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Economic Statistics and Agricultural Policy in African context: Example of Market Information Systems in Cereal Market Reform of Mali

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Invited paper prepared for presentation at the International Association of Agricultural Economists Conference, Gold Coast, Australia, August 12-18, 2006

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Economic Statistics and Agricultural Policy in African context: Example of market information systems in Cereal Market Reform of Mali

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1. Introduction

Reliable and relevant statistical information, when driven by policy requirement, can contribute significantly to successful formulation and implementation of development policies and programmes. Starting from the early 80's the Government of Mali with assistance of a group of Development Partners undertook a profound policy reform of its cereal market within a broader economic policy of structural adjustment. The reform lead to the total liberalization of cereal prices on the market and resulted in substantial increase in cereal production as compared to past policy by which Government fixed both producer and consumer prices with no consideration of market. The Mali cereal market reform is considered as one of the success stories in West Africa. It has been abundantly documented, evaluated and presented at several international fora. One major instrument used in support of the cereal market reform process was the establishment of an effective market information system.

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¹ This paper is prepared by the author in his personal capacity and the paper does not reflect FAO position in any way.

This paper discusses the contribution of market statistical information to the successful implementation of the policy reform leading to cereal market liberalization in Mali.

2. Overview of Mali Cereal Market Reform Mali: "Programme de Restructuration du Marché Céréalier (PRMC)"

2.1 Background and broader socio-economic and political context

The Republic of Mali is a landlocked Sahelian country in North West Africa where agriculture and livestock play a major role in the economy as employer of the rural population and the main source of food and income for the majority of the population. The cereals sub-sector is the main source of staple food of Malian population with 70% of the total calories in the diet come from cereals. *Millet, maize, sorghum and rice* are the main cereals grown. Cereal production is mainly done in the form of subsistence farming (family farms) for self consumption with about 20% only entering the market. Millet, maize and sorghum are mainly rain fed crops while rice is produced in irrigated or semi-irrigated land with the Office du Niger² providing the bulk of rice production. It is estimated that urban consumers devote between 18 to 30% of their total expenditures to cereals. Mali like most of the Sahel countries is frequently stricken by drought which puts periodically at risk the food security of a large segment of its population.

Given the strategic importance of cereals sub sector in Malian economy and society, the government and its partner donor agencies have given high priority, since late 1970's, to

² Office du Niger is a state operated irrigation scheme providing full water control.

improving the performance of the cereal market as an incentive to boost production in this sub sector.

Structural Adjustment Program

Starting from 1981, the Government of Mali engaged in a broad range of macroeconomic policy reforms to introduce more liberalized and free market economy with greater role of private sector as opposed to previous administered economy inherited from the socialist and centralized economy in place since the independence of the country in 1960. The reforms involved:

- dismantling and selling of state enterprises
- permitting the private sector (including independent farmer and trade organizations)
 to compete in areas formerly reserved for the state
- removal of legislations and barriers to domestic and international trade

These reforms were undertaken as part of a profound Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) agreed with Breton Woods Institutions in order to face the widening budgetary deficit and economic disfunctionning and crisis. The SAP aimed at far reaching structural changes in the economy, including the (i) transition from an administered economy to a market economy; (ii) a transition from an economy dominated by state enterprises to a more competitive structure; (iii) a transition from a subsistence economy to a commercial economy.

Political changes to multiparty democracy

The structural adjustment was implemented in the context of intense socio-political debate and struggle as the short term social cost was significantly high with layoffs of thousands of government workers, reduction in recruitment of new civil servants, changes in tax codes and collection policies and closing of state enterprises. The struggle to which all segments of the society contributed lead to political turmoil and radical changes in 1991 with instauration of multiparty democracy. These changes contributed to the liberty of association and expression with the establishment of local and free radio stations all over the country which all had an impact on the cereal market reform process.

Devaluation of the CFA currency

The devaluation of CFA Franc (50%) in January 1994 impacted significantly on the cereal market internally and at sub-regional level. It stimulated an increase in the level of agricultural value added, regional trade in food products and an increase in food prices (Mbaye Yade and al., 1999).

2.2 Why a Cereal Market Reform?

After the independence of the country in 1960, Mali adopted a socialist regime with centralized economy and established state managed enterprises and societies in all sectors of the economy. In 1964 the state created an official grain marketing agency, the "Office Malien des Produits Agricoles (OPAM)" with legal monopoly on grain trade. Through OPAM, the Government fixed official producer and consumer prices with the aims of: (i)

increase in rural income; (ii) provision of cheap cereals to urban areas; and (iii) extraction of a surplus from agriculture to finance state investment in other sectors.

The Government fixed producer and consumer prices for major food crops across the country and for a whole agricultural year and required producers to sell their crops to OPAM. The OPAM in turn distributed the grain through consumer cooperatives where consumers had to purchase their cereals. In fact, OPAM was able to handle only 20 to 40% of total grain marketed in the country which corresponds to only 3-6% of the total production. Private trade could not be totally eliminated despite the fact that it was considered illegal. The repression of the private trade forced traders to operate clandestinely and seek all sorts of arrangements which increased risk and transaction costs.

This situation of depressed price incentives combined with a severe drought in the early 1970's resulted in Mali becoming a net importer of grains from a situation where the country was a net exporter of cereals. In the 1960's, Mali had a net export varying from 9000 and 37000 tons a year. In the 1970's the country had annual imports between 20000 and 191,000 tons (Niama Nango Dembélé and al. May 2003). OPAM was obliged to sell commercial imports of cereals at low official consumer prices. At the same time, the Government raised official prices in an effort to stimulate cereal production after the 1970's drought without a proportional increase in consumer price in order to preserve living standard of urban population and civil servants (implicit consumer subsidies). These measures led to an increasing and cumulated budget deficit at OPAM (the deficit was estimated at about \$ 80 million in 1976/77). To face consequences of drought, Donors assisted with Food Aid.

However, Donors were increasingly reluctant to finance OPAM's accumulating deficit and raised insistently concerns about mismanagement of the grain board and the major disincentives to domestic production of its monopoly and system of official cereal prices. Therefore, donor pressure for cereal market reform mounted in the late 1970's.

2.3 Overview of Cereal Market Reform theoretical foundations, process, outcome and impact³

In March 1981, the Government of Mali agreed to a policy reform program aiming at (i) increasing producer and consumer prices; (ii) liberalizing grain trade; (iii) improving OPAM's operating efficiency. The reform process was based on the idea of using food aid to finance market liberalization. The Government and donors agreed to a multi-year food aid program in exchange of a series of reform proposals. The food aid was sold and the receipts fed a common fund used to finance specific market restructuring actions agreed. The basic hypothesis underlying the reform was that by opening up the market to private competition, traders and processors would invest in the trade and compete for grain supplies, thus creating incentives for farmers to increase cereal production. Long-term benefits were expected both at producer and trader levels.

Farmers: The reforms were conceived on the belief that the removal of official prices would lead to rise in producer prices, creating incentives for farmers to increase production. It was

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³ This brief presentation of the PRMC draws heavily on a paper by Niama Nango Dembélé and John M. Staatz presented at a Workshop in 1999 in Nairobi, Kenya. For detailed presentation see Niama Nango Dembélé and John M. Staatz, 1999 and also Niama Nango Dembélé and al. 2003.

considered that more remunerative prices would lead to shift in orientation of grain producers from subsistence to commercial strategies.

Traders: For traders, benefits included a reduction in transaction costs as private traders no longer would be forced to operate clandestinely. This was supposed to lead to increase in the scale and degree of specialization in trader's operations and reducing marketing costs and risks. Reduced risk would stimulate entry of new operators into cereal marketing, increasing farm level demand and farmers incentive to produce more for markets. Elimination of restrictions on inter-regional cereal trade would allow equilibration of supply and demand over space and contribute to more stable market and greater private investment in grain production and marketing.

The objectives of the reform were grouped into three main categories: (i) sector adjustment measures: changing the roles of state in cereals production and marketing, mainly through the restructuring of OPAM and the Office du Niger; (ii) Strengthening the market through assistance to private sector as it took more responsibilities in the newly reformed market. A major action was the establishment of a public cereals market information system ("SIM - Système d'Information sur le Marché"). Other actions included, subsided marketing credit to private traders and village associations and other support measures to the actors of the cereal processing and marketing chain. (iii) food crisis prevention and mitigation to deal with short-term food crises by financing national security stock, the food crisis early warning system and transport of food aid to areas requiring emergency food distribution.

The reform did not include activities to directly improve farm level production and productivity.

The reform was conducted in a phased and pragmatic approach over several years and encouraged learning by doing and avoiding doctrinaire approaches. In the absence of prior empirical research, the initial design of the reforms relied heavily on hypothesis derived from economic theory. Therefore, a lot of investments went into research to learn and document more about market processes and strengthen local analytical capacity to monitor and analyze agricultural markets.

Some major outcome and impact of the reforms include:

Grain Market

- Expanded entry into of new traders into Cereals Marketing and more competitive markets. For example it is estimated that in 1985/86, 51% of Bamako grain wholesalers had entered the market after liberalization (Nama Nango Dembélé and al., 1999)
- Expanded Investment in Cereals Trade, by traders mainly in transport and infrastructure, including storage facilities. Its is estimated for example the average storage capacity per trader increased from 61 tons to 761 tons between 1981 and 1989 for traders operating in Bamako and two other major cities.
- Increase in volume of Malian cereals traded, particularly on regional markets. It is
 estimated that the liberalization of cereal markets combined with the devaluation of
 the CFA franc resulted in a significant increase in grain exports: from 7,468 tons in

1987/88 and 1992/93 to 30,000 tons between 1994/95 and 1998/99 (Mbaye Yade and al., 1999).

Cereal production

- Important increase in rice production (annual growth rate of 9% between 1980 and 1997) largely due to substantial yield increases in the irrigated area of the Office du Niger.
- Increase in other cereals production. However, production increase was mainly due to increases in areas planted for maize, millet and sorghum with no significant increase in yields (see figure. 3 in annex). Despite substantial producer price increases, it seems that these crops did not show signs of intensification leading to increased factor productivity (Mbaye Yade and al., 1999). This is due to various constraints such as the lack of adequate technology and agronomic environment.

Market integration

- Substantial increase in the integration of grain markets at national level were achieved. The average correlation of retail millet prices across major urban markets in Mali increased from .70 in mid 80's to .97 during the 90's (Niama Nango Dembélé and al., 1999).
- Markets became more integrated also at regional level. Regional trade flows of cereals increased sharply

Market Prices Stability

• The reform seems not to have lead to stability in prices of cereals as both producer and retail prices remained volatile, in particular after the devaluation of the CFA.

3. Contribution of Market Information System to successful implementation of the reform

3.1 Market Information Service

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) defines market information service as: "A service, usually operated by the public sector which involves the collection on a regular basis of information on prices and, in some cases, quantities of widely traded agricultural products from rural assembly markets, wholesale and retail markets, as appropriate, and dissemination of this information on a timely and regular basis through various media to farmers, traders government officials, policymakers and others, including consumers" (FAO, 2001).

Market information can be used by those involved in the marketing process to make better marketing decisions. In theory, improved access to information leads to an improved understanding of the working of the market. This means that the decisions made by participants should be more informed and the profitability of their operations should be enhanced.

Efficient market information can therefore have positive benefits for farmers, traders and policy makers. Up-to-date market information enables farmers to negotiate with traders and also facilitates spatial distribution of products from rural areas to towns and between markets.

3.1 Establishment and evolution of a Market Information System to support the Cereal Market Reform

In introducing cereal market reform in 1981, the Malian Government put an end to the administered cereal price system and corresponding controls and legislations which limited the official involvement of the private sector in the cereal market. The private traders rapidly adapted to the new environment and benefited from the situation of uncertainty prevailing after these reforms as they used their own informal information system. The producers and farmers were the losers since they could not bargain their products for better prices due to their lack of information on price levels on urban and rural markets and the trends over a given period. They were penalized by this information asymmetry.

In order to correct this deficiency in the reform process, the Malian Government, with the assistance of a group of partners established in 1989 a market information service.(Niama Nango Dembélé, 2002)

The process of establishing a unified, sustainable and client-oriented market information system, its reorganization to adapt to evolving client information needs are well described in various detailed reports and papers prepared at various phases (see USAID/MSU Fact Sheet-

Mali Market Information Project, 2003). The current system is the result of various adjustments made over more than 15 years, after studies, evaluations, discussions with all stakeholders and strategic decisions regarding orientation and focus of the MIS.

The overall goal of establishing the market information system was to "foster an efficient, timely, reliable, and donor-independent agricultural and food marketing system" and "strengthen the capacity of the private and public sectors to use the resulting market information effectively to promote agribusiness growth and food security" (USAID and MSU: Fact Sheet. Mali Market Information Project, 2003).

3.2 Organisation and functioning of the Market Information System

Fifteen years after its establishment, after various critical and in-depth evaluation and analysis of strengths and weaknesses and debate among stakeholders, the current MIS is organized on the form of an Observatory (Observatoire du Marché Agricole-OMA) outside the central administration with a large autonomy. The current organizational structure and mandate are the result of consensus among all major stakeholders.

The OMA, initially located at the grain board (OPAM) was transferred in 1998 to the Permanent Assembly of the Chamber of Agriculture of Mali (APCAM) which represents 80% of Malian rural population. The OMA has 25 local information collection and diffusion units (*Unité locale de Collecte et Diffusion-ULCD*) located in all regions of the country. These local units are linked to the Central Office in Bamako by radio-phone system equipped

with modems, facilitating the dissemination of daily market reports throughout the country using a network of local radio stations. The operating cost of OMA is supported 100% by the Government since 2000 while all costs were covered by donor funds before (USAID/MSU Fact Sheet. Mali Market Information Project, 2003).

<u>Geographical coverage</u>: price and other market information are collected on 66 representative local markets across the country (31 production markets, 10 wholesale markets and 32 consumer markets)⁴

Products œverage: Maize, millet, sorghum, rice, horticultural products (cucumber, carrot, okra, Irish potatoes, big white onion, shallot, mango, orange, banana, lemon and aubergine). Data on livestock prices and numbers traded, supplied, demanded and exported is obtained from a sister livestock market information system run by Malian Livestock and Meat Office ("OMBEVI"). Agricultural input prices amounts traded is obtained since 2002 from the International Institute of Soil Fertility (IISF).

<u>Data collected</u>: For cereals: production price, consumer price, wholesale price at time of purchase and selling. For horticulture products, consumer price is collected in most cases. Other statistics reported include the amount of cereals offered by producers in local weekly markets as well as the amount of cereal that flows into the wholesale markets of Bamako and regional capitals and the amount of cereals traded by wholesalers.

⁴ Seven of the eight regional capitals play both the role of consumer and wholesale markets hence the difference between physical markets (66) and collection points (73).

<u>Data processing and dissemination</u>: the data is processed with laptop computers using solar energy. Individual market data is centralized using e-mails to 25 regional offices of OMA. These regional offices process and summarize the information which is immediately disseminated via the private local radio stations both in French and local languages. Weekly and monthly reports and weekly TV communiqués on cereal and livestock prices are issued. Data is also disseminated via the web and e-mail to a members of a regional network of market information systems.

<u>Target:</u> Farmers, traders, processors, public institutions and decision makers

Its is estimated that about 70% of Malian population listen to the information on cereal market, including the populations living in very remote localities.

3.3 Contribution of MIS to reform

Increased marketing flexibility at farmer level. With access timely market prices, Farmers have strengthened their bargaining position and can benefit from favorable temporal price variation. It is estimated that most stocks are now detained by farmers not traders. They can potentially use a wide range of marketing strategies to maximize their return to crop production. It is believed that the increase in marketing flexibility results in part from the creation of the SIM. The system improved farmer's access to timely market information essential to allow farmers to take advantage from the new strategies and receive higher prices for their crops

<u>Increased market competition</u>: It is estimated that improved market information facilitated the entry of new cereal traders into the assembly, wholesale and retail markets, resulting in lower marketing costs. Greater market transparency contributed also to reduction in marketing costs.

<u>Substantial increase in the integration of grain markets at national level</u>. As indicated above higher average correlation of retail millet prices across major urban markets is a sign of more integration of these markets. The availability of agricultural market information facilitated the move of grains from one market to another depending on supply and demand and price levels.

Improved integration of the national and West African cereal markets and increase in regional trade flow. As a results of improved knowledge of market opportunities, directly attributable to the market information system, its is estimated that Mali was able to increase its cereal exports to neighboring countries by 50000 tons in 2000 (Niama Nango Dembélé and al., May 2003).

4. Concluding remarks

Over a period more than 15 years, the Market Information System was one of the key factors which contributed significantly to the success of the Cereal Market Reform of Mali. The availability of timely market data to all stakeholders increased marketing flexibility, and competition among traders. It contributed also to a substantial increase in the integration of

grain markets at national and sub-regional levels and to the increase in grain export on regional markets.

This contribution was possible thanks to a pragmatic approach and regular evaluation and assessment to ensure that the system in place is sustainable and flexible enough so that data production remained focused on clients/stakeholders needs and that tools and methods used are cost/effective and keep pace with new developments.

Active partnership and well tailored Technical Assistance between the Government and Michigan State University with support of USAID which included an important capacity building component in data analysis and dissemination was also critical to the success of the Market Information System.

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FIGURE 1:

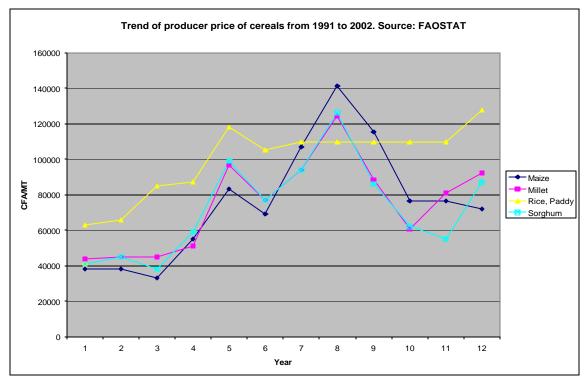


FIGURE2

EVOLUTION OF CEREAL PRODUCTION. COURCE: FAOSTAT

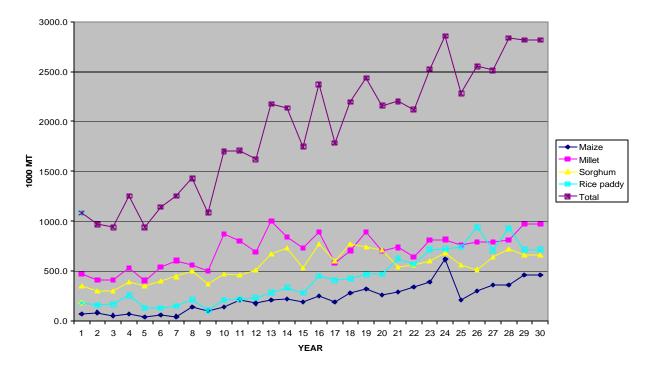
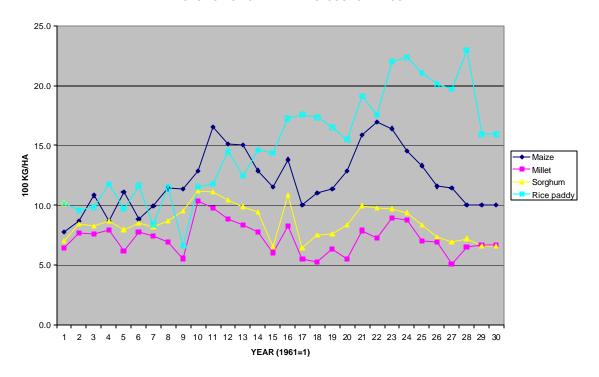


FIGURE 3:

EVOLUTION OF CERAL YIELDS. SOURCE: FAOSTAT



llement	Unit	1961	1965	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2004	200:
MAIZE																												
Area Harv	Ha	89.5	100.7	53.4	81.4	40.9	69.2	47.4	126.3	89.3	109.0	129.0	118.1	142.9	174.6	170.0	185.7	191.6	256.9	284.2	207.2	185.7	202.4	239.4	426.3	161.1	459.0	459.0
Production	Mt	69.8	87.7	57.8	70.6	45.4	61.1	47.1	144.3	101.4	140.1	213.4	178.6	214.5	225.4	196.6	256.8	192.5	283.4	322.5	266.1	294.2	343.4	393.0	619.9	214.5	459.5	459.5
Yield	Hg/Ha	7.8	8.7	10.8	8.7	11.1	8.8	9.9	11.4	11.4	12.8	16.5	15.1	15.0	12.9	11.6	13.8	10.1	11.0	11.3	12.8	15.8	17.0	16.4	14.5	13.3	10.0	10.0
MILLET 1078.															1450.													
Area Harv	Ha	740.0	537.0	542.0	670.0	660.0	700.0	813.0	815.2	909.6	840.7	821.9	781.8	1195.9	1083.1	1213.4	1074.7	1060.5	1345.9	1403.8	1285.5	935.7	878.9	910.8	932.3	6	0	1450.0
Production	Mt	476.0	414.0	411.0	532.0	407.0	546.0	608.0	566.3	506.5	871.3	805.8	693.5	999.9	841.8	737.0	889.9	582.3	708.1	897.6	706.7	738.9	641.1	813.6	818.9	759.1	974.7	974.1
Yield	Hg/Ha	6.4	7.7	7.6	7.9	6.2	7.8	7.5	6.9	5.6	10.4	9.8	8.9	8.4	7.8	6.1	8.3	5.5	5.3	6.4	5.5	7.9	7.3	8.9	8.8	7.0	6.7	6.1
RICE PADDY																												
Area Harv	Ha	182.0	169.0	172.0	220.0	135.3	115.6	181.6	187.9	165.2	184.8	190.6	163.1	231.3	230.9	196.6	263.0	233.2	246.5	284.0	307.5	327.8	328.0	326.4	325.1	352.7	451.0	451.0
Production	Mt	185.0	1 62.0	169.4	259.0	131.6	134.8	152.6	216.0	109.4	213.8	225.1	236.6	287.8	337.7	282.4	454.3	410.0	427.6	469.1	476.1	627.4	575.7	717.9	727.1	742.6	718.1	718.
Yield	Hg/Ha	10.2	9.6	9.8	11.8	9.7	11.7	8.4	11.5	6.6	11.6	11.8	14.5	12.4	14.6	14.4	17.3	17.6	17.4	16.5	15.5	19.1	17.6	22.0	22.4	21.1		15.9
											SORGHUM																1000.	
Area Harv	Ha	500.0	363.0	366.0	451.0	446.0	472.0	549.0	580.4	387.2	424.9	417.7	491.2	679.1	774.5	808.7	706.6	933.8	1031.1	976.6	852.7	541.2	573.0	616.6	733.0	674.8	0	1000.0
Production	Mt	352.0	306.0	304.0	393.0	356.3	404.0	449.0	503.7	369.8	477.1	464.6	513.2	672.4	730.8	531.4	770.0	602.3	776.9	746.2	711.6	540.6	559.6	600.4	688.8	564.7	664.1	664.
Yield SOURCE: F	Hg/Ha AOSTAT	7.0	8.4	8.3	8.7	8.0	8.6	8.2	8.7	9.6	11.2	11.1	10.4	9.9	9.4	6.6	10.9	6.4	7.5	7.6	8.3	10.0	9.8	9.7	9.4	8.4	6.6	6.0

ANNEX: EXAMPLE OF WEEKLY BULLETIN PUBLISHED IN *L'ESSOR* NEWSPAPER:

MARCHES AGRICOLES

LES PRIX DEMEURENT STABLES

Sur les marchés ruraux suivis par l'Observatoire du Marché agricole, les prix des céréales ont été globalement stables cours de la semaine du 25 au mai Toutefois quelques mouvements de hausse de prix de l'ordre de 5 à 10 F par kilo ont été enregistrés sur le sorgho Kita. Loulouni et San et sur le maïs Kita A l'instar de la semaine passée, les prix au producteur du riz, ont été stables sur la majorité des marchés suivis. Cependant des baisses de prix de 5 F/Kg ont été relevées sur le riz Gambiaka à Niono et sur le riz paddy à Macina. La poursuite de la mise en marché du riz de contre saison pourrait en être la cause.

Au cours de la semaine concernée, les prix des céréales sur les marchés de production, ont oscillé dans les fourchettes suivantes entre 100F le kilo le mil à Dioïla, et 130 F Le sorgho a été cédé entre 95 F le kilo à Kouri et Loulouni et 1265 F à Macina. Le maïs a été vendu entre 80 F le kilo à Loulouni et 110 F à kita. Le riz gambiaka a été cédé entre 225 F le kilo à Sokolo et 255 F à Dioro et 225 F le kilo pour le riz BG à Niono contre 240 F le kilo à Dioro et Macina et enfin 113 F le kilo pour le riz paddy Loulouni et 155 1e kilo Sur le marché de gros de Bamako, les prix de gros à la vente sont, par rapport à l'année dernière, en baisse pour le mil, le sorgho, le maïs et le riz BB. Par contre, il sont en hausse pour le riz Gambiaka et le riz RM40 et pour le riz RM40 Sur les mêmes marchés par rapport à la moyenne des prix des cinq dernières années, les prix de gros à la vente riz RM40. Gambiaka. BB sont hausse pour les et maïs. sont Cependant, ils en baisse les. sorgho. pour Quand aux prix au consommateur couramment pratiqués il ont été de 150 F le kilo pour le sorgho/maïs pilés, 225 f pour le mil pilé, 275 f pour le riz RM40 importé, 300 f pour le riz Gambiaka la brisure importée et le pour F le. 350 kilo 1e riz étuvé rouge et 1e Dans le District de Bamako, les prix au consommateur couramment pratiqués ont été de 150 F le kilo pour le sorgho et le maïs, 175 fpour le mil, 200 f pour les sorgho/maïs pilés, 225 f pour le mil pilé, 290 f pour le riz RM40 importé, 300 fpour le riz Gambiaka, la brisure importée et le niébé et 350 F le kilo pour le riz étuvé rouge et le fonio.

Sur le marché de Bamako Médine, les consommateurs ont acheté la pomme de terre premier choix à 300 F le le deuxième choix à 250 De même sur le marché de Bamako Niaréla, ils ont acheté l'échalote fraîche pour 175 F le kilo, l'échalote séchée (Diaba fôlô fôlô), 600 F le kilo, l'échalote séchée (Diaba kourouni) pour 1 000 F le kilo et l'échalote séchée (Diaba Dialani) 1.500 pour Dans les autres capitales régionales, les prix pratiqués par les détaillants ont varié entre 125 F le kilo pour mil a Ségou et 200 F à Kayes. A Sikasso et Ségou, le sorgho a été acheté à 125 F le kilo contre 200F le kilo à Kayes centre et Kayes N'Dy. Le maïs a été cédé à 110 F le kilo à Sikasso contre 150 F le kilo à Kayes centre, Kayes Plateau, Koulikoro et Gao. Le riz BG a coûté 260 f le kilo à Ségou contre 300 F à Gao. Le riz gambiaka a été cédé 275 Ségou kilo kilo Sur les marchés du District, les grossistes ont vendu le sac de 100 kilogrammes entre 12 500 pour le maïs, 13 000 et 13 500 pour le sorgho, 13 500 et 14 000 F pour le mil, 27 000 et 27 500 pour le sac de 100 kilo pour la brisure importé et le riz Gambiaka

SOURCE: L'ESSOR N°15717 du mercredi 7 juin 2006