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978-1-107-11905-5 - From Slavery to Aid: Politics, Labour, and Ecology in the Nigerien Sahel, 1800–2000

Benedetta Rossi

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## From Slavery to Aid

*Politics, Labour, and Ecology in the Nigerien Sahel,*

1800–2000

*From Slavery to Aid* engages two major themes in African historiography, the slow death of slavery and the evolution of international development, and reveals their interrelation in the social history of the region of Ader in the Nigerien Sahel. Benedetta Rossi traces the historical transformations that turned a society where slavery was a fundamental institution into one governed by the goals and methods of ‘aid’. Over an impressive sweep of time – from the pre-colonial power of the Caliphate of Sokoto to the aid-driven governments of the present – this study explores the problem that has remained the central conundrum throughout Ader’s history: how workers could meet subsistence needs and employers fulfil recruitment requirements in an area where natural resources are constantly exposed to the climatic hazards characteristic of the edge of the Sahara.

**Benedetta Rossi** is Lecturer in African Studies at the School of History and Cultures of the University of Birmingham. She is editor of *Reconfiguring Slavery: West African Trajectories* and coeditor (with Anne Haour) of *Being and Becoming Hausa: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, as well as author of many articles focusing on slavery and emancipation in Africa and on international aid to Niger.

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*For Alessandro Rossi and Federica Rossi Germani,  
and in memory of Mary Germani*

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**BENEDETTA ROSSI**

*University of Birmingham*



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## Preface and Acknowledgements

When I first travelled to Northern Ader in 1995, my initial interaction with this region was mediated by a development discourse that characterised its inhabitants as victims of an inexorable process of desertification that had to be stopped through the intervention of aid programmes and projects. This discourse was powerful because it set criteria for monitoring, classifying, and acting upon the region and its inhabitants. It evaded criticism because it was couched in a language that mobilised universal humanitarian values. It was both ahistorical and apolitical, for it represented its own operation in technical terms and failed to acknowledge the historical process by which Ader had come to be governed by the ideas and methods of planned development. And it was ubiquitous: it was reproduced with only minor variations in all circles and milieus, and appeared to be all there was to know about Ader. I decided to make the study of this discourse and its effects the main focus of a PhD in Social Anthropology at the London School of Economics.

In 1998, I returned to Ader to conduct long-term fieldwork for my doctoral thesis, which analysed the social impacts of aid based on theories in the Anthropology of Development. Upon completion of my doctorate, I thought that my study had couched Ader's society in yet another narrative meaningful primarily to a small set of Western academics, but historically too shallow to account for local identities, strategies, and inequalities. I was left with more questions than answers: I wanted to find out how the current situation had come into being, what subjectivities had existed prior to the development of 'development', and how one could write about Ader's society using analytical concepts derived from

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the study of Ader's past, and not from questions set either by international interventionism in Africa or by alien theoretical agendas.

Hence, in a certain sense, this book has been written backwards. Its final chapters illustrating the contemporary situation contain anthropological research that began in the mid-1990s and was recurrently updated in the years that followed. Preceding chapters are the result of about twelve years of postdoctoral research focusing on Ader's social history. They could not have been written without the help of many of my friends and informants in Ader and Tahoua, and of Nigerien researchers and colleagues in Niamey. This book is a social history of Northern Ader that covers approximately the last two centuries. Its primary focus turned out to be the problem of labour in a context where, due to environmental and climatic conditions, returns to labour are low and unpredictable. But Ader's history could not be reduced to a generic account of what climate did to people. In a place where no one could escape the harshness of climate, the same conditions had different consequences for people with unequal opportunities – slaves and masters, Hausa farmers and Tuareg herders, colonisers and colonised, 'developers' and 'beneficiaries'.

Its perspectival approach emphasises multiple perspectives rather than one objectifying account of 'what happened in Ader'. The perspectives discussed here are not the idealised roles that researchers sometimes deduct from their own interpretation of social structures. And they are not the 'priorities of aid recipients' listed in the developers' formulae of human salvation. Rather, they are the partial viewpoints of real people: an old woman of slave descent reminiscing about her youth, a young migrant planning his journeys, an adept of *bori* negotiating with the spirits, a French *Commandant de Cercle* writing to Tuareg chiefs in the desert and military superiors in the capital, an Italian hydraulic engineer gauging the volume of a water stream in Ader's dry crevasses. The book's perspectival approach examines how interrelated people at different moments in time made choices that shaped history.

At the outset of this study I wish to record my gratitude to all the people in Ader who contributed valuable information, time, and ideas to my project. I hope I have done justice to their testimonies and that this book will be meaningful to them and their children. The generous support of several research institutions made research for this book possible. From 2005 to 2008 I benefited from a three-year research grant from the Economic and Social Research Council (UK), located at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the School of Oriental and African

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Studies (London), which allowed me to spend one year in Ader in 2005. From 2008 to 2011 I held a UK Research Councils Fellowship based at the School of History of the University of Liverpool, where I wrote a first draft of the book. In 2008 and 2009 I held, with Anne Haour, a joint AHRC/ESRC Research Network Award on religion and identity in Hausa history. From 2008 to 2011 I participated in an international research network focused on mobility and migrations in West Africa funded by the Agence Nationale pour la Recherche (France) and coordinated by Dr Monique Bertrand. Funding from this network allowed me to carry out research in Niger in 2008 and 2010. Research and writing for this book would not have been possible without the generous support of these institutions.

The first people who helped me in Ader were Dr Renato Carucci and Dr Dario Tricoli. I owe to Dario everything I know about hydraulic works in Sahelian environments and an awful lot of my initial insights into Ader's society. In Niamey, I relied on the help and friendship of Paolo Giglio, Honorary Vice-Consul of Italy in Niger. Professor Mahaman Tijani Alou is an esteemed colleague and a friend: I look forward to continuing our collaboration in the future, both with him and with the researchers of the LASDEL team. This book draws from Professor Djibo Hamani's important writings on Ader's history. I wish to thank Nigerien colleagues of the Université Abdou Moumouni and the Institut de Recherche en Sciences Humaines of Niamey for enriching discussions, and in particular Mahamane Alio, Abdou Bontianti, Addo Mahamane, Seini Moumouni, and Harouna Mounkaila. Alhaji Soumaila Sani helped me with the translation of Arabic and Hausa Ajami manuscripts. I am immeasurably grateful to Dr Idrissa Maïga Yansanbou, Director of the National Archives of Niger, whose professional advice and assistance made a major contribution to this study.

In Keita the Canton Chief, Sarkin Mahaman Chana Rabo, supported my research and facilitated every aspect of my work. I thank him sincerely and hope that he may find this study interesting. I am grateful to Alhaji Karim Ladan Kaoura, also – but not only – for putting me in contact with my senior assistant, Ahmadou Seydou. While I am entirely responsible for this book's interpretations, Ahmadou's collaboration has been vital to all aspects of the research process, especially in 2005. Others who supported me in important ways have been Mohamed Bachard 'Bacho', Abbas Aboubakar, Nasser Dilleha, Boubakar Oufagui, Rabi Adamou, and Aboubakar 'Alhaji' Houzza. The friendship of Kalenkal, Ghoumar, Taki, Issouf, Aichatou, Mariama, and their children made a tremendous

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difference to my life in Keita: I will never forget the time spent together. Kalenkal accompanied me to Dubugu, which felt like the end of the world. In 2008, Mohammed ‘Tubali’ was a precious assistant, and I could not have solved many problems without him. In 2010, Djibrilla Aboubakar accompanied me to Madaoua, Galma, and Arzerori and introduced me to the Sultan of the Tatmakkarat Kel Gress, who was a most generous host.

In Tamaske, Sarki Mahammadou Cheffou ‘Dan Malle’ kindly supported my research. I benefited from the collaboration of Malam Mamman Sani, whose critical reflections were always stimulating, and of Malam Lawali and Alhaji Ibrahim, who conveyed to me the immense resourcefulness and entrepreneurship of Tamaske’s businessmen. I do not think I would have survived in Ader without the company of my dearest friend Hajara Abdou, *née* Hajara Kader, and the warm support of her family, who made me feel at home in Keita. Aghali Assadeck made available to me his writings on Lissawan history and tradition. Malam Calla Zambo of Kirari shared his knowledge of local history and custom with me. Houssa Atessa, Hama Houssa, and Salifou welcomed me and shared their knowledge with me in Tinkirana Tounga ever since I first visited Ader in 1995. Joël Le Corre enriched my time in Niger and Europe with his profound humanity and intellectual curiosity.

In the UK, Henrietta Moore has been a great mentor ever since I first started researching Ader for my PhD. Her ‘passion for difference’ inspired me to seek out the motivations behind people’s actions. I am most profoundly indebted to Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias, who read the entire manuscript and provided moral support and precious advice from the beginning to the end of my work on this book. His attention to the intellectual projects of the authors of our sources has influenced my research in ways too general to be properly acknowledged in footnotes. In Liverpool, Professor Charles Esdaile provided insightful comments on an earlier version of Chapter 3. Will Ashworth, Harald Brown, Esme Cleall, Zachary Kingdon, Alexander Morrison, and Dmitri Van den Bersselaar were great comrades. I am thankful to Stephanie Kitchen for her balanced and constructive help in the process of turning a manuscript into a published text. The Cambridge University Press editorial team of the African Studies series was helpful and supportive. For the final revisions, I benefited from the professional collaboration of Mike Kirkwood: I greatly appreciated his thoughtful advice.

Since January 2012 I have been fortunate to enjoy the inspiring companionship of colleagues at Birmingham. I am particularly grateful to

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Many have been close to me at various stages of research: few words on a page cannot adequately express my gratitude to Dimitrios Giokas, Ezio Martelli, and Victoria Boydell, the 'daughter of feminism'. Professor Michele Arcangelo Padula and the teachers of the Liceo Classico E. Q. Visconti in Rome placed the intellectual foundations for the studies that followed. This book is dedicated to my parents, Alessandro Rossi and Federica Rossi Germani, who gave me the curiosity and determination without which none of this would have been possible, and to the memory of my aunt, Mary Germani, who showed me that others deserve respect and understanding in their own terms. Finally, I wish to thank Roman Frigg for being my wonderful companion and most insightful critic – and for making it all worthwhile.

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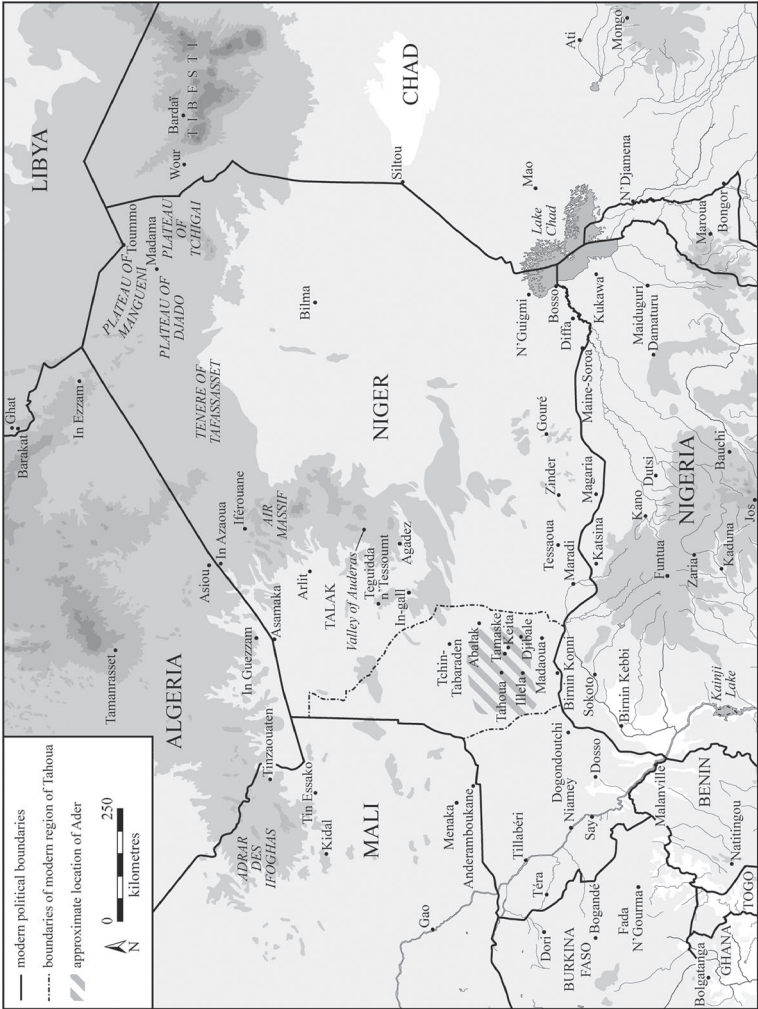
*Preface and Acknowledgements*

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

I am grateful to Henry Buglass and Miles Irving for their help with the design of this book's maps, and to Camille Lefebvre for allowing me to use her digitisation of the Anglo-French borders map taken from the *Documents Scientifiques de la Mission Tilho, 1906–1909*. Map 3.1 was informed by maps in the annexes of Camille Lefebvre's doctoral thesis *Territoires et frontières: Du Soudan central à la République du Niger, 1800–1964*. I am also grateful to Brill Publishers for letting me include Figure 2.1, which appeared as an illustration in my article in *Being and Becoming Hausa: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Figure 2.3 is reproduced from Maurice Abadie's *La Colonie du Niger* published in 1927 by the now extinct Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, Paris. Figure 5.1 is courtesy of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. Figure 5.2 is taken from the Bulletin of January 1984, no. 1, of the now extinct *Comité National de Développement* (CND), copies of which are openly accessible in the National Archives of Niger and other public libraries. All other photos are my own.



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MAP 1.1 Ader, the Region of Tahoua, and broader study area



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## Note on Language, Names, and Anonymisation

I have used the dictionaries listed in this section as a support for the transcription and translation of texts in Hausa and Tamasheq. For the Hausa spoken in Ader, known as Aderci, Bargery's *Dictionary* is particularly useful. I occasionally employed Matsushita's addendum to Bargery on the Hausa of Azben (Aïr) and Caron's 'Lexicon' based on the author's study of the Hausa of Ader. Mijinguini's Hausa-French dictionary was also helpful, especially for translating names of plants and trees found in the Republic of Niger. Polly Hill's 'Alphabetical Commentary including Hausa Glossary' provides a discussion of some Hausa institutions as she observed them in the 1970s in Northern Nigeria, which is of comparative interest.

- Bargery, G. P. *A Hausa-English Dictionary and English-Hausa Vocabulary*. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege for Oxford University Press, 1951 [1934].
- Matsushita, S. *Bargery Toolbox 1, Hausa Dialect Vocabulary, vol. 1, Azben Vocabulary*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1993.
- Caron, B. 'Lexique Haoussa-Français', in *Le Haoussa de l'Ader*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1991.
- Mijinguini, A. *Karamin Kamus: Dictionnaire Élémentaire Hausa-Français*. Niamey: Editions GG, 2003.
- Hill, P. *Rural Hausa: A Village and a Setting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972. See 'Alphabetical Commentary including Hausa Glossary', pp. 199–337.

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*Note on Language, Names, and Anonymisation*

- Abraham, R. C. *Dictionary of the Hausa Language*. London: Published on behalf of the Government of Nigeria by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1949.

The Tuareg dialect spoken in Ader is the Tawlemmet (*Tawəlləmmət*) of the Eastern Iwellemmeden, for which Prasse, Alojaly, and Mohamed's *Tuareg-French Lexicon* is the most helpful dictionary. Charles de Foucauld's *Dictionary of Proper Names* was particularly useful for ethnonyms and toponyms. Donaint's peculiar text provides a critical translation of geographic terminology into Hausa, Tamasheq, Djerma-Songhay, and Fulfulde. Jeannine Drouin has studied the Tamasaghlalt dialect spoken by the Kel Eghlel Ennigger of northern Ader.

- Prasse, K. G., Alojaly, G., and Mohamed, G. *Lexique Touareg-Français*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 1998.
- De Foucauld, C. E. *Dictionnaire Abrégé Touareg-Français de Noms Propres: Dialecte de l'Ahaggar*. Paris: Larose, 1940.
- De Foucauld, C. E. *Dictionnaire Abrégé Touareg-Français: Dialecte Ahaggar*. 2 vols. Published by R. Basset. Algiers: J. Carbonnel, 1918–1920.
- Donaint, P. *Les Cadres Géographiques à Travers les Langues du Niger*. Niamey: Institut Nigérien de Recherches en Sciences Humaines, 1975.
- Drouin, J. 'Nouveaux éléments de sociolinguistique touarègue. Un parler méridional nigérien, la tamasaghlalt'. *Actes du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques* (G. L. E. C. S.), XXIV–XXVIII, années 1979–1985. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Geuthner, 1984, pp. 507–520.

Unless otherwise stated, I have translated all of the French quotes cited in the text.

## TRANSCRIPTION OF COMMON AND PROPER NAMES

In the interest of legibility, I transcribed Hausa and Tuareg terms following the forms commonly used in the specialist literature, and I minimised the use of special characters. Hence, I have written Kel Gress, not 'Kel Gərəs'; Kel Denneg, not 'Kel Dənnəg'; Kel Eghlel, not 'Kel Əylal'; and Azawagh, not 'Azāway'. The transcription in Tamasheq characters of words that recur in the text is provided in the Glossary. I retained Hausa

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hooked letters (b, d, k, B, D, K) and ‘y/Y’ because omitting them could have introduced ambiguities in meaning. There is no standard convention for transcribing a large number of Ader’s ethnonyms and toponyms, which are not reported in the main dictionaries (e.g. Lissawan, Tawantakat, Imiskikian, Inoussoufan, Abalkoran, and Gawalley). In these cases, I followed common usage in oral and, when available, written sources. For the names of present-day towns and villages, I referred to the official spelling adopted by the *Institut National de Statistiques du Niger*. I am grateful to Dr Abdou Bontianti for making available to me official lists of village, township, and district names.

## THE NAME ‘ADER’

Dating the first occurrence of the name ‘Ader’ – or, more correctly, Adār – depends on establishing the antiquity of the set of manuscripts known as Agadez Chronicles.<sup>1</sup> If the date attributed to ‘Manuscript J’ (*Memoires de Aboubakar fils de Attaher-Tachi*) were verified, the name ‘Ader’ would appear to have been used for this region at least since the second half of the seventeenth century. ‘Ader’ (or adār), pl. idarān, means ‘leg’ in Tamasheq.<sup>2</sup> Oral tradition derives the name ‘Ader’ from the words that the Sultan of Agadez, Mohammed Al Mubarek, supposedly told his son Agabba when the latter was embarking on the conquest of the region: ‘Agabba, you shall take care of that foot’.<sup>3</sup> According to this tradition, the Sultan used this term to designate what was to become a southern extension of Air. Urvoy, quoting local informants, argues that Agabba himself named the country Ader when he tripped over his feet as he was entering the region.<sup>4</sup> According to Francis Nicolas, in Tamasheq ‘Ader’ means ‘land of crevasses’ (*ravins*).<sup>5</sup> This meaning is confirmed in Prasse, Alojaly, and Mohamed’s *Dictionary*.<sup>6</sup> ‘Doutchi’ in Hausa means ‘stone, rock’. The expression ‘Ader Doutchi’ would then mean ‘Ader of the mountains’, in contrast to ‘Ader Gulbi’, used to refer to the southern

<sup>1</sup> Different versions of the Agadez Chronicles have been published by Palmer, Tardivet, and Urvoy. Ader appears in all of these documents, although the texts collected and published by Tardivet, and by Palmer as ‘Notes on Some Asben Records’, mention it only marginally. See Palmer, ‘Notes’, pp. 388–400; Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. 3, pp. 46–74; Tardivet, ‘Sultans de l’Air’, pp. 659–94; Urvoy, ‘Chroniques’, pp. 145–78.

<sup>2</sup> De Foucauld, *Dictionnaire abrégé dialecte Abaggar*, vol. 1, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Hamani, *Contribution*, p. 104. <sup>4</sup> Urvoy, *Histoire des populations*, p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> Nicolas, *Tamesna*, p. 42, footnote 1, and p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Adār (plur. idarān) in Prasse, Alojaly, and Mohamed, *Lexique*, p. 53.

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area, which connects Ader to the Majiya Valley.<sup>7</sup> The contemporary toponyms ‘Ader Gulbi’, ‘Ader Douchi’, and ‘Majiya’ were introduced by the French colonial administration.<sup>8</sup> I am indebted to Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias for pointing out to me that in Azawagh and Aïr the primary meaning ‘leg’ is retained for *adār*. The secondary, metaphorical meaning of ‘small tributary stream’ or ‘narrow valley’<sup>9</sup> is commonly used in place names, for example, the town of Aderamboukane on the Mali–Niger border, or ‘*Adār-en-Bukar*’.<sup>10</sup> ‘*Adār*’ or ‘*Adar*’ – and not ‘*Ader*’ – would be the correct transcription of this toponym. ‘*Ader*’, originally an erroneous colonial transcription, is currently the most commonly used form in Nigerien official sources and the closest to common pronunciation, and has been retained in this book.

## ANONYMISATION

Some of the information provided in the following chapters was shared with me on condition that I would not reveal my informants’ identity. Whether I was, or was not, explicitly asked to do so, I have anonymised testimonies that could yield unwanted consequences for their authors. These include testimonies that provide information on the slave origins of particular individuals and groups, because slave descent carries stigma for its bearers; testimonies describing animist practices and beliefs; and information, views, and opinions about powerful people that were shared with me confidentially. In all of these cases I have anonymised informants in the footnotes. However, the section ‘Testimonies and Interviews’ in the Bibliography provides the actual names of informants, location, and date of interviews. This information (separated from specific quotes) reveals where I collected oral testimonies, when, and from which sources.

## NOTE ON THE TERMINOLOGY OF SLAVERY

In the region that today is part of the Republic of Niger, slavery was abolished under colonial rule in 1905. In the following chapters I have used the term ‘slave’ to describe enslaved persons for the period preceding colonial legal emancipation (1905). For following periods, I refer to ‘persons of slave descent’, or ‘slave descendants’, whenever this

<sup>7</sup> Nicolas, *Tamesna*, p. 1.<sup>8</sup> Echard, *Expérience*, p. 17.<sup>9</sup> Prasse, Alojaly, and Mohamed, *Lexique*, p. 53.<sup>10</sup> Letter by P. F. de Moraes Farias dated 12 April 2007.

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information was analytically relevant. Quotes reported verbatim retain the terminology used by the authors. After legal emancipation, and until the present day, categories denoting slave origins have continued to be used anachronistically in Ader, and in many parts of West Africa, to designate members of groups believed to descend from slave ancestors. Used generically, today these categories often function like ethnonyms, but carry derogatory connotations. They include the following terms: *iklan* (generic Tamasheq name for ‘slaves’); *bawa* (generic Hausa name for ‘slave’);<sup>11</sup> Buzu or Bugaje (Hausa name for Tuareg slaves and slave descendants); and Bellah (term used in Mali for Tuareg slaves and slave descendants; in Niger this term was commonly used in colonial correspondence). While these terms imply humble origins, they should not – in spite of their literal meaning – be understood as suggesting that the persons identified as such today live like slaves; the context clarifies when these terms are used literally to comment on persons thought to be enduring conditions analogous to enslavement.

<sup>11</sup> In Ader, the plural of *bawa* is *bayu* (not ‘*bayyi*’ as in Kano Hausa); Caron, *Lexique*, p. 275.

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Currency Conversion Rates

(As of January 2014)

- 1 FCFA = US\$0.0020
- 1 FCFA = UK£0.0013
- 1 FCFA = €0.0015

In January 1994, Niger’s FCFA, then pegged to the French Franc, was devalued by 50 per cent.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADM	Ader Doutchi Majiya
AFN	Association des Femmes du Niger (Association of the Women of Niger)
AIN	Association Islamique du Niger (Islamic Association of Niger)
ANN	Archives Nationales du Niger (National Archives of Niger)
ANSE	Association Nationale des Sans-Emploi (National Association of the Unemployed)
AOF	Afrique Occidentale Française (French West Africa)
ART	Archives Regionales de Tahoua (Regional Archives of Tahoua)
BCEOM	Bureau Central d’Etudes pour les Equipements d’Outre-Mer (Central Bureau for Overseas Logistics)
CFDT	Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles (French Company for the Development of Textiles)
CILSS	Comité Inter-Etats de Lutte contre la Sécheresse au Sahel (Permanent Inter-State Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel)
CND	Conseil National de Développement (National Development Council)
COLOMIVAL	Comité Local pour la Mise en Valeur de la Plaine d’Ibohamane (Local Committee for the Development of the Valley of Ibohamane)

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CS	Club du Sahel, now SWAC, Sahel and West Africa Club
CTP	Conseiller Technique Principal (Primary Technical Coordinator)
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DFD	Division Femmes et Développement (Women and Development Division)
FAC	Fonds d'Aide et Coopération (Fund for Aid and Cooperation)
FAIL	Fond d'Appui aux Initiatives Locales (Fund for the Support of Local Initiatives)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FCFA	Franc de la Communauté Financière Africaine (Franc of the African Financial Community)
FFK	Foyer Féminin de Keita (Keita Women's Club)
FIDES	Fonds d'Investissements pour le Développement Économique et Social (Economic and Social Development Investments Fund)
GO	Government Organisation
IFAN	Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (Fundamental Institute of Black Africa)
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
ORSTOM	Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique d'Outre-Mer (Office for Overseas Scientific and Technical Research)
OSRO	Office for Sahelian Relief Operations
PAM (WFP)	Programme d'Alimentation Mondiale (World Food Programme)
PDL/ADM	Projet de Développement Local dans l'Ader Doutchi Majiya (Local Development Project of the Ader Doutchi Majiya)
PDR/ADM	Projet de Développement Rural Intégré de l'Ader Doutchi Majiya (Rural Development Project of the Ader Doutchi Majiya)
PIK	Projet Intégré Keita (Integrated Rural Development Project of the Ader Doutchi Majiya)

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PPN/RDA	Parti Progressiste Nigérien/Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (Nigerien political party)
SD	Société de Développement (Development Society)
SMUH	Secrétariat des Missions d’Urbanisme et d’Habitat (Town and Habitat Planning Missions Bureau)
SOGETHA	Société Générale des Techniques Hydro-Agricoles (General Society for Hydro-Agricultural Techniques)
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNCC	Union Nigérienne de Crédit et de Coopération (Nigerien Union for Credit and Cooperation)
UNCOD	United Nations Conference on Desertification
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNSO	United Nations Sudano-Sahelian Office
US	United States
UTE (BTU)	Unité Territoriale Élémentaire (Basic Territorial Unit)
WFP (PAM)	World Food Programme (Programme d’Alimentation Mondiale)
ZAI	Zone d’Action Intégrée (Integrated Action Area)

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