

## **The Politics of Africa**

Lent Term 2014. Optional Module C, Adam Higazi (ah652@cam.ac.uk)

### **Islam, Politics, and Cultures of Statehood in West Africa and the Sahel**

Fridays, 11:00-13:00, 17 January – 21 February 2014

Location: Room S3, Alison Richard Building, Sidgwick Site, West Road, Cambridge.

Convenor's Office: in the Centre of African Studies, Third Floor, ARB

This course focuses on the political anthropology of states, social movements, and insurgent groups in West Africa and the Sahel. It looks at state formation across the region and outlines both the transformation of pre-colonial West African states (especially Islamic ones) and the steady incorporation of 'decentralised' or non-state societies into state systems. What have been the ramifications of such dramatic social and political changes over the past century? In the modern context, how equitable and inclusive are political systems and state institutions in West Africa in managing socio-cultural and linguistic diversity and religious pluralism? The course offers a historically and ethnographically informed critique of the postcolonial state in West Africa and gives students the opportunity to develop a deeper and more sophisticated understanding of the origins, variations and principal features of Islamic movements in West Africa and the Sahel. The seminar series has six sessions, each starting with a class discussion based on set readings and questions, followed by a lecture by the convenor on the following week's topic. The notes provided on this reading list are also intended to introduce students to each topic and guide them through the selected academic literature.

## 1. Politics, society and statehood in Anglophone and Francophone West Africa

The purpose of this week's work is to familiarise students with West Africa's states, political systems, and varied post-colonial experiences. The aim is for a general, comparative overview. We will compare Anglophone and Francophone states (and touch briefly on the Lusophone states), and discuss colonial legacies and key features of selected post-colonial states. It should be understood that there is great linguistic diversity across West Africa and calling a state 'Anglophone' or 'Francophone' is a reference to the official language of a country and to colonial history; it does not reflect the reality of linguistic diversity. There are, nonetheless, distinctions in the institutional forms and political cultures of West African states. What are the different types of political administration that have been experienced across West Africa since independence? How do they compare between states. They include governments formed from national liberation movements, authoritarian military regimes, one-party states, and presently, a plethora of multi-party states that have made or are making a democratic transition. What should the parameters for comparative analysis be?

How do international pressures and ties affect national politics in West Africa – from neo-colonialism (e.g. *Françafrique*) to the structural adjustment policies (SAP) of the IFIs in the 1980s-90s, to the wide-ranging local impacts of global capitalism? How similar or different are the politics and institutional features of different West African states? What have been their modernising projects and ideologies? It would help in the readings to focus on some specific comparisons, according to interest: e.g. compare Guinea, Senegal or Côte d'Ivoire with Ghana or Nigeria; or study the tripartite colonial heritage and early nationalist politics in Cameroon. The reading list for this week includes comparative works on the region as a whole, and others that focus on specific states. It would be best to work chronologically: read about the decolonisation process and early party politics, then on the trajectories of post-colonial states and the democratic transitions in the 1990s and 2000s. Also important at this stage is to study a good map to learn the geography of West Africa.

\* Bayart, J-F. (2009) *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition.

Read chapter 7, 'The Formation of a Postcolonial Historic Bloc' (pp. 180-204). (This can equally be read in the first edition of the book, as the chapter was not amended for the second edition).

\* Firmin-Sellers, K. (2000) 'Institutions, Context, and Outcomes: Explaining French and British Rule in West Africa', *Comparative Politics*, 32 (3): 253-272.

\* Conchiglia, A. (2012) 'Ghosts of Kamerun', *New Left Review* 77, September-October 2012.

<http://newleftreview.org/II/77/augusta-conchiglia-ghosts-of-kamerun>

\* Mustapha, A. R. and L. Whitfield (eds) (2009) *Turning Points in African Democracy*. Oxford: James Currey (foreword, introduction and conclusion; four chapters on West Africa). (Available online through the library system as an e-book, each chapter in PDF format)

McGovern, M. (2012) *Unmasking the State: Making Guinea Modern*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [this is a superb political ethnography of Guinea]

\* Le Vine, V. T. (2004) *Politics in Francophone Africa*. London: Lynne Rienner. [this is probably the best contemporary political overview of Francophone Africa]

Morgenthau, R. S. (1963) *Political Parties of French Speaking West Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Cruise O'Brien, D. B., J. Dunn, and R. Rathbone (eds.) (1989) *Contemporary West African States*. Cambridge: CUP. [this volume and its earlier counterpart give some useful comparative political analysis and country overviews]

Mann, G. (2009) 'What was the *Indigénat*? The 'Empire of Law' in French West Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 50 (3): 331-354.

Mackintosh, J. P. (1966) (Ed.) *Nigerian Government and Politics*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Williams, G. (ed.) (1976) *Nigeria: Economy and Society*. London: Rex Collings.

Cooper, F. (2006) *Decolonization and African society: the labor question in French and British Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (available as e-book)

Dunn, J. (Ed.) (1978) *West African States: Failure and Promise*. Cambridge: CUP

Asiwaju, A. I. (2001) *West African Transformations: Comparative Impacts of French and British Colonialism*, Lagos: Malthouse Press.

Biney, A. (2011) *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Austen, R. (2000) 'Amadou Hampaté Bâ : from a colonial to a postcolonial African voice: Amkoullel, l'enfant peul', *Research in African Literatures*, 31 (3): 1-17. [Amadou Hampaté Bâ was a brilliantly original novelist, poet, and ethnologist from Mali. He is better known in France, as he wrote in French (though some of his writings have been translated into English). This article analyses part of Bâ's autobiography, which spans pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial worlds].

## 2. Citizenship, Ethnicity, and Regional Connectivity

One of the characteristics of West Africa is its heterogeneity, in terms of high ethno-linguistic diversity, religious pluralism, and varied cultures of statehood and political authority. This week's class explores the politics of cultural pluralism and the struggle to forge nations and inclusive citizenship in contexts of diversity. We look at the possible tension between national citizenship and local politics of autochthony – which attempts to define 'insiders' and 'outsiders' on the basis of ancestry. Such disputes sometimes lead to violence (e.g. Jos, Nigeria; or Côte d'Ivoire, though the parameters of these conflicts vary, and indigeneity is articulated differently in the Nigerian and Ivorian cases). We also need to think about the sociology and historicity of ethnic categories and inter-ethnic relations (see Fardon, Burnham, and Sharpe). The class will also consider regional connectivity in West Africa and the Sahara/Sahel. In the context of regional mobility– e.g., within and across the Sahara, or, historically, in the 'desert side economy' – is there a broader articulation of citizenship and ethnicity compared to the more local identity politics of autochthony? Or are 'local' political identities also part of regional systems? How are issues of citizenship, ethnicity, and autochthony treated by different states (at national and sub-national levels)? What are the consequences of different policies and social visions regarding these issues?

\* Geschiere, P. and S. Jackson (2006) 'Autochthony and the Crisis of Citizenship: Democratization, Decentralization, and the Politics of Belonging', *African Studies Review*, 49 (2): 1-7.

\* Burnham, P. (1996) *The Politics of Cultural Difference in Northern Cameroon*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. (Introduction and Conclusion)

\* Mustapha, A. R. (2002) 'Coping with Diversity: The Nigerian State in Historical Perspective', in Samatar, A. I. and A. I. Samatar (eds.) *The African State: Reconsiderations*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Fardon, R. (1987) 'African Ethnogenesis: limits to the comparability of ethnic phenomena.' In: Holy, L., (ed.), *Comparative Anthropology*. London: Basil Blackwell, pp. 168-188.

Higazi, A. (2007) 'The Politics of Urban Violence in Jos, Nigeria, from Colonial Rule to the 2007 Elections' (published in French translation in: *Politique africaine*, 106: 69-91, June 2007).

Marshall-Fratani, R. (2006) 'The War of "Who Is Who": Autochthony, Nationalism, and Citizenship in the Ivorian Crisis', *African Studies Review*, 49 (2): 9-43.

- McGovern, M. (2011) *Making War in Côte d'Ivoire*. London: Hurst (esp. Chapter 3, 'The Politics of *Ressentiment*').
- McGovern, M. (2012) *Unmasking the State: Making Guinea Modern*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Okonta, I. (2008) *When Citizens Revolt: Nigerian Elites, Big Oil and the Ogoni Struggle for Self-Determination*. Port Harcourt: Ofirima.
- Fourchard, L. (2009) 'Dealing with 'Strangers': Allocating Urban Space to Migrants in Nigeria and French West Africa, End of the Nineteenth Century to 1960', in Locatelli, F. and P. Nugent (Eds.), *African cities: competing claims on urban spaces*. Leiden: Brill.
- Piot, C. (1999) *Remotely Global: Village Modernity in West Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sharpe, B. (1986) 'Ethnography and a Regional System: Mental maps and the myth of states and tribes in north-central Nigeria', *Critique of Anthropology*, 6: 33-65.
- Scheele, J. (2012) *Smugglers and Saints of the Sahara: Regional Connectivity in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: CUP.
- McDougall, J. and J. Scheele (eds.) (2012) *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Lovejoy, P. E. and S. Baier (1975) 'The Desert-Side Economy of the Central Sudan', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 8 (4): 551-581.

### 3. Muslim worlds and religious practice in West Africa

This week of the course acquaints students with Muslim West Africa, focusing on religious practice and the diversity of Islamic movements in the region. The readings listed here are by some of the foremost scholars of Islam in West Africa and include a mix of historical works and contemporary ethnography. Of particular interest is religious practice: in this class we focus on how Islam shapes peoples' moral, social and political worlds, and what this means empirically. This requires reflexivity and the putting aside of 'war on terror' abstractions and propaganda. We will also consider if there is necessarily a consonance between religious doctrine, preaching, and practice? What of the interpretation of doctrine? Muslim piety and practice take different forms – as is also the case with Christianity and other world religions – and so it is important to recognize that we are studying complex social and religious environments.

At a basic level, how significant are the distinctions between Sufis (*darika* orders) and reformists (including Salafists) in terms of religious practice and politics in different parts of West Africa? How do reformist currents play out socially and politically in West African history (see Murray Last's work on c.19<sup>th</sup>) and how has the past shaped the present? In this session we analyse Muslim worlds and Islam not in a totalizing way, but instead by focusing on particular Islamic movements (this week there is more on Sufism, especially the Tijaniyya order, next week there's more on Salafism – terms which themselves need to be understood critically). As well as considering different Islamic movements we will study the religious and socio-political worlds of particular social categories of people – women (Cooper, Masquelier, Boyd & Last), youths and education (Last, 1993a, 2000, Brenner), pilgrims (Yamba) – and long-standing debates over the definition of Muslims and the diversity of religious practices within the Islamic world of West Africa (al-Hajj & Last, 1965; Last 1993b; Masquelier, 2001, 2008).

\* Brenner, L. and M. Last (1985) 'The Role of Language in West African Islam', *Africa*, 55 (4): 432-446.

\* al-Hajj, M. A. and M. Last (1965) 'Attempts at defining a Muslim in 19th century Hausaland & Bornu', *Journal, Historical Society of Nigeria*, III, 2, pp. 231-240

Last, M. (1989) 'The Sokoto Caliphate and Borno', in *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. VI: J.F. Ade Ajayi (ed), 'Africa in the Nineteenth century until the 1880s'. Paris: UNESCO & Heinemann, pp. 555-599.

Last, M. (1987) 'Reform in West Africa: the jihad movements of the nineteenth century', in J.F.A. Ajayi, M. Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*. London: Longman, 2nd (wholly revised) edition, vol. 2, pp. 1-47.

Cruise O'Brien, D.B. and C. Coulon (eds.), *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Seesemann, R. (2011) *The Divine Flood: Ibrāhīm Niassé and the Roots of a Twentieth-Century Sufi Revival*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Mohammed, A. R. (1993) 'The Influence of the Niass Tijaniyya in the Niger-Benue Confluence area of Nigeria', in L. Brenner (ed.) *Muslim Identity and Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 91-105.

Bawa Yamba, C. (1995) *Permanent Pilgrims: The Role of Pilgrimage in the Lives of West African Muslims in the Sudan*

Brenner, L. (2001) *Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power, and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press.

Last, M. (2000) "Children and the experience of violence: contrasting cultures of punishment in northern Nigeria" *AFRICA*, 70.3, pp. 359-393.

Last, M. (1993a) 'The power of youth, youth of power: notes on the religions of the young in northern Nigeria' in H. d'Almeida-Topor, C.Coquery-Vidrovitch, O.Goerg, F.Guitart (eds), *Les Jeunes en Afrique*. Paris: L'Harmattan, pp. 375-399.

Cooper, B. (1997) *Marriage in Maradi: gender and culture in a Hausa society in Niger, 1900-1989*. Oxford; Portsmouth, New Haven: J. Currey; Heinemann.

Masquelier, A. (2009) *Women and Islamic revival in a West African town*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Boyd, J. and M. Last, (1985) 'The role of women as "agents religieux" in Sokoto', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 19.2, pp. 283-300.

Masquelier, A. (2001) *Prayer has spoiled everything: possession, power, and identity in an Islamic town of Niger*, Durham, NC; London: Duke University Press.

Masquelier, A. (2008) 'When Spirits Start Veiling: The Case of the Veiled She-Devil in a Muslim Town of Niger', *Africa Today*, 54 (3): 39-64.

Last, M. (1993b) 'De-constructing the Magians ("Maguzawa") of Nigerian Hausaland', in J-P. Chrétien (ed), *L'invention religieuse en Afrique: histoire et religion en Afrique noire*. Paris: Karthala, pp. 267-296.

#### 4. Islam, pluralism, and the state in northern Nigeria

This week we continue on from the work and readings of week 3 and look in more depth at northern Nigeria, which has by far the largest Muslim population in West Africa. We continue to look at the major Islamic movements in the region and in this class we will study contemporary Islamic reform (aka revivalism) in northern Nigeria. Some of these movements, such as Izala (aka JIBWIS), have permeated outwards from Nigeria into neighbouring countries. This shows the regional flow of Islamic thought – as, historically, does the book trade, and the spread of the Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya (*darika* orders) from their places of origin in earlier generations.

The reformist movement has been understood in different ways. To what extent should we think of Islamic reform, as represented by Izala and other groups, as ‘modernist’ (Kane, 2003)? Note that modern Islamic reform began in opposition to the Sufi orders (read Umar, Barkindo). It is also important to consider religious politics and the politics of religion, which can vary between different Islamic groups. What is the relationship between the various Islamic movements in northern Nigeria and the Nigerian state? Most of the *ulama* (Islamic scholars) – including those promoting *shari’a* – work within the constitutional bounds of the state (on the accommodation of *shari’a* within Nigerian federalism, see Suberu, 2009). ‘Reformists’ have tried to enact changes to the state/constitution along Islamic lines through political influence, from within the state. This approach contrasts very sharply with militant groups, notably Boko Haram (see Higazi, and ‘Anonymous’) and, earlier, the *yan tatsine* (Lubeck), which adopt far more radical positions, rejecting the Nigerian state, constitution, laws, educational system, and government. On the other hand, there are also Islamic groups in northern Nigeria which reject all these things but are not militant; they have attempted to withdraw from the state in a quietist fashion. We can also ask, to what extent is Boko Haram just the latest dissident movement in a longer history of dissent in northern Nigeria (see Last, 1970, 2013)?

Students should also appreciate that northern Nigeria has great ethno-linguistic diversity – the often-used ethnic category ‘Hausa-Fulani’ is unacceptable to many people in the region. ‘The North’ is a political construct that, under British colonialism and in the First Republic (1960-66), referred to the Northern Region. This was by far the largest area of the country and included what in the 1950s became popularly known as the Middle Belt, which is a religiously mixed area, large parts of which are majority Christian but there are also many Muslims there. In correct scholarly usage, Northern (large ‘N’) Nigeria refers to the Northern Region, whereas northern (small ‘n’) Nigeria refers to the territory covered by the post-1967 states that were formerly part of the Northern Region. The twelve so-called ‘shari’a states’ constitute what is often referred to as the ‘far north’. Northern Christian leaders coined the term ‘Middle Belt’ in the 1940s/50s as they sought to carve out a separate region from the Northern Region in the lead up to independence in 1960. Their campaign for a Middle Belt Region failed, but after the division of the regional system into states in 1967 (and subsequent state creation exercises), Christian political activism in northern Nigeria has continued to

draw on and develop a discourse of being part of a Middle Belt that is historically distinct from the Muslim north. The Middle Belt thus consists of an idea and set of political values that is seen as 'emancipatory' by many Christians of the area, but which is viewed as divisive and sectarian by northern Muslims, including many of those who live in the 'Middle Belt' or central areas of the country. This is by way of introduction to the modern political history of Muslim-Christian relations in northern Nigeria. These themes are developed in greater detail in some of the articles on this week's reading list on inter-religious relations in northern Nigeria (see Ibrahim, Pereira and Ibrahim, Suberu, and Meagher). In general, to understand Islam, pluralism, and current conflict and co-existence in northern Nigeria, it is necessary as a pre-requisite to comprehend the political and administrative development of the region (for which, see Last, 1970).

Systematic overviews of the large number of Islamic groups and movements in northern Nigeria can be found in the Working Papers of the Oxford-based Nigeria Research Network: <http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/research/research-networks/nrn>

\* Ibrahim, J. (1991) 'Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria', *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 29 (1): 115-136.

\* Last, M. (1970) 'Aspects of Administration and Dissent in Hausaland, 1800-1968' *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 40 (4): 345-357.

\* Umar, M. S. (1993) 'Changing Islamic Identity in Nigeria from the 1960s to the 1980s: From Sufism to Anti-Sufism', in L. Brenner (ed.) *Muslim Identity and Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

\* Suberu, R. (2009) 'Religion and Institutions: Federalism and the Management of Conflicts over Sharia in Nigeria', *Journal of International Development*, 21, 547-560.

Pereira, C. and J. Ibrahim (2010) 'On the Bodies of Women: the common ground between Islam and Christianity in Nigeria', *Third World Quarterly*, 31 (6): 921-937.

Barkindo, B. (1993) 'Growing Islamism in Kano City Since 1970', in L. Brenner (ed.) *Muslim Identity and Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 91-105.

Kane, O. (2003), *Muslim Modernity in Postcolonial Nigeria: A Study of the Society for the Removal of Innovation and the Reinstatement of Tradition*. Leiden: Brill.

Lubeck, P. (1985) 'Islamic Protest under Semi-Industrial Capitalism: 'Yan Tatsine Explained', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 55 (4): 369-389.

Last, M. (2013) 'Contradictions in Creating a Jihadi Capital: Sokoto in the Nineteenth

Century and Its Legacy', *African Studies Review*, 56 (2): 1-20.

\* Higazi, A. (2013) 'The Origins and Transformation of the Boko Haram Insurgency in northern Nigeria' (published in French translation in *Politique africaine*, 130: 137-164).

'Anonymous' (2012) 'The Popular Discourses of Salafi Radicalism and Salafi Counter-Radicalism in Nigeria: A Case Study of Boko Haram', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 42: 118-144.

Meagher, K. (2013) 'Informality, Religious Conflict, and Governance in Northern Nigeria: Economic Inclusion in Divided Societies', *African Studies Review*, 56 (3): 209-234.

## **5. Tuareg rebellions, Islamic movements, and interventionism in Mali**

We now move on to Mali, with a main focus on the rebel movements in the north and the political crisis of 2012 that led to the state losing control over the northern portion of the country and an intervention by the French military. Start by reading the article by Lecocq et al. (2013) and the three *African Affairs* Briefings and then turn to the other readings. Should we view the crisis as an outcome of a weak Malian state? Who are the Tuareg? What are the political and socio-economic reasons for the Tuareg rebellions (also see Guichaoua (ed.) for accounts of the rebellions in Niger Republic)? What is the historical relationship between the Tuareg of northern Mali and the Malian state (see Lecocq, 2004, 2010)? How should we characterise and explain the internal differentiation within the Tuareg rebel groupings? What is the relationship, if any, between Tuareg nationalism, rebellions, and jihadi groups active in the recent conflicts in northern Mali (notably AQIM, MUJAO etc.)? What are the origins and aims of AQIM and MUJAO and how do they operate? Do they have a political project? In what ways does a wider understanding of Islam in Mali aid our comprehension and contextualisation of the jihadi movements in the north (see Soares, 2005, 2012)? What of the wider international and global contexts, such as the fallout from the Libyan war and the overthrow of Gaddafi, and the mediatisation of jihad and the al-Qaeda franchise? What impacts has the French intervention had and what motivated it? Is it part of a 'War on Terror' in the Sahara?

\* Lecocq, Baz et al (2013) 'One Hippopotamus and Eight Blind Analysts: A multivocal analysis of the 2012 political crisis in the divided Republic of Mali' [Extended Editors' Cut from published ROAPE article] <http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/lecocq-mann-et-al---one-hippo-8-blind-analysts-editors-cut.pdf>

\* Dowd, C. and C. Raleigh (2013) 'Briefing: The Myth of Global Islamic Terrorism and Local Conflict in the Sahel', *African Affairs*, 112/448, 498–509.

\* Marchal, R. (2013) 'Briefing: Military (Mis)adventures in Mali', *African Affairs*, 112/448, 498–509.

\* Wing, Susanna (2013) 'Briefing. Mali: Politics of a Crisis', *African Affairs*, 112/448, 476–485.

\* Soares, Benjamin (2005) 'Islam in Mali in the Neoliberal Era', *African Affairs*, 105/418: 77–95.

\* Soares, B. (2012) 'On the recent mess in Mali', *Anthropology Today*, 28 (5): 1-2.

Lecocq, Baz (2004) 'Unemployed Intellectuals in the Sahara: The Teshumara Nationalist Movement and the Revolutions in Tuareg Society', *International Review of Social History* 49: 87–109.

Lecocq, B. (2010) *Disputed desert: decolonisation, competing nationalisms and Tuareg rebellions in northern Mali*. Leiden: Brill.

Fischer, Anja and Ines Kohl (eds.) (2010) *Tuareg Society Within a Globalized World: Saharian Life in Transition*. London: IB Tauris. [Available as e-book]

Guichaoua, Y. (ed.) (2012) *Understanding Collective Political Violence*. London: Palgrave Macmillan (Chapters 2 and 3, both on Tuareg Rebellions in Niger)

Lecocq, B. (2007) 'The War on Terror in a Haze of Dust: Potholes and Pitfalls on the Saharan Front', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 25 (1): 141-166

## **6. At the margins of the state: livelihoods, political authority, and environmental change in rural West Africa**

There is arguably a strong urban bias in current research on West Africa, so in this the final class we will study rural politics and livelihoods. Can rural populations of West Africa be characterised as being ‘at the margins of the state’? In any case, ‘marginality’ can provide important analytical insights into the workings and limits of the state, and of informal, often illicit, networks (Roitman, 2004, 2005). Areas that are at the margins of states can also be redoubts of banditry and rebellion – as with Tuareg rebels in Mali and Niger, and in a different way also in the Chad Basin (Debos, 2008, 2011). The concept of marginality could also be applied to people whose access to land for grazing livestock or farming is threatened or constrained, for example by the state and neo-liberal ‘modernising’ projects that ignore the interests and rights of small-holders and the majority of rural people (Bassett). This can easily become a source of wider political instability (Chauveau and Richards).

Farmer-herder relations have become fraught in many parts of West Africa, for a variety of reasons, but it is a mixed picture as within the region there are also areas where co-existence rather than competition continues (Dafinger & Pelican, Higazi). The cattle-rearing Fulani (or more properly, Fulbe) are the largest pastoralist population in West Africa (and, in fact, on the African continent). Meanwhile, Fulani *ulama* have had a significant role in the propagation of Islam in the region and in the c. 18<sup>th</sup> and c.19<sup>th</sup> jihads, and a political class emerged to control the emirates and *lamidates* that were the outcome of the jihads (see Burnham and Last, 1994, for an analysis of this process, and Abubakar for history of the Adamawa area of Nigeria/Cameroon). For a deeply impressive ethnographic study of the mode of life and cultural outlook of a pastoral Fulbe clan in Burkina Faso, see Riesman (1977). The nomadic Fulbe are also known as Mbororo (see Bocquené, and for comparative analysis of pastoralism, see Burnham, 1987). Two of the papers listed focus more on the contemporary political and social pressures on pastoralists and on their mobility and herding strategies, using rich ethnographic data that also provides a good introduction to Fulani ethnography (Boutrais, de Bruijn and van Dijk).

As part of the equation we need to consider patterns of environmental change. What kinds of changes are occurring in West Africa, especially in the Sahel, and why? How are environmental issues framed politically? What effects are they having? On the issue of desertification and the alleged southwards expansion of the Sahara, there is a lively literature that draws on empirical research to contest some of these assumptions (Mortimore, Mortimore and Adams). How have rural communities living in the Sahel and ‘marginal’ areas adapted politically and economically to environmental and climatic variability and risk? How are they likely to cope with the onset of anthropogenic climate change? These are now vital issues in West Africa.

\* Roitman, J. (2004) 'Productivity in the Margins: The Reconstitution of State Power in the Chad Basin', in Das, V. and D. Poole, *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Roitman, J. (2005). *Fiscal Disobedience: An Anthropology of Economic Regulation in Central Africa*. Princeton University Press.

\* Boutrais, J. (2007) 'The Fulani and Cattle Breeds: Crossbreeding and Heritage Strategies', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 77 (1): 18-36.

de Bruijn, M. and H. van Dijk (2003) 'Changing Population Mobility in West Africa: Fulbe Pastoralists in Central and South Mali', *African Affairs*, 102 (407): 285-307.

\* Bassett, T. (2009) 'Mobile pastoralism on the brink of land privatization in Northern Côte d'Ivoire', *Geoforum* 40: 756-766

Riesman, P. (1977) *Freedom in Fulani Social Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bocquené, H. (2002) *Memoirs of a Mbororo: the life of Ndudi Umaru, Fulani nomad of Cameroon*; translated by Philip Burnham and Gordeen Gorder. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books.

\* Mortimore, M. and W. Adams (2001) 'Farmer adaptation, change and 'crisis' in the Sahel', *Global Environmental Change* 11: 49-57.

Mortimore, M. (1998) *Roots in the African Dust: Sustaining the Sub-Saharan Drylands*. Cambridge: CUP.

Dafinger, A. and M. Pelican (2006) 'Sharing or Dividing the Land? Land Rights and Farmer-Herder Relations in Burkina Faso and Northwest Cameroon', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 40 (1): 127-151.

Burnham, P. (1987), 'Pastoralism and the Comparative Method', in Ladislav Holy (ed.) *Comparative Anthropology*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Burnham, P. and M. Last (1994) 'From Pastoralist to Politician: The Problem of a Fulbe <<Aristocracy>>', *Cahiers d'étude africaine*, 34 (133-135): 313-357.

Abubakar, S. (1977) *The Lāmībe of Fombina: A Political History of Adamawa, 1809-1901*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press and OUP.

Higazi, A. (2013) 'Rural Insecurity on the Jos Plateau, Nigeria: livelihoods, land, and religious reform among the Berom, Fulani and Hausa', Oxford: Nigeria Research Network.

Chauveau, J-P and P. Richards (2008), 'West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective: Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone Compared', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8 (4): 515–552.

Debos, M. (2011) 'Living by the gun in Chad: armed violence as a practical occupation' in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 49 (3): 409-428.

Debos, M. (2008) 'Fluid loyalties in a regional crisis: Chadian 'Ex-Liberators' in the Central African Republic', *African Affairs*, 107 (427): 225-241.