

**GETTING BETTER VALUE FOR RICE
BY SELLING DURING PERIODS OF SCARCITY
AFTER STORAGE WITH CREDITS
IN THE COMMUNITY VILLAGE GRANARY (CVG) :
The experience of CECAMs and FIFATA in Madagascar.**

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Summary

Storage credit is a loan guaranteed by harvested crops that are kept in locked storage. The community village granary (CVG) credit is a loan scheme of this type, created at the initiative of peasant members and set up by CECAM. The objective is to permit the beneficiaries to benefit from the price differential between harvest time and periods of hardship and scarcity, while at the same time meeting their obligatory needs at harvest. The storage capacity in Madagascar is estimated at about 50 000 tonnes, for a national production of 3 500 000 tonnes, thanks to the many local banks that are implanted throughout the country. In absolute terms storage potential is significant only in some regions, but it represents a significant proportion in terms of producer credit.

Producers stock mainly paddy at harvest which is de-stocked during the scarcity periods at fixed maturity dates, after repayment of the loans. Loans are granted for periods of five to ten months, at 3 % interest per month with the stocks as the collateral. Members of CECAM have access to this credit. The bags of paddy are stored in warehouses with two locks. The producers and the credit institution each hold the keys to one of the locks. The producers receive a loan amounting to between 50% and 75 % of the market price for the number of bags of paddy stocked, as determined by the bank. Each producer signs an individual contract while also committing to the collective guarantee. The stocks are rigorously controlled during the period of storage. Repayment of the credit is mandatory before the stocks can be withdrawn from the warehouses, and so the producers have to anticipate and seek other external sources of revenue. Each farmer recovers his/her bags when the warehouse is opened.

This financial product became very popular after 2004, which was a year with high increases in the prices of paddy. Even if the prices have not increased as much in the years since 2004, the producers hope for price increments and more and more of them tend to store their crops, although in smaller quantities. The farmers do not have a mastery of the market mechanisms and rely most often on their intuition. Some speculate on their stocks, repayment incidents and difficulties are recurrent. In the last few years, producers have become much more aware of the need to be informed about the markets, to pilot the production chain, and to act with prudence. They are organising to this end.

The storage-credit scheme can be an instrument to increase revenues only under these conditions.

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1- GENERAL CONTEXT FOR THE MARKETING OF SMALL PRODUCERS' RICE AND THE SETTING UP OF CVG CREDITS

1.1- Rice : major crop

About 75 % of the population of Madagascar lives in rural areas. Apart from industrial and export crops, the agricultural sector is dominated by the cultivation of rice. Rice remains the basic food: each Madagascan consumes an average of 100 kg of white rice per year. Administrative sources state that 70 % of Madagascans live below the monetary poverty line. Poverty here is essentially a rural phenomenon.

To take care of their immediate resource needs at harvest time (repayment of debts, ceremonies, schooling...), rice farmers tend to **sell their produce** at prices that are relatively low, to the detriment of their own consumption. Meanwhile a significant **price differential** is generally observed between harvest (April–May) and periods of scarcity (from November to the next harvest). Big private collectors take advantage of this price differential to constitute speculative stocks, which they bring to the market during the critical months.

The storage credit or CVG now at the disposal of farmers was created by the Mutual Agricultural Savings and Credits bank (CECAM) in 1995, following the demand of many peasant associations, to counter the speculative practices of the private collectors. The constitution of stocks is a response to a collective need: that of "banking" part of the seasonal surpluses at harvest towards times of scarcity i.e. periods of seasonal scarcity. This enables the farmers to defer sales of their harvests and to obtain better prices, while making available the resources the farmers need during the storage period. The network of CECAMs was set up by Fikambanana Fampivoarana ny Tantsaha (FIFATA, Association for the Progress of Farmers).

1.2- The Organisations

The Former's organisation "FIFATA"

Created in 1989 with the assistance of FERT¹, FIFATA is a strong apex farmer organisation in Madagascar with more than one hundred thousand members. It is present in about ten of the 22 regions of Madagascar through five regional federations. It was created to develop services that durably respond to the constraints of farmers.

FIFATA developed credit services by itself at the start, and then created the mutual agricultural savings and credit banks (CECAM) in 1993. FIFATA is now a shareholder in INTERCECAM SA, the technical, financial and professionalisation service of the network.

At the same time commercial activities were started in the 1990s to respond to farmers' difficulties in obtaining inputs and equipment (upstream), and to rationalise the marketing of products (downstream). Put in place by the local provision and collection committees (CLAC) within FIFATA, these activities were progressively structured and led to the creation of agricultural cooperatives and regional unions. In 2005, 78 agricultural cooperatives came together under five regional cooperative unions and a network of 59 agricultural provision shops called "Tantsaha Mihary".

With the financial service transferred to the CECAM and the commercial service to the cooperatives, FIFATA reinforced its non-financial services (technical, organisational and managerial, agricultural information, support to land tenancy, representation and defence of collective interests and now initial training for rural youth). Emphasis is now being laid on the rice sector, access to productive resources, training and extension of cultivated areas.

¹ French agriculture professional organisation dedicated to rural development and international cooperation.
The experience of farmers' organisations: "Market access and commercialisation of agricultural products"
– Regional Forum Bamako, 16-18 January 2007/Inter-réseaux Développement rural - CTA

FIFATA has always supported the CVG system and has observed that this tool puts producers in a favourable position to negotiate the selling prices for their products. The storage capacity of farmers who are organised can be estimated at more than 50,000 tonnes, which is not highly significant when compared to the national figures (annual production of 3,416,000 tons of paddy rice). But in some regions where the Bank of Africa (which offers storage credits to professional farmers) and the CECAM are very active, this capacity can represent up to 20 to 50 % of the total volumes that are commercialised.

FIFATA affirms that through the CVGs, the producers are in a better position to negotiate the selling price for their products.

The Micro-finance institution (MFI) : the CECAM network

The slogan of the CECAM network is *"To accomplish my project"*. It is designed to be a development structure. It is a **variable-capital** mutualist financial institution created in 1993. Following the principles of the national micro-finance strategy document of Madagascar, the network's principal mission is to facilitate access to viable and sustainable micro-finance services for low and medium income rural households and for micro-entrepreneurs.

The CECAM network is present in five of the six provinces of Madagascar, covering a large part of the big island. With a structure at three levels, it has 188 local banks grouped in nine URCECAM² or regional units and then the national UNICECAM³. Membership is 84,000 families. The INTERCECAM SA created in June 2005 serves as the technical and financial unit and strengthens the professionalisation of the network.

The CECAM network develops products which are adapted to the needs of the peasant farmers and to the development of the rural Madagascan economy. At the moment, it proposes 13 credit and 3 deposit products. The credit products are essentially geared towards the financing of the members' activities, both upstream and downstream. Meanwhile to assist members meet their immediate monetary needs and to take care of unforeseen situations, a social credit product was developed. Apart from this social credit, the three principal products most used by farmers are: production loans to increase rural production; equipment purchase loans intended to equip members via a lease-purchase mechanism (Location Vente Mutualiste, LVM); and the storage credit or community village granary (CVG). These three types of loans represent more than 80 % of the total loan amounts granted in 2005. The CVG mechanism alone represents half of total loan amounts.

2- ORGANISATION OF CVG CREDIT OPERATIONS

2.1- Preamble : objective and principle

Objective

The CECAM network, as a Madagascan mutualist financial institution, delivers the CVG product: *" the CVG credit is a financial service offered by the CECAM with the aim of helping the member who is a peasant farmer to master the prices of his products from harvest to commercialisation."*

According to Olivier Jenn-Treyer (2005), we can define three types of peasants :

- Individual producers who are able to put aside some surplus, which is sold, and the proceeds from the sales enable them to satisfy a large portion of their financial needs⁴;

² Regional union of CECAMs

³ National Union of CECAMs

⁴ According to the INSTAT (National Institute for Agricultural statistics) household survey of 2001

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- Small producers who are barely self-sufficient; rice growing is above all a means of subsistence, and their primary objective is not the commercialisation of part of their produce.
- The very poor who are not able to attain self-sufficiency, because they hold very small farms or don't even own any land and are obliged to hire themselves out as labourers to provide for their families during periods of scarcity (this category is of little interest to us here because their capacity to set by crops is basically nil).

Storage strategies will thus be diverse: the first category can have a real strategy of storage for **profit maximisation** while the second category strives **to minimise the risks of running out of food** (conservation of stocks for self-consumption).

Some farmers use loans to buy back rice (system of progressive security⁵) with which they complete their stocks in the warehouse or retail it bit by bit to repay their loan.

For some years now, producers have developed storage capacity in the form of community village granaries (CVG), and through unions of producer groups or even cooperatives.

Principles of the community village granary

Products are stored in a granary during harvest (April-May) at a time when market prices are relatively low. Stocks are withdrawn according to pre-determined schedules (generally during periods of scarcity–November/-December) on the basis of an estimation of possible increase in the value of the products.

The CECAM does not intervene in the marketing council except in a case of a risk of failure (if the prices fall, the CECAM can help search for outlets for large volumes of products).

Paddy rice is the product generally stored. The other products are accepted but represent a very insignificant proportion.

Basic technical characteristics (paddy)

- Duration : 5 to 10 months
- Distinct interest rate for production and collection:
3 % for producers
3,5 % for economic operators (including peasants having bought the 2nd part of their stock)
- Guarantee : 100 % of the products stored
- Variable social shares : 5 % regressive calculated on the basis of the loan

Other particular conditions

- Minimal quantity for storage : 75 %
- Minimum number of farmers storing : 2
- Weight of bags: 40 kg and 75 kg

A calendar is fixed for each region

Keys to the granaries are detained as follows:

- 1 with the delegate of the members who store their products
- 1 with the CECAM bank
- a third key (eventually) with the regional bureau of the URCECAM

Criteria for using/accepting a warehouse:

- watchmen/security ensured
- acceptable humidity rates
- accessible location, in the geographical zone of intervention of the URCECAM
- capacity >3 tonnes (see profitability: fixed management charges)
- only one access door.

⁵ See document CTA/Inter-réseaux/Afdi: "Warranty or storage credit: a means for farmers to better valorize their products and provide security of rural finance"

The costs of security and phytosanitary treatments are covered by the members storing the products. The CECAM network has established an observatory on the weekly evolution of prices of paddy/white rice in the different regions. This is to have more visibility on market prices (the price observatory for paddy/white rice is an internal unit of the CECAM).

Each URCECAM surveys the market prices on a weekly basis, and transmits the information to the central unit. The results are destined only for internal use, essentially to set prices at the time of storage.

2.2- Procedure

Steps other than instructions and loan decisions (which are done following the procedures of CECAMs). The steps in the CVG credit operations are as follows :

Attribution of credit

A loan applicant must be a member before his/her file can be accepted (social criteria, income and possessions), must have paid his/her fixed social shares, be up to date with his/her past credits, have participated in the CVG information sessions, and treated and stored his/her products in an appropriate warehouse.

The management committee of the bank (elected farmers) grants loans after appraisals by an adviser. The member has to be approved by the group involved in storage.

The use of the credit is discretionary: daily expenses, off-season crops, short-cycle livestock production, small investments. Loan funds are most often used to start up an income-generating activity but the farmers are not systematically followed (FIFATA provides training in some regions).

At the beginning of each season, the CECAM network fixes quotas for financing per region:

- 75 % of the market price for paddy in the market;
- 50 % of the market price for other products.

To illustrate this, the average prices applied in past years for paddy are presented below :

Price averages applied*	
• 2006 :	300 Ariary/kg
• 2005 :	300 Ariary/kg
• 2004 :	250 Ariary/kg
• 2003 :	200 Ariary/kg
• 2002 :	200 Ariary/kg
• 2001 :	180 Ariary/kg

*prices in the market multiplied by the quotas

Storage

All the peasants involved in storage come on the same day as announced by the CECAM calendar. The presence of a CECAM staff member is obligatory. The number of bags is recorded in a ledger. Storage takes place generally in sheds owned by representatives of the peasants, if not in URCECAM warehouses.

Signing of the contracts and disbursement of the credits

The contract document is signed the next day between the members on individual basis and the CECAM network (signature of the member, the group president acting as surety, and the president of the local bank who represents the lender).

Inspections

Three inspections are mandatory during the cycle. These inspections are carried out by: CECAM staff, the elected leaders of the CECAM and URCECAM bank, and the staff of the regional bureau and inspectors/auditors.

These inspections are meant to verify :

- the quantity of products and number of bags stored as recorded on the stock file
- the state of the products stored
- the storage conditions
- the security of the products stored (security/watchmen, safety locks, holding of keys, conditions under which the products are brought into the warehouse).

Repayments

Repayment of credits is done individually (but with collective responsibility) and imperatively before any stock is withdrawn. Most recipient pay back the loan with the proceeds of their income-generating activity or from other external activity.

This operation can only be done at the CECAM office. In the case of default before all produce is withdrawn, the local bank can then sell the remainder of the borrower's stock in the local market (0,8 % of the cases).

Withdrawal of stocks

Withdrawals are organised collectively, according to a pre-established timetable. The peasants involved repay their loans thanks to the proceeds from their income-generating activity, from the buying and reselling of rice, or from an external source of income.

A minority of peasants sell to the cooperative which contracts the credit. They are therefore not concerned with repayment. After repayment each farmer recovers his/her stock of paddy and consumes it personally or sells it out individually (the cooperative sells it in extreme cases).

The presence of the staff from CECAM is obligatory during the process.

The number or schedules of stock removals is between one and three, as decided by the board of directors of the URCECAM.

Any removal of stocks can only be done after repayment of the loan and interest on the quantities the peasant wants to withdraw.

Generally the prices during periods of scarcity are estimated at 150 % of the prices at harvest time (estimations of the network's observatory). For example in 2006, the average price on the market was about 400 Ariary/kg. The network financed a kilogram at up to 300 Ariary. During the period of scarcity, the period of stock withdrawals, the price in the market had reached 600 Ariary per kilogram.

Because CECAM and FIFATA regularly follow the market, they can give advice for an urgent stock withdrawal and the organisation of group sales. The organisation is jointly handled by CECAM and FIFATA.

3- RESULTS

3.1- Preamble: the rice crisis in 2004 and its consequences

In 2004, rice prices increased drastically as a result of many cumulative factors: a relatively low harvest due to tropical storms, a high demand for rice in the world market, growth in the global economy and increases in transport costs which led to an increase in world stock values and the aggravation of the national economic crises which led to the devaluation of the Ariary. High prices for rice were maintained even during the period of scarcity. Farmers who had a good harvest therefore earned money.

In 2005, the harvest was satisfactory (the combined results of better climatic conditions and national efforts to increase production so as to reduce the inadequacies of 2004—"the battle for rice". Either because they wanted to minimise the risk of buying rice during periods of scarcity, or to maximise profits, farmers stocked rice massively (O. Jenn-Treyer, 2005), with the hope of a spectacular price increase as in 2004. Consequently, the CVG loans in 2005 represented 40 % of the total volume of loans granted by the CECAM network, with 300 000 tonnes of paddy stored.

The price at harvest therefore remained high. Meanwhile, the usual buyers had resorted to imports which had become more profitable, encouraged by the authorities. During periods of scarcity, the peasants had to repay their loans, the intermediaries had to pay their suppliers; large stocks were therefore brought to the markets and **prices fell**. Some farmers then found it hard to repay their credits.

In 2006, high prices were once again projected for the scarcity period. Once again large quantities were stored. Meanwhile, the price at scarcity was maintained (government imports) and once more the farmers incurred losses. A reduction in the volumes for storage is envisaged for 2007. At the same time a rice observatory was set up by the FAO⁶, and later taken over by the office of the Prime Minister. It is a weekly rice price information tool that is circulated around the country by e-mail. It is supplemented by monthly notes on trends and analysis (HoRIZons). The consultation and piloting platform for the rice sub-sector (PCPRIZ), which brings together authorities, importers, negotiators and farmer organisations, was put in place to pilot the sector. It was agreed that the state should not be given the authority to constitute regulatory stocks, for this would have degenerated to the situation of a state-controlled economy that the country experienced some years before.

3.2- The CVG renewed hope among the producers

FIFATA, which defends professional and competitive family agriculture for its members, is engaged in the battle for rice with its members and affiliates. Following the benefits obtained in 2004, the members are ready to increase the land area under cultivation, to improve their farming practices and to take more risks. But for this to happen, they need to be assured that prices will continue to be rewarding. In a few years Madagascar could regain the food sufficiency that has been lost for more than 20 years. The CVGs are one of the tools that could drive this revitalisation by contributing to the food security of the zones and improving the incomes of producers.

More generally, the CVG credit allows supplies to be grouped in a warehouse (group sales are therefore eventually facilitated, even though they are only done in the framework of cooperatives and are negligible). Sales can be deferred thus reinforcing the food security of the zone when it is not in excess during the year (the majority of rice is not exported to other zones

⁶ Food and Agriculture Organisation

at the start of harvest). It also allows the financing of off-season activity without selling all the paddy at harvest.

The example below illustrates the average added value generated by storage during the 2005 campaign

- with an average price of paddy at 300 Ariary/kg at harvest (150 USD/tonne), the quota or share financed by the CECAM is 225 Ar/kg which is 75% of the market price ;
- producers sold paddy at a minimum of 520 Ar/kg during the period of scarcity in December ;
- the value added by storage is 220 Ar/kg, or >73% ;
- the cost of credit is 61 Ar/kg (the interest rate applied is 3 % per month over a period of 9 months) and other accessory costs (storage and transportation to the granary) run up to 9 Ar /kg ;
- the added value for the peasant farmer is 150 Ar/kg, which represents a 50 % gain on the price that they would have obtained at harvest.

Results in Lake Alaotra, one of the three rice granaries in Madagascar

The CVG credit was implanted in the zone in 2004.

An average beneficiary who farms an average surface area of 2 ha of rice, could stock up to 3.5 tonnes and at the same time ensure his/her own consumption. This was not the case in the past because these farmers were constrained to sell a fair proportion of their produce to meet their monetary needs. Before the CVG, they sometimes contracted informal loans with moneylenders, repaid in kind in the form of paddy or crops in the field at interest rates of up to 100 %.

In this productive zone, the CVG credit enables the farmers to better commercialise their products.

In 2004, farmers who had rice and stored it earned money, spurring others to follow suit. This sometimes resulted in failures in 2005. In 2005 and 2006, some farmers had difficulties repaying their credits.

The causes of failure were speculation on rice by farmers who do not have the capacity to withstand price drops, that is to say high risk-taking and also lack of information about the market and market mechanisms.

Some farmers have stored with CVG credits for several years. In this case the credit has not had a leveraging effect allowing them to increase their self-financing capacity and to store without credit. Farmers are given little guidance on management of credits, production and liquidity.

3.3- Quantitative data

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	June-06
Number of banks	163	157	169	178	179	181
Bank membership	40 535	46 675	57 783	69 964	83 367	87 243
Average number/bank	249	297	342	393	466	482
Number of advisers	172	174	208	231	205	
Nber CVG credits granted/ cumulative	33%	25%	30%	19%	37%	54%
Nber CVG credits granted/ cumulative	28 009	27 826	34 327	34 039	36 158	18 577
Amount granted: RIARY						
Social	181 971 270	162 079 744	177 314 542	175 177 253	171 252 704	34 482 000
Productive	1 848 816 120	2 522 836 626	3 704 456 808	4 860 257 381	6 216 373 074	2 606 064 519
CVG	2 611 429 618	1 890 932 511	3 578 939 897	2 338 745 664	9 086 517 142	5 627 746 450
Rate of CVG/cumulative credits	37%	21%	24%	16%	40%	53%
Commercial to individuals	340 749 061	544 411 397	1 698 150 426	1 599 541 220	1 853 017 951	621 559 000
Commercial to corporate entities	634 296 493	611 885 967	919 090 000	92 000 000	213 507 000	6 184 886
LVM (lease purchase))	1 162 543 788	2 289 312 789	3 373 814 111	4 445 294 111	3 824 258 445	1 520 694 501
Total all loans	7 047 924 961	8 820 323 710	14 744 725 058	14 895 236 030	22 541 173 580	10 670 442 132

We observe an increase in activity after 2004, due to growth of the CVG credit in volume and number of loans granted.

After the 2004 crisis, production was good in 2005 and many farmers were tempted to store their products with the hope that the prices would be as good as during the scarcity period of 2004. 2006 was another year that countered the effect of the crises since the prices remained high in 2005 even if they fell at scarcity. What will be the result in 2007 after two years of falling prices ?

Repayment rate: 98 % to 99,5 % 90 days after coming due

For each granary, the profitability threshold in terms of storage capacity is evaluated at 3 tonnes. This is the minimum acceptable quantity that enables the costs involved to be covered. The network grows according to the profitability of the operations. It is thus reinforced in productive zones. Meanwhile the bank maintains its development vocation and is not driven only by profitability.

The 2004 crisis and the risks taken in 2005 made the farmers aware of the need to observe the market and not depend on their own intuition alone, and to take an active role in the piloting of the sector.

4- OBSTACLES ENCOUNTERED, LIMITATIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

Low quantities stored

Precaution has remained the rule: many farmers store very small quantities (see FIFATA's testimony in the box).

FIFATA's testimony

For many farmers today, prudence seems to be the rule regarding the CVG. To justify their position, as usual, the farmers bring up the issue of the CECAMs' high interest rates.. They also mention poor management, lack of training, and climatic factors as contributing to their reticence about the CVG. In the north-west of the island, drought is underscored; in the mid-west, fluctuations in the price of paddy. Finally, in many other regions many farmers remain sceptical and put only very little of their harvest in the CVG. The fear of losing money is the principal cause. We note that the members **reduce the quantities stored in the CVGs but at the same time do not abandon the system.**

Consequently, the instability in rice prices hinders a cooperative in Bongolava (a mid-western region) in its quest to use the CVG. Collection for storage in 2005 was 32 tonnes, and only 7 tonnes in 2006. It is the same story with members of another cooperative in Itasy. Tempted by the CVG credit, some non-members say that they use the CVG system of the CECAMs but affirm that the interests are high and the risks significant, as seen during the sales of rice in 2005.

The principal obstacles to increasing volumes and profitability are:

- the instability in the prices of white rice, making the operations vulnerable
- instability in the production
- imports
- effects of the price drops in 2005 and 2006.

Lack of access to market information

These conditions prevail when there is a **lack of information about markets:**

- lack of accompanying measures on repayments and sales
- for the MFI: high structural costs for many banks; criteria for profitability not yet integrated in practice
- availability of reliable granaries that are up to standard.

Risks and needs for strengthening

For the CECAM, the success of the product depends on the strict respect of procedures. The reinforcement of the storage infrastructure is a priority for the development of the product: construction of granaries, maintenance of government and private warehouses. To do this, the CECAMs depend essentially on the technical and financial assistance of donors like the French Development Agency, the European Union and the Millennium Change Account (MCA).

By storing, the producers take technical and economic risks. The profitability of the operation can be reduced drastically if a very high risk is taken. Particularly, the storage of a large part of the harvest and successive pledging are risky. In effect, the farmer increases the amount to be repaid, without the experience and networking of the buyers. The FO is not always in a position to warn the farmer, while the cooperatives find themselves in difficulty.

Perspectives

Despite all the difficulties that have been cited, many farmers persist in their determination to store in the CVGs, others even want to construct new warehouses. The CVG formula is sufficiently attractive for farmers, encouraging other financial institutions like Tiavo in the Fianarantsoa province to adopt a similar system, that according to users is somewhat less rigid than the CECAM system.

In summary, the continuation of the granaries will require a broad review based on users' experience. For FIFATA, the granaries are justified not only by better mastery of the prices during production but also by the State's aim of achieving food security for the country and the professionalisation of farmers. But this tool needs to be elaborated with great care, in light of the difficulties encountered in assessing the evolution of the rice market in Madagascar. For FIFATA, the use of the CVG requires training, information and precaution.

The CVG constitutes therefore a pioneer product for the CECAM as well as for the peasant producers who benefit from it and which encourages them to significantly increase their production.

5- CONCLUSION

Citing once again O. Jenn-Treyer, we can summarise that the key success factors in the temporal transfer of the product are as follows:

- 1- marked and predictable seasonal nature of the markets (security on price increases during periods of scarcity) ;
- 2- understanding of the basic market mechanisms by the peasants involved in the storage ;
- 3- risk-taking based on means (risks of disruption of the market as in 2005 when a high retention of products at harvest provoked a price hike and then a fall during the period of scarcity).

We observe that **the CVG credit is a strong tool for raising producers' income, regulating markets and reinforcing food self-sufficiency. But it can only be effective if the profession is sufficiently organised**, if farmers have all market information at their disposal, and if loan repayment is monitored (management of income-generating activities, advice on sales) given that the cooperative system has shown its limits (limited mastery by farmers, weak structuring, few sustainable relationships with operators...).

The farmers are becoming involved in piloting the sector, and must build their capacities in risk management. When this is achieved the firmly rooted mechanisms of CECAM and FIFATA will have the expected leveraging effects.

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