to their historical situations. Thébaud and Batterbury describe the complex rights of access negotiated between users of range resources, “access to resources generally being flexible in order to enable herd mobility and to facilitate reciprocal arrangements between groups” (Thébaud and Batterbury 2001:71).

As was illustrated in Chapter 3, the institution of *arɔo* has been reformed through history through relations with more politically powerful sedentary societies. In Nigeria, Hausa chiefs and kings, and then Fulɔe emirs and sultans named “chiefs” or *laamiɔe* of Wodaabe groups, from among the *arɔoɔe* of the people who pastured on their land. The French then regulated the *arɔoɔe*, naming *chefs de tribu* and *groupements administratifs (laamiɔe)* for the purposes of tax collection, a practice continued by subsequent Nigerien governments. It might be argued that this new role for the *arɔoɔe* and *laamiɔe* has weakened the regulatory and expedient practices implied in the original institution. Thébaud (1988:87-88) argues that the centralization of modern land tenure laws within the national government contributed to the “destruction” of customary political and economic infrastructures. Loftsdottir (2001:4) observes the use of the word *hakkimidjo* among the Wodaabe of Tchintabaraden as a substitute for *arɔo*. The word, a derivative of Arabic *hakima*, “wisdom”, may reflect the shift in political responsibilities for the leader, within a *lenyol* or *tarde*, of a *tribu* under the French, or appointed under the Muslim emirates of Sokoto. The Wodaabe of the Damergou sometimes use *barumai*, the Kanuri word for village chief, to refer to their “official” *arɔoɔe*.

It is the very flexibility and transience of social institutions and socio-political alliances, a circumstance of risk management and resource access in a disequilibrium environment, which obscures their existence. While intralineage institutions such as *arɔo* leadership, *kinnal*, *garso* scouting, wealth redistribution through *haɔɔa-na'i*, and the yearly *worso* lineage gathering have been studied, the only interlineage institutions to have been described are *teegal* and *gerewol* competition dancing (cf. Bonfiglioli 1988; Bovin 1998, 2001; Dupire 1962; Lassibille 1994; Maaliki 1981; Maliki 1984, 1988). Interethnic (e.g. between Wodaabe and Tuareg, or pastoralist



and cultivator) institutional practices can only be surmised through the fact that waterpoints, pasture, range, and use of harvested fields are negotiated and managed, and economic exchanges take place outside of markets, among pastoralists and between pastoralists and cultivators. A study by Bollig (2000:342) suggests a reason for this institutional imperceptibility, citing his “...analysis of economic exchange as formulated by formal network analysis [that] provides structures different from emic visions of corporate social entities.” While early researchers of Woḍaaḅe society concentrated on the corporate groups of lineages, they may have failed to see the interlinkages of social networks that create the transient customary alliances and institutions that regulate negotiations, range management and economic exchanges. Niamir-Fuller (1999b:268) acclaims the flexibility of transient institutions as part of the adaptive strategies used to exploit variable resources with long-term sustainability. I argue that interlineage and interethnic institutions, or institutional practices, must be researched and supported in specific cases of development, just as much as are the intralineage institutions. The superimposition of newer development associations over customary institutions, undefined and thus ignored, threatens these institutions, especially through the discourse of sedentarization. The addition of a new “development economy” (e.g. inputs of grain, cash and medicines and access to new water points), also menaces nomadic social organization.

The ideology of *sensibilisation*, when combined with the discourses of *vie associative* or “associative life” and sedentarization, obscures possible interactions between new and customary institutions to the detriment of the latter. The disconnect between development agent and nomad, especially between project funders and nomadic community, is at the same time an effect of and accentuates the particular application of association or *coopérative* and *sensibilisation* in this situation. Issues of mobility, customary institutions and community are interlinked, as demonstrated above in the illustration of *kinnal*. Even the concepts of “community” and “association” within the nomadic context must be problematized and more completely understood by development agents in order that nomads themselves might construct sustainable *groupements* on more substantial foundations. These *groupements* must be able to work with and through customary institutions in that socio-political, economic and ecological risk management mechanisms might be maintained and reinforced. Gardner and Lewis (1996:21) write of “communities” in general that their definition rests on “very shaky ground. Who or what constitutes the community?” They historicize the very notion within development to

“colonial social welfare policies in Africa in the 1940s.” Who or what constitutes a nomadic community? And what implications does its constitution hold for the formation of a herders’ association or *groupement*? How does “community” relate to lineage, and how do “communities” correlate with customary institutions? These questions must be addressed through future research. This thesis argues that the fact that agencies and organizations do not ask these questions bodes ill for sustainable pastoral development. Customary institutional practices, developed dynamically over centuries, allowing pastoral households to access and allocate resources among, affect not only their stability and persistence, but the maintenance of an ecological balance as well.

### **DEVELOPMENT HISTORY IN THE RANGELAND OF NIGER**

The history of pastoral associations reveals the part that *sensibilisation* plays in attempting to persuade nomadic pastoralists towards a development acceptable to more politically powerful stakeholders. Herders’ associations are not new to the country of Niger, nor to nomadic pastoralism in general. Bonfiglioli and Swift worked with pilot herder’s associations from 1979 to 1983 with the Niger Range Management and Livestock Project (NRLP), funded by USAID (Swift and Maliki 1984). This project took place partly in response to the economic devastation wrought by a drought that began in 1968, and the resulting famine that lasted through 1973 until harvest of 1974 (longer for the pastoralists whose herds died). It focused on Tuareg, Woɗaaɓe, and Arab nomadic pastoral communities in the department of Tahoua. The pastoral *groupements* of the project filled a need of the government of Niger to incorporate pastoralists into the *Comités du Développement* (see Chapter 1).

The NRLP proposed to approach the problem of pastoral development through research and pilot interventions in order to design a major livestock development project, with feasible objectives for raising the productivity of rangelands. The composition of the pastoral associations, prescribed by the project team, comprised 15-30 families each, bound by criteria of kinship relations and geographic proximity. Each association chose, from among their members, a president, section heads and technical (livestock and human health) advisors (Swift & Maliki 1984:8-9). The associations imposed on the pastoral households would ...

... have to strike a balance between the imposition of a single pastoral zone structure, designed to overcome obvious problems of traditional social and economic stratification and institutional capture, and provide real participatory power to poor herders, while

avoiding forcing a Utopian model on traditional societies which have often evolved intelligent but widely differing ways of doing things in a difficult and risky environment (*ibid* :18-19).

Though the report mentions a wish to engage in participation with herders (Swift and Maliki 1984:18), the project also envisaged ...

... encouraging both herders and the project team to acquire experience of cooperation which would make the more controversial programmes that might eventually be recommended (such as range management) more feasible” (*ibid* :8).

The implication of immanent government regulation of rangelands and unwelcome transfer of technology entailed the interests of the government of Niger (and probably that of the U.S.) for political reorganization. “Participation”, through the creation of associations, seems to have been co-opted in order to guarantee success for unpopular policies and programs. The intentions of the project seem ambivalent, but the project also appears to have given little more than lip service to what are now considered ideals of participatory empowerment and respect for indigenous knowledge.<sup>35</sup> Above all, apprehensions of stakeholder control seem to pervade the views of the project team. Swift and Bonfiglioli expressed concerns about the relationships between the associations and “traditional” political structures, the relationships between auxiliary veterinary and health workers and government extension services, and the future necessity of a higher level structure incorporating all the associations and the possibility of its co-optation by powerful people or groups. The same concerns persist today among local organizations and government *services*.

In his 1993 publication, Seddon discusses two concurrent pastoral projects in Niger and Mali, identified in 1986, and approved in December 1987, under the auspices of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD, United Nations). He emphasizes his role as anthropologist (along with Swift and Bonfiglioli) and the importance of both participatory methods and the “anthropological approach”, which “involves a detailed analysis of the complexities of local-level structures and their operation” (Seddon 1993:71). Seddon stresses that appropriate sociological or economic models must be considered with an appreciation for the local context in which the project will be implemented. He also recognizes the constraints

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<sup>35</sup> I have absolutely no desire to fault Swift and Bonfiglioli (or even Seddon, below) who have both carried out excellent anthropological work, participatory and ethnographic.

that the limited time periods of most development projects place on a true ethnographical approach. For this reason, he recommends a participative approach (while questioning the efficacy of Rapid Rural Appraisal [*ibid*:82]) that includes the local population from the very beginning of project design.

The first objective of the IFAD Niger project would be to “create and/or strengthen local-level organizational structures—the herders’ associations” (*ibid*:93). The project team reviewed different formations of herders’ associations within different project frameworks. He contrasts the failure of other livestock projects to create a multipurpose, collaborative, institutional framework involving both project and herder’s associations, with successful small-scale attempts by OXFAM and the Cooperative League of the USA (CLUSA)<sup>36</sup> to work in “close cooperation with ... herders’ associations or with small, relatively heterogeneous ‘functional groupings’” (*ibid*:92). Despite Seddon’s insistence that the project implemented intensive participatory measures, it seems that the IFAD project worked through the *groupements* previously established by either earlier USAID projects (including the NRLM project) or government initiatives. The organization and training of each association would help the approximately thirty families involved to better manage economic activities and physical resources and negotiate with government and development agencies (*ibid*).

Seddon does not tell us how these associations were formed, nor who was actively involved in them. Both his paper and that of Swift and Bonfiglioli are descriptions of the projects, and the reader is left wondering whatever happened, in the end, to the associations that took part. One wonders about the economic and social status of the members of the associations, and if one of the “difficulties” encountered by the NRLP (Seddon 1993:84) was the imposed composition of the herders’ associations. Neither project, despite their anthropological approach, seems to have researched the more elusive “complexities” of interactions between “local-level structures”. Such an omission, perhaps the result of theoretical frameworks employed, glosses over any customary pastoral institutions, of which their effects are more discernible than their structure. Bonfiglioli, as I mention in Chapter 2, follows a processual theory that he discusses in the Introduction to *Duḍal* (Bonfiglioli 1988).

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<sup>36</sup> CLUSA is one organization, along with the ILO, which originally worked with the members of the *Union Nationale des Coopératives* (UNC, USRC of Tanout), now reformed as the *Fédération Nationale des Coopératives* (FNC, FSRC of Tanout; see Chapter 4).

In a system in change, social anthropology is pushed to analyze the forces in movement or principals in action, and to recognize not ‘a society’, but ‘a situation’, not ‘institutions’ but ‘processes’ (*ibid:6*).

This early approach seems to view societies and institutions as separated from process and change, in contrast with Giddens theory in which institutions are practices subject to modification through reproduction. An agency or practice theory and social network analysis, just recently introduced in pastoral research (Bollig 2000; Hampshire 2002; Hampshire and Randall 1999), may be more useful in elucidation of these interactions, and defining institutionalized practices. While international agencies and NGOs follow a popular trend today of “capacity-building”, often the “capacity” that they refer to (including the DED proposal [Chabert 2002] I reviewed during my research) includes only newer associations, ignoring the implications of the reinforcing those new associations at the expense of older alliances and institutions.

Other researchers have more recently studied institutional practices (without always designating them as such) that link different groups to collectively manage rangeland. LeGrosse (1999) describes the Fulbe institution (*Jowru*) for range management initially formalized during the Maacina Empire. Turner (1999) compares the flexible “informal” tenure institution for range management among Fulbe in the Say arrondissement in southeastern Niger, and the more formalized institution in Maacina. Both authors discuss colonial and post-colonial government interference with these institutions that disrupts delicate equilibrium of range resource allocation. Thébaud and Batterbury (2001) describe the breakdown of institutional practices of negotiations between pastoral and agropastoral groups for wells and surrounding pastures in southwestern Niger. A development program to build cement-lined wells and mechanized boreholes disrupted the flexible, reciprocal balance of resource access. This program, in addition to other events, contributed to grave conflict in this region. These examples demonstrate the existence of interethnic customary institutions, the value of analyzing their structures, and the dangers of ignoring the fine patterns of elastic negotiated parameters and constraints. The specific situation of the pastoral system of the Damergou has not been studied, and the resulting ignorance of customary institutions and alliances for range management jeopardizes them.

## ***SENSIBILISATION, VIE ASSOCIATIVE AND THE DEVELOPMENT ECONOMY***

Their programs [of one of the projects] include *sensibilisation* about livestock vaccinations, training in association for herders' groups, and paraveterinary training. (*a regional coordinator*)

At the meetings, everyone is warned that things won't work right if the loans aren't paid. This is a *sensibilisation* before everyone (*gaba kowa*). We "pull their ears" (*fođana òe noppi*). (*a subregional coordinator, his emphasis*)

The [second objective] is the *sensibilisation* on animal health, especially vaccinations. The herders have no confidence in the *service de l'Élevage* and this *sensibilisation* is to make them more confident in the activities of *Élevage*. ... Thanks to [our organization] the *éleveurs* know their rights and claim them. We've been able to carry out *sensibilisation*. (*a regional president*)

We need to sensitize the herders to change their way of herding. They can't herd like they used to in the past—this extensive pastoralism. They must change their method. (*a technical agent*)

*Sensibilisation*, an institution imported with the French colonialists, means literally to sensitize or sensitization. It could also mean "to make aware" and might be translated into English as "awareness-raising" or even "consciousness raising". The word, when used by Nigeriens, often has a connotation of training someone to act and think appropriately, with a Foucauldian sense of discipline as discussed in Chapter 2. *Sensibilisation* used to be the responsibility of *animateurs* and *animatrices* in the employ of the *service du Plan*. Now *animateurs* and *animatrices* are hired by international agencies and some Nigerien NGOs to carry out *sensibilisation*. The practice and ideology of *sensibilisation*, deeply imbedded in the psyches of educated Nigeriens, and an intrinsic development discourse, generates inherently one-way communication from *animateur* or *formateur* (trainer) to the "target" community. *Sensibilisation* also substantiates the regulatory (*contrôle*) function of the coordinator, trainer, and agent. It places that agent in an "expert" position, who then dispenses the regime of discursive truth of the development system (Foucault and Gordon 1980:131-132).

Although training for the formation and conduct of *groupements* was ostensibly available through an international NGO, it appeared that few members of local herders' *groupements* had gone through the training (held in Zinder), which seemed to include primarily members of

*arrondissement* and regional *bureaus*. These agents then presumably passed on received knowledge to the local *groupements*. This training, *vie associative* or associative life, helps to clear up the confusing elements of development for organization members. An *arrondissement*-level coordinator told me, “The people in the local *bureaus* used to confuse associations with projects. Now they understand the roles of the president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, etc.” I found this to be true during my interviews of Woḍaaḍe. Five years ago, few Woḍaaḍe understood either the constitution of or rationale for an association or *kungiya*. Now they understood, at least those who were in any way involved in a project, that they must form a *kungiya* or *groupement (naate kungiya)* in order to receive funding or carry out a project. They also better understood the composition of the *bureau* and the roles of the different officers. In this way, *vie associative* training is a useful practice; but when combined with the discursive ideology of *sensibilisation*, the new institutions of *groupement* and *vie associative* replace, rather than constructively interact with customary institutions.

With the extremely low to negative support for pastoral livelihood strategies, the most important being mobility, and the complete lack of interest in ethnographic research demonstrated by development agents, it is difficult to imagine any concerted effort to preserve, sustain and encourage established social institutions and socio-political alliances. The establishment of the *commission foncière* seems to deny the right of commission participation to mobile groups. After being told by one government agent that nomadic communities would have to settle in order to participate, I asked the coordinator of Tanout’s commission if this was so. He thought and then answered, “The nomads will have a [... *pause* ...] CoFoT.” He seemed to invent the name, *commission foncière tribale*, on the spot. “We want to be equitable. The nomadic communities will have to be sensibilized (*sensibilisé*) about where these commissions will be placed.” His use of *sensibilisé* indicates the lack of any sense of participation by or collaboration with local communities, and “placed” implies a fixed location.

As with the training that helps a Boḍaaḍo better understand how an association works, the creation of new institutions is not inherently bad. Promoters of new institutions, however, must consider the historicity of customary, institutionalized practices and social norms, and how actors use those practices and norms to regulate or facilitate their access to, and the allocation of resources, and the interaction of resource utilization with physical ecological impacts. If interactions between customary practices and new institutions are not taken into consideration,

the resulting decay of customary institutions may have a detrimental effect on the risk management strategies that permit pastoral production in the Sahel. Chabert (2002:6) also refers to “numerous questions” that are raised when one considers the progressive retreat of the state from service provision, the development of decentralization, and the establishment of the CoFo. While a hypothesis that the pastoralist *groupements* constructed by the intermediary organizations of Zinder, and the Damergou and the establishment of new state institutions threaten customary institutions requires further research to determine the actual menace, these institutions are not supported through the development system. As shown by Turner, LeGrosse, Thébaud and Batterbury, and others, ignorance of the interactions among institutions is hazardous.

### NEW ECONOMY

Resource access and allocation among pastoral groups have also been disrupted by the development system. The offer, and actual input, of material resources of grain, cash, and wells, channeled through the *groupements* (and *coopératives*) constitutes a new economy that, like the new economy that arose in Nigeria with the Sokoto *jihad*, may lead to disruption of *lenyi* and *taare*, of Woḍaaḅe societies. The realignment of the access and allocation of new resources vertically through development institutions may threaten the more horizontal structures of customary institutions. In the instance of *haḅḅa-na'i*, a pastoralist may be less willing to lend a heifer to a more sedentary individual questioning the herding ability of that individual. In other cases, those pastoralists concentrating on financing distributed by development organizations may pay less attention to the reciprocal interchanges that facilitate access to, and allocation of, pastoral resources. Exemplifying the vertical concentration of resources, one NGO president told me when I asked what problems he'd encountered:

There are problems with traditional chiefs (*chef*). Everyone wants to be chief and families are divided. For example, at Kanak, part of the Tuaregs there started a new place about three kilometers from Kanak. The people at the new place came to us first and then we found out that the real chief is at Kanak. They both wanted their own site, but we told them they would have to work together. They wouldn't, so we aren't working with them.

This quote points to a possibility of lineage fragmentation due to pursuit of material resources, also suggest in the case of the Gojen-ko'en (see Chapter 5).



The receipt of material resources may also increase economic stratification. A Boḍaaḍo described his encounter with wealthy Woḍaaḍe who had invested in the FSRC project.

I followed the Biḍe-Denki who'd held the meeting [with the director of the FSRC]. I went as far as their camp. I asked them how this worked and they told me. In the cold season (*çavol*) [the FSRC director] told them to bring money: everyone who brings 200 *mille* [fCFA] receives a million. A million and two hundred. One man gave 200 *mille*. One person. Another gave 100, another gave 200. Among the Biḍe-Denki four people contributed 600 *mille*. Six hundred, or seven hundred? Then they came here together with [the FSRC director] to the bank. Besides the 700 that they contributed, [the director] said they must give 25 *mille* to open the bank account. They contributed that. Then the bank account was opened. That's what a kid from the Biḍe-Denki told me. Then they deposited the money.

In contrast to these men who were each contributing the equivalent of a cow or two, the Ajiri Sudusuka'el together contributed 200 *mille* for one million fCFA that they will spend on a livestock distribution project (see Chapter 5). While this project allows *coopératives* to design their own projects, it also has the potential to increase geometrically the wealth disparity between pastoral households.

#### **THE GAP BETWEEN NOMAD AND DEVELOPMENT AGENT**

As I mentioned in the previous chapters, just before I left Zinder I was able to discuss development projects with a regional *bureau* member. He shook his head in frustration as he remarked that current projects are not relevant to nomadic communities because they are planned in agency offices in the city and not in the rangelands with the nomads. No other statement could better reflect the tremendous disconnect between the *Boḍaaḍo ngainako*, the Boḍaaḍo nomadic herder, and the funding agency. This disconnect, concealed by the actions of intermediaries—the Fulḍe or Hausa *bureau* members, and town-dwelling Woḍaaḍe, results in project plans created in offices in Zinder and Maradi, either by donor agencies or between their agents and the regional intermediary organization *bureaus*. Most notably, the separation of funding agencies from *groupements*, actualized through the mediation of pastoralist organizations is bolstered by the hierarchical structure of the intermediary organizations, illustrated in Chapter 4. Thébaud mentions her fear of this possibility in her report to AREN:

... in corollary, the *coordinations* dispose of diverse occasions to secure their power, to the eventual detriment of the *groupements*. This danger is that much greater when the

*coordinations* are not designated structures, but elected by the *groupements*. In this quality, they present a complete legitimacy toward the administration and development partners. Thus, a *coordination* can speak in the name of the *éleveurs*, even if its position does not obligatorily represent the opinion of the *groupements* (Thébaud 2001:8).

The disconnect is somewhat obscured by the fact that some groups have opted to join projects, or are living in Tanout and Zinder, and are in contact with intermediate development agents. Funding agencies communicate with national or regional level *bureaus*, which communicate with *bureaus* at the *arrondissement* level, which finally, at times, come into contact with the nomads. In this way the burden of responsibility for the efficacy of the project is shifted to, and dispersed among, local agents whose interest is not necessarily with the *groupements*, but with the funding that might trickle down from a donor agency. The intermediary *coordinations* and *bureaus* have very little material stake in the pastoral zone or the nomadic communities. Their incentive for project work (despite a few idealist words such as “sacrifice” and “volunteerism”) appears to be the few benefits that they receive from the project funders. This conclusion may be justified in some cases, but real motivations in a region with high unemployment must be more complex. I asked the very active coordinator of an *arrondissement*-level *bureau* how he supported himself doing this work. “It’s true,” he replied, “I’m not working for money now. This work is all volunteer (*benevol*). When there is a meeting or workshop with *per diem*, then I buy notebooks and pens and save something for myself.” This person received praise from some of the *Wodaabe* I talked to for his hard work with “the common folk (*talaka*)”, and part of his motivation may involve having meaningful work. (The implication that this educated man condescends to work with commoners reinforces the idea of an organizational hierarchy.) He may also have hopes of being included as one of a funding agency’s proposed salaried *animateurs*.<sup>37</sup> *Bureau* members of local organizations answer not to the pastoralists whom they ostensibly serve, but to the bilateral agencies and international NGOs that organize and finance their projects. They need members to show that they have a constituency, members who are attracted by subsidized grain and medicine, members who might be convinced to become less “difficult” by staying in one place. In the end, the international

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<sup>37</sup> Embezzlement is epidemic in the region and while it is tempting to include this as a possible motivation for *bureau* members, embezzlement is carried out by agency employees with access to large amounts of money. Two employees of two different agencies embezzled millions of fCFA, halting all work of the agencies, within a couple months of each other during and just after my research.

agencies supporting pastoral associations may believe that they are supporting pastoralism and helping pastoral communities, but, in fact, they are reaching only the few families who can settle or have time (with sufficient family labor in both cases) to spend in town, and travel back and forth. These “pastoral” projects, borrowed from sedentary rural development, may only disrupt an already marginalized system. Chabert (2002:7) estimates only 7-10% participation of nomadic pastoralists in local organizations.

The glaring deficiency of knowledge and comprehension of the livelihood strategies employed, and risks encountered, by nomadic households illuminates the gap between the funding agencies and the nomadic communities. As I’ve tried to demonstrate in Chapter 6, very few agents understood the complexities of livestock, economic and ecological management in the marginal environment of the arid Sahelian Damergou. Unfortunately, the people who did have some understanding did not occupy positions of influence within current projects. In addition, development and government agents (NGO and association *bureau* representatives included) seem to disregard the important contributions nomadic herding makes to the national economy of Niger, and they did not comprehend the necessity to support the strategies discussed above to maintain the viability of that contribution. There seems to be no data, contemporary at least, that supports my observations of the considerable traffic of range-raised livestock from Niger to Nigeria. An agent with the regional *Élevage service* told me that they would very much like to have comprehensive data on the exporting of livestock but don’t have the means for acquiring it. Funders seem to have little interest in acquiring information from or about the nomadic pastoralists involved in the projects they finance.<sup>38</sup> They leave this to the *coordinations* and *bureaus* of the local organizations. These *coordinations* and *bureaus* are for the most part more concerned with *sensibilisation* of their *bureaus de base*. Except for some members of FNEN/DADDO, they ignored even the possibility that they might learn from the nomads themselves.

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<sup>38</sup> The remarkable exception is the French researcher working for the Deutsche Expertengruppe Dementenbetreuung (DED), the German Development service, who had worked with Tuaregs in the Agadez region and was working on a proposal of a project that would reinforce nomadic *groupements* through discussions of development appropriate for nomadic communities. The weakness of his proposal, as mentioned above, concerns of the absence of support for customary institutions.

## PROJECT PLANNING

Current formation and reinforcement of pastoral *groupements* by organizations in the Damergou is not wrong, yet I would argue that the discourse that encapsulates their formation to the exclusion of existing customary alliances and institutions risks disrupting the balance of risk management for pastoral production and subsistence in the arid Sahel. A more constructive communication between nomadic community and development agency, and a more informed relationship between new and customary institutions will help to propose and promote sustainable pastoral development that will benefit not only the “target” communities, but the region and nation-state as well. The ignorance of mediating agents to the realities of arid pastoralism reveals their lack of actual interest in the situation of nomadic herders, and suggests a predominant interest in the views of the donor agencies, the source of financing. Donor agencies are able to absolve themselves of the responsibility for effective programs by shifting the burden of result to the shoulders of local NGOs and associations. Projects are conceived and planned in city offices. The nomads have no chance to explore development possibilities for themselves; indeed they hardly recognize the possibility, as indicated by the quotes below.

*Could you carry out your own project?*

If I received permission and papers from authorities, I would.

To carry out a project requires someone who will tell us what to do. It requires papers and the ability to read.

We need a road to follow (*sai e lawol*). Now we’re sitting here in the bush (*ladde*) and we don’t know what path to take.

*What do you see happening with associations in the future?*

It depends on whatever they bring. We haven’t seen anything yet.

*You don’t have any plans amongst yourselves?*

If we find something that will improve our situation (*nafata min*) we’ll take part, of course (*doli*), but we haven’t seen anything. If we got a well and had enough water .... We need permission to dig a well and strength (*seembe*).

The Woḍaaḳe living on the range have memorized the menu of choices, and understand the settlement discourse. They also understand well the importance of mobility to the strategics of a pastoral livelihood and consider this while deliberating the “offer” of assistance. They actively question whether the options offered will improve their life on the range. Ultimately, the

physical and epistemological gap between nomad and agent may allow the maintenance of the status quo that permits nomads to retain their agency. Those who have not been forced to leave herding for insufficient resources, or who have not been seduced by an easier life in the city, may, like the wealthy Abbeji elder (Chapter 5) continue to eye “development” with skepticism, finding nothing that benefits pastoral production. If the discourse continues, donor agencies may continue to be deceived into thinking they are benefiting a pastoral population, when in reality only a tiny minority of households with either nothing to lose, or enough human resources with which to leave their herds, will attempt the risky concession to the demand “to be found”.

While the distance between the development and nomadic system may permit space for unrestrained customary institutional practices, even wealthy herders are tempted into the vertically focused development economy. Does this draw them away from laterally aligned alliances? Will this result in the decay of customary institutions? Most importantly, is the risk of not knowing the answers to these questions worth the questionable benefits that current projects provide? These questions cannot be ignored without threatening pastoral livelihoods and production, and the country’s environment and the economy.

In the following, concluding chapter I will engage a discussion of the interactions and contradictions of two systems, the nomadic system of the Woḍaaḅe and the development system operating in Zinder and Tanout. I will also offer suggestions that might improve the interaction between pastoral and development systems, resulting in a more sustainable development that will benefit not only the Woḍaaḅe population and their production system, but the economy of Niger and social relations between pastoral and sedentary populations.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT - CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN SYSTEMS**

Contradiction ... may be understood as a property of structures [and] conceptualized as the opposition between structural ‘principles’ .... [S]uch ‘principles’ always entail an implicitly or explicitly acknowledged distribution of interests on the level of social integration.  
(Giddens 1976:125, author's emphasis)

The theoretical spatio-temporal system defined by Giddens, and described in chapter 2, informs this research and thesis within a framework of aspects of political ecology. In this chapter, I will engage a more theoretical discussion of the interactions and contradictions of the two systems discussed in the last four chapters, the nomadic pastoral system of the Woḍaaɓe and the development system operating in Zinder and Tanout. The relationship of these systems might be compared with the relationships between the state systems of the Sokoto and Bornu Empires and the nomadic pastoral system of the early Woḍaaɓe, in order to better inform understandings of the current relationships and possible outcomes. The injection of new material resources from the economy of the development system (or the *jihad* and state systems 200 years ago), remodulates socio-political organization and wealth distribution in the nomadic system. I will also use the metaphor of the “development market” to illustrate responses of opportunism of Woḍaaɓe and intermediary agents to this new economy, stimulated by the investment of funding agencies, and to inform an understanding of power relations, agency and control of resources. In conclusion, I review suggestions of other authors and offer my own suggestions for the mitigation of possible detrimental effects of the imposition of development ideology, and the enhancement of constructive relations between nomadic pastoral and development systems. These suggestions focus on collaborative pastoral research. The defining criteria of constructive relations should be a more sustainable development that will benefit not only the nomadic population and their production system, but also the natural environment and national economy of Niger, and social relations between nomadic, transhumant and sedentary populations.

### **SYSTEM CONTRADICTIONS**

In the Damergou today, agents within a socio-political system of development bearing a new economic exchange structure seek, and are sought by, nomadic communities and individuals. As

in the historical cases described in chapter 3, the responses of nomadic communities and individuals range from complete acceptance of everything included in the proffered package, to complete rejection: “There is nothing that benefits pastoralism.” Other nomads “shop around”: “We’ll see what’s offered us and take what looks good.” Figure 11 (next page) illustrates the meeting of the two systems, development on the left and pastoralism on the right, each with actors and its own rules, resources and institutions. One actor straddles the small overlap of the two systems, representing the nomadic pastoralist able to draw upon the resources and constrained by the rules of both systems. The Woḍaaḅe organization *bureau* members, and some key *groupement* members, find themselves negotiating a balance with one foot in each system. It would seem that such a person either has little to lose in the way of livestock, or, more likely, belongs to a family wealthy enough in both livestock and labor that he (and rarely she) can be spared to make costly journeys to town.

The diagram shows the aspects of the development system that most concern the nomad: the ideologies of *sensibilisation* and association combined with the ideological discourse of sedentarization. I would argue that everyone involved in the meeting of these two systems must concern themselves with the conflicts between different aspects of the systems. Development rules include legal establishment of a *groupement*; fulfillment of contributions; repayment of loans; and transparency of accounting. While none of these rules inherently necessitates sedentarization, discourse from organization *bureaus* and technical *services* implies that each would be much easier to fulfill while settled. *Bureau* members and *service* technicians would certainly be better able to control the actions of key members of the *groupements* if these pastoralists stayed in one place. Association and sedentarization come into direct conflict with the pastoral institutions of customary alliances and risk management strategies. As discussed in the last two chapters, the combination of *sensibilisation* with offers of new material resources—grain, wells, medicines, cash, and schools—threatens land degradation (through reduction of mobility) and the erosion of pastoral institutions. Other, less material, stated project objectives, such as greater rights for pastoralists, greater civic understanding, and better relations with technical *services* are less understood by most nomads as project or organization goals.

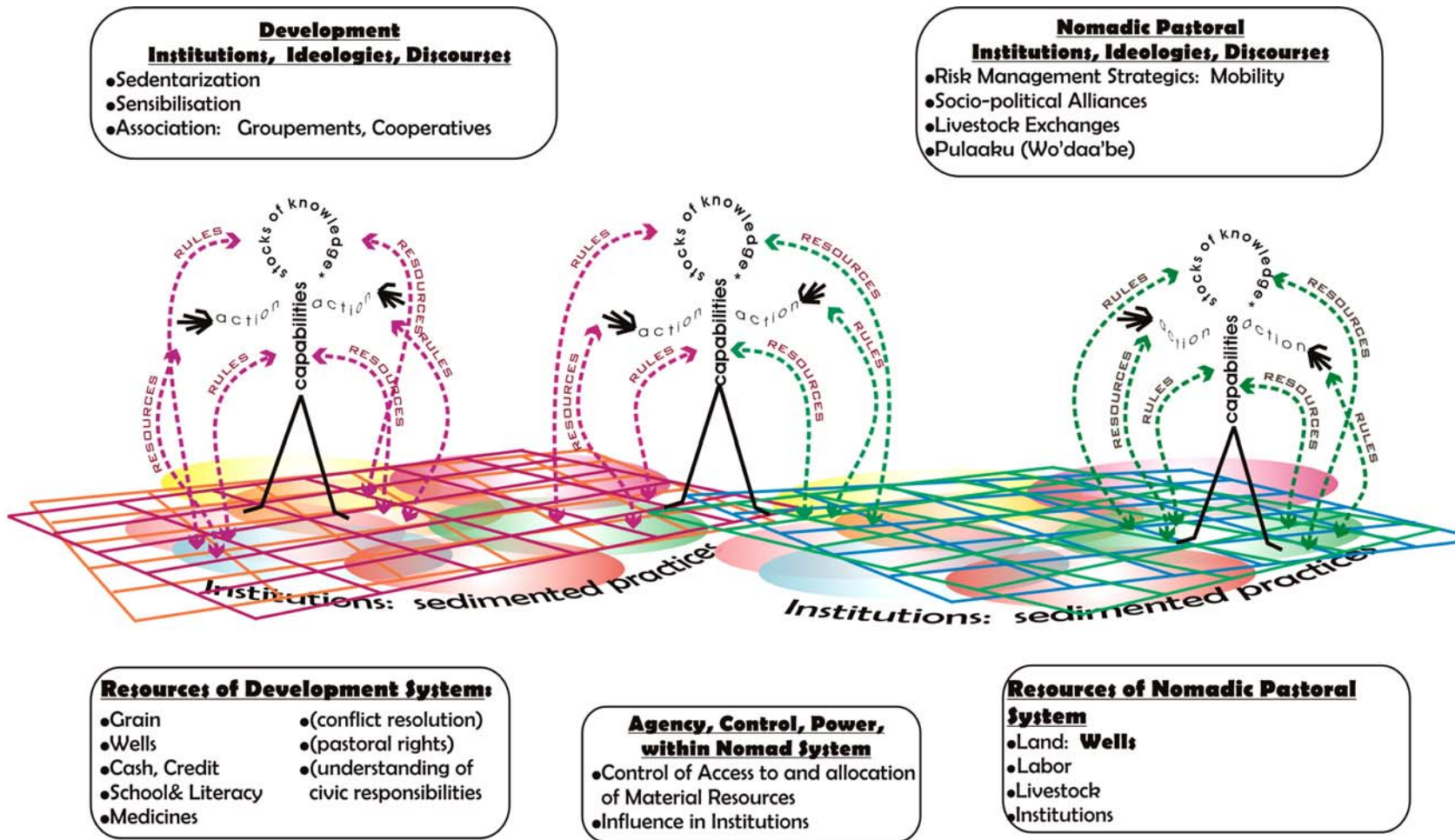


Figure 32: The contradictions of the two systems.  
One actor is able to negotiate a balance between them.



Wells are one of the only resources<sup>39</sup> that the nomadic system and the development system hold in common. Ownership or control of a well is one of the most important pastoral resources, yet, as substantial nodes in networks of interaction, “focal point[s] for ... dialogue and exchange of information,” they fill social as well as productive functions (Thébaud and Batterbury 2001:73). They are one of the most sought after of development resources. A pastoralist who controls a well possesses great influence over the usufructory rights of pastures surrounding that well. The pastoralist with a well perceives an ability to gain other project resources: a cereal bank building, a store (*mangaza*<sup>n</sup>) from which to sell sugar, tea and rice, and a school, which might bring food. Control over a well, conveniently located and with a good water supply, gives a pastoralist some independence, and permits equal relationships of reciprocity. Complemented through a project, a well-*mangaza*<sup>n</sup>-school trio has become the imagined set-up, for some nomads, of a life of prestige and income through continued project inputs. The pastoralist is nudged in this direction of unrealistic expectations by the observation that projects continually provide material resources. The actual operation of such a set-up is never analyzed and many questions remain unanswered. How would the store be supplied, and would it be economically viable? How would children be cared for and would parents actually put them in school? If people settled at the well, how would they feed themselves without degrading the natural environment?

Other resources come into conflict with each other. Herders may have to sell livestock to contribute monetarily to a project, an economic decision of more or less consideration, depending on the wealth of the herder and the perceived value of the return. Projects in general take labor from the household. Any kind of education takes family members out of the labor pool, and this at a time when many young men, some with their wives, embark on labor migration to urban areas. Their younger brothers and sisters must herd and carry out household tasks in their place, with little time left for school. Only families with a large enough labor pool can spare children to school and young men and women to training programs or literacy classes.

#### **STRATIFICATION AND WEALTH DISPARITY**

A nomad, well placed socio-politically and economically well off, may wish to straddle the border area of the two systems. Already practically and discursively conscious of the nomadic

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<sup>39</sup> Livestock projects among nomadic pastoralists seem to be much less common than they were a few decades ago.

system's rules, he must learn to negotiate the rules of the development system. He is then able to access a new economy. Pastoralist societies such as the Woḍaaḅe, despite their reputation of egalitarianism, have never been without stratification nor wealth disparity. The Tuareg society, somewhat anomalous among pastoral peoples incorporated castes of different socio-economic status. While these were disrupted by the French, the ideology of the institution endures. Sáenz (1991) discusses the development of stratifications in one group of warrior aristocrats. Sáenz (*ibid*:102) and Azarya (1996:13) relate an increase in stratification to participation in other economies and increased bureaucratization. Bourgeot (1975:275-277) also links the development of a new form of stratification among the Tuareg of Ahaggar (class exploitation) to the introduction of the new production system of agriculture. Fratkin (1997:238) notes that stratification is rarely a result of internal processes within pastoral groups, but rather a reaction to external contact, such as control by larger states. As was shown with the case of the Horewalde in the Bornu Empire (see chapter 3), acceptance of and participation in an external economy likely lead to greater political stratification and wealth disparity. As illustrated in the previous chapter in the case of the Biḅe-Denki, the rich who can invest more in the new economy will become richer; the nomad well placed within the *tribu* becomes well placed in terms of external politics.

Already one can observe evidence that the allocation of new development resources, and the vertical concentration of resource access, increase individualism, erode customary institutions and threaten the fission of customary socio-political alliances, including the *lenyol*. The addition of development ideology and discourse compounds the effect of new resources, doubly so when combined with the new practices, ideologies and discourses of Woḍaaḅe urban wage laborers. Niamir-Fuller and Turner (1999:34-35) explain the “sense of community” shared by most pastoral groups as embracing a sense of a common future, mutual trust, mutual communication, and a shared set of norms or social capital. Social capital is maintained through the mechanism of reciprocity: the pastoralist who uses another's well during one season is obligated to permit that person the use of his well in another season. In a lateral exchange of social capital and the construction of a sense of community and, reciprocity maintains interdependence and socio-political alliances, including intra- and inter-ethnic relationships. With the injection of material resources from actors with whom reciprocity of social capital is not a norm, the social focus of recipients becomes diverted toward the source of those material goods, and previous

relationships of reciprocity may break down. If the recipients do establish some sort of new reciprocity with development agents, such as contributions toward a project, lines of obligation may be drawn away from customary relationships. On the other hand, recipients of new resources may strengthen previous relations of reciprocity, or construct new ones within the nomadic system on new terms of exchange. The issue at hand, as discussed in the previous chapter, concerns the ignorance of the effects these new resources and relationships have on customary practices to the possible detriment, not only of institutions, but of the environment and economy as well.

### **THE “MARKET”: CONTROL & AGENCY**

The combination of the hierarchical disconnect of the development system with nomadic opportunism contribute to my metaphor of negotiating at the “development market”. Development agencies invest through grants and loans in recipient communities, but from a distance, through the “brokerage” of intermediary organizations. The agents of these organizations possess their own agendas vying at once for control of resource allocation, and recruitment and maintenance of nomadic clients. The Woḍaaḅe as end consumers reflect more or less carefully on the costs of buying into development schemes. They may rational and calculated decisions based on the stocks of knowledge they possess. As they saw little use in stringent Islam and assimilation into sedentary agropastoralism during the Sokoto Empire, many Woḍaaḅe on the range see little use in the projects offered them: “There are no projects that benefit herders (*nafi wainaḅe*).”

The threat of disruption to subsistence production and social alliances causes some Woḍaaḅe to hesitate before accepting everything, including ideology, offered them. Some nomads see no good at all in the proposition and turn away, much as the Woḍaaḅe did who left the Sokoto Empire for the west and north. The Boḍaaḍo who attempts to resist what he perceives as a surrender of agency and independent control over his livelihood may see in the vast space of the pastoral zone enough of the natural resources that will complement his sufficient livestock and labor. Relying on customary strategics, including opportune mobility and judicious use of socio-political alliances, he and his family may subsist without the added input of development resources.

Reflecting the opportunism that permits and promotes success in an environment marked by climatic disequilibrium, the attitude of the Woḍaaḅe seems to be that of savvy bargain hunters.

Men and women, young and old, repeated the same line with little variation in the wording: “We’ll see what’s offered us, choose what looks good and take that.” Some groups have chosen grain when offered, others medicine for cattle and humans, though neither the grain nor the medicine delivered seems to have been sufficient for any of the groups accepting the aid. Other Woḍaaḅe have seen nothing substantial that will help to improve their lives, economically or physically.

The fact that power and status of actors are determined through their access to and ability to allocate resources remains true for both the development and nomadic systems. While the social organization of the nomadic system, especially the Woḍaaḅe, is relatively flexible and reciprocal, that of the development system comprises a relatively rigid hierarchy, with much less reciprocity. The production system of pastoralists relies on a combination of flexibility that permits some individualism and independent choice, and reciprocity that fosters social alliances and a sense of community. The development system relies on a rigid hierarchy for the control of, and accounting for, material resources and the fulfillment of project objectives. Resources come down from the top of the hierarchy and reports work their way back up. Geographically, resources move from city to the range and reports from the range to the city. Because of the imbalance in resource access, the development system cannot demand an equivalent reciprocity that would allow for socio-political alliances between equals. Besides the realignment and focusing of obligations mentioned previously, the allocation of new resources, material or abstract, and the ideological rules for gaining access to them, ignore the interactions of access and allocation with the ecological phenomena of the disequilibrium environment.

#### **ENVIRONMENT, ECONOMY AND NEW STRATEGIES**

While current projects have apparent beneficent goals of assistance, health and education, the discourse of sedentarization in which they are framed point ultimately to degradation of land and pastoral production, and the detriment, not only of the subsistence of pastoral peoples, but also of their substantial contribution to the national economy. A pastoral actor practices his or her agency opportunistically. A shortage of livestock capital may force him to diversify production, including resorting to agriculture or outmigration for wage labor. Those who so desire, return to nomadic pastoralism when their livestock capital becomes viable again. The pastoralist with sufficient capital and other resources will be reluctant (as would anyone) to enter

into any transaction that he perceives as detrimental to the resources he and his family depend on.

Fratkin (1997:235) has remarked on the resilience of the practice of pastoralists who are able to draw a subsistence from arid land with patchy resources that cannot be used for much else.

Nevertheless, pastoralists throughout the world today face more constraints on their economies than at any previous time, threatened by growth of human and livestock populations; loss of herding lands to private farms, ranches, game parks, and urbanization; out-migration by poor pastoralists; increase commoditization of the livestock economy; and periodic dislocations caused by drought, famine, and civil war (*ibid*: 236).

In this era of nation-states, nomadic pastoralists are left with fewer options. It will not be possible to escape the politics that surround them; leaving the country, which some have done, only exchanges one set of politics for another. While one might point out that the Woḍaaḳe have always negotiated political access to land and water, the situation during this era is arguably more complex. The requirements for new political and social strategies for natural resource management and conflict resolution will gravely marginalize the pastoralist who turns away from the society and politics that increasingly surround him or her. Chabert explicitly recognizes this problem in his proposal for DED, *Projet de Renforcement des Organisations d'Éleveurs* (PROE):

Mobility, obligatory in order to exploit scattered and chancy natural resources entails a dangerous marginalization for pastoralists and agropastoralists. This marginalization is due, among other things, to the maladaptation of the models of development conceived in a “sedentary vision” exclusive of mobility (Chabert 2002:6).

The great majority of the pastoral population has not bought into the development planned for them in city offices. The effects of the social and political marginalization that will (or already does) pressure them is not limited to this population, however. The interlinkage of the pastoral economy with the agricultural, and ultimately the national economy, and the maintenance of the natural environment indicate that the well being of the pastoral population is of national concern. This well being entails a pastoral population able to carry out their production in the way best suited to the environment in which they live. Niamir-Fuller (1999b:272) contends that national environmental debates have left out an important group of

stakeholders by failing to include representatives from mobile pastoral populations. Full participation, however, in newly decentralized democracies will be weak, she argues, as long as pastoralists see no immediate advantage to their participation, suggesting that such advantages would include the strengthening of local customary institutions, “empowered with local governance, and allowed to define their own ... objectives” (*ibid*).

## RECOMMENDATIONS

As most local projects need to be organized and implemented by groups of people, and often loans need to be administered and reimbursed, the development agency’s desire for a cohesive, stable group with which to work is entirely understandable. Problems arise when these structures are imposed without the examination of the relationship between these structures and customary institutions. When planners and policy makers use foreign models, in this case sedentary and sometimes semi-sedentary project models, to design programs for “target” communities, the programs are more likely than not to come into conflict not only with the communities wants and needs, but also with the social system of the community. “Community” itself must be examined, as I discussed in the previous chapter. Different types of communities have different ranges of interests, needs, and types of powers, all with varying degrees of visibility (Gardner and Lewis 1996:121). “Needless to say,” avers Niamir-Fuller (1999b:272), “the identification of the community ... should be made by the pastoralists themselves”. The idea that nomadic “communities” are identical to village communities, and the imposition of transfers of organizational models from sedentary to nomadic situations (especially in conjunction with a discourse of sedentarization) will be detrimental to the structural social networks that maintain strategies against risk and crisis in the pastoral zone. While it is true that the two oldest pastoral associations, AREN and DADDO, and the FSRC, seem to make no other requirements of their *groupements* or *coopératives* than the standard *bureau* structure, they also have acquired little knowledge of customary organizations and alliances other than perhaps the structure of the *tribu*, a previous structural imposition. Even if they had an interest in acquiring such knowledge they possess few resources by which to obtain it. The need of nomadic pastoralists for support of livelihood strategies, including socio-political institutions and alliances calls for an anthropological and collaborative approach to pastoral development to devise new models appropriate for mobile populations.

While Thébaud (2001) discusses the complexities involved in the projects desired by the *groupements*, especially wells (*ibid*:19), and the necessity to include the *groupements* in the planning of projects, the information transfer that she recommends is primarily from the upper levels of the association to the *groupements*. The report attributes an “acute lack” of tools for training and information gathering on the part of the *groupements* (*ibid*:20), without remarking on the lack of tools for information gathering on the part of the *coordinations*. She recommends much more financial support from funding agencies: “The little interest of development agencies to support the functioning of the *Secrétariat exécutif* is deplorable” [*ibid*:22]. However, she suggests that these funds be directed only to the “education and training” of *groupements* (*ibid*:23). While the literacy programs that she recommends are very necessary (and perceived so by at least some pastoralists), the context in which literacy programs will be framed by administrators and teachers from outside the nomadic system is also important. As discussed in Chapter 7, a program combined with the ideology of *sensibilisation* and the discourse of sedentarization will be less than helpful.

Chabert admirably supports mobility and local capacity-building in his potentially significant proposal for DED. His proposal offers an example of the possibilities available to a project that accepts nomadism as an important livelihood strategy. As mentioned in the previous chapters, however, it contains weaknesses. He bases the proposal on “debates” or discussions among representatives of *organisations d’élèves partenaires* and communication between the different levels of development. He envisions the facilitation of “*animations*”, or informational or training sessions,<sup>40</sup> of herders for the “acquisition of consciousness (*prise de conscience*) by the members of the *groupements* of their stakes and possibilities of intervention” (Chabert 2002:14). These *animations*, will be carried out by trained local facilitators, from the *groupements*, who will then carry information from the *groupements* to sub-regional and regional levels of debate. Chabert, perhaps with justification, argues that the geographical diffuseness of pastoral groups requires this hierarchical structure, yet the agencies in power are still distanced from recipients of development projects, and their responsibility still diluted through the actions of intermediaries. The agencies will still not have the contextual knowledge within which they might place the information transmitted to them through intermediaries.

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<sup>40</sup> The use of *animation* recalls the word’s close link with *sensibilisation*, though Chabert does not use the latter.

While the Nigerien NGO proposed to facilitate this project seems to have a good record of “research-development” (*ibid*:32-34, 47), and the organizational reinforcement of *groupements*, may work through some of the development hierarchy to obtain the knowledge that I argue for, the budget for the project (*ibid*:41-2) is low, limiting the work that can be carried out in the department. Representatives to debates must come to the regional office in Zinder, something that (as discussed in other chapters) is only available to the pastoralist with sufficient resources. The dependence of the NGO on their financiers, for sufficient resources to carry out the work required of them again threatens to shift their interests toward the objectives of the financiers and away from those of the pastoralists. If those objectives complement each other, this is no problem; but if the financiers do not have the knowledge to reconcile those interests, conflicts of objectives will inevitably result. I would argue that participatory debates, while important, do not go far enough. If the financiers do not themselves demonstrate hands-on concern in the complex situations and strategies of pastoralist peoples, projects may again be conceived in city offices.

Niamir-Fuller (1999:276) proposes “practical solutions for managing mobility” based on the growing interest in placing greater emphasis on civil society and decentralization of political authority. She emphasizes the importance of the concepts of transience, flexibility, participation and social sensitivity to development policy among pastoralists (*ibid*:268-274). Among other suggestions that she gives for the support of mobility, I would accentuate local capacity-building that works with and through traditional institutions (*ibid*:281); rangeland improvement techniques “based on indigenous knowledge and practices” (*ibid*:280); and mobile services, “one of the aspects of development that has been greatly neglected” (*ibid*:286). The implementation of these solutions and development of appropriate pastoral models requires the sort of research that Niamir-Fuller calls for in the quote that opens this chapter. She suggests several ecological and institutional areas for pastoral research in which local actors, the pastoralists themselves, might take part, helping to design protocol, collect data, and analyze information (*ibid*:287). Such a program of research could utilize and reinforce the new skills of literacy course graduates.

#### **FROM OBJECTS TO SUBJECTS OF DEVELOPMENT**

Chambers’ theory and methodology of participation, “putting people first” makes an important contribution to appropriate development. Concepts such as “local, complex, diverse,



dynamic and unpredictable” realities (Chambers 1997:162), and “reversals of power: from extracting to empowering” (*ibid*:154) describe the dense, sturdy foundations of participatory development. Different projects, including Oxfam at Baragoi (Samburu), and Wajir (Somali), Kenya (Birch and Shuria 2001, 2002; Oxfam 1994), and authors (Waters-Bayer and Bayer 1994; Waters-Bayer *et al.* 1995), have demonstrated the efficacy of, and advocated for participatory methodology, among pastoral communities. The “daunting complexities of the pastoral question” that Thébaud and Batterbury cite (2001:69) seem to hinder the progress of participatory approaches among pastoralists.

Guèye (1999), addresses the slow adoption of participatory methods in francophone Sahel, noting that while they are used in natural resource management (primarily PRA, Participatory Rural Appraisal), they have not spread well to other development domains. He insists that participatory processes must be institutionalized within development organizations. By this he does not mean, as might be thought at first, that the processes be cast in the concrete of institutionalism, but that they become sedimented practices. Development agencies must be invested in and established, or instituted, on participatory processes. Organizations and facilitators must be reflexive: “good social critics, able to take into account the philosophical and political dimensions of their methods” (Guèye 1999 :13), and able to develop a theory of participation within the organization. They must recognize that the one-time “targets” of outside development are now the subjects of a development that they own. Instituting participatory theory and methodology in an organization or agency calls for the continued production and reproduction of practices and discourse of participatory approaches—practical and discursive consciences of “reversals of power”. Unfortunately pastoral development in the Damergou remains a far remove from Guèye’s institution of participation and Chambers reversals. The “tools” of PRA, the common practical abstractions from Chambers’ much more extensive principles, do not suffice for the comprehensive understanding of sustainable development. The implementers of MARP (*Méthode Active* or *Accéléré de Recherche Participative*), the French version of PRA, often emphasize “accelerated” rather than “appropriate”. Questionable implementation of PRA by the PPNZ agents in 1997<sup>41</sup> calls to mind Porter’s (1995:65, 80) argument that participatory methodology “de-authors” development, denying agency that might

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<sup>41</sup> One agent commented to me in self-congratulation that they had been able to “complete” a program of PRA in one day. In this case, the “A” in MARP stood for *accéléré*.

constrain development. The Wajir Pastoral Development Project, on the other hand, seems to have institutionalize participatory theory in their interactions with the different communities of the Wajir (cf. Birch and Shuria 2001, 2002).

The nomadic pastoralist in the center of Figure 11 (above) must be joined by the non-pastoralist development agent, by representatives from all levels in the development system. Such representatives would have an understanding of the rules, resources and institutions of not only the development system, but the nomadic system as well. The non-pastoralist who makes the effort to understand the nomadic system will not only be able to contribute that understanding to appropriate development, but, perhaps more importantly, will show respect for the actors and indigenous knowledge within that system. Respect advances the equitable reciprocity and mutual trust necessary for constructing an inclusive “community”.

Collaborative research informs not only the nomad “beneficiary”, but, if accepted “humbly” (cf. Chambers 1997), also enlightens the different agents of development. Participatory or collaborative research must include not only current situations, but consider historical situations as well, in order to frame the present in the context of the past. Such a context will aid in understanding the relations between production systems and the natural environments in which they take place, and the rationales and strategies pastoralists use to cope with the risks inherent in those relations. Research into the structures and mechanics of customary pastoral institutions will help to devise *groupements* flexible in the variable context of Sahelian pastoralism, but strong enough to withstand the trials of project planning and implementation. Perhaps *kinnal* will provide a starting point among the Woɗaaɓe; perhaps other less ephemeral institutions will come to light with more extensive research. Whatever the outcome of an anthropological, collaborative approach, the resulting knowledge cannot help but benefit, even empower, nomad and development agent alike.

The agents of international development agencies, the actors with most power in the development hierarchy, must demonstrate a concentrated interest in the rationales and complexities of the nomadic system, such that that interest will be transmitted through the hierarchy to the intermediate *bureaus*. They and government officials must take stock of their objectives for pastoral development, and consider options that, by benefiting the pastoral population and their mobile production system, will in the long run benefit the whole country. In order not to further marginalize the nomadic pastoralist from emerging decentralized

democracies powerful actors must consider the answers to the following questions: How will nomadic communities in the end obtain education? How will they more consistently access health care? How will they be able to secure and collaboratively manage the rangeland? Prevent conflicts? These issues must be carefully researched, not within the air-conditioned offices of northern donor agencies, but on the range among and with the nomadic individuals whom this development might one day benefit.

A deliberate pursuit of knowledge from recipient communities attribute the members of those communities the respect that they need to enter into the constructive dialogue. Such a dialogue may be the “debates” proposed by Chabert that will establish sustainable development not only of material resources, but also of relationships based on mutually advantageous comprehension.

## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES -- ENGLISH

These interview schedules were followed loosely. We probed if we needed to, and let interviewees expand on their answers, or digress into other interesting subjects. Some questions didn't apply to some interviewees.

### ***Questions for Organizations and International Agencies:***

The questions for representatives of international agencies and those for the representatives of organizations (*bureau* members) were very similar. I have placed parentheses around the questions that may not have been asked of a representative of an international agency.

- I) Name of the NGO / association / agency
  - A) Name of the interviewee
  - B) Structure of the NGO / association / agency
  - C) (Number of persons working in the NGO or association and each of their roles)
  - D) What kind of projects do you carry out?
  - E) Who are your partners?
    - 1) Who are your beneficiaries?
    - 2) (Who are your financers?)
  - F) How long has the NGO / association / agency been functioning (here)?
- II) What projects have you known about among nomadic communities?
  - A) What interested you in this type of project?
  - B) What projects are you involved in among nomadic communities?
    - 1) Who are the partners?
    - 2) Who are the beneficiaries?
  - C) How long has this project continued?
  - D) How many communities are involved?
    - 1) How many people: men, women, young men?
- III) How did the project begin?
  - A) Did you contact the partners, or did they contact you?
- IV) What is your role in the project?
- V) How have you communicated with the other partners in the project?
  - A) How were the communities informed?
  - B) How do the communities communicate with you?
- VI) How have you communicated to the communities their contributions to the project?

- A) Has that worked well?
- VII) How do you communicate your needs to the partners?
  - A) Has that worked well?
- VIII) How have the beneficiaries been able to communicate their needs?
  - A) – to the agency?
  - B) – to the association?
  - C) Has that worked well?
- IX) What are the results up until now?
  - A) What are your reactions about the activities realized so far?
- X) How can one find solutions to the problems encountered in the projects?

***Questions – Questions for Woδaaδe***

- I) What projects have you seen among the Woδaaδe?
- II) What projects have you worked with?
- III) How did you hear about this project?
- IV) What work did you do on the project?
- V) How did you tell the people from the project what you wanted?
  - A) Did it work well this way?
- VI) How did those people working on the project tell you what you should do on the project?
  - A) Did it work well this way?
- VII) How do you feel about this project work?
- VIII) How would you make the work better?

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Those who don't work in a project:

- I) What has prevented you from working on a project?
- II) You didn't want to, or you haven't found/gotten one?
  - A) Why?

## APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES IN LOCAL LANGUAGES

### *Questions pour les organisations ou les agences*

- I) Nom de l'ONG / l'association / agence
  - A) Nom du l'interviewé
  - B) Structure de l'ONG / l'association / agence
  - C) (Nombre des personnes travaillants dans l'ONG ou l'association et leurs rôles chacune)
  - D) Quel type de projet faites-vous ?
  - E) Qui sont vos partenaires ?
    - 1) Qui sont vos bénéficiaires ?
    - 2) (Qui sont vos bailleurs des fonds ?)
  - F) Quelle est la durée de l'association / l'ONG / agence ici ?
- II) Quels projets avez-vous connus parmi les communautés nomades ?
  - A) Qu'est-ce que vous a intéressé dans ce type de projet ?
  - B) Parmi les communautés nomades, dans quels projets êtes-vous impliqué ?
    - 1) Qui sont les partenaires ?
    - 2) Qui sont les bénéficiaires ?
  - C) Quelle est sa durée ?
  - D) Combien des communautés sont-elles impliquées ?
    - 1) Combien des personnes : hommes, femmes, jeunes ?
- III) Quelle était l'initiative du projet ?
  - A) C'est vous qui avez contacté les partenaires ou est-ce eux qui ont vous contacté ?
- IV) Quel est votre rôle dans le projet ?
- V) Comment avez-vous communiqué avec les autres partenaires dans le projet ?
  - A) Par quels moyens les communautés ont-elles était informé ?
  - B) Par quels moyens les communautés communiquent-elles avec vous ?
- VI) Comment avez-vous fait pour communiqué aux communautés leurs contributions dans le projet ?
  - A) Ca a bien marché ?
- VII) Comment avez-vous fait pour communiqué aux partenaires vos besoins ?
  - A) Ca a bien marché ?
- VIII) Par quels moyens les bénéficiaires ont-ils pu communiquer leurs besoins ?
  - A) – à l'agence ?

- B) – à l'association ?
- C) Ca a bien marché ?
- IX) Quels sont les résultats obtenus à ce jour ?
  - A) Quels sont vos réactions sur les activités déjà réalisées ?
- X) Comment trouver des solutions aux problèmes rencontrés dans les projets ?

***Tombayayi na kungiyoyi (Hausa)***

- I) Sunan kungia
  - A) Sunan ka/ki
  - B) Mutum nawa a cikin kungia da woni irin aiki suke yi ?
  - C) Woni irin froje kuke yi ?
  - D) Da wanene kuke aiki ?
    - 1) Wanene kuke taimake ?
    - 2) A ina kuke samon kuɗin aiki ?
  - E) Shekara nawa kuke yin aiki a nan ?
- II) Woni irin froje ka gani a ciki maikiyayin masudaji ?
  - A) Don minene ka shiga irin wannan froje ?
  - B) A cikin woni irin froje na maikyayin masudaji ka shiga ?
    - 1) Da wanene kuke aiki ?
    - 2) Wanene kuke taimake ?
  - C) Wata nawa ko shekara nawa froje yake aiki ?
  - D) Gidaji nawa suke aiki a cikin froje ?
    - 1) Mutum nawa : maza, mata, yara ?
- III) Yaya froje ya hwara ?
  - A) Ku, kuka hwara zance da wanda kuke aike da su yanzu a ciki froje ? Ko, su suka hwara zance da ku ?
- IV) Kai/Ke, mi kake/kike yi a cikin froje?
- V) Yaya kake zance da wanda kuke aike da su yanzu a cikin froje ?
  - A) Yaya mutane suke samon labari ?
  - B) Yaya mutane suke ba ku labari ?
- VI) Yaya kuke gaya wa mutane wanda kuke taimaken su abinda yakamata su bada na froje ?
  - A) Yana yi daiɗai ?
- VII) Yaya kuke gaya wa wanda suke bada kuɗin aiki abinda da kuke bukata ?



- A) Yana yi daiɗai ?
- VIII) Yaya mutane, wanda kuke taimaken su, suke gaya abinda suke bukata ?
- A) – a wojen masu kuɗi ?
- B) – a wojen ku ?
- C) Yana yi daiɗai ?
- IX) Mi kuka yi yanzu ?
- A) Yaya ka/kika ji da aiki da kuka yi yanzu ?
- X) Yaya za a samo abinda za a yi a gyara matsala a cikin froje?

***Çamol – Çamde Wodaabe (Fulfulde)***

- I) Nɗume proje giidon nder modon Wodaabe ?
- II) Nɗume proje kuudodon ?
- III) Noye nanɗon iɗunɗon proje ?
- IV) Ngale kuugal kuedon nder proje ?
- V) Non baɗon yesidum duniyaru proje kon giidon
- A) ɗum vooɗi ?
- VI) Non huwaɓe proje gestore'on ko baɗoton nder proje ?
- A) ɗum vooɗi ?
- VII) Noye giidon kuugal proje ɗun ?
- VIII) Noi ɗum waɗata gam ɗum vobina kugal ?

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Be nkudai i proje:

- I) Ko hadi on kudai i proje ?
- II) On giɗɗai naabo on keɓai proje ?
- A) Koje ?

## APPENDIX C: ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| ADDR :       | Appuis Danois au Développement Rural (Cellule de Coordination)  |
| ADP/Jigal :  | Association du développement pastoral   |
| ANDZP :      | Association Nigérien du Développement de la Zone Pastoral   |
| AREN :       | Association pour la Rédynamisation de l'Élevage au Niger  |
| BIA :        | Banque Internationale de l'Afrique  |
| CCA :        | Cellule de Crise Alimentaire: an ensemble of donors under the direction of the office of the Prime Minister of Niger        |
| CLUSA :      | Cooperative League of the United States of America  |
| CoFo :       | <i>Commission Foncière</i> : land (tenure) commission ; B : du Base ; T : Tribale ; V : Villageois : government institution |
| DANIDA       | Danish Development Agency   |
| DED :        | Deutsche Expertengruppe Dementenbetreuung: German Development Service   |
| ESF :        | Eleveurs sans frontières : national NGO   |
| FNC :        | Fédération nationale des coopératives : national organization   |
| FNEN/DADDO : | Fédération Nationale de l'Élevage au Niger: national association  |
| FSRC :       | Fédération sous-régionale des coopératives : arrondissement level   |
| IFAD :       | International Fund for Agricultural Development (United Nations)  |
| LCP :        | Lutte Contre la Pauvreté: Struggle Against Poverty, a UNDP program  |
| MARP :       | Methode (Accélérée) Active de Recherche Participative   |
| NRLM :       | Niger Range and Livestock Management Project (USAID)  |
| ONG :        | Organisation non-gouvernementale  |
| ONG-AN :     | ONG-Assistance Nomade : regional NGO  |
| PENCE :      | Projet Élevage du Niger Centre-est : French sponsored project   |
| PPNZ :       | Projet Pastoralisme Nord Zinder : French sponsored project  |
| PRA :        | Participative Research and Action   |
| PSPB :       | Projet pour la sécurisation et protection de bétail (ADDR/AREN)   |
| SNV :        | A Dutch development agency (allied with the government of the Netherlands)  |
| UNDP :       | United Nations Development Programme (French: PNUD)   |
| USRC :       | Union sous-régionale des coopératives : previous form of FSRC   |

## APPENDIX D: DESCRIPTIVE ITINERARY

My research into nomadic community development returned me to the region of the Damergou, an area with which I was intimately familiar. I lived in this area for more than ten out of seventeen years. Based in the town of Tanout beginning with a Peace Corps posting, I later traveled, lived and worked with the Gojen-ko'en *lenyol* of the nomadic Woḍaaḅe. The multifaceted focus of my research (and the fact that my husband lives and works in Zinder<sup>42</sup>) kept me on the road between Zinder and Tanout, to market villages within the Tanout *arrondissement*, and to two areas in Tanout's pastoral zone. I also spent some time in the capital, Niamey. My log of interviews reads like a peripatetic travel log.

During my stay in Niger I made two major changes to my original proposal. Firstly, in my initial week in Zinder, I realized that much more development activity involved pastoralist organizations in Zinder and Tanout than I had been aware of. I scrapped a tentative plan to conduct research in Bermo, in the neighboring department of Maradi. Secondly, the lateness of the rainy season, the high price of camels, and general fears of bandits in an area north of Tanout contributed to the delay and curtailment of my travel among nomadic camps. Of the three months that I spent in Niger, I was only able to spend three weeks in the pastoral zone, much less than I would have liked.

I flew in from Paris and landed in Niamey in the evening of Thursday, May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2002. On Saturday after the unsuccessful visit to the national office of AREN (see Introduction), my husband and I left for Zinder, a long day's voyage in a commercial "bush taxi". Most of my first week in Zinder was spent waiting for my assistant Maman Manzo, a Fulḅe man with whom I'd worked on various projects since my first days in the Peace Corps. Meanwhile I made some contacts with members of various organizations in Zinder, prepared for future interviews, and listened in on conversations between my husband, his relatives and a couple Nigerien development agents.

When Manzo arrived we reviewed and modified the French and Hausa questionnaires for different organizations and began to polish the Fulfulde questionnaire for the Woḍaaḅe nomads. The questionnaires were very similar, though that for the nomads contained some different questions from those for the agents. On Friday, May 17<sup>th</sup>, we carried out our first interview with

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<sup>42</sup> My husband is Bo'daa'do (pl. Woḍaaḅe) of the Gojen-ko'en clan.

the regional president of AREN. On Saturday, I began my almost weekly trips to the Tanout market to search for the horse and camel that I hoped would carry Manzo and I to the Woḍaaḅe camps. During the second week, Manzo and I stayed in Zinder to interview the president of *ONG-Assistance Nomade* (ONG-AN)<sup>43</sup> and the women’s secretary of DADDO.<sup>44</sup> On Wednesday, May 29<sup>th</sup>, we traveled to Tanout to meet with the adjunct to the *sous-préfet* of Tanout and interview the *arrondissement*-level presidents of AREN and ONG-AN. Over the weekend, Manzo and I made plans to go to local markets to contact Woḍaaḅe attending those markets. This would prove to be more difficult than I expected, as Woḍaaḅe whom I didn’t know were often reluctant to speak with me. At Kelle Kelle, however, our first market, we met two men whom I knew; one had worked with Manzo and I in a community analysis project. We conducted good interviews with them, but had no luck with one man’s wife or some other women who had come to the market.

Later in the week we interviewed the vice-president of AREN in Tanout, and traveled to Gourbobobo to speak with the *laamiḍo*, the official chief of the Fulḅe in the Tanout *arrondissement*. After the Tanout market (where I was able to buy a horse), we returned to Zinder for week four to meet with and interview the agent of *Appuis Danois au Développement Rural—Cellule de Coordination* (ADDR), a project of DANIDA, the Danish aid agency, responsible for the project’s partnership with AREN. We also interviewed the vice president of *Fédération Nationale de l’Elevage au Niger* (FNEN/DADDO) and *Eleveurs sans frontières* (ESF).<sup>4</sup> On June 6<sup>th</sup>, we attended a monthly networking meeting of representatives from all of the local associations and NGOs in Zinder concerned with pastoralism or natural resource management.

During week five, Manzo and I returned to Tanout to make a tour of markets east of the highway from Zinder to Tanout, beginning on Monday, June 10<sup>th</sup>. We had to go to Bakin Birji to find transport in a large grain truck, overnight, to Ajiri’s market. Our truck’s driver waited until about 11:00 p.m. for a storm to pass—the first of the season that I experienced. Manzo rode in the back, standing among many other passengers. I napped and jounced in the cab between the driver and the merchant owner of the truck as the truck skipped, plunged and ground over the

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<sup>43</sup> ONG: *Organisation non-gouvernementale*, NGO

<sup>44</sup> The Fulfulde name of the association *Federation National d’Elevage du Niger*, affiliated with the local NGO *Eleveurs san frontiers*.

sandy ruts of the dirt road. Our traveling companions included some Katsinin-ko'en villagers returning from work in Libya. We slept briefly on the ground in a village along the road while our truck made a side trip. We entered Ajiri about 9:30 in the morning. We'd been told we might find a Boḍaaḍo woman involved with DADDO. We were found instead by Woḍaaḍe men who engaged us in a very interesting interview. Early the next morning, Wednesday, we traveled to Kokaram market in another large transport truck. This time I rode in the back with Manzo, on top of various baggage and merchandise, between a man holding a young buck, two other standing men who threatened, involuntarily, to step on me, and sheep. The driver stopped two or three times to pick up more passengers and sheep, until we joked that in his greed he would soon attempt to squeeze in cattle and camels. We spent the day under a large tree at the edge of the market where I conducted brief interviews with people not involved in projects; I found no one involved in development here. We returned to Tanout in the midst of a horrendous gritty windstorm.

On Friday we met with the head of the *Elevage* government service in Tanout. The next week we met with several members of government services and local associations in Tanout, beginning with three interviews on Monday, June 17<sup>th</sup>. During the seventh week Manzo and I traveled back to Zinder to attend a meeting of many of the same representatives from the networking meeting, but which revolved around the demonstration of a participatory resource assessment tool. I also contacted the departmental *service de l'Elevage* to collect livestock market statistics and speak briefly with two government agents.

On Saturday, June 29<sup>th</sup>, I returned to the Tanout market to finally find a camel to buy, and early on Sunday morning my husband and I left for Niamey. While this trip was primarily personal, I was able to carry out some research at the *Institut du Recherche des Sciences Humaines* (IRSH), a library affiliated with the University of Niger that holds manuscripts, articles and reports of diverse research carried out in Niger; many of the documents are not available anywhere else. I was able to add several copies of research reports and articles to my growing collection of copied documents from various organizations and government services. I also completed my collection of large-scale maps of the Tanout *arrondissement*. Besides the national executive secretary of AREN, my husband and I also tried to contact the national president of FNEN/ESF, whom we both knew. Though we briefly crossed paths with him on a city street, we were not able to meet up with him for conversation.

After returning to Zinder, I traveled back to the Tanout market to meet up again with Manzo, and on Sunday, July 7<sup>th</sup>, we traveled up to my brother-in-law's camp near Sallaga, a well owned by my husband and his brothers. I was finally able to see people whom I'd not seen in about four years. I spent two weeks at this camp with a trip back and forth to Tanout market in the middle of my stay. I held informal conversations with the men, women, and young men who lived in the five Gojen-ko'en households camped together. The rainy season was beginning in a very fitful and random manner at this time. I had planned to ride west through the pastoral zone to a northern town where other brothers-in-law and their wives were enrolled in a French literacy class for Woḍaaḳe. Because of the uncertainty of water and the threat of bandits, however, the Gojen-ko'en men advised against this trip. Not enough Woḍaaḳe had migrated into this area, they said, to make it safe for travel. Manzo and I tried to find the households of another *lenyol* whom we'd heard were camped in the area, but scattered rainfall prompted those camps to move and they escaped us. At the end of our stay, another group of households from a different *lenyol* moved south to camp very close to the Gojen-ko'en. Manzo and I hiked over to speak with their leader.

On Friday, we began the trek back to Tanout for the market on Saturday, July 20<sup>th</sup>. I had planned to travel north to a market where I'd been told other Gojen-ko'en might attend, but by very good luck, a large number of men had come down to Tanout market from Tchingoragen where the majority of the *lenyol* had collected. While Manzo returned to Zinder and his home village for a ceremony, I accompanied the Gojen-ko'en in another transport truck north to Tchingoragen. I spent a week visiting several different families of old friends, at times discussing my research. On my last day I was able to meet with the *tarde arḍo* and members of the local Gojen-ko'en *bureau* of AREN and DADDO. We discussed their current projects, conversations that I'd had with the men at Sallaga, and the possibilities of small projects that the Gojen-ko'en might initiate on their own.

The next Friday I returned to Tanout for Saturday market, packed up my house in Tanout and returned to Zinder on Monday, July 29<sup>th</sup>. While I wrapped up personal business in Zinder, Manzo and I went over an interview that he'd held with a Nigerien agent of *Lutte Contre la Pauvreté* (Fight Against Poverty), a United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) agency. We also met informally with another member of the FNEN/ESF *bureau*. On Sunday, August 4<sup>th</sup>, my husband and I returned to Niamey and I left for Paris and the States on August 9<sup>th</sup>.

## APPENDIX E: HINDRANCES, DEFICIENCIES AND REGRETS

Can one researcher cover everything? It was certainly not feasible to gather all potential information on this project in three months. I've mentioned a few of the constraints that delayed my data collection: in particular, the lateness of the rainy season and the threat of bandits prevented me from traveling freely in the rangelands. One major lacuna in my data is observation of interaction between the agents of intermediate organizations and nomadic *Woɗaaɓe*. I began my research with the desire to avoid any impression that I was allied with one organization (though I have worked with members of two associations). One group was eager at first to have us accompany them on a tour among the nomadic communities, but I was very occupied in trying to obtain interviews in both Tanout and Zinder. Then the invitation seemed to fade, whether because the organization board members thought that I was not interested, or they had other occupations. I heard about other activities in Tanout after they happened, while I was in Zinder or a village. I must say that I concentrated more on semi-structured interviews than participant observation, a possible shortcoming on my part. If I had concentrated on one project or one intermediate organization, I certainly could have carried out both interviews and participant observation. This would have placed me squarely in the camp of that organization, however, with the different pressures and expectations attached to such an alliance. I hoped that my multi-faceted focus would provide me a broader picture of the “development scene” in the Damergou. This focus in the short time available to me seemed to necessitate a reliance on interviews over observation. I draw on previous participative experience with projects and intermediate organizations to round out the information gathered through interviews.

These interviews were not always easy to obtain—usually not through any fault of the people involved, but because of the contingencies of actually meeting up with busy individuals. The communication and transportation infrastructure in Niger, especially in Tanout does not support the same intensity of investigation that one might expect in the States. As an everyday example of potential frustration, we walked three or four times the kilometer between my house and the *sous-préfecture* in an effort to meet with the *sous-préfet*. I have no phone to find out whether the *sous-préfet* is available or to make an appointment. I never did talk to him, but spoke with his adjunct on my arrival in Tanout. We also made two or three attempts to meet with other government service agents before we actually were able to interview them.

Unfortunately I interviewed extensively only one woman. My questioning of nomadic Wodaabe women about development consisted of a very few, brief, negative or ambivalent statements. I needed much a better consideration of an approach to gender, and better questions in order to adequately delve into the ideas and contemplations of Wodaabe women. I also needed a much more concentrated effort to examine the position of nomadic women in development. I was prepared for none of this, nor had the time to fill in this deficiency in my procedure. Such a concentration awaits further research dedicated to the women's perspective.



## APPENDIX F: PRONUNCIATION

### *Pronunciation Key for Fulfulde and Hausa*

Both Fulfulde (the language of the Fulbe) and Hausa (the language of the Hausa people, and the *lingua franca* of most of Niger) contain glottal stops (implosives), which have been written, especially for Fulfulde in various ways. Some authors, including Dupire and Stenning have used the Greek letter  $\delta$  and the Cyrillic letter  $\delta$  for the most common Fulfulde glottal stops. Other authors, including Bonfiglioli, use capital B and D. I find the latter method confusing, and as contemporary word processors are able to produce the former letters, I have used them in the text.

$\delta$  : ('b) bilabial voiced implosive

$\delta$  : ('d) dental/alveolar voiced implosive

$\zeta$  : ('y) alveolar/palatal voiced implosive

c : (sh – Fulfulde) unvoiced alveolar fricative; voiced in Hausa (ch)

' : glottal voiceless plosive

$\kappa$  : ('k – Hausa only) palatal voiced implosive

Vowels are generally pronounced as in Spanish.

a : “a” as in father

e : “a” as in hay

i : “ee” as in meet

o : “o” as in dote

u : “oo” as in boot

A double consonant (nn) is given extra emphasis; a double vowel (aa) is held slightly longer.

Fulfulde words are generally accented on the first vowel. Hausa, however, is a tonal language with about three different meaningful tones.

## APPENDIX G: GLOSSARY & NOTES ON TRANSLATION

### *French*

Many of the French words used in the names of organizations are similar enough to the English that they need no translation here. The few words that do need translation are found here among other words whose meanings I find so intrinsic to life and relationships in Niger that their translation into English would diminish their value.

*Alphabétisation*: literacy

*animateur* (m.), *animatrice* (f.): the person, in the past an extension agent, who carries out *animation*

*animation*: used with *sensibilisation* in the sense of “animating” people or a community to implement development projects in the correct manner

*autogare*: the “bush taxi” and market truck station

*banques alimentaires de bétail*: “banks” placed in villages that stock supplementary feed for livestock, e.g. cotton seed or wheat bran usually imported from Nigeria

*banques céréalières*: cereal banks

*bétail*: livestock

*brousse*: “bush” as opposed to village or town; nomads live in the bush: *en brousse* (see *ladde*, below in Fulfulde; *daji* in Hausa)

*bureau*: “executive board”, the common term for the group of administrative members of any organization at any level

*chef adjoint* or *adjoint*: adjunct (to the director of a technical service)

*chef*: director of a technical service; chief of an official *tribu*; also “boss”, or “main”, “primary”

*chefs lieux des cantons*: cantonal capitals

*Code Pastoral*: a code for the pastoral zone of Niger proposed by national pastoral organizations

*Code Rural*: a legislative code for the rural areas in Niger

*Commission Foncière*: land (tenure) commission; a commission to prevent conflicts over land use or access

*Coopération Française*: the French government bilateral development agency; (sometimes *DANIDA* the bilateral Danish government development agency, is referred to as *Coopération Danoise*)

*coordination*: the regional and subregional groups within AREN that mediate between the *groupements*, and the national *bureau* and funding agencies.

*demande d'agrément*: application of a local association or NGO asking permission to be officially recognized

*élevage*: literally “raising”; in this context, livestock raising or animal husbandry; this wording is may be translated as “herding” when speaking of pastoralists.

*éleveur*: a livestock raiser; in this context, generally a “herder” or “pastoralist”

*foncière*: landed, in this context with the implication of “land tenure”

*Grande Rencontre*: literally a “large encounter”; the name of a networking meeting in Zinder of representatives from all of the associations and NGOs concerned with pastoralism or natural resource management

*groupements associatifs*: the community associations that make up the larger local association

*Organisation non-gouvernementale (ONG)*: Non-governmental organization (NGO)

*Peul, Peulh*: Pullo or Fulɓe

*quartier*: an officially recognized neighborhood of a city, town or village

*régler*: regulate, control

*sensibiliser, sensibilisation*: literally, to sensitize, sensitization; could mean “to make aware”, but used in the sense of training someone to act and think appropriately.

*suivi*: follow-up, evaluation

*terroirs d'attache*: literally “territories of attachment”; a phrase associated with the process of decentralization and the *Code Rural* indicating an area which pastoralist groups would claim as a “home base”.

*tribu*: the official name of a group of pastoralists; in the case of the Woɗaaɓe, usually parallels the segmentation of lineages.

*vie associative*: “associative life” – training in which *groupements associatifs* are trained in the correct way that an association should function, including the duties of *bureau* members.

## ***Fulfulde***

Besides my experience and interaction with the Wodaabe of the Damergou, the following resources have been very helpful:

1971 Dictionnaire elementaire: Fulfulde Francais English: Elementary Dictionary.  
Niamey, Niger: Regional Documentation Centre for Oral Tradition.

Maliki, Angelo B.

1981 Ngaynaaka--L'Elevage selon les Wodaabe. Niger Range and Livestock Project.  
Rapport Préliminaire, No. 2. Tahoua, Niger: USAID.

*arɗo* (*arɗoɓe*): literally “leader”, the title of the migration leader, or of *tribu*, in the latter case, synonymous with *chef*

*ɓaartol*: (relatively longer) seasonal migration

*çavol*: cold season

*ceedu*: dry (hot) season; *ceedi* (v.): to spend the dry season

*ɗaɗo*: the men’s area to the west of (in front of) the camp

*dimdol*: to load up and move; may be glossed as nomadism

*doli*: a Hausa loan word implying necessity – “il faut” in French

*duɗal*: camp; defined by Bonfiglioli (1988) as the combination of the household (and patriline) and the cattle herd (and lineage)

*ereji* (*erewol*): papers, documents, notes, messages

*garso*: migration scout

*gonsol*: (relatively short) camp movement

*dimdol*: camp movement

*haɓɓa-na’i*: “tie a cow” – a social mechanism for redistribution of livestock wealth (syn. *naanga-na’i*)

*jaange*: to read

*kina’*: nose

*kinnal*: a meeting of men to discuss moves, migrations and ceremonies

*laamiɗo* (*laamiɓe*): may be translated as “chief”, a title assigned by the rulers of states, from pre-Empire times through to the present day; now a title for nomadic Fulɓe equivalent to a cantonal chief

*lawol*: road, path, way

*lenyol (lenyi)*: primary lineage

*likita*: from Hausa; doctor, nurse, clinic, health care

*ladde*: bush, as opposed to household (*wuro*), camp (*ɗuɗal*), or village (*si'ire*)

*mangaza*<sup>n</sup>: from the French *magazin*; a store or storehouse from which commodities (tea, sugar, salt, grain, etc.) are sold

*naanga-na'i*: “catch a cow” – a social mechanism for redistribution of livestock wealth  
(syn. *haɓɓe-na'i*)

*naate*: to enter, to join

*nasara-ko'en*: from Hausa *nasara*; non-Africans, primarily Europeans or Americans

*ngainaako (wainaɓe)*: herder

*nafti; nafata*: to improve (something)

*perol*: a long migration to a new region (e.g. to escape drought or conflict)

*seembe*: strength

*talaka*: from Hausa; common people, poor people

*tarde (taare)*: secondary lineage

*wuro (gure)*: household, camp, family

### **Hausa**

*daji*: “bush” as opposed to village or town; nomads live in the bush

*doli*: implying necessity – “il faut” in French; used in Fulfulde as well

*kungiya*: association

*likita*: doctor, nurse, clinic, health care

*sarki (sarakuna)*: chief, king

*talaka*: common people, poor people

*tsohon tunani*: old thinking

## APPENDIX H: CURRENCY

Niger uses the currency of the franc CFA of West Africa. The “dollar” of the fCFA is a thousand francs, or 1 *mille*. In Hausa and Fulfulde, the “penny” is the common 5 franc piece, 1 *dala*, as 1 franc pieces (*tama*) are not circulated. Thus, as shown in Table 2 (next page), currency denominations in Hausa and Fulfulde must sometimes be multiplied by 5 in order to find the correct French denomination. One million francs, a common denominator for projects, is called by both Hausa and Fulbe *million*, with the French pronunciation. It is understood, however, not as 1,000,000, but *dubuji kemi didi* in Fulfulde, and *jika dari goma* in Hausa.

| <b>French</b>         | <b>Hausa</b>   | <b>Fulfulde</b>  |
|-----------------------|--|--|
| 1 franc               | = tama (not used)  |  |
| 5 francs              | = dala   |  |
| 100 francs            | = dala ashirin (20)  |  |
| 500 francs            | = dari (100)   | hemri (100)  |
| 1000 francs (1 mille) | = jika (200)   | kemi δiδi (200)  |
| 5 mille               | = jika biyar (five 200s)   | dubu (1000)  |
| 1 million             | = million – understood as:<br>jika dari goma<br>(200 x 100 x 10) | million – understood as:<br>dubuji kemi δiδi<br>(1000 x 100 x 2) |

Table 2: Table of currency names in Hausa and Fulfulde.

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Facilitation Coordinator for Community Assessment: September 1996 – April 1997 (funded by Lutheran World Relief, Niger).

Coordinator for Para-Veterinarian Training: September 1995 – April 1996 (funded by Lutheran World Relief, Niger).

Ethnographic Surveyor of Agro-pastoralists of the Tanout arrondissement: April 1994 – September 1994 (USAID/Niger).

Coordinator for Non-Formal Education sector of Pre-service Training: June 1992 – September 1992 (Peace Corps Niger).

Peace Corps Volunteer: July 1985 – October 1988 (Peace Corps Niger).

### **Invited Presentations:**

Development Agents and Nomadic Agency. Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology. Portland, Oregon, 21 March 2003.

Participatory Rural Appraisal/Participatory Learning and Action. Workshop Series on Participatory Methods. University of Kentucky Appalachian Center, March 2002.

Community Development among Wo'daa'be Communities. Lutheran World Relief Partnership Conference. Bobo-dialassou, Burkina Faso, 1996.

### **Grants and assistantships:**

Teaching Assistantship, University of Kentucky. August 2002 – May 2003.

Lambda Alpha Charles Jenkins Research Award. May – August 2002.

Kentucky Opportunity Fellowship. University of Kentucky Anthropology Department. August 2001 – July - 2002.

### **Publications:**

Participatory Mapping : A review. (2002). Constructive Citizen Participation Quarterly Newsletter Vol. 29(4):3-5.

Must nomads settle? (1998). Baobab Vol. 27. Dakar, Senegal : Arid Lands International Network.