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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Research team:

Principal investigator:
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Graduate researchers:
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• Daniel Eizenga (USA)
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Program coordinator:
• Hashem Zanaty, Egypt/USA

Other contributors:
• Sahel seminar participants/faculty advisory board
Politics and Stability in the African Sahel

Overview

Empirical focus:
Six countries of significant current interest, but striking lack of expertise available

Questions: prospects for stability over longer term

Methodological approach: country level “whole systems” comparative methods probabilistic and empirically grounded approach seek to make informed arguments about likely scenarios

Major goals: to provide better understanding of socio-political dynamics and to establish ongoing university-based program of research and study on this region.
THE FRANCOPHONE SAHEL

SENEGAL, MAURITANIA, MALI, BURKINA FASO, NIGER, CHAD
Politics and Stability in the African Sahel

Sahelian regional characteristics

“Francophone”: former French colonies: AOF and AEF, independence 1960

Major zone of Muslim influence in Africa: religious demographics:
- Senegal, Mali, Niger: approx. 95% Muslim
- Mauritania: 100%
- Chad, Burkina Faso: 55-60%

Extreme governance challenges: Poverty and underdevelopment
UNDP 2011 Human Development Index ranking, of 187 countries:
- Niger: 186
- Chad: 183
- Burkina Faso: 181
- Mali: 175
- Mauritania: 159
- Senegal: 155
Sahelian regional characteristics, cont.

Experimentation with democracy:
- Intense politics of institutional change since early 1990s;
- Varied trajectories, but widespread liberalization

Social flux and mobilization:
- Youth
- Rapid urbanization
- Civil society
- Religious change and transnationalism

External pressures:
- Separatist movements
- AQIM
- “Arab spring”
Research Question

Core question:

Are the states of the Muslim Sahel likely to be able to maintain stable and capable political systems in the context of significant socio-religious change and mobilization, and facing strong external challenges?

More specifically:

To what extent are the Sahelian countries developing political institutions able to capture and channel the new socio-religious dynamics that have largely resulted from the processes of liberalization since the early 1990s, so as to develop capable and resilient states likely to maintain stability?

Leads to set of specific questions about institutions and about social change:
Focus on interactive and reciprocal effects of processes of political and institutional reform on social change

Early 1990s and pressures for change in name of “democracy”

Relatively limited democracy results, but everywhere liberalization: as a consequence reduced state control over societal forces.

Explosion of associational life and politicization of social groups: both “interest” and “identity” based groups. Includes: “democratization” of religious sphere: significant internal debate & change

Political institutions incomplete/unsettled: debates shaped by new actors, and themselves give rise to social change and emergence of other new actors

Cumulative effect of “micro-transitions” which “reshape contours of state power and the emergence of new actors and arenas of contestation” (Lust and Ndegwa)
Specific questions on institutions:

- What new political institutions have been elaborated in the name of democratization since the early 1990s in each case?
- How have those institutions in fact functioned? (powers of the executive branch; parliamentary relations with the executive; extent of judicial independence?)
- What has been the role of the military, directly and indirectly, in shaping institutions?
- What reforms and adaptations to those institutions have been pursued or proposed?
- What electoral system has been used and how have elections been organized?
- What party structures have the electoral systems given rise to?
- Have electoral institutions served to heighten or contain social cleavages and tensions?
- What have been the debates and issues about reforming electoral systems, and to whose benefit?
- What have been the political debates about the management of political party structures, the modification of constitutional provisions, or the elaboration of legal systems?
- What institutions have been put in place for managing the media? (What has become of the historical state media? What access to media and radio do new social actors have? What role is there for social media and new communications technologies?)
- What reforms have been initiated in the educational sector, and in particular what provisions for religious education?
Specific questions on social change:

- What patterns of socio-religious politicization have followed political reform in each case? To what extent and how have religious and other social groups been mobilized by elections?
- What theological or ideological cleavages have emerged internally within Muslim communities? How are these related to the Sufi/reformist divide?
- What resources do the new social and religious actors have available in the political domain, and how have these been utilized? What international resources have different religious tendencies been able to draw on?
- What has been the pattern of relations with religious minorities or across religious groups? Particularly in the two divided countries: what patterns of relations have emerged between Muslim and non-Muslim communities?
- How has the emergence of open debates in the public sphere intersected with and/or shaped internal religious debates? Has this led to processes of religious change as well?
- Has the entry of religious discourse in the public sphere as a result of political liberalization served to radicalize or moderate religious positions on policy issues?
- What policy issues have emerged as major sources of contention, and what has been the extent of social and religious mobilization around specific public policy debates, e.g.: family law, or religious education and the role of madrassas?
Methods and research activities

Multifaceted approach: trying to get handle on many complex issues

Phase 1: *documentary research and events monitoring:*
- background preparation of graduate assistants: overview papers in progress
- development of core questions and research protocols
- Ongoing: “Sahel Seminar” for weekly discussion
- Academic specialists consultations
- Visiting scholars in residence

Phase 2: *Fieldwork:*
- six-eight months intensive research in each of two countries, by graduate researchers; overseen and participation by PI.
- Extensive interviewing of key actors based on comparative protocol tailored by country

Phase 3: *Comparative analysis:*
- development of framework and assessment of prospects for stability in each case
Anticipated outputs

- Website: resource of information on Sahel

- Working papers
  - In progress: The Stakes of the Mali Crisis for each country
  - Ladiba Gondeu: A political sociology of Chad

- Academic publications:
  - Edited volumes from conferences
  - articles/chapters
  - dissertations
  - thematic book

- Central: Sahel Research group; Institutional infrastructure for an ongoing university-based research and training program on the Sahel: only such program
New development: Crisis in Mali

- Sparked by fall of Qaddafi, October 2011
- Early 2012: new rebellion led by ethnic Tuareg; returnees from Libya
- Rapid loss of much of north by government
- Extreme dissatisfaction: leads to 22 March 2012 coup
- Power vacuum in Bamako; state “collapse?”
- Assortment of Islamist groups displace Tuareg separatists in north: AQIM; Ansar ad Dine; MUJAO
- Continued power struggle in Bamako; Islamists entrench power in north
- International hesitation on question of intervention; regional neighbors facing difficult internal contradictory pressures
- January 2013: Islamist move to extend power; French intervene falling Malian government appeal
- (as of 1/15/13): ECOWAS mobilizing to send troops; war escalating...
The self-declared Azawad state
New development: Mali situation
Project readjustment

• Developments in Mali underline central importance of original questions: state instability and weakness in Mali at heart of current crisis.

• Now know that Malian state was distinctly NOT capable and resilient. Beyond following complex and rapidly unfolding situation, we need to develop deeper understanding of what happened in that case.

• Moreover: Malian crisis and spillover dynamics on other countries is new and crucial part of the equation for understanding prospects for stability in other states: creates significant new pressures.

• Significant research effort and discussion at moment is following current events: analyzing implications for region.
Activities since September 2012:

- Papers in progress: The stakes for each of five other countries in the Malian crisis
- Website under construction: structure and content in development
- Sahel Seminar: 8 students currently participating; weekly discussions, occasional expert visitors
- Panel discussion: “Making Sense of the Sahelian Crisis: One year after the fall of Qaddafi.” 18 October 2012.
- Visiting scholar for spring 2013 semester: Ladiba Gondeu, Chadian, Author of book on emergence of Islamic associations in Chad.
Politics and Stability in the African Sahel

Upcoming Conference and Workshop
The Politics of Institutional Reform in the Sahel
21-22 February 2012

Participants:

Mahaman Tidjani-Alou, LASDEL and Université Abdou Moumouni, Niger
Augustin Loada, CGD and Université de Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso
Ismaïla Madior Fall, Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, Senegal
Zakaria ould Ahmed Salem, Université de Nouakchott, Mauritania
Lucien Toulou, EISA-Tchad
Moumouni Soumano, Université de Bamako, Mali
Leonardo A. Villalón, University of Florida
Related synergistic activities:

- UF Islam in Africa Working group program
  Monthly talks
  April 2013: Symposium on Islamic NGOs in Africa

- Trans-Saharan Elections project (State Department funded)
  Website: Trans-Saharan Elections Watch; March 2013 workshop in Dakar

- African Power and Politics Program collaborative research project:
  Religion and educational reform in the Sahel: Senegal, Mali, Niger

- APSA workshop: Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective
  July 2013, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso
Outreach: Research presentations


Participant: international workshop on "Sufism and Politics in Morocco and Senegal," hosted by the Institute of African Studies of the University Mohammed V in Rabat, Morocco, 8-9 November 2012.


The West African region
Senegal

1960 Independence
Léopold Sédar Senghor first President

1976 Multiparty System
Senghor gave recognition to the PS and PDS

1980 Senghor Resigns
Abdou Diouf, former Prime Minister becomes President

1983 Elections
Diouf wins the election; PS wins a majority in legislature elections again

1988 Elections
Diouf and PS party win

1993 Elections
Diouf won the election in the first round

2000 Presidential Elections
Culminated in a runoff between Diouf and political rival Abdoulaye Wade; Wade wins 7 year term

2001 New Constitution
Presidential terms limited to five years in new constitution

2007 Presidential Election
Wade wins election in the first round

2008 Presidential term limits
Presidential terms amended to last seven years, starting in 2012

2009 Assemblée Nationale President
Term reduced to renewable one year terms; consolidation of presidential power

2012 Presidential Election
Wade’s third term bid highly contested; first round on 2-26 produces run-off
Mali

1960 Independence
Modibo Keïta
first President

1968 Military Coup
Lt. Moussa Traoré as President

1976 Single Party Rule
Traoré creates the UDPM and returns Mali to civilian rule

1979 Election
Traoré runs for president unopposed

1985 Election
Traoré runs for president unopposed

1991 Traoré Overthrown
Pro-Democracy protests culminate in the fall of Traoré

1991 Military Transition
military negotiations with pro-democracy groups, oversee peaceful one-year transition

1992 Presidential Elections
Alpha Oumar Konaré wins presidential election

1997 Presidential Election
Konaré wins his second term, opposition boycott

2002 Presidential Elections
Amadou Toumani Touré (ATT) former military leader wins election

2007 Presidential Elections
ATT wins election for his second term without a runoff

Upcoming 2012 Elections
Elections scheduled for late April; In doubt given rebellion/war in North
## Niger

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>Humani Dioré was the first President</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Military Coup</td>
<td>Seyni Kountché became President</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Kountché Dies</td>
<td>He was replaced by Col. Ali Saibou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>Transition</td>
<td>National conference held; Transition to civilian multi-party Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Presidential Election</td>
<td>Mahamane Ousmane won the election in the second round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Military Coup</td>
<td>Ibrahim Baré Maïnassara seized power due to instability</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 1996       | Presidential Elections                                             | Baré declares himself candidate; Irregular election; Baré declared winner.

**1999**
- **Baré Assassinated**
  - Maj. Daouda Mallam Wanké led a transitional military government

**2004**
- **Presidential Election**
  - Mamadou Tandja won in the second round against Mahamadou Issoufou

**2004**
- **Presidential Election**
  - Tandja wins his second term; in 2009 seeks to extend mandate; promulgates new constitution

**2010**
- **Military Coup**
  - The Conseil suprême pour la restauration de la démocratie (CSRD) was established

**2011**
- **Elections**
  - Mahamadou Issoufou elected president; new government installed
Mauritania

- **1960 Independence**
  - Moktar Ould Daddah
  - first President

- **1978 Military Coup**
  - Moustapha Ould Mohamed Salek became President

- **1979 Salek Resignation**
  - Lt-Col. Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Ahmed Louly takes power

- **1980 Louly Removed**
  - Former PM Lt-Col. Mohamed Khouna Ould takes power

- **1984 Military Coup**
  - Former PM Maawiya Ould Sidi Ahmed Taya takes power

- **1991 Democracy**
  - Taya amends constitution establishing multi-party democracy

- **1992 & 1997 Presidential Elections**
  - Taya is elected President

- **2003 Presidential Election**
  - Taya is elected to his third term despite popular discontent over U.S. relations

- **2005 Military Coup**
  - Col. Elly Ould Mohamed Vall leads the Military Council for Justice and Democracy

- **2007 Presidential Election**
  - Presidential election was won by Sidi Mohamed Ould Cheikh Abdellah

- **2008 Military Coup**
  - Gen. Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz becomes President of Transitional Government

- **2009 Presidential Election**
  - Aziz wins the election as a civilian
Chad

1960 Independence
François Tombalbaye first President

1966 Northern Rebellion
Led by FROLINAT; Chadian Military assisted by French

1975 Military Coup
Gen. Félix Malloum becomes President

1979 fighting in N’djamena
Goukouni Oueddei, former rebel leader becomes President

1982 Habré Takes Power
Habré launches a rebel offensive securing the capital

1990 Deby Takes Power
Deby leads rebel attack from Sudan; Habré flees N’Djamena

1992-96 Establishment of Democracy
Deby amends the constitution to instate multi-party democracy

1996 Presidential Elections
Deby and his party win majorities

2001 Presidential Elections
Deby wins the election with 62% of the vote

2005 Term Limits Amended
Extensions to presidential term limits are passed by national assembly

2006 Presidential Elections
Deby wins the election despitecrease rebel activity

2011 Elections
Deby’s Party MPS wins legislative majority, Presidential elections in May