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Political Reform, Socio-Religious Change, and Stability in the African Sahel

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# Political Reform, Socio-Religious Change, and Stability in the African Sahel

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### Summary of the research project

This project proposed to analyze the socio-political factors affecting stability and instability in a set of six African countries—Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Chad—stretching across the arid Sahelian region. The predominately Muslim countries of the Sahel are collectively among the least developed countries on earth. Historically of limited strategic significance, they had also received relatively little scholarly attention; indeed they have been among the least-studied countries in Africa.

Developments in the region over the past decade, however, gradually brought the Sahel to the center of significant international concerns. Initially, the most significant of these developments were the terrorist threats posed by Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and various related groups that had spun off from the Algerian civil war. These expanded significantly in the aftermath of the fall of the Qaddafi regime in Libya, and following the March 2012 collapse of the political system in Mali and the subsequent occupation of the northern half of that country by radical *jihadi* movements. Though that occupation was eventually rolled back by French intervention, the region continues to be plagued by the ongoing activities of AQIM, Boko Haram, the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO), and an ongoing assortment of related radical groups emerging through splintering and new international connections.

These security threats come to complicate much deeper historical and structural challenges that the region faces, including endemic underdevelopment, climate change, significant demographic growth, and a history of weak state capacity to effectively govern vast expanses of challenging territory. The states of the Sahelian region thus find themselves under extraordinary pressures. The goal of the research project was to comparatively examine the factors influencing the capacity of Sahelian states to manage these pressures, and to maintain stability and ensure the social order and effective governance that serves both as a bulwark against radical movements and as the basis for the delivery of at least minimal services to local populations.

The research was conceived around an analytic framework that highlighted the interactive and reciprocal effects of political and institutional reform on social change, in an iterative process of "micro-transitions" that cumulatively build to potentially more substantial transformations in

state capacity, and hence shape the prospects for stability or instability. Our methods were thus both historical and comparative structured qualitative process-tracing of developments in the region over the past three decades or so. As with virtually all of Africa, the Sahelian states were directly affected by the intense pressures for political reform in the name of "democracy" of the early 1990s. While their initial responses were quite varied, all were obliged to undertake significant liberalization, reflected primarily in reduced state capacity to shape and control social forces. As a result, in all six countries significant social transformations were set in motion, and their political systems are still being shaped by those forces. Given the large Muslim majority in the region the dynamics of religious change have been particularly important; in the era of democratization there has been a proliferation of new religious movements and voices, of varying ideologies, across the region. These new religious groups are among the key social actors that continue to shape politics in these countries today.

The research was carried out in a series of stages, collaboratively by a research team at the University of Florida comprised of the PI and three PhD student research associates with significant expertise on Africa, including two students themselves from the Sahel. The project built on the PI's substantial previous research and strong network of ties in the region; on a three year State Department-funded project focused on elections in all six countries; and on the broader interdisciplinary expertise of the University of Florida's Sahel Research Group and of the student research associates themselves.

The research involved multiple methods and a range of activities, building to extensive fieldwork in all six of the study countries, carried out primarily by the research associates under the direct supervision and close involvement of the PI. The first stage of the project, in preparation for fieldwork, involved substantial documentary research and the preparation of background papers on each country; regularly weekly seminars to develop templates for fieldwork protocols; intensive consultation with visiting specialists from key countries; and a conference-workshop which brought together one key scholar from each of the study countries to comparatively examine the politics of institutional reform in terms of their effects on state resilience.

Given very significant delays in the IRB approval process, the core fieldwork for the project was delayed somewhat. Nevertheless, and in order to effectively prepare for the field research, the team undertook scoping trips to all six study countries in summer 2013. These proved extremely helpful in preparing the groundwork for the necessary institutional affiliations and in developing the networks among local scholars and policy makers which would facilitate the field research in the region. In June 2014 the research team also co-organized a workshop on contemporary religious dynamics in the Sahel with the Center for the Study of Religions at the Université Gaston Berger in Senegal, also providing very valuable background information. With the final IRB approval, and a subsequent no-cost extension of an additional year to the grant to accommodate the needed changes, fieldwork was carried out in overlapping periods between

August 2014 and July 2016. Collectively, the team carried out some 46 months of fieldwork among all six study countries—including under some very challenging circumstances. Each of the research associates worked comparatively in three countries, and the PI made multiple trips to consult, supervise and advise on research on the ground.

The 2012 coup and subsequent state collapse in Mali, and the resulting rapid expansion of jihadi groups in that country shortly before the beginning of work on the project, led to an initial observation and a reconsideration of the proposed framework, and that proved to be key in shaping the project as we moved forward. In each of the six countries, the interactive processes of institutional reform and social change that were carried out in the name of democratization had led us to an initial grouping of the six countries into three pairs on the basis of an observed outcome on the democracy dimension (democratic; unstable democratizing; electoral authoritarian). As research began it was quickly clear that the politics of democratization do intersect with processes of building resilient state institutions, but in complex ways that are in the end independent of the democratization outcome. Within each of our pairs, then, we identified one country where the iterative processes of institutional reforms and change in the name of democratization appeared to have strengthened state structures and another where it had not done so, despite similarities in terms of the democracy variable.

Fieldwork efforts were largely aimed at trying to understand the processes that produce these varied results, and the variables we needed to consider in trying to build a broader understanding of these processes. Each member of the research team focused his research on one aspect of what emerged as key issues to trace out, each of which is receiving in-depth treatment in the three doctoral dissertations being produced by the project. The first research focus is on core political institutions, carefully tracing the key critical moments of reform (or pressures to do so) in electoral institutions, and the subsequent political consequences in terms of mobilized groups. The effort is to explain the differing capacities of states in Mali, Senegal and Niger to handle both electoral and extra-institutional threats to regimes via processes of institutional reform. A second stream has considered elite politics as determinants of the evolution of civil-military relations in shaping the trajectories of very different variations in electoral-authoritarian regimes—with major consequences for long-term stability—in Senegal, Burkina Faso and Chad. The third stream has considered the political and institutional factors, at both national and local levels, shaping variations in the form and nature of contestatory Islamic movements—ranging from protests and riots to *jihadi* activity—in Niger, Mali and Mauritania. All of these research streams have contributed to our broader understanding of the interactive effects of political action and social change on longer-term processes of building or undermining resilient state institutions.

This approach built intentional flexibility into our fieldwork protocols, so as to allow us to incorporate attention to the continued turbulence in the region over the period of fieldwork. This

included the October 2014 overthrow of the government in Burkina Faso and the subsequent year-long and turbulent transition (marked by another attempted but failed coup); the ongoing incapacity of the Malian state to reestablish security and consequent periodic crisis in various parts of the country; new terrorist activity in urban settings, notably with attacks on hotels and cafes in Bamako and Ouagadougou; the expansion of Boko Haram activity into Niger and Chad in the region of the Lake Chad basin; and the unforeseen consequences of expected events, such as elections. The research team's close observation and analyses of these key events over the course of the project have provided an additional foundation of benchmark data on which we will build continuing analysis of the region's evolution. Built on this work the project has already produced or has in progress a significant amount of outputs, and we anticipate that it will continue to result in significant career-long scholarly and policy contributions. Work produced to date is detailed below.

### *Outcomes, Resources and Products of the Research:*

*Research and Training program:*
In our initial application to the Minerva program, we proposed that the most fundamental output of project would be to establish and institutionalize an ongoing university-based research and training program on the Sahel, to provide a pool of expertise to academia, the media, and government, as well as focused on producing the next generation of specialists on this crucial but poorly-understood region of the world. We strongly believe the project has been highly successful in that respect.

Collectively, the UF Sahel Research Group (SRG) is called on regularly to provide expertise on the region to both scholarly and policy circles. The seven current UF faculty members of the group, representing a wide array of disciplines with teaching and research focused on the region, will be joined in January 2017 by another senior scholar, an internationally recognized specialist on the contemporary dynamics of Islam in the Sahel, recruited as part of the University of Florida's preeminence initiative. The SRG works collaboratively, and meets regularly in our weekly "Sahel Seminar," a forum for discussion and analysis of significant events and developments in the countries of the region. Some 8-10 graduate students also participate in these discussions, to which we invite occasional visiting experts on the region.

An important goal of the project in in terms of a research and training program was to build a strong international network of scholarly links to facilitate the sharing of information and collaborative research. This has been greatly facilitated by the large number of scholars and practitioners whom we have been able to invite to make presentations to the group, participate in symposia, or otherwise collaborate in our activities. In addition, we have build close collaborative relationships with resident visiting scholars from the region, and notably from Chad, Niger and Senegal, made possible by the grant. We continue to receive, and regularly facilitate, requests for short term research residencies by West African based scholars.

*Government and policy outreach:*

There are major security concerns about the region, evidenced by the U.S.-sponsored "Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership," of which all six countries are members. Beyond the immediate and significant concern with the evolving status of *jihadi* groups and their capability for establishing a solid base in the region, the fate of Sahelian countries will have major consequences for the stability of a huge swathe of West and Central Africa, with direct implications for migration flows, economic development, illicit trafficking, and health concerns both for local people and for the broader international community. In this context, the SRG members are increasingly called on to provide expertise to various government and policy groups. These have included: the US State Department, the National Intelligence Council, US Military groups such as FAO training programs, USAID's CVE programs, the National Defense University, the Defense Intelligence Agence, several European agencies, and the African Union's Center for Study and Research on Terrorism in Algeria. (full details of such talks are listed in Appendix A below). Three Minerva research team members also serve as country experts and analysts for Freedom House. We are also currently finalizing an MOU with the Sahel and West Africa Club of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris), to establish an ongoing relationship which will include providing research on trans-border commerce, terrorism, and political stability in the region, as well as briefings to policy-makers from OECD member countries.

*Outreach to broader public:*

In terms of outreach to the broader public, our website (available at: http://sahelresearch.africa.ufl.edu/) is intended to serve as a key resource for academics, policymakers, and journalists. In addition to our own working papers, the website's "resources" section provides easy access to a large number of reports and documents on the region. A significant component of the website includes a major data resource on ten distinct dimensions of elections and electoral management in each of the six countries. This material was initially generated building on our State Department-funded *Trans-Saharan Elections Project,* and further expanded and maintained by the Minerva research team.

An additional public outreach produce of the SRG is our "Weekly News from the Sahel" brief, providing quick summaries of major events in each country along with links to full news articles on those events. We have received very positive feedback from a wide range of subscribers to this list.

Sahel Research Group members are also often called on for commentary in both the oral and written media, as noted in the list in Appendix A.

*Academic products*

As noted above, a core and major academic output from the research project will be three doctoral dissertations, and the many publications and other presentations that will certainly build

on these. One dissertation has already been successfully defended in November 2016:  Mamadou Bodian, *The Politics of Electoral Reform in Francophone West Africa: The Birth and Change of Electoral Rules in Mali, Niger, and Senegal.*  Two others are well advanced and we expect will be defended in 2017:  Daniel Eizenga, on civil-military relations and state-building processes in electoral authoritarian regimes (focused on Burkina Faso and Chad, Senegal as comparison); and Ibrahim Yahya Ibrahim, on the emergence and social composition of Islamic contestatory movements in Niger, Mali and Mauritania.

A number of articles, book chapters, and other publications have appeared or are in preparation and forthcoming.  An edited volume building on our first conference/workshop on the politics of institutional reform in the Sahelian region, with contributions from well-known scholars from each of the target countries, is in progress.   Most significantly, we have planned a very large international and interdisciplinary conference on the current socio-political dynamics of the Sahel, to be held at the University of Florida on 23-25 February 2017.  Some 40 scholars of the region, from Africa, Europe, and the United States, have committed to participating in this event.  We are currently negotiating with a major university press to publish the resulting papers as a "Handbook of the African Sahel." This will be the first academic volume of its kind, in any language, and sure to quickly establish itself as a key reference source on the region.  To give a sense of the scope and scale of this project, the preliminary conference program with abstracts of contributions and author bios, is provided below as Appendix B.

Appendix A, below, provides details on the outputs generated by the grant. Further information on these and other Sahel Research Group activities, including other events such as workshops and symposia, is available on our website at:  http://sahelresearch.africa.ufl.edu/


**Appendix A:** Output details, pp. 7-17

**Appendix B:** preliminary Conference program, pp. 18-38

***Minerva final report, APPENDIX A***
**Outputs and outreach activities for Minerva Initiative Grant**
**2013 to 2016**

**Website resource**

UF Sahel Research Group website: http://sahelresearch.africa.ufl.edu/ .  In addition to information about Sahel Research Group activities this site includes working papers and numerous other resources in open access.  It also incorporates *The Trans-Saharan Elections Project* website, a comprehensive source of information on electoral systems in the six study countries: http://sahelresearch.africa.ufl.edu/tsep/

**Weekly news brief**

Sahel Research Group news brief: A weekly update on key events and developments in the six Francophone Sahelian countries: Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad. Includes brief summaries of news items with links to full media stories.   Currently almost 200 subscribers.

**Publications**

Villalón, Leonardo A. and Abdourahmane Idrissa, eds. (in progress).  *Democratic Struggles, Institutional Reform, and State Resilience in the African Sahel.*  Edited book volume including contributions from distinguished scholars from each of the research study countries.

Villalón, Leonardo A. and Daniel Eizenga. (Forthcoming 2017) "Resisting the Inevitable: Popular Insurrection and Presidential Term Limits in Burkina Faso." In Jack Mangala, ed. *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits in Africa: Power Strategies and Implications*. Atlanta: Pan African Institute for Leadership.

Bodian, Mamadou (2016). *The Politics of Electoral Reform in Francophone West Africa: The Birth and Change of Electoral Rules in Mali, Niger, and Senegal.* University of Florida, Ph.D. Dissertation, Political Science.

Mamadou Bodian and El Hadji M. S. Camara (2016) "Islam in the Academic Sphere in Senegal: The case of Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar (UCAD)". *Contemporary Islam.*

Eizenga, Daniel (2016). "Burkina Faso (Vol 12, 2015)." Africa Yearbook. Edited by Andreas Mehler, Henning Melber, and Klaas van Walraven. Lieden: Brill.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2015) "Cautious Democrats: Religious Actors and Democratization Processes in Senegal."  In *Politics and Religion*. 8:2, pp. 305-333.

Elischer, Sebastian (2015). "Autocratic legacies and state management of Islamic activism in Niger." *African Affairs.* 114:457, pp. 577-597.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2015) "Islam et politique à l'ère de la démocratie, et du terrorisme : Itinéraires Ouest-Africains." In *Culture et Religion en Afrique au Seuil du 21$^{ième}$ Siècle: Conscience d'une Renaissance?*, edited by I.-P. L. Lalèyê. Dakar: CODESRIA, pp. 129-154.

Eizenga, Daniel (2015). "Political Uncertainty in Burkina Faso." In Claire Metelits and Stephanie Matti, eds. *Ruling on the Margins: Democratic Performance in Small African Countries*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Mamadou Bodian and Leonardo A. Villalón (2015). "Islam et réforme éducative au Sénégal: tensions et négociations vers un modèle hybride." In Abdourahmane Seck, Mayke Kaag , Cheikh Guèye and Abdou Salam Fall (eds.) *État, Sociétés et Islam au Sénégal. Un air de nouveau temps ?* Paris, Karthala.

Mamadou Bodian and El Hadji M. S. Camara (2015). "Islam et espace public au Sénégal: les acteurs religieux dans l'amélioration du débat public sur la bonne gouvernance." In Abdourahmane Seck, Mayke Kaag , Cheikh Guèye and Abdou Salam Fall (eds.) *État, Sociétés et Islam au Sénégal. Un air de nouveau temps ?* Paris, Karthala.

Eizenga, Daniel (2015). "Burkina Faso (Vol 11, 2014)." *Africa Yearbook*. Edited by Andreas Mehler, Henning Melber, and Klaas van Walraven. Brill.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2013) "Islam, the State, and Politics in sub-Saharan Africa." In *The Oxford Handbook of Islam and Politics*, edited by John L. Esposito and Emad El-Din Shahin. Oxford University Press, pp. 379-393.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2013). "Muslim Politics in West Africa." In the *Routledge Handbook of African Politics*, edited by Nic Cheeseman, David M. Anderson and Andrea Scheibler. London: Routledge Publishers, pp. 133-146.

**Working papers (available on Sahel Research Group website)**

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2014). "Managing the Sahelo-Saharan Islamic Insurgency in Mauritania: The Local Stakes of the Sahelian Crisis." Paper Series: *The Stakes of the Malian Crisis in the Sahel*. Working Paper No. 003.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2014). "Niger in the face of Sahelo-Saharan Islamic Insurgency: Precarious Stability in a Troubled Neighborhood." *Paper Series: The Stakes of the Malian Crisis in the Sahel.* Working Paper No. 004.

Bodian, Mamadou. (2014) "The Stakes of the Malian Crisis in Senegal: Political Response, Public Debate, and Institutional Resilience." Series: *The Stakes of the Malian Crisis in the Sahel*. Working Paper No. 005.

Eizenga, Daniel (2013). "Managing Stability through Military and International Acclaim: The Stakes of the Malian Crisis in Chad." *Paper Series: The Stakes of the Malian Crisis in the Sahel* produced by The Sahel Research Group. Working Paper No. 001.

Eizenga, Daniel (2013). "Negotiating Stability during Times of Change: The Stakes of the Malian Crisis in Burkina Faso." *Paper Series: The Stakes of the Malian Crisis in the Sahel* produced by The Sahel Research Group. Working Paper No. 002.


Ba, Oumar. (2014) "Tuareg Nationalism and Cyclical Pattern of Rebellions: How the Past and Present Explain Each Other." Sahel Research Group. Working Paper No. 007.

Idrissa, Abdourahmane. (2014) "In a Neighborhood on Fire: 'Security Governance' in Niger." Sahel Research Group Scholars in Residence Papers. Working Paper No. 008.

Sambe, Bakary. (2014) «Le Sénégal à l'Epreuve de la Crise Sahélienne: Nouvelles Dynamiques et Reconfiguration du Champ Islamique.» Sahel Research Group Scholars in Residence Papers. Working Paper No. 009.

Gondeu, Ladiba. (2013) «Notes sur la Sociologie Politique du Tchad. La Dynamique d'Integration Nationale : Depasser la Conflictualite Ethnique d'un État entre Parentheses.» Sahel Research Group Scholars in Residence Papers. Working Paper No. 006. (French Version).

Gondeu, Ladiba. (2013) "Notes on the Political Sociology of Chad. The Dynamics of National Integration: Moving Beyond Ethnic Conflict in a State-In-Waiting." Sahel Research Group Scholars in Residence Papers. Working Paper No. 006. (English Version).


**Presentations in academic venues**

*Panels organized:*

*"Institutional Reform, Religious Change and Stability in the Sahel."* Panel at the European Conference on African Studies (*ECAS*). Paris 8-10 July 2015. Leonardo A. Villalón and Sebastian Elischer, co-convenors and discussants.  With presentations:
   • Bodian, Mamadou.  "Islam and the Public Sphere in Senegal: Analysis of Discourses and Practices on Good Governance». Paper presented as part of the panel:
   • Eizenga, Daniel. "Institutional Reform in Africa's Hybrid Regimes: The Prospects for Democratic Change in Chad."
   • Idrissa, Abdourahmane "Tipping the Balance: Secular and Sharia Law in Niger and Northern Nigeria."

*Reconfiguring the Sahel: The Regional Effects of the Malian Crisis*, panel at the African Studies Association's Annual conference, 22 November 2013 in Baltimore. With presentations:
   • Leonardo A. Villalón, "The Malian collapse and the reconfiguration of Sahelian States"
   • Mamadou Bodian.  "The Consequences of the Malian Crisis in Senegal: Political response, Public Debate, and Institutional Resilience"

• Ibrahim Yahya Ibrahim, "Islamic Insurgencies in the Sahel: Factors of Resilience and Vulnerability in Niger and Mauritania"
• Daniel Eizenga, "Resilience in the Face of Crisis: A Comparison of State Response in Chad and Burkina Faso"

***Talks and lectures:***

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2016) "Islamism in the South, Jihadism in the North: The new Dynamics of Islam and Politics in Mali." To be presented at the African Studies Association's Annual Meeting in Washington D.C., December 2016.

Eizenga, Daniel. (2016) "Surviving Democratization: Dominant party strategies in the multi-party systems of Burkina Faso and Chad." To be presented at the African Studies Association's Annual Meeting in Washington D.C. December 2016.

Eizenga, Daniel. (2016) "Tolerance and Authoritarianism: Inter-Religious Dialogue and the State in Burkina Faso." Presented at the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion's Annual Conference in Atlanta. October 2016.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2016) Invited roundtable participant in a policy dialogue conference on "Security Regimens in Africa,"organized by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Université des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Bamako. Bamako, Mali, September 28 - 29, 2016

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2016) "The Transnational Dimension of Radical Groups and its Consequences for Political Stability in West Africa," invited presentation at an International Workshop on Transnational Extremist Organizations, held at Rutgers University and co-sponsored by the Danish Agency for Science, Technology, and Innovation. 19-20 September 2016.

Eizenga, Daniel. (2016) "Contentious Politics and Elite Bargaining in Burkina Faso's Regime Transition." Presented at the American Political Science Association's Annual Meeting in Philadelphia. September 2016.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2016) Invited presenter at a workshop on "Leading Institutional Reform in Francophone Africa," hosted by the Innovations for Successful Societies program at Princeton University and cosponsored by the Agence Française de Développement (AFD) and Sciences Po. 1-3 June.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2015) "Democratization and Islamic Insurgency: Comparative analysis of MUJAO in Gao and Boko Haram in Zinder," invited presentation at the UC Berkeley Centre for African Studies, Berkeley, CA, November 3rd.

Bodian, Mamadou (2105) participant on a Roundtable "Islam and Politics in the Contemporary Sahel" at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA. November 19-22.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2015) participant on a Roundtable "Islam and Politics in the Contemporary Sahel" at the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA. November 19-22, 2015.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2015) "Contentious Politics and Religious Discourse in the Sahel," invited presentation at Pomona College, Claremont, CA, October 30th

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2015) "Between Democracy and Violence: Islam and Politics in West Africa," Invited lecture, Washington University in St. Louis.  18 March.

Bodian, Mamadou. (2015) "A fresh perspective on democracy in Mali: Collaborative Governance (under Alpha Oumar Konaré) and Consensual Governance (under Amadou Toumani Touré)" Faculty of Public Law of the University of Juridical and Political Science. Bamako, Mali. 9 January.

Bodian, Mamadou. (2015) "Islam and Good Governance in Senegal." Forum Civil (the Senegalese section of Transparency International). 24 June.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim. (2015) "Insurrection Islamique et Processus Socio-politique au Sahel: Analyse comparative entre le Mali, le Niger, et la Mauritanie." Faculté des Sciences Sociales à l'Université de Ségou. Mali, 15 June.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2014) "Religion and Politics in the Muslim Sahel."  Invited presentation at the Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University, Jinhua, China.  7 November.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2014) "États laïcs, sociétés musulmanes, et la négociation de la démocratie au Sahel : Sénégal, Mali, Niger." Invited lectures at the Centre Des Etudes Islamiques, Université Ezzitouna, Kairouan, Tunisia, 13 May.   Lecture also delivered at the Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines en Tunisie, Tunis, 15 May.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2014) "La crise malienne et la reconfiguration du politique en Afrique Sahelienne."  Invited lecture at the École Nationale Supérieur des Sciences Politiques, Algiers, Algeria. 11 May.  Organized by the Centre d'Etudes Maghrébines en Algérie (CEMA).

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2014) "Democracy, Political Crisis, and the Reframing of Political Authority in the Sahel."  Invited presentation at the conference:  "Beyond the Islamic Public Sphere in Africa."  The Sohaib and Sara Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, Stanford University.  4 April.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim. (2014) "Stability in the Heart of an Unstable Region: factors of resilience in Niger", Presentation at the Conference "Saharan Crossroad: Views from the Desert-Edge" co-organized by the American Institute for Maghrib Studies (AIMS) and the West-African Research Association (WARA), Oran, Algeria, 31 May-3 June.

Eizenga, Daniel (2014). "L'État, la politique et les violences interreligieuses en République Centrafricaine. "  Centre d'Étude des Religions à l'Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis as part of the Workshop International: *L'Islam au Sahel: nouvelles tendances et dynamiques locales,*  in Saint-Louis, Senegal. 27-28 June.

Eizenga, Daniel. (2014) "Institutional Trust, Turnovers and the Freedom of the Press: Democratic Consolidation in sub-Saharan Africa." Annual Conference of the Southern Political Science Association in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Bodian, Mamadou. (2014) "From Conflict to Peace Building in the Casamance Region: Rethinking the Framework for Peace Negotiation and Development between the State of Senegal and the MFDC." Forum de Reflexion, d'Action et de Prospection (FRAP). Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, Senegal.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim. (2014) "Islamic Insurgency and Socio-religious and Political Processes in the Sahel (1990-2012): A comparative perspective between Mali, Mauritania, and Niger" at the African Studies Association's annual conference, Indianapolis.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim. (2014)"Problématique de l'Insurréction Islamique au Sahel: Cas de Boko Haram au Nord du Nigeria." l'Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, Sénégal, 26 June.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2013) "The Politics of Institutional Reform and State Resilience in the Sahel." Invited presentation at the workshop: "Reframing the Sahel as a Political Space." Johns Hopkins University, 8-9 November.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2013) "Grappling with Democracy in Muslim West Africa." Invited presentation at a panel on "Beyond Democracy: People, Power and the State in Muslim Cultures," at the conference: Geographies of Power: Justice, Revolution, and Cultural Imagination. Penn State University, 26-27 April.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2013) "The Security Crisis and the Reconfiguration of Governance in the Sahelian States." Keynote lecture at the conference: "Governance and Security in the Sahelian States: From Crisis to Sustainable Recovery." Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies. Washington D.C. 11-12 April.

Eizenga, Daniel. (2013) "The Politics of Islam in Mali: A Crisis of Unknown Consequence." Presented as a participating fellow at the APSA Africa Workshop: *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective*, in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. July 1 to July 12, 2013.

### *Organization of workshops and symposia*

Villalón, Leonardo A. and Mamadou Bodian, (2016) co-organizers (with Terje Østebø) of the Islam in Africa Working Group's Spring Symposium, *"Winning Hearts and Minds? African Muslims and the Negotiation of Counterterrorism Policies."* Center for African Studies at the University of Florida, February 19-20, 2016.

Villalón, Leonardo A. and Ibrahim Yahya Ibrahim (2015), co-organizers (with Terje Østebø) of the Islam in Africa Working Group's Spring Symposium, *"Sufism in Africa: Adapting to Changing Realities,"* Center for African Studies at the University of Florida, 3-4 April.

Bodian, Mamadou and Leonardo A. Villalón, co-organizers of an international workshop, *L'Islam au Sahel: nouvelles tendances et dynamiques locales,* in conjunction with the Centre d'Étude des Religions of the Université Gaston Berger de Saint-Louis (Senegal). 27-28 June.

Villalón, Leonardo A. and Daniel Eizenga (2014), co-organizers (with Terje Østebø) of the Islam in Africa Working Group's Spring Symposium "*The African Madrassa: Transformations of Islamic Education in Contemporary Africa*." Center for African Studies at the University of Florida. 21 and 22 March.

Villalón, Leonardo A. and Daniel Eizenga (2013), co-organizers (with Terje Østebø) of the Islam in Africa Working Group's Spring Symposium "*Islamic NGOs and Development in Africa*." Center for African Studies at the University of Florida. 12 and 13 April.


**Presentations to government and policy audiences:**

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2016). Invited participant, including presentation on "Islamic Radicalization in the African Sahel," in the West African Network meeting of the European Asylum Support Office (EASO), in Valetta, Malta. 22-23 November 2016.

Eizenga, Daniel (2016). Invited presentation to Ambassador Andrew Young, "Burkina Faso: Security, Terrorism and State Stability" at the Executive Analytical Exchange on Burkina Faso organized by the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the Department of State, Washington D.C.. 4 November.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2016). Invited presentation to Ambassador Andrew Young, "Burkina Faso: Governance, Democracy and History" at the Executive Analytical Exchange on Burkina Faso organized by the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the Department of State, Washington D.C. 4 November.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim, "The Northern Mali Conundrum: Jihadism, Separatism or Tribalism?" invited presentation at the workshop "Civilian Population in West and East Africa and Experiences of Terrorist Threat" for the Civilian Affairs Battalion at Ft. Bragg, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, October 2016.

Eizenga, Daniel (2016). Invited presentation to Ambassador Designate Geeta Pasi, "The Political Scene in Chad" at the Executive Analytical Exchange on Chad organized by the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the Department of State, Washington D.C.. 2 August.

Eizenga, Daniel (2016). "Boko Haram: Origins, Ideology, and Influences." Presented at the Defense Language Institute of the Presidio, Monterey, California. 19 May.

Eizenga, Daniel (2016). Subject Matter Expert for Chad as part of Booz Allen Hamilton's Air Force Culture and Language Center project to develop a cultural field guide for Chad.

Bodian, Mamadou (2015) Invited presentation, "Ethnic Diversity and State Capacity in Mali and Niger" at a West Africa Seminar for Civil Affairs personnel, US Army, Ft Bragg. Held at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. 7 October.

Bodian, Mamadou (2015) Invited presentation, "Institutional Factors of Stability and Instability in Niger and Mali" at the Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) workshop organized by the USAID West-Africa regional office, Accra (Ghana), 14 – 15 September.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2015) Invited presentation, "Understanding the Dynamics of Violent Extremism in the Sahel: A Comparative Study of Mauritania, Mali and Niger" at the Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) workshop organized by the USAID West-Africa regional office, Accra (Ghana), 14 - 15 September.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2015) "Explaining Participation in Jihadi Movements in the Context of State Collapse: The Case of the Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa (MOJWA) in Mali" at the 2015 Minerva Annual Meeting, Washington DC, September 9.

Villalón, Leonardo. Invited panelist for a symposium for Dutch policymakers on "Religion and Radicalization in Africa," Sponsored by the African Studies Centre at University of Leiden. The Hague, 10-11 September 2015.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2015) Invited presentation on Niger and Chad, for a panel on "The Lake Chad Basin's Security Landscape: Challenges and Responses." Counterterrorism Partnership Fund Roundtable Series. Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University. Washington DC. 26 June.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2015) Invited presentation, "Between Democracy and Violence: Islam and Politics in West Africa." Africa Regional Seminar series, Defense Intelligence Agency. Washington DC. 20 May.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2015) Invited presentation on the political and religious situation in Senegal, at the US Department of State Executive Analytical Exchange on Senegal and Guinea-Bissau, to brief the new US Ambassador, James Zumwalt. Washington DC 12 January.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim. (2015) "Niger's Security Challenges and institutional Capacities," presentation for the US government's Security Governance Initiative (SGI), organized by the US State Department, 20 January. (via conference call)

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2014) Invited presentation, "The Aftershocks of Mali: Continuity and Change in the Sahel." Delivered to the Joint FAO Program Africa Course, sponsored by the Naval Postgraduate School. 17 July, Washington D.C.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2014) Invited presentation on "Réformes institutionelles, mobilisations sociales, et fragilisation des États au Sahel." African Union, Centre Africain d'Etudes et de Recherches sur le Terrorisme. Algiers, Algeria. 11 May.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2014) Invited presentation on "Socio-Religious Trends and Democratization in the Sahel," at an intellectual exchange seminar on "Socio-Economic Trends in the Sahel." Co-sponsored by the U.S. Department of State and the National Intelligence Council, March 20, Washington D.C.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim. (2014) "Islam and Islamic Insurgency in the Sahel: the Current Debates" Invited presentation at the US State Department "Socio-Economic Trends in The Sahel." Washington DC, 20 March.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim. (2014) "Overcoming an Islamic Insurgency: Resilience and Vulnerability in Mauritania." Invited Presentation at the US State Department "Executive Analytic Exchange on Mauritania." Washington DC. 28 August.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim. (2014) "Factors of Resilience in Niger: Maintaining a Precarious Stability in a Troubled Neighborhood." Invited presentation at the US State Department "Executive Analytic Exchange on Niger." Washington DC, 28 August.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2013) Invited presentation on religion and politics in Burkina Faso, at the US Department of State's Executive Analytical Exchange on Burkina Faso to brief the new US ambassador to the country, Ambassador Tulinabo Mushingi. 26 August.

Villalón, Leonardo A. (2013) Invited participant in a small group discussion for policymakers, on "The Tuareg: A Nation without Borders?" Center for Naval Analysis (CAN). Alexandria, VA. 22 March.

Eizenga, Daniel. (2013) "Prospects for Economic Growth in Chad." United States Department of State and National Intelligence Council co-sponsored intellectual exchange on 'Socio-Economic Trends in the Sahel' in Washington D.C. 20 March.

Daniel Eizenga (2013) presentation (via conference call) on political risks and volatility in Chad to Médecins Sans Frontières. 27 November.

Three Minerva research team members serve as Country Experts and Analysts for Freedom House (see www.freedomhouse.org): Mamadou Bodian for Mali; Daniel Eizenga for Chad and Burkina Faso; Ibrahim Yahya Ibrahim for Niger and Mauritania.


**Commentary and Analysis for the Media:**

Mamadou Bodian (2016). "La liberation Karim Wade ou la mal Gouvernance Institutionnalisée." *Sud Quotidien*. June 27. http://wwww.sudonline.sn/la-liberation-karim-wade-ou-la-mal-gouvernance-institutionnalisee-_a_30478.html

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2016) "Are we Animals?" Nigeriens respond to Foreign Policy's "Dead Man's Market," *African Arguments*, 13 June. http://africanarguments.org/2016/06/13/are-we-animals-nigeriens-respond-to-foreign-policys-dead-mans-market.

Ba, Oumar (2016) "Hissène Habré, Chad's former dictator, just got a life sentence for crimes he committed in the 1980s" in *The Washington Post*'s research blog: The Monkey Cage. June 1, 2016.

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2016) "The 2016 Elections in Niger: A Missed Opportunity?" *Sahel Blog*, 30 March. https://sahelblog.wordpress.com/2016/03/30/guest-post-the-2016-election-in-niger-a-missed-opportunity/

Eizenga, Daniel and Leonardo A. Villalón (2016) "Taking stock of Burkina Faso's democracy after al-Qaeda attack" in *The Washington Post*'s research blog: The Monkey Cage. January 21, 2016. Available

here: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkeycage/wp/2016/01/21/taking-stock-of-burkina-fasos-democracy-after-al-qaeda-attack/

Bodian, Mamadou (2016). "L'affaire Lamine Diack et le financement de la vie publique au Sénégal. " *Le Quotidien*. January 15. http://www.lequotidien.sn/index.php/societe/item/12017-g%C3%A9omatique-gestion-du-foncier-et-des-inondations-am%C3%A9nagement-du-territoire-le-s%C3%A9n%C3%A9gal-lance-la-premi%C3%A8re-station-gps-de-l%E2%80%99afrique-de-l%E2%80%99ouest

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2016) "Niger: Expert Briefing" *Africa Research Institute*, 2 February. http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/niger-expert-briefing/

Yahaya Ibrahim, Ibrahim (2015) "Niger: Yet Another Coup?!" *Sahel Blog*, 31 December. https://sahelblog.wordpress.com/2015/12/31/niger-yet-another-coup-guest-post/

Elischer, Sebastian (2015) "Burkina Faso elections mark turning in country's recent political turmoil." *The Washington Post*'s research blog: The Monkey Cage. 6 December. http://democracyinafrica.org/old-habits-die-hard-elite-behavior-and-the-2016-presidential-elections-in-niger/

Eizenga, Daniel (2015). "Burkina Faso Elections Mark Turning Point in Country's Recent Political Turmoil." Washington Post's Monkey Cage. December 6. Available here: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkeycage/wp/2015/12/06/burkina-faso-elections-mark-a-turning-point-in-a-country-inpolitical-turmoil/

Eizenga, Daniel (2015). Interviews on politics in Burkina Faso to: Voice of America (December 2 & September 30), Radio France International (November 28 & 26 September), *The Economist* (November 27 and September 27), Christian Science Monitor (October 6 & September 30), Institute of Current World Affairs (5 October)

Eizenga, Daniel (2015). "Here's How You Bring Down a 'Strongman' Government (without a Civil War)." Washington Post's Monkey Cage. October 15. Available here: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkeycage/wp/2015/10/15/heres-how-you-bring-down-a-strongman-government-withouta-civil-war/

Eizenga, Daniel (2015). "Burkina Faso: President Kafando Is back in Charge, But Now What?" In Africa Is A Country. September 25. Available here: http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/burkina-faso-president-kafandois-back-in-charge-but-now-what/

Eizenga, Daniel (2015). "Why General Gilbert Diendéré Is Derailing the Political Transition in Burkina Faso." Africa Is A Country. September 20. Available here: http://africasacountry.com/2015/09/why-general-gilbert-diendere-isderailing-the-political-transition-in-burkina-faso/

Elischer, Sebastian (2015) "After this month's attack in Bamako, what do we know about fundamentalist Islam in Mali?" The *Washington Post*'s research blog: The Monkey Cage. 30 November.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/11/30/after-this-months-attack-in-bamako-what-do-we-know-about-fundamentalist-islam-in-mali/

Elischer, Sebastian (2015) "Taking stock of 'good coups' in Africa." The *Washington Post*'s research blog: The Monkey Cage. 18 May. https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/05/18/taking-stock-of-good-coups-in-africa/

Elischer, Sebastian (2015) "Old habits die hard: Elite behavior and the 2016 presidential elections in Niger." *Democracy in Africa Blog*. 5 May. http://democracyinafrica.org/old-habits-die-hard-elite-behavior-and-the-2016-presidential-elections-in-niger/

Eizenga, Daniel (2015). "Mobilizing for Elections: The Burkinabe Context." Co-authored with Oumar Ba. APSA Africa Workshops Newsletter. Vol. 3, Issue 1, November, pgs. 13-16.

Villalón, Leonardo A. and Eizenga, Daniel (2014). "How Al-Qaeda Got to Timbuktu, and Why it Matters." *The Partisan* 2, 5. At: http://sites.clas.ufl.edu/polisci/files/The-Partisan-2014.pdf

*Preliminary program*
# On the Edge: What Future for the African Sahel?

**A Conference organized by the Sahel Research Group**
**University of Florida, Gainesville**

**23-25 February 2017**

# Conference theme

There is unprecedented interest in the countries of the West African Sahel. Among the very least developed countries on earth, they were long on the margins of both scholarly and policy concerns; yet as the region has attracted world attention as a key battleground in the global "war on terror" there has been a proliferation of writing on the region. The vast majority of this recent attention, however, has been through the prism of security concerns: terrorism, violence, and "radical Islam." While fully recognizing the immediate challenges that have brought the Sahel into international headlines, a primary goal of this conference is to move beyond this narrow and often superficial focus to provide a multidimensional and interdisciplinary assessment of the region in all of its complexity.

Beyond the security concerns, the region is at an important crossroads, under multiple pressures of diverse kinds: environmental, political, demographic, and economic, as well as rapidly changing social and cultural dynamics. Indeed there is a growing understanding that the security concerns of the region are intricately interrelated with broader socio-economic dynamics, and with the challenges of underdevelopment, population growth, social and religious transformations, climate change, and more.

This conference will bring together an interdisciplinary set of scholars from Europe, Africa and North America to offer perspectives on key issues shaping the region. The focus will be on the six Francophone countries at the heart of the geographic space of the Sahel—Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad—considered in the context of their neighbors, notably Nigeria to the south and the countries of the Maghreb to the north. An important contribution of the conference will be to explore the historical and contemporary interconnections that make this set of countries, collectively, an identifiable sub-region.

# Conference schedule

***Thursday, 23 February 2017:***
    **1:00-1:30:** *Welcome and conference introduction*
    **1:30- 2:30: Panel I:** *The Sahel as Region*
    **3:00-5:00: Panel II:** *The Environment and the Challenge of Climate Change*
    **6:30-7:30: Keynote Lecture I:** *The Construction of States and Societies in the Sahel*
    **7:30-9:30: Dinner buffet reception**

***Friday, 24 February 2017:***

**8:30-10:30: Panel III:** *Ideas and Thought in the Sahel*
**11:00-1:00 Panel IV:** *Identities and Social Dynamics*
**2:30-3:30 Keynote Lecture II:** *The Quest for Political Order in the Sahel*
**3:45-5:45 Panel V:** *The Challenge of Governing*

*Saturday, 25 February 2017:*
**8:30-10:30: Panel VI:** *The Challenge of Development*
**11:00-1:00 Panel VII:** *The Religious Landscape in Flux*
**2:30-4:00 Panel VIII:** *On the Move: Urbanization, Migration, Transnationalism*
**4:30-5:30:** *Roundtable*

# *Abstracts*

## PANEL I:  THE SAHEL AS REGION

### *Mapping the Sahelian Space* (Olivier Walther and Denis Retaillé)

The Sahel has long been envisioned as an arid strip of land in which sedentary and nomadic peoples clash periodically in a struggle for survival, traffickers compete for the control of transnational routes, and terrorists thrive in the absence of the state. Building on a general interpretation of the Sahel territoriality developed over the last 20 years, our paper challenges this view. Unlike other approaches that define the Sahel as a bioclimatic zone or as an ungoverned area, we argue that the Sahel is primordially a space of circulation in which uncertainty has historically been overcome by mobility. The first part of the paper discusses the various strategies developed by Sahelian societies to cope with the irregularity of rainfall across time and space, recurring economic crises, and political instability. We argue that mobility relies on a network of markets and cities and on a transnational network of people that can facilitate trade and social relationships across the region. The second part explores alternative ways of mapping the Sahel. We show that traditional mapping is often based on a static and 'sedentary' conception of space in which territories and localized resources are more important than networks and flows.  The third part discusses the current contradiction between the mobile strategies adopted by local herders, farmers and traders in the Sahel and the territorial development initiatives of modern states and international donors. Regional development policy in the Sahel, we conclude, should build on the knowledge embedded in the community's actors and institutions and take into account the fundamental mobile nature of Sahelian societies.

### *French Colonialism and the Making of the Modern Sahel* (Gregory Mann)

Would there be a Sahel without France, and specifically French colonialism? The question might seem absurd—certainly the word and arguably the region it now designates long pre-date the French colonial conquest of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, it was under French rule and immediately afterwards that the common Arabic term came to designate, as a proper noun, the long, thin band of arable land just south (rather than north) of the Sahara. Under colonial rule, the Sahel was more integrated politically and—at least by the 1950s—infrastructurally than it would be in the decades that followed. At independence, the new governments of the Sahel featured identical, if parallel, political institutions modeled on those of the French Fifth Republic (1958-), extending to its strong presidential prerogatives and its secular (*laïc*) identity. They shared other characteristics as well. These include most notably a common military culture, the subordination—without integration—of the Saharan societies to their southern neighbors, and the official non-recognition of slavery in what were only recently (and only partially) post-slavery societies. In that sense, colonial rule went a long way towards making the modern Sahel. However for Sahelian societies, unlike in other parts of Africa, French colonialism did not represent a profound epistemological break. Rather, internal intellectual dynamics continued to prevail;

Bruce Hall's study of the evolution of idioms of 'racial' thought demonstrates this convincingly, and it is only one case in point. If any single event or phenomenon 'made' the modern Sahel, it was post-colonial drought and its political effects rather than imperial domination. Nonetheless, the French colonial experience laid the foundation and conditioned the possibilities for much that would come.


## PANEL II: THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE CHALLENGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE *(Sarah McKune, convener)*

### *Agriculture in a Changing Climate Environment* (Chris Reij and Gray Tappen)

Since the middle of the 1980s, farmers in parts of the Sahel, notably in some densely populated areas of southern Niger, have begun to protect and manage naturally regenerating woody species on their farmland. The vast scale of this on-farm re-greening was discovered and mapped between 2004 and 2009 using high-resolution satellite imagery in combination with multiple field visits. This chapter examines the Sahelian socio-economic and agro-ecological context in which this large-scale on-farm re-greening has emerged. It also examines the multiple benefits it generates for farmers. The dominant narrative is that re-greening of the Sahel is caused by higher rainfall since the middle of the 1980s. Although rainfall can facilitate re-greening, this chapter shows that there are strong indications that human management, forest legislation and multiple local benefits are the determining factors for on-farm re-greening. Over the last 30 years, demographic growth has led to continued degradation of natural vegetation in the Sahel through agricultural expansion, demand for wood fuels and other pressures – a trend we see in the field and through the remote sensing record. This stands in sharp contrast to the areas of re-greening. Since the 'discovery' of large-scale on-farm re-greening in southern Niger, other examples of on-farm re-greening have been found, for instance, in Mali and in Senegal. The chapter profiles these other cases of re-greening, and examine the diversity and density of on-farm trees, within the broader context of Sahelian agriculture. For many smallholder farmers in the Sahel, on-farm re-greening is the only way to intensify agriculture. The chapter will show that building new agroforestry parklands is a key pillar of climate-smart agriculture, but it will also discuss how farmers still face major challenges such as keeping up with food and water demands of a growing population.

### *The Challenge of Food Security and Nutrition* (Sarah McKune)

The African Sahel is projected to be among the areas most affected by global climate change in the coming decades. In a region regularly facing food insecurity and extremely high rates of malnutrition, the nutritional consequences of climate change are likely to be dire. Recent research projects the impact of climate change on child stunting – a marker of chronic malnutrition – to be significant. In West Africa as a whole the model estimates a 36% increase in severe stunting by 2050; estimates for the Sahel are likely to be even greater. The Sahel, however, is inhabited by populations across the livelihood spectrum – from urban populations, to agriculturalists, to agro-pastoralists, to nomads – and thus the impact of climate change on food security and nutrition will be highly variable and nuanced. Recent studies of nutrition among children under-five, and particularly children under two years of age, underscore the significant role that animal-source foods play in long term childhood development and growth. Given the interconnectedness of livestock and people throughout the Sahel, these findings hold important implications for understanding the future nutritional status of people in the region. Links between agriculture and nutrition, long neglected, are progressing, and researchers are investigating how to ensure the translation of production of livestock to consumption of nutrient rich foods. Livelihoods have historically served as strong predictors of diet, with particular attention to milk among livestock-holding communities and meat among urban populations. But with increased sedentarization of pastoralists, increased urbanization of rural populations, and increased globalization, we are witnessing shifts in food security, dietary diversity, and nutrition. This chapter examines the issue of nutrition in the Sahel, with a focus on the role that climate change is playing in this evolution. It investigates the various pathways by

which climate may be affecting the food security, dietary diversity, and nutrition of populations across the Sahelian livelihood spectrum.

### Demography and Health in the Context of Climate Change (Malcolm Potts and Alisha Graves)

The Sahel has the highest birth rates in the world and the rate of natural population growth is unprecedented in human history. It includes some of the world's least-developed countries. United Nations medium-scenario projections for 2050 indicate the population will grow by nearly three times that of today. Climate projections suggest that by mid-century crop yields will plummet and the cattle will not survive. By the second half of the 21$^{st}$ century more people than live in the USA could become ecological refugees. Mortality rates are likely to rise, especially among infants and possibly also older people. The climate projections suggest that there may be more precipitation, but the further warming of an already hot area will still be associated with ever increasing food insecurity. The rapid population growth also undermines effort to improve educational levels. Poorly educated young men with few job opportunities could escalate conflict and populate extremist groups. There are achievable ways to mitigate this humanitarian mega-crisis. These include (a) taking measures to help famers adapt to climate change; (b) raising the level of secondary school education, especially for girls; and (c) improving access to voluntary family planning. However, bold policies and national-level programs must be put in place rapidly. Humanitarian organizations need to recognize the imperative to support family planning. Much greater financial investment by the international community, as well as domestically, will be essential. Mobilizing the necessary resources will involve working with the security community, especially in Europe, but to a lesser extent in North America. Failure to take these steps will be extremely costly to the international community.

### Climate Change and Human Conflict (Tor A. Benjaminsen)

Climate scientists generally stress that there is a great deal of uncertainty as to how global warming will affect the climate in the Sahel. While some models support the theory that this region will become drier, most models actually suggest that there might be more rain in the future in the Sahel, but possibly with more concentrated rainfall in fewer showers. Since the droughts of the 1980s, there has been an increase in rainfall throughout the Sahel, which has led to a re-greening of the entire region. Despite this greening and the uncertainty in the impact of climate change, there is a dominant narrative in international politics and media presentations that postulates that climate change will lead to drier conditions in the Sahel, which again will lead to resource scarcity, widespread migration and the emergence of new conflicts or the re-fueling of existing ones. This narrative seems in particular to be attractive to politicians and bureaucrats and is also championed by some influential scholars. The chapter will critically investigate this narrative based on a review of international research. This research basically concludes that the droughts in the 1980s only played a minor role in explaining conflicts, while the root causes were political and historical. In addition, there does not seem to be any clear link between resource scarcity in the Sahel in the 1980s and global climate change. An association between scarcity and increased conflict levels cannot, however, be dismissed, even if empirical results from international research question the validity of such a correlation. The causes of conflicts in the Sahel are in general associated with state policies, which result in the marginalization of pastoralists. In areas where pastoralism and farming overlap as the main forms of land use, there are continuous conflicts of varying scale and intensity. These conflicts are primarily caused by politics, not climate change.

### KEYNOTE LECTURE I: Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan
### The Construction of States & Societies in the Sahel

Beyond the colonial legacy—which is more important than is often acknowledged—African states and societies have been deeply impacted in the post-independence period by many factors of change. The most significant of these factors has been the rise of humanitarian and development aid. Such aid has not only provided infrastructure, social services, food relief, and business opportunities, but it has also induced aid dependency, opportunistic strategies, doublespeak, and rentier practices. This may

be particularly true in the Sahel; in many ways, Sahelian states are now rentier states. Across the region, the mode of governance based on development projects stands side by side with the bureaucratic mode, as well as some others, in a context of generalized co-production of public goods of poor quality. The "capture" of the state by national elites, related to the capture of aid by local elites, and the collusion between large merchants and politicians, are other important features of the post-independence process of constructing states and societies in the region. A more recent factor has been the emergence of formally democratic political systems, albeit characterized by a high level of clientelism and favoritism, and by marked discrepancies between official norms and the actual practices of civil servants. In such a context, the slow but real growth of a middle class does not fill the widening gap between the privileged class and the masses of the population (poor peasants, informal sector workers, the unemployed). This gap has paved the way for the rise of anti-Western and anti-state Islamic fundamentalism, and for ethnic entrepreneurs.

## PANEL III. IDEAS AND THOUGHT IN THE SAHEL *(Alioune Sow, convener)*

### *Intellectual Figures and Political Thought* (Abdourahmane Idrissa)

The relative affluence of the Sahel in the historical period when it could produce the agricultural surplus necessary for state formation—including a series of large empires able to engage as part of the *économie monde* of the Mediterranean and the Middle East—helps to explains the region's cultural distinctiveness. It is also at the source of the central theme of Sahelian moral and political philosophy that is the focus of this chapter: the relations (and tensions) between nostalgia and utopia. The chapter will examine distinct traditions of Sahelian political and moral thought, using in particular the works of three giants of twentieth century Sahelian philosophy as an introduction to these traditions: Boubou Hama, Cheikh Hamidou Kane, and Amadou Hampâté Ba. All three are illustrative of a politics of nostalgia and utopia, each with a religious/moral subtext: spiritualistic animism in the work of Hama, a form of African humanism tinged with Islam in the work of Kane, and Sufi/Fulani wisdom in the work of Ba. While the chapter will draw largely on these authors, it will also position other Sahelian thinkers in relation to the powerful ways in which they have developed these themes. While nostalgia harks back to a lost but still inspiring – and subtly enduring – civilization, utopia gestures towards a horizon that is often lost from sight among the peoples of the Sahel, but which is ever present on their mental map. The chapter will examine not only the works of writers, but also of movie-makers, given that there is a distinctive tradition of Sahelian cinema in which the relations of nostalgia and utopia take a particularly vivid salience. The chapter concludes with an examination of both the perils and the benefits of these themes as they relate to the present-day cultures and politics of the Sahel.

### *Cultural Production and Political Change* (Alioune Sow)

Several features characterize what may be considered the unique trajectory of cultural production in the Sahel. First is the fact that several national political leaders were also men of letters. Second is the ambitious and innovative cultural integration program implemented by leaders who, despite political differences, adopted and relied on the same models, convinced that the constitution of solid "national bibliographies" and investment in multiple cultural fields were the necessary support for political emancipation and social cohesion. The third element is the controversial transnational "francophonie" project, not in fact born in France as often stated, but rather solicited and initiated by leaders from Senegal and Niger, determined to use the French language to facilitate cultural exchange and consolidate national cultural capital.

Comparatively surveying several "literary fields" in the sense of Bourdieu, this chapter examines the impact and the outcomes of the first set of reforms and initiatives conducted after independence. It will demonstrate that despite unequal outcomes and different types of literary production, the Sahel region features strong and often uniquely structured and interconnected national literary fields. In addition to discussing the dominant literary logics and dynamics of the region and their relation to historical

transformations, the chapter will also show how, at different moments in time, the development of "literary niches" such as the novel, oral poetry, or autobiography, and the constant fluctuation between the decline and the re-emergence of genres such as the epic and memoirs should be read as strategic responses to postcolonial political crises and not the expression of unstable and unpredictable literary fields. The chapter will conclude that instead of envisioning these different literary productions as manifestation of cultural scarcity, they should be perceived as distinctive and adaptable cultural fields fostering cultural processes characterized by innovative and fluid generic tendencies.

### *Ruptures, Imaginaries, and Changes in the Sahel* (Felwine Sarr)

African intellectuals have written extensively on the sociopolitical realities and cultural dynamics of the continent, producing a noteworthy library of critical and reflexive writings as well as significant historical, juridical and theological texts. How do contemporary African intellectuals relate to this production? How do they engage with conceptions inherited from the Ethiopian philosophical tradition written in Amharic during the Antiquity or the 17th century reflections generated by Ahmet Baba and the members of the Songhai elite in Timbuktu, who studied the impact of Islam on African politics?

Focusing on the Sahel, the aim of this chapter is to describe dominant currents of thought and examine how intellectual habits as well as social and cultural practices have been transmitted from early thinkers to contemporary intellectuals. To do so, I will first consider the particularities of the Sahel as a specific area of production and circulation of ideas, then identity and analyze the intellectual genealogies and the socio-cultural convergences of the region. In doing so, I will pay particular attention to the processes that led to the constitution of dominant current of thoughts despite the ethnic diversity and the mobility of the populations that characterize the region. I will investigate the particular role Islam has played in these dynamics and examine further the legacy of earlier matrices on contemporary thinkers such as Hampâte Bâ, to outline a history of ideas in the Sahel.

### PANEL IV. IDENTITIES AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS *(Fiona Mc Laughlin, convener)*

### *Hierarchy and Contestation: Caste, Slavery and Inequality* (Cédric Jourde)

This chapter both presents and engages the main debates surrounding social status hierarchies in the Sahel ('caste systems'), whose meanings are context-dependent but nonetheless still very influential. This chapter explores three themes. *1: Intersecting Islam and status categories*: there is an inherent tension between Islam and status inequalities. The theological equality of believers before God is often contradicted in practice: since the 18th century, positions of Islamic leadership have been mostly monopolized by ruling 'free-born' lineages. But Islamist movements and reformed Sufi movements (and possibility jihadist groups) challenge this hierarchy and attract individuals who reject the significance of status differences. *2: Intersecting ethnicity and status categories:* the colonial and postcolonial politicization of ethnicity in the Sahel has raised critical questions regarding status categories. As traditional chiefs and ethnic entrepreneurs seek to mobilize an 'ethnic We' against threatening 'Others' (we the Tuaregs; we the Moors; we the Peuls), they trigger intra-ethnic debates around status hierarchies. Whereas some claim a fairer inclusion for subaltern status groups in the 'ethnic We', if not the elimination of such categories, others call for the separation of these subaltern groups from their former exclusionary ethnic community. *3: States, regimes and status categories:* Postcolonial state elites hold ambiguous views about status categories, especially since the democratic reforms of the 1990s. Officially, status categories do not exist: citizens are all equal under the Law. But informal state practices differ: being state official themselves, individuals from free-born lineages often perpetuate status inequalities. By contrast, subaltern movements appeal to the rule of law to overcome informal/traditional status inequalities. Three sites of contention between formal and informal rules, where free-born and subaltern groups clash, will be explored: access to land; legal sanctions against crimes of slavery; and local elections.

***The Linguistic Ecology of the Sahel*** (**Fiona McLaughlin**)

This chapter explores the complex linguistic ecology of the Sahel, a highly multilingual region of Africa where three of the continent's four language families are represented, often within a single individual's repertoire. Proceeding from the premise that named languages – like ethnic groups – are social (and often colonial) constructs, this chapter privileges the notion of linguistic repertoire, namely the ways in which groups and individuals deploy their linguistic resources, both spoken and written, for various purposes. This chapter first presents an overview of the social roles attributed to different types of languages, including lingua francas, official languages, urban vernaculars, religious languages, and minority and endangered languages, to make the case that lingua francas are the most important of these in terms of the relevance they have to people's lives and the opportunities they afford them.  Particular attention will be paid to the politicization of language, to its intersection (or not) with ethnicity and religion, and to its association with power and social hierarchy. The second focus of the study is literacy. Here the chapter will provide an overview of the literacy ecology by looking at everyday literacy practices that include *ajami* (Arabic script) writing of local languages, indigenous writing systems such as N'ko and Tifinagh, and literacy in the official languages, French and Arabic, as well as the ways in which such literacies are acquired.  The third and final focus of the chapter is on discursive genres, namely the acknowledged forms of stylized speech through which individuals interact verbally, including teasing relationships and speech mediated through a third party.  The themes of this chapter reveal the Sahel's francophone veneer to be just one aspect of a robust and vibrant linguistic ecology where multilingual ways of speaking constitute the fabric of social life.

***Pastoralist societies in the Sahel: Persistence and adaptation*** (**Wendy Wilson-Fall**)

In the 1990's the greatest menace for Sahelian pastoralists was the increasing shift of family-owned herds to herds owned by sedentary, town-based entrepreneurs. More recently, however, the more critical threats have been constraints on mobility, criminal activity, and religious radicalism. Engaging recent literature on Sahelian farming and pastoral communities, this chapter argues that intra-regional issues of land use policy, shaped by the tension between extensive regional pastoral production systems and projects of nation-building, are at the center of current political instability in pastoral communities. The chapter suggests that recent disturbances are more the result of economic and political opportunism than of religious fervor, and that sentiments of 'nomadic nostalgia' (idealizing the past) are a response to the vacuum left by failed state attempts to create a public civic culture. Due to the region's geography and political past, Sahelian pastoral communities exhibit notable cultural continuities over an immense geographic space, characterized by economically interdependent zones and the tension between mobile and widely spread communities and centralized, mostly distant, polities. This dynamic, as well as the networks that support it, continue to affect identity and social relations among nomads and between pastoralists and farmers. The chapter emphasizes the interdependency of Sahelian pastoral systems, presenting pastoral communities as an archipelago of contiguous cultural niches that run east-west across the Sahel, and that are tied to related systems in the savannah grasslands (and, in some cases, to desert oases). The chapter examines current socio-political and cultural challenges to pastoral reproduction, including the production of cultural identities. The discussion engages issues of local, national, and regional identities of pastoralists vis-a-vis the modern state (including past and present government policies on land use and education) and local social processes.

***Education and National Identity: Citizenship between the Secular and the Religious*** (**Leonardo A. Villalón and Mamadou Bodian**)

The formal educational systems inherited by states in the Sahel were solidly rooted in the 19th century French model of secular schools  (écoles laïques) as instruments for creating citizens imbued with "republican" values. At the popular level, and especially outside of urban areas, these formal public educational systems found little popular appeal, and often faced clear resistance.  In this context, alternative religiously-based systems of education, with traditional Qur'anic schools at the base, persisted

and indeed thrived following independence.  By the 1980s newer models of "Franco-Arabic" or "Arabo-Islamic" schooling began to spread, providing a parallel alternative educational system that found growing popular appeal, but which remained officially marginalized or unrecognized. In some cases, such as Mauritania or Chad, this duality intersected with ethno-racial issues of national identity.

Across the region, a number of factors began to call into question the viability of this bifurcated educational system by the late 1990s. This included rising religiosity and a crisis of secular identities, the reduced capacity of states to absorb graduates in the era of structural adjustment, and the rise of an Islamic public sphere in the age of democratization.  In a strikingly parallel set of policy initiatives Sahelian countries have embarked on efforts to reform education so as to incorporate the vast informal religious educational systems into the formal national ones.  These initiatives have been further reinforced in the age of violence and terror, even if they have also been quite controversial.  This chapter will survey the trajectory of educational systems the Sahel, and consider how reformed systems are diverging from the historical secular model, with the clear potential for producing new models of citizenship deeply imbued with religious identities. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the longer-term implications of these changes for national identity and citizenship in a changing Sahel.

## KEYNOTE LECTURE II: Augustin Loada
### The Quest for Political Order in the Sahel: The Role of Civil Society
Following the accession of African countries to sovereignty, ruling elites in the Sahel undertook to implement a new political order through the appropriation of the colonial state. In the name of state-building, promoting national integration, and fostering socioeconomic development, they gradually established an authoritarian political order, challenging the political pluralism inherited from the colonial period by restricting individual and collective freedoms, and by repressing social movements and their leaders. A combination of internal and external factors, however, led to a crisis of legitimacy by the late 1980's, and ruling elites were forced to liberalize their regimes according to the criteria of democracy and good governance, and to revive liberal constitutionalism and its corollary, the rule of law.

In the reconstruction process a new actor whose voice had been stifled for a generation has emerged: civil society. Across the Sahel, civil society groups participated alongside political parties in fomenting socio-political movements, leading to the political openings of the early 1990s. Almost nonexistent in the first three decades of the postcolonial state, civil society has now become a real power with which conventional internal and external political actors must contend. Initially confined to the demand for a more democratic political order, it has now become a vector for the social and political transformations taking place in the Sahelian countries, reflected in the emergence of myriad associations, including new movements such as *Y'en a marre* in Senegal or *Balai citoyen* in Burkina Faso. These movements have used "the street" as a space to express claims for a new political order grounded in justice and integrity. This chapter will examine the role of civil society, addressing two key questions: What are the factors behind the rise of civil society as a key player in the new political order in the Sahel? What are its repertoires of action and its effects on the political order?

## PANEL V. THE CHALLENGE OF GOVERNING *(Sebastian Elischer, convener)*

### The Democratic Struggle (Mamadou Bodian and Leonardo Villalón)
As elsewhere in Africa, the countries of the Sahel found themselves under intense pressures to undertake political reforms in the name of democracy in the early 1990s. Incumbent governments varied significantly in their initial responses; trajectories have diverged in important ways; and the current degree of democracy ranges widely across countries.  Yet in each country the democratic struggle has been at the center of national politics for over a quarter century, and there have been striking similarities in the issues that have been at the center of debates. This chapter will survey both the variations and the similarities in how the fight for democracy has played out in the Sahel.  It will first lay out the ways in which governments responded to the pressure to democratize, and examine how these responses set

countries on distinct paths.  The chapter will discuss some initial fundamental questions related to the nature of a democratic state that were raised by the transitions—notably the issue of secularism or laïcité, but also in some cases of the place of ethno-racial groups. The chapter will then turn to an extensive discussion of the core issues defining the political struggles for democracy, including the intense debates around presidential term limits.  Elections are the crucial institutions of democracy, and the chapter will examine the key points that have been at the heart of political conflict over their organization and administration: the electoral system itself, the processes for voter registration and identification, the maintenance of electoral lists, the structure of the ballot, the administrative institutions in charge of managing elections, and the place of gender and other electoral quotas.  It concludes with a balance sheet assessment of the state of democracy in the Sahel.

### *Surviving Democratization: Authoritarian Resilience* **(Daniel Eizenga)**

Despite that all Sahelian countries embraced multi-party elections and 'democratic' political transitions during the 1990s, relatively few of these transitions or subsequent elections produced peaceful political change. These newly adopted democratic political systems produced a variety of outcomes ranging from the continued rule of a certain political party and elite, to the fracturing of political parties, to military intervention, to near state collapse. While these outcomes suggest a great degree of difference and variation in each case, there are also intriguing similarities. Sahelian countries demonstrate both the complexity and variety of political regimes which hold multi-party elections, but do not fully embrace the trappings of democracy. Instead within these regimes ruling parties and their leaders have guarded certain authoritarian traits which shape the rules of the game in their favor. This chapter explores these traits across the countries of the Sahel connecting the roles of political parties, civil society, and civil-military relations in the development of the contemporary regimes. These three factors combine in each case to produce a wide variety of narratives which illuminate the nuances of the different regimes, but one similarity across the region is the resilience of authoritarian features. The countries of the Sahel demonstrate that political change is a slow process during which political leaders will manipulate the rules of the game in their favor. The chapter relies on comparisons of pairs of countries in an effort to draw out specific factors which help to explain how political parties and leaders have sought to survive democratization.

### *Militaries in Politics* **(Sebastian Elischer)**

With the notable exception of Senegal, all the countries of the Francophone Sahel have had periods of military dictatorship since independence. This chapter will first analyze the nature and duration of military rule, as well as the manner in which the military exited power, in each of the five countries that have known such rule. It distinguishes between three clusters of countries. Senegal constitutes one extreme on the civil-military spectrum as it has enjoyed continuous civilian rule. Mauritania, Chad, and (until very recently) Burkina Faso, constitute the other extreme. With the exception of very short spells of civilian rule, military rulers have remained part of the ruling elites since the 1970s. In these three countries the armed forces have constituted so-called "ruler-armies," i.e. armies intending to stay in power indefinitely. Niger and Mali are located somewhere in between. The military ruled these two countries for several decades, ending only when the liberalization of Africa's political sphere in the early 1990s caused the military to withdraw from power. Since the early 1990s the military has again intervened in civilian politics, yet each intervention has proven short-lived. Since the end of the Cold War, the armed forces in Niger and Mali have been transformed from "ruler armies" to "arbitrator armies."  The chapter then offers an explanation for the diverging trajectories between and within individual countries. It acknowledges that the armed forces are never a unitary actor in any given country. Rather, they consist of different factions pursuing different goals. The chapter offers measures of the composition and the strength of the armed forces vis-à-vis other factors and social forces to help explain these diverging patterns.

***The Politics of Security Provision in the Sahel: Capability and Legitimacy* (Cristina Barrios)**

Security concerns in the Sahel have brought the region into international headlines: Islamist terrorism, organized crime, conflicts driven by economic grievances, violence and protracted crises driven by ethnic and territorial competition. This chapter addresses the question of whether the countries of the Sahel can provide security for themselves and for the region, and how? Given the fragility of institutions and authoritarian trends, the chapter argues that the Sahel faces important problems of state capacity and state legitimacy, which damage security provision and shape the prospects for both individual counties and the region.

The chapter comparatively explores the politics of security provision across the region along four related areas. 1) Monopoly on the use of force: To what extent is this held exclusively by *state* forces? Are there armed contenders in control of national territory? 2) Legitimacy deriving from a popular "social contract": To what extent does the state have a security strategy that evokes allegiance among the population? 3) Legitimacy deriving from civilian control of armed forces: Are military/police constrained by a democratic institutional setting? 4) Capacity: To what extent are armies of effective size and equipped with training and resources to face different and new kinds of conflict (e.g. counterterrorism)? The chapter will comparatively examine Sahelian countries along those four areas, underlining their diversity. Some lack capacity; others lack legitimacy. In fragile states there are powerful armed-contenders. In others there may be a capable military but under the control of an authoritarian regime. These factors crucially impact the possibility of regional cooperation, notably in the realm of efforts such as the "G5-Sahel" but also within the regional settings of ECOWAS/ECCAS and the African Union. While Sahel regional security is an urgent necessity, the analysis of the politics around it does not offer optimistic prospects for a lasting peace.

***France and Other External Actors in the Sahel* (Roland Marchal)**

This chapter will examine the impact of external actors in the Sahel, with a particular focus on the regional crisis since 2012. At first glance, France and the USA have been the sole strategic actors in the crisis. These two countries have indeed framed events, reshaped political and military dynamics, and convinced other external institutions—states and international agencies—to play a role in the crisis. While the massive 2013 French intervention was ultimately instrumental in reducing the visible threats, the American mode of involvement relied on other methods; "leading from behind" as in the Libyan war seems to have continued as a Sahelian strategy for the USA. It is true that the stakes are very different for each, and certainly much more strategic for the French than for the Americans. Consequently, "Operation Barkhane" has established a major and indefinite French presence in the region in the name of anti-terrorism. It is clear that this French presence will be more difficult to close down than the various smaller American military facilities, and the local and regional implications of any withdrawal will be very different.

In addition to these two countries and their collaborators, the chapter will also discuss those countries on the edge of events but which have regularly acted as gatekeepers for international policies in the Sahel. Algeria and Morocco have long rivaled each other for influence, and their competition is a determining element in shaping the international interventions and what is optimistically described as the "solutions" for the regional crisis. At the heart of the region itself, Burkina Faso has also played an important intermediary role at various stages. This chapter will focus primarily on the American and French involvement, but it will also examine the role of these more peripheral actors in shaping the likely future of the region.

**PANEL VI: THE CHALLENGE OF DEVELOPMENT** *(Renata Serra, convener)*

*The Structure of National Economies: Formal and Informal Sectors* **(Ahmadou Aly Mbaye and Fatou Gueye)**
While Sahelian countries share most of the features of other Sub-Saharan African countries, they face some peculiar economic challenges, which merit particular scrutiny. They are mainly low-income countries, with limited economic diversification, and are mostly dry and/or landlocked. Fertility rates and population growth are the highest in the world. Youth make up more than 65% of the total labor force and are mostly either unemployed or underemployed. These demographic trends are putting strong pressure on living standards, as well as on access to infrastructural services and to decent jobs. Poverty incidence is higher in the Sahel than in other African countries, with up to 80% of the population living on under $2 per day. The picture is further darkened by critical governance weaknesses, political turmoil and radical Islamist threats that have brought about serious security challenges in and across borders.

All these factors have contributed to a downsizing of the formal sector and an expansion of the informal sector, which represents a significant, albeit underestimated, share of national production and employment. This chapter will assess the relative weights of the formal and informal sector in Sahelian national economies. It will then focus in particular on the dynamics of informal sector growth, and evaluate its determinants and consequences for employment, firm productivity, and economic growth. It will also examine broader implications for institutions and governance, social inclusion and stability, so as to trace how fragile contexts may affect policy responses. Since informal trade and trading networks have a strong presence in the urban informal sector, the chapter will incorporate a discussion of this key dimension of urban economies.

*Agricultural Policies in the Sahel: Policy Processes and Developmental Outcomes* **(Renata Serra)**
The 2003 Maputo Declaration committed all signatory African governments to devote at least 10% of state revenues to the agricultural sector. Since then, several countries have launched ambitious plans to foster national food production and develop agricultural value chains. In the Sahel, governments and other stakeholders have renewed their support of the agriculture and livestock sectors in an attempt to reduce poverty, improve nutrition—especially among children—boost national food security, and promote economic development. The impact of these initiatives on nutritional outcomes, sector development, and rural poverty is, however, mixed at best, in part because of unique environmental and demographic challenges, but also because of weak market governance and poor coordination of policies.

This chapter will focus on the unique governance and institutional challenges of the Sahelian countries. It first offers an overview of the resources allocated by the government and international donors to the agricultural sectors in the six countries, as well as of the main policy instruments affecting agricultural sectors. The chapter will then turn to the analysis of the alignment between policy implementation and stated objectives, the coherence between multiple policy instruments, and the political economy factors underlying the selective support of some agricultural sectors over others. Drawing from specific examples from Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, and Senegal, implications will be derived in terms of prospects for agricultural development, and of the well-being of the countries' populations.

*The Political Economy of Aid: Appropriation and Reform in the Sahelian Countries* **(Isaline Bergamaschi)**
This chapter investigates the articulation between foreign aid and domestic politics in Sahelian countries, which are heavily dependent on aid and appear amongst the poorest countries in the world in socio-economic development rankings. In these countries, core development policies, key reforms of the economy and governance are negotiated, co-produced and implemented by Sahelian governments and aid donors through a daily partnership. The chapter builds on existing analytical frameworks and adopts a political economy perspective to study aid relationships in Sahelian countries in the 2000s. The chapter

focus is both on the design and implementation of Poverty Reduction Strategic Papers (PRSPs), the controversial and incomplete reforms promoted by donors, as well as on the geostrategic priorities (e.g. the war on terror) that drive foreign aid flowing into these countries and which affect the negotiations between governments and their international partners.

Drawing on the anthropological notion of "appropriation", the chapter offers a typology of the strategies used by Sahelian governments in appropriating themselves of aid's financial resources and normative recommendations (ownership, poverty reduction, civil society participation). These strategies include: compliance with conditionalities or autonomy towards donors, the instrumentalization of donor agendas or divisions, amongst others. The article scrutinizes how aid and donors have influenced national policies in Sahelian countries but has also been oriented (and sometimes manipulated) by governments to suit their priorities, foster change or the status quo in complex political scenarios such as: coups d'états (Mauritania, Mali, and Niger), democratization (Mali before the 2012 crisis, and most certainly Senegal) and authoritarian regimes (arguably Burkina Faso and Niger, and surely Chad). The chapter hence identifies and describes these strategies and further the factors explaining the different strategies and processes of aid appropriation observed in the six Sahelian countries.

### *What Role for Extractive Industries?* (Oladiran Bello)

The almost decade-long upswing in Africa's economic performance and improving security outlook gave impetus to a new paradigm of "Africa Rising". Since mid-2014, this renewed optimism about the African continent has been abruptly punctuated by fresh political, economic and geopolitical uncertainties occasioned by the most severe commodity downturn in recent memory. This new conjuncture raised important questions about the future of the Sahel, and the outlook for sustainable development of the extractive resources for social, political, economic and ecological stability in the region. As home to some of the leading resource-rich African countries, the Sahel's future is crucially dependent on improved security and more sustainable use of extractive resources found within countries in the region. The research will explore how regional states are engaging with new thinking on extractive development in Africa. This will be explored along the dimensions of extractives and community benefit (e.g. through procurement/local content development policies, evident for example in Niger's bid for greater community participation in uranium mining projects); mining-led poverty reduction interventions (e.g. Mali's push for a vibrant artisanal gold mining sector); and an environment focus in extractive developments (e.g. national and integrated regional energy plans to achieve a green economic transformation).Within the relevant contexts, this analysis will also explore the potential for co-management approaches to natural resource development as driver of shared prosperity and regional cooperation. Finally, we will re-examine regional insecurity dynamics through the lens of mining-labor conflicts, the expanding roles of private security providers, and emerging trends in internal security as local communities agitate for greater control over extractive resources and proceeds, etc. Ultimately, the region's positioning vis-a-vis the emerging paradigm of extractive-led structural economic transformation beyond mining and oil and gas exploration will be critically assessed.

### PANEL VII. THE RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE IN FLUX (Benjamin Soares, convener)

### *Islamic Intellectual Traditions in the Sahel* (Rüdiger Seeseman)

The recent turmoil in various parts of the Sahel has thrust Islam, and Islamic extremism in particular, into the limelight. Several attempts to explain the apparent surge of radical Islam have cited the power of religious ideas as a major factor behind this phenomenon. Zooming in on ideology alone, however, will hardly allow us to understand the reasons and the modes of the emergence of militant Islamic movements more generally and in various parts of sub-Saharan Africa in particular. Nonetheless, the careful analysis of religious ideas and practices among Sahelian Muslims is indispensable if we seek a deeper understanding of the current situation.

This chapter proposes to analyze Islamic currents in the Sahel not through the lens of religious ideology, but through the lens of different approaches to and concepts of Islamic knowledge. Drawing on fieldwork in Mauritania, Senegal, Chad, and Sudan, the chapter discusses three epistemological patterns tentatively called traditionalist, reformist, and Islamist, linking them to broader intellectual developments within global Islam. In the traditionalist paradigm, knowledge practices are rooted in classical Islamic notions of character formation expressed in the inculcation of *adab*, described as a habitus that can only be attained through personal interaction and internalization rather than the acquisition of "book knowledge." In the reformist paradigm, which largely corresponds to "Salafi"/"Wahhabi" epistemology, the primacy of the textual evidence tents to replace the authority of the master. The Islamist paradigm, connected mainly to the eclectic thought of intellectuals such as the late Hasan al-Turabi, pursues a new epistemological approach that seeks to fuse Islamic and "Western" knowledge. In conclusion, the chapter demonstrates how different epistemologies intersect with broader worldviews and political agendas, highlighting the way in which militant ideologists draw on "Salafi"/"Wahhabi" epistemology in order to legitimize their Jihadist action.

### *Islamic Practice in the Sahel: Sufism, Islamism, and some of their Alternatives* (Benjamin Soares)

This chapter will examine changing modalities of religious expression and modes of belonging among Muslims in the West African Sahel. On the one hand, much scholarship about Islam has focused on the centrality of Sufism and Sufi traditions in many places in the region, and it has usefully traced the broader implications of Sufism and Sufi orders for social, political and economic life in various settings. On the other hand, a considerable but smaller body of scholarship has looked at so-called Islamic "reform" movements with frequently pronounced anti-Sufi orientations, which have manifested themselves in various forms, including "political Islam," Islamism, and jihadism. The chapter will argue that the teleological assumptions implicit in such a schematic model cannot capture some of the most recent, salient changes in the practice of Islam in the Sahel, particularly among the region's youths. Changes in modalities of religious expression and in the practice of Islam among youths must be understood within a context of considerable political instability, economic uncertainty, and increased transnational and global interconnections. As the chapter will show, the recent media revolution and greater use of new media technologies are also key, not least given the thwarted expectations faced by most of the region's increasingly globally interconnected youths. The chapter will consider some of the newer modalities of religious expression in the region, including some which draw upon various Sufi traditions and other globally circulating discourses (Islamic or otherwise) as well as those which explicitly reject Sufism, to refashion ways of being Muslim in sometimes unexpected ways.

### *The Jihadi Challenge* (Ibrahim Yahaya Ibrahim)

The recent rise of jihadi movements in the Sahel, including Boko Haram in the Lake Chad region and the Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa (MUJAO) in Northern Mali, has puzzled many observers: How did a region known for the peaceful character of its religious beliefs and practices end up developing some of the deadliest jihadi movements in the world? Why, despite significant similarities among Sahelian countries, has jihadism tended to emerge and grow in some places and not in others? Efforts to try to explain the phenomenon of jihadism in the Sahel have focused on three main factors: the spread of a global jihadi ideology; the incapacity of states to control territory; or driven by local ethnic and economic grievances. While these factors are all important in explaining the emergence of jihadism in the Sahel, the approach taken in the existing literature offers only a partial explanation of the phenomenon. This chapter takes as its point of departure a conceptualization of jihadism as a complex phenomenon that requires an integrated approach to decipher the way in which factors at macro, meso, and micro levels interact with one another to produce the phenomenon. The chapter will survey the emergence of the most significant jihadi movements in the region in the 2000s. It will then offer an analysis that situates global jihadi discourse within the spectrum of broader Islamic discourses, and provides a typology of the jihadi discourses emerging in the Sahel. The chapter will then elaborate on the dynamics, both at the state and local levels, that favor or disfavor the emergence of jihadi insurgent

groups. The chapter will thus examine both similarities and variations in the dynamics of the jihadist phenomenon across the Sahel.

### Muslim Women's Reform Movements (Ousseina Alidou)

Since the 1990s the countries of the Sahel have been experimenting with democratic systems that have resulted in both political pluralism with a gendered dimension and a renewed place for Islam in the public sphere. This chapter will focus on the emergence of Muslim women's social reform movements advocating for women's rights in the region. These movements manifest a diversity of trajectories and objectives. Strikingly, however, the majority converges on a common quest for gender justice against cultural and state patriarchy. They also display a range of responses to external hegemonic forces—including neoliberalism, violent religious extremism such as *Boko Haram*, the influence of AQIM (Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb), human trafficking, and ethno-regional inequalities and rivalries—which continue to negatively affect the lives of women and their communities. The chapter will first present three models of Muslim women's reform movements: A first are those led by secular Muslim women leaders who advocate for women's rights through an endorsement of universal principles of gender equality as articulated in such documents as the UN's "Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." A second type of movement is based on Islamic feminism to challenge patriarchal readings of Islam by re-examining Islamic exegesis as a basis for achieving gender justice. A third model is provided by movements that focus on religious piety and moral agency as the source of women's empowerment. The second section of the chapter will examine variations and similarities across countries in the Sahel, illustrating with discussion of cases of social changes resulting from Muslim women's reform movements in education, public health, politics, the law, the arts, and the use of old and new media.

### PANEL VIII. ON THE MOVE: URBANIZATION, MIGRATION, TRANSNATIONALISM
*(Abdoulaye Kane, convener)*

### Urbanization and the Dynamics of Change in Sahelian Cities (David Lessault and Florence Boyer)

A significant body of empirical data on the main urban centers of the Sahel has been produced over more than a decade, drawing largely on socio-demographic surveys carried out in such cities as Bamako, Ouagadougou, Niamey, and Dakar. This accumulated knowledge provides us with a current opportunity to examine recent trends in Sahelian urbanization from both a regional and a comparative perspective. Based on an approach squarely rooted in a reading of urban dynamics in terms of spatial mobility, this chapter has three major objectives. The first section will evaluate the extent of urbanization, and describe the evolution of its patterns in the post-colonial period, from "metropolitanization" to the proliferation of small urban agglomerations as a key part of the Sahelian urban network. Beyond this macro-economic and historical framework, the second section will focus directly on the main urban centers, in order to examine the variations in metropolitan conditions and the status of urban dwellers across the region. This diversity is as evident in the variations in development among Sahelian cities (notably between coastal and interior cities) as in the internal processes of differentiation among urban spaces. Sahelian cities are thus not all at the same level of population densities, a fact that has a clear impact on the fabric of urban life and on socio-spatial stratification. Finally, a third section of the chapter offers a holistic current assessment of the three classic issues usually recognized as limiting factors in mitigating the effects of "urban crisis" in the Sahel: the informal sector, multi-local family residence, and social networks of solidarity.

### Crossing Borders: Intra-African Migration (Sylvie Bredeloup)

Intra-African migrations have received scarce attention from researchers, policy makers, or governments, both home-country and host-country. These migrations remain widely invisible and undocumented, or are most often reduced to the movements of refugees within the continent. In fact,

however, African migration is still primarily an intra-African phenomenon, and the Sahel has long been a zone of extensive movement and out-migration of people. This chapter will examine patterns of migration from the Sahel across national borders within Africa, beginning in the colonial period. During colonization, the French often recruited West-African workers across borders. Known as "*laptots,*" they served in the army ("Senegalese riflemen"), and provided security for French trading posts along the West African coast, and later the coasts of Central Africa. At the time of decolonization, shopkeepers in marketplaces, as well as big merchants or gem traders from the Senegal River Valley or other parts of the Sahel were also entrepreneurs who functioned in two worlds, and were active in what has been referred to as the "Diams'pora." Their practices echoed those of middlemen minorities, occupying an intermediate position between native populations and national authorities in international trade networks. Over the decades a number of factors, including tougher controls at borders and intensified deportations despite regional agreements on the free movement of people (e.g. in Gabon and South Africa), the breakout of civil wars (Ivory Coast, Angola, Libya), or of political turmoil (Congo) have all had a significant impact on population movements from the Sahel, and have also significantly increased insecurity for Sahelian migrants. These factors have resulted in a multiplication of both the number of stages or steps in the processes of migration, and of the time taken for each leg, now often measured in years. Sahelian migrants in other regions of Africa are faced with increasing economic difficulties, often unable to pursue the journey they have begun, but also unable also to return home in dignity and reinvest in family relations.

### *Irregular migration and border controls in the Sahelian crossroads* (Ruben Andersson)

The Sahel region has in recent years come to be seen in many powerful quarters as a source of insecurity, danger and – not least – as a 'threatening' conduit and crossroads for 'unwanted' migrations towards North Africa and Europe. Through 'subcontracted' policing to African states, new technologies of surveillance, and multifarious official interventions, European states have promoted a pre-emptive 'fight against migration' in the region – setting the blueprint for similar efforts to crack down on unauthorised cross-border movements elsewhere. While controlling the vast terrains of the Sahel and Sahara was always a losing prospect, these state-driven efforts have moreover ignored and side lined (and at times undermined) statistically and culturally much more significant intra- and inter-regional mobility patterns. With this in mind, this chapter takes stock of the literature on (the control of) irregular migration from and through the Sahel with specific reference to other, less 'spectacular' and politicised forms of mobility as well as to recent displacement trends owing to conflict in Mali. Seen through such a transversal lens on multiple mobilities, the chapter argues, the 'crossroads' of the Sahel speaks volumes about the intersection of migration and security agendas in the contemporary world.

### *Sahelian Transnational Networks* (Abdoulaye Kane)

Over decades, Sahelian transnational migrants have established satellite communities across Europe and America that are connected to both rural and urban communities across their countries of origin. With the environmental and economic challenges facing the contemporary Sahel, these transnational migrants have become a vital resource for meeting the socio-economic needs of families and communities in areas particularly affected by climate change in their home countries. Through their remittances and their investments, Sahelians in the diaspora have attracted the attention of states and international financial institutions like the World Bank for their potential in contributing to poverty reduction and socio-economic development at the local level. This chapter will examine the transnational engagements between Sahelian migrant communities and their home communities, through communication, remittances, and return. Both as individuals or as established social networks ("hometown associations," religious associations, national or ethnic associations, network of traders, and such.), Sahelian migrants remain connected to their home countries even when they become citizens in their host countries. The chapter will examine the patterns of Sahelian transnational experiences looking at the different ways ethnic, national, and religious identities are shaping transnational practices. The

preeminence of hometown associations from Senegal river valley communities in Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal will be contrasted with the importance of religious networks among the Murid Sufi order as well as with Hausa trade networks from Niger. The existence of national associations in the diaspora, notably among Senegalese and Burkinabe migrants, will be analyzed in contrast to pan-ethnic social networks that cut across national boundaries. The chapter will examine the modes of organization of Sahelian transnational communities and offer an assessment of their impact on a changing Sahelian space under significant pressures.

# *Paper Authors* (in alphabetical order)

**Ousseina Alidou** is Professor in the Department of African, Middle Eastern and South Asian Languages and Literatures at Rutgers University. Her research focuses on the study of women's orality and literacy practices in African Muslim societies, African Muslim women's agency and gender justice and on the politics of cultural production in African Muslim societies. She is the author of numerous works including *Engaging Modernity: Muslim Women and the Politics of Agency in Postcolonial Niger* (University of Wisconsin Press).

**Ruben Andersson** is Associate Professor at Oxford University's Department of International Development, working on migration, borders and security. He was previously a researcher at the London School of Economics, and is also an associated researcher at Stockholm University's Department of Anthropology. He is the author of *Illegality, Inc.: Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe* (University of California Press) and numerous other publications. His current research examines risk and danger in international intervention, focusing on conflict-hit Mali and the wider Sahelian region.

**Cristina Barrios** is a Senior Analyst in the African Department of the EU European External Action Service in Brussels. She has also served in the EU Institute for Security Studies. She specializes in Europe-Africa relations with a focus on security, political risk, state-building and development cooperation in the Sahel. She holds a PhD in political science from the London School of Economics.

**Oladiran Bello** is Director of the Lagos office of Good Governance Africa (GGA), a pan-African registered non-profit organization. His research expertise focuses on resource governance in Africa. He holds a PhD from the University of Cambridge, and has more than ten years of experience in research and policy advisory, including on governance and extractive sector reform; sustainable development; and international development cooperation (including in EU-Africa relations).

**Tor A. Benjaminsen** is a Professor and Human Geographer in the Department of International Environment and Development Studies at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences. His research utilizes political ecology to understand environmental change and its governance. He has published extensively on climate change and land-use conflicts, land tenure, environmental conservation and resistance and pastoralism in the drylands of Africa. He is currently Associate Editor of *Political Geography*.

**Isaline Bergamaschi** teaches at the Institute of European Studies at the Université Libre de Bruxelles and holds a Doctorate from Sciences Po/CERI in Paris. Her research focuses on the sociology of international development and the appropriation of foreign aid in countries of the global South, particularly Mali where she carried out extensive fieldwork. She has published numerous works on this topic, and is co-editor of *South-South Cooperation Beyond the Myths: Politics, Knowledge, Practices* (Palgrave).

**Mamadou Bodian** is a PhD candidate in Political Science and a research affiliate with the Sahel Research Group at the University of Florida. He has carried out extensive comparative fieldwork on democracy and institutional reform in the Sahel. He has also published several articles on religion and democratization in the region.

**Florence Boyer** is a Geographer and a Senior Researcher within the Unité de Recherche Migrations et Société, of the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), Paris. She is a specialist on internal migration as well as cross-border migration within the Sahel. She has carried out extensive research in Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso, examining the insertion of Sahelian migrants into capital cities.

**Sylvie Bredeloup** is Research Director at the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), at the Université d'Aix-Marseille. She is also a member of the Research Laboratory on Population, Environment, and Development.  She holds a doctorate in Social Anthropology from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. She is author of a number of books, articles, and a co-edited volume on the subject of African migration in and outside the continent, including *La Diams'pora du fleuve Sénégal. Sociologie des migrations africaines*.

**Daniel Eizenga** is a PhD candidate in Political Science and a research affiliate with the Sahel Research Group at the University of Florida. He has carried out extensive comparative fieldwork on the different pathways of democratization across the Sahel, notably in Senegal, Burkina Faso and Chad. He has published on democratization in Burkina Faso

**Sebastian Elischer** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida. He is the author of *Political Parties in Africa: Ethnicity and Party Formation* (Cambridge University Press) and several articles about the relationship between institutions and identities across sub-Saharan Africa. He has carried out extensive fieldwork on state management of religion in Chad, Niger, Mali and Mauritania.

**Alisha Graves** is cofounder and Executive Director of the OASIS Initiative (Organizing to Advance Solutions in the Sahel). She is also Vice President of Population Programs for Venture Strategies for Health and Development. Graves lectures internationally on population and food security in the Sahel and is a research fellow for Project Drawdown. Previously, she worked to improve access to the life-saving drug misoprostol. Graves holds a master's degree in public health from the University of California, Berkeley.

**Fatou Guèye** is Professor of Economics at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (Dakar, Senegal). She has been actively involved in research work on the informal sector in West and Central Africa, undertaken by the Centre de Recherches Economiques Appliquées (CREA) of Cheikh Anta Diop University for over 12 years. She has also conducted research on various aspects of economic development.

**Abdourahmane Idrissa** holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Florida. He teaches at the University of Niamey and runs a research and training program at LASDEL, a social science research center in Niger. From 2009-2011 he held a Global Leadership Fellowship at Oxford (UK) and Princeton universities. He is currently a fellow at the University of Witwatersrand (South Africa).  He has carried out research and published on a wide variety of issues focused on the Sahel. His recent publications include a new edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Niger*.

**Cédric Jourde** is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Ottawa. His research specializations include the trajectories of political Islam and ethnicity in the Sahel, democratization of authoritarian regimes, and the cultural dimensions of politics.  He is the author of numerous articles and chapters on political identity, ethnicity, and social status or caste in the Sahel, with a particular focus on Mauritania.

**Abdoulaye Kane** is Associate Professor of Anthropology and African Studies at the University of Florida. He holds a PhD from the Amsterdam School for Social Science Research. His research integrates the study of African migrants and their transnational practices with their impact on sending communities, notably in the Senegal River Valley. He is the author of numerous publications related to the transnational experiences of African migrants in Europe and in the United States, and co-editor of *African Migrations: Patterns and Perspectives* (Indiana UP), and *Medicine, Mobility, and Power in Global Africa* (Indiana UP).

**David Lessault** is a Research Fellow in the Migrations Internationales Espaces et Societés program (MIGRINTER) of the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS). He also teaches at the University of Poitiers, France. His research is focused on the question of spatial mobility linked to family and territorial dynamics in African urban contexts. He is the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters on issues related to African urbanization processes and the socio-economic struggle of urban families.

**Augustin Loada** is Professor of Law and Political Science at the University of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, and Executive Director of the Center for Democratic Governance (CGG), a major research center in the field of governance and democratization and contributing to building capacities for democratic governance. In 2014-15 he served as Minister of Public Service in the transitional government of Burkina Faso. He has published extensively on democracy and governance in Burkina Faso and more widely in Africa.

**Gregory Mann** is Professor of History at Columbia University and a co-editor of the *Journal of African History*. He has published extensively on the history of French colonialism in the Sahel. His most recent book is *From Empires to NGOs in the West African Sahel: the Road to Nongovernmentality* (Cambridge University Press).

**Roland Marchal** is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), based at the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) of Sciences-Po, Paris. His research focuses on armed conflicts and power politics in Africa, as well as on French and other great power policy towards Africa. He has written and lectured extensively on conflict and on French policy towards Africa, and he is a frequent participant in policy discussions.

**Aly Mbaye** is Professor of Economics and Director of the Center for Applied Economic Research at the Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Dakar, Senegal. He has published extensively on economic development issues in West Africa, including international trade, employment, education and entrepreneurship. He is the co-author of *The Informal Sector in Francophone Africa: Firm Size, Productivity, and Institutions*, a pioneering study on the measurement and analysis of the informal sector in several West African countries, published by the World Bank.

**Sarah McKune** is the Director of Public Health Programs at the University of Florida. She earned a PhD in Interdisciplinary Ecology after nearly a decade of work on development projects throughout West Africa and the Sahel. For the past seven years, her research has focused on food security and nutritional status of women and children within the context of climate change, with recent focus on the role of animal source foods in reducing stunting of children under the age of two.

**Fiona Mc Laughlin** is Associate Professor and Chair of the Linguistics Department at the University of Florida. She has published extensively on the sociolinguistics of language contact in urban West Africa as well as on the phonology and morphology of the Atlantic languages. She is the editor of *The Languages of Urban Africa* (Continuum 2009), and co-editor of *Language Documentation and*

*Endangerment in Africa* (Benjamins 2015), and serves as Senior Editor for Sociolinguistics and Language Contact in Africa for the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*.

**Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan** is Professor of Anthropology at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, and Emeritus Director of Research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (France). He is also the cofounder of LASDEL (Laboratoire d'Etudes et de Recherche sur les Dynamiques Sociales et le Développement Local) and an Affiliated Professor at the Université Abdou Moumouni in Niger. He has lived and conducted research in Niger and across the Sahel since the 1960s, and has published very extensively on governance and the anthropology of the state in the region.

**Malcolm Potts** is an obstetrician and reproductive scientist and is the first holder of the Fred H. Bixby Endowed Chair in Population and Family Planning at UC Berkeley's School of Public Health. He is co-director of the Berkeley International Group (BIG) with Dr. Julia Walsh and co-founder of the OASIS Initiative (Organizing to Advance Solutions in the Sahel). Potts has published ten books and more than 200 scientific papers. His books include *Ever Since Adam and Eve: The Evolution of Human Sexuality*; and *Sex and War: How Biology Explains War and Terrorism and Offers a Path to a Safer World*.

**Chris Reij** is a Sustainable Land Management Specialist and a Senior Fellow of the World Resources Institute in Washington. He has worked on the West African Sahel since the late 1970s.  His research has focused on restoration of degraded land in semi-arid regions, farmer innovation in agriculture, long-term trends in agriculture and environment and analysis of successes in agriculture and land management in Africa. He is a co-editor of *Sustaining the Soil* (Routledge) and co-author of *Farmer Innovation in Africa, A Source of Inspiration for Agricultural Development* (Routledge).

**Denis Retaillé** is Professor of Geography and Director of the ADES research unit (Aménagement, Développement, Environnement, Santé) of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique at the Université of Bordeaux III.  His work has focused extensively on the understandings of space in the Sahel and the Sahara, and he has published extensively on these topics.

**Felwine Sarr** teaches Economics at the Université Gaston Berger in Saint-Louis, Senegal where he is the Director of the Laboratoire de Recherche en Economie and coordinator of the Faculty of Civilisations, Religions, Arts et Communications. He is the author of several articles and essays on development economics, macroeconomics and finance in Africa as well as religion and philosophy. He is the founder of the publishing company Jimsaan and is the author of *Dahij* (2009), *105 Rue Carnot* (2011), *Méditations africaines* (2012) and *Afrotopia* (2016).

**Rüdiger Seesemann** is Professor of Islamic Studies and Senior Fellow at the Graduate School of African Studies at the University of Bayreuth (Germany).  He is also a research affiliate with the Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa (ISITA) at Northwestern University.  He has published extensively on Sufism, Islam and modernity, Islamism, and Islamic education in Africa, including the book *The Divine Flood: Ibrahim Niasse and the Roots of a Twentieth-Century Sufi Revival* (Oxford University Press).

**Renata Serra** is Senior Lecturer in the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida. A development economist, she has carried out extensive research and international consultancy on agricultural development policies, political economy, gender and child labor issues, especially in the context of Mali and other Francophone West African countries.

**Benjamin Soares** will join the University of Florida as Professor of African Religion and Islamic Studies in January 2017. He has been Senior Researcher at the African Studies Centre Leiden (Netherlands) and Professor of the Anthropology of Islam in Africa and its Diaspora at the University of Amsterdam's Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences. His research focuses on religious life in the African Sahel

from the early 20th century to the present. He has published widely, including *Islam and the Prayer Economy: History and Authority in a Malian Town* (University of Michigan & Edinburgh University Press).

**Alioune Sow** is Associate Professor of French and African Studies at the University of Florida. He is currently working on a book project on Malian cultural production and its relation to political power and transitional processes, focusing on testimonies, memoirs, and confessional narratives. His research also includes the study of the interplay among migration, diasporic experiences, theater practices, and transformations of genres in France and West Africa. His most recent publications include co-edited issues of *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, and of *Etudes Littéraires Africaines*.

**Gray Tappen** is a Geographer with the U.S. Geological Survey, EROS Center. He has worked on the West African Sahel since the early 1980s, in the fields of bio-geography, land use management, and long-term natural resource monitoring. He has led projects in West Africa that use remote sensing and socioeconomic data to characterize landscape changes and land management practices, including successes in land restoration. He is a major contributor to a new atlas: *Landscapes of West Africa: A Window on a Changing World.*

**Leonardo A. Villalón** is Professor of Political Science and African Studies at the University of Florida, where he also currently serves as the Dean of the International Center. He is the author of numerous works on democratization and on religion in the Sahel*,* including *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal* (Cambridge University Press). He is currently co-editor of the *Journal of Modern African Studies*.

**Olivier Walther** is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Southern Denmark and a visiting professor at the Division of Global Affairs at Rutgers University. He holds a PhD in Geography from the University of Lausanne. His research in the Sahel focuses on social networks and cross-border trade, cross-border cooperation, and the spatial patterns of transnational terrorist organizations. He is the Africa editor of the *Journal of Borderlands Studies*.

**Wendy Wilson-Fall** is Associate Professor and Chair of Africana Studies at Lafayette College, and a former Director of the West African Research Center in Dakar. Her work has addressed themes of identity, local history, and social space, and she has carried out extensive research on Sahelian pastoralists across the region. She has published a number of works on these topics in relation to Sahelian pastoralist communities, as well as within African diasporas.

**Ibrahim Yahaya Ibrahim** is a PhD candidate in Political Science and a research affiliate with the Sahel Research Group at the University of Florida. He has carried out extensive comparative fieldwork on the politics of Islamic contestation and on jihadi movements and new religious dynamics in the Sahel, notably in Niger, Mali and Mauritania.

# *Invited Participants*

**Ketil Fred Hansen** is Associate Professor of History at the University of Stavanger. He holds a PhD in African History from the University of Oslo. His research focuses on democracy and security in francophone Africa with a particular interest in Chad. He has published numerous articles on civil-military relations, rebellions, the political economy of oil, and politics in Chad.

**Ernest Harsch** is Adjunct Associate Professor at Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs where he has taught courses on African development and political instability in the Sahel and is a research

scholar affiliated with Columbia's Institute of African Studies. He is the author of *Thomas Sankara: An African Revolutionary* (Ohio University Press) and has published extensively on social movements and protest in Burkina Faso.

**Lisa Mueller** holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of California, Los Angeles and is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Macalester College. She is the author of numerous publications on protest and democratization in sub-Saharan Africa with a particular focus on Niger.

**Boubacar N'Diaye** is Professor of Political Science and Africana Studies at the College of Wooster.  He has published extensively on democracy, civil-military relations, and security governance in Africa, notably in Mauritania and the neighboring Sahel.   His recently completed book manuscript is entitled *Mauritania's Colonels*.

**Bruce Whitehouse** is Associate Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Lehigh University. He has conducted research and published extensively on migration, development, marriage, demography, and Islam with a particular focus on Mali.  His widely-read blog, *Bridges from Bamako*, offers commentary and analysis on contemporary developments in Mali.


# CONFERENCE INFORMATION


The conference is free and open to the public, but advance registration is kindly requested.   Please send an email with name and institutional affiliation, as well as expected dates of attendance to: ufsahelresearch@gmail.com  Please use "Sahel Conference Registration" in the subject line.

As a courtesy, we have reserved a block of rooms at the Holiday Inn University Center, at the special university rate of $139 plus tax per night, available until 23 January 2017on a first-come, first-served basis.  You will need to use a personal credit card to guarantee the rooms, and will be responsible for all charges. For reservations please contact the hotel directly at 352-376-1661 and mention the group code [123] or use the group link at: [xyz]  The Holiday Inn is located at 1250 West University Avenue, Gainesville, FL 32601, a 10-15 minute walk from the conference venue.

All panels will be held in the Reitz Union of the University of Florida campus, except for the first keynote lecture and the opening reception to be held at the UF Harn Museum of Art. (Transportation to the Harn will be provided)

1.

**Report Type**

Final Report

**Primary Contact Email**
**Contact email if there is a problem with the report.**

villalon@ufl.edu

**Primary Contact Phone Number**
**Contact phone number if there is a problem with the report**

352-273-1536

**Organization / Institution name**

University of Florida

**Grant/Contract Title**
**The full title of the funded effort.**

Political Reform, Socio-Religious Change, and Stability in the African Sahel (MINERVA research project)

**Grant/Contract Number**
**AFOSR assigned control number. It must begin with "FA9550" or "F49620" or "FA2386".**

FA9550-12-1-0433

**Principal Investigator Name**
**The full name of the principal investigator on the grant or contract.**

Leonardo Villalon

**Program Officer**
**The AFOSR Program Officer currently assigned to the award**

Dr. Benjamin Knott

**Reporting Period Start Date**

09/01/2012

**Reporting Period End Date**

08/31/2016

**Abstract**

This project undertook to analyze factors affecting the prospects for stability in six African Sahelian countries of significant current international concern. Using comparative qualitative process-tracing methods, the research was carried out in a series of stages by a collaborative team led by the PI and including three PhD student research associates. The core of the research involved extensive fieldwork in all six countries, including intensive interviewing, archival research, and participant observation, between August 2014 and July 2016. Collectively, the team carried out some 46 months of fieldwork, at times under challenging circumstances. Fieldwork efforts were largely aimed at trying to understand the processes that produce varied results in terms of state resilience. Research associates worked comparatively in three (overlapping) countries, each examining a key factor or variable: the politics of institutional reforms; civil-military relations; and variations in Islamic contestatory movements. Collectively the three research streams have contributed to our broader understanding of the interactive effects of political action and social change on longer-term processes of building or undermining resilient state institutions in the Sahel.
As envisaged in our original proposal, the research project has produced a number of substantive results. Most fundamentally we have established an ongoing university-based research and training program on

the Sahel. Members of UF Sahel Research Group (SRG) regularly provide expertise on the region to both scholarly and policy circles, and have produced a number of products of academic, policy, and media relevance. An extensive website with numerous resources, and a weekly news bulletin are freely available in open access. In addition to three doctoral dissertations (one completed; two in progress) a number of articles, book chapters, and other publications have appeared or are in preparation. Other outputs include an edited volume in progress on the politics of institutional reform in the Sahelian region, and significantly, an upcoming major international conference on the socio-political dynamics of the Sahel, from which we expect to produce a comprehensive "Handbook of the African Sahel," the only academic volume of its kind.

**Distribution Statement**

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**Archival Publications (published) during reporting period:**

See report narrative, appendix A

**New discoveries, inventions, or patent disclosures:**

**Do you have any discoveries, inventions, or patent disclosures to report for this period?**

No

**Please describe and include any notable dates**

**Do you plan to pursue a claim for personal or organizational intellectual property?**

**Changes in research objectives (if any):**

None

**Change in AFOSR Program Officer, if any:**

Dr. Benjamin Knott replaced Dr. Joseph Lyons on 1 August 2013.

**Extensions granted or milestones slipped, if any:**

A no-cost Extension was granted for an additional year, 1 September 2015-31 August 2016, given delays in carrying out the fieldwork due to an unexpectedly long IRB approval process.

**AFOSR LRIR Number**

**LRIR Title**

**Reporting Period**

**Laboratory Task Manager**

**Program Officer**

**Research Objectives**

**Technical Summary**

**Funding Summary by Cost Category (by FY, $K)**

|  | Starting FY | FY+1 | FY+2 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Salary |  |  |  |
| Equipment/Facilities |  |  |  |
| Supplies |  |  |  |
| Total |  |  |  |

**Report Document**

**Report Document - Text Analysis**

**Report Document - Text Analysis**

**Appendix Documents**

## 2. Thank You

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