#### **Abdoulage Sounage**

## **Governing Muslim Subjects in the Sahel**

Deradicalisation and a State-Led Islamic Reform in West Africa

**Abstract:** This chapter focuses on deradicalisation, a concept and a practice that has become popular in initiatives that seek to govern Muslims in the Sahel. A key element in the vocabulary of the state and international organisations operating in the region, deradicalisation emerged in the last decade as a major social engineering project intended to reform Muslims and to rebirth them to positive values and norms. To this end, the deradicalised subjects are expected to "clean up", "be treated", "relax their views", and embrace responsible citizenship. Espousing a developmentalist agenda and philosophy, deradicalisation translates into a strategy that tackles Jihadism and restores good Islam. Both curative and preventive, it is understood as the clinical intervention on both an ailing social body and a lunatic individual subject. That is why it targets individuals and specific groups, such as Imams, preachers, disenfranchised youth, and jihadi prisoners who are perceived as the social base and the main agents of radicalisation. What is the content of this curative intervention? How did this social engineering programme come to represent one of the main lenses through which Muslims are perceived today and in turn experience state policies? What is the interest of examining deradicalisation for an anthropology of Islam and Muslim life in the region? The chapter contends that Sahelian states have embarked on an Islamic reform project through deradicalisation programmes.

### Introduction

On December 7, 2019, the evening news on *Télé Sahel*, Niger's National television channel, devoted about 15 minutes to a graduation ceremony held in the town of Goudoumaria, in the south-east of the country. For the last few years, Goudoumaria and the region in general has been experiencing a jihadi insurgency led by the organisation Boko Haram<sup>1</sup>. The ceremony was held to celebrate

<sup>1</sup> Boko Haram also known as *Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād* is a jihadi group that was founded in north-east Nigeria in 2002. It is also referred to as the 'Islamic State in West

the end of a deradicalisation training programme for some of the insurgents who repented, but most importantly to show how a programme funded by the Niger Government and its partners (EU and USA in particular) has been successful in driving young people out of an insurgency that has marred the whole Lake Chad region (Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria). The graduates were mostly young men who had joined Boko Haram to fight state rule and establish Islamic law and order in the region. After they repented, they were offered the opportunity to join a deradicalisation camp set up in December 2016 and where they enrolled in a vocational training programme intended to keep them from relapsing, after they were pardoned by the government and their communities. The reportage shows the graduates standing by their stalls displaying the various products and tools they made during the training. In the congratulatory greetings and gestures of the Niger Minister officiating the ceremony, one could read the satisfaction of an administration that claims that its initiatives to counter Islamic radicalisation are working and should be both supported and expanded. Ideologically 'clean', well dressed, and equipped with professional skills and a toolkit, the former insurgents looked ready for a fresh start in their respective communities. In the words of the Minister,

the effectiveness of this deradicalisation programme is right here in front of us, with 110 young people now ready to go to their communities and restart a normal life (...). They will all receive a certificate attesting that they have successfully completed a deradicalisation programme and for that reason constitute no major risk for the society. On their part, they will commit to stay away from any terrorist activities, to contribute to peace and security within their communities (...) and they will respect state laws and regulations. They will make this commitment by taking oath on the sacred Qur'an.2

Among the graduates were also 57 former insurgents from Nigeria, the neighbouring country where Boko Haram has represented an even greater threat to social cohesion and the rule of state law.

As the Minister's statements show, deradicalisation has become a political concept, and a critical part of a government strategy designed to solve a radicalisation crisis inspired by Jihadism. I will argue that it has also become one of the powerful references in current policies that have sought to counter Jihadism in

Africa'. It is often viewed as the exemplar of extremism in the region and to which both the concepts of radicalisation and deradicalisation are applied.

<sup>2</sup> Discours, M. Bazoum: Télé Sahel, December 7, 2019.

the Sahel<sup>3</sup>. It illustrates how governments now concern themselves with Islam while facing an ideological, economic, and political process that has unravelled across the region and threatens the very foundations of the state. Furthermore, the idea, as the TV reportage shows, was to transform individual subjects who have radicalised, became ill-mannered, and dangerous for their communities and social order.

A concept increasingly used to account for developments and dynamics that involve Islam and claims of being Muslim, radicalisation is usually, if not equated, at least paired with 'violent extremism', another concept that made its way into the analytical frame used to understand the life conditions, trajectories, and experience of individuals fighting the central state and other social institutions. Those who radicalised and called for alternative governance and politics have found an important mode of expression and an avenue for both social and political action in the most recent Sahelian jihads. In those contexts, as the theory of radicalisation put it, various youth formations, ethnic groups, and socio-religious organisations have relied on violence to push for and achieve societal change.4

Interest in radicalisation, especially in religious contexts, has resulted in an expanding body of literature. Not surprisingly, in an era of war against Islamic terrorism, some of the most significant contributions to this literature come from the study of Islam and Muslim societies.<sup>5</sup> From this perspective, radicalisation offers an opportunity to critically examine how Islam becomes entangled with local<sup>6</sup> and global politics<sup>7</sup>, state institutions, and various socioeconomic processes characteristic of our times8.

In the way it has been thought of and used to characterise sociohistorical processes, radicalisation hardly stands alone. In most contexts, it has invited its twin sister: deradicalisation. While governments and international organisations stamp radicalisation with a negative connotation, seeing in it attitudes

<sup>3</sup> The Sahel refers to the vast geographical area that extends from Djibouti to Senegal. Most of my discussion, though, will focus on the central part of the Sahel, i.e. Niger, Burkina Faso, and Mali.

<sup>4</sup> Anonymous 2012, Sagramoso 2012, Harmon 2014, Rabasa et al. 2010a, 157-80, Olomojobi 2015, Koehler 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Kenney 2019, MacEachern 2018, Aghedo 2017, Aning 2017, Khosrokhavar 2017, Hentz and Solomon 2017, Perouse de Montclos 2017, Neumann 2013, Porges 2010.

<sup>6</sup> Idrissa 2017, Seck 2010 and 2009, Launay and Soares 2009, Otayek and Soares 2007.

**<sup>7</sup>** DeLong-Bas 2007, Meijer 2009

<sup>8</sup> Meagher and Mustapha 2020, Ehrhardt and Umar 2020, Umar 2020, Harmon 2014, Scheele 2015.

and actions that disrupt and unsettle social order and political institutions. deradicalisation is thought of as a restorative response and a cure aimed at creating normality, or at least mitigating the potential of radicalisation to lead to crisis.

In this contribution, I offer a discussion on the attempts by governments in the Sahel region – mainly Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso – to respond to what they view as an Islamic radicalisation, to counter its subjects or to quell their influence all at once, and to "restore normal law and order", as an official in northern Nigeria put it.9 Politics, government policies, and non-governmental interventions in the Sahel are now heavily shaped by a discourse that emphasises the urgency to counter radicalisation and find its antidote. As a consequence, deradicalisation has emerged as a key governance concept and a political agenda around which local governments, international organisations and agencies, the EU, and the USA are constantly rallying.

With the emergence of Boko Haram in the Lake Chad region in 2010 and the rise of jihadi groups in northern Mali in 2012, deradicalisation took the form of a state-led curative intervention, gaining currency in the regional discourse about Islam and Muslims, but also with initiatives that seek to govern Muslims in the Sahel region.<sup>10</sup> In response to radicalisation, deradicalisation becomes a social engineering enterprise intended to reform Muslims and re-birth them to positive societal values and norms. To this end, the deradicalised subjects are expected to "clean up", "relax their views", and embrace responsible citizenship. Espousing a developmentalist agenda and philosophy, deradicalisation initiatives intend to counter violence and Jihadism and, in that sense, constitute a programme to restore good Islam. Both curative and preventive, deradicalisation is framed as the clinical intervention on an ailing social body and a lunatic individual subject with the aim of reasserting the authority of the state. That is why its programmes target primarily Imams, preachers, disenfranchised youth, and jihadi prisoners, the suspected subjects and agents of radicalisation. What is the content of this intervention? What does it say about governing Islam and Muslims today? What interest does the study of deradicalisation policies have for an anthropology of Islam and Muslim life in the region, and more generally for anthropology as an analytic endeavour? These are key questions that will interest a scholarly examination of Islam today.

Overall, I argue that while deradicalisation is changing the conditions of social and political governance in the region, it reads as a state-led Islamic re-

<sup>9</sup> Ali, Zaria, interview by author, February 18, 2018.

<sup>10</sup> Idrissa 2017, 2018.

form project that seeks to produce a Statist Islam<sup>11</sup> as opposed to jihadi Islam. In fact, in their efforts to alter the terms of the theological debate that led to the emergence of jihadi radicalisation and anti-state groups, and by resorting to ideological warfare<sup>12</sup>, the empowerment of a specific socio-religious institution (Imams), a reorientation of religious cooperation (with Morocco), governments in the region are producing an Islamic reform of their own. State interventions give shape and substance to what in Francophone terminology one could call un Islam d'état. How this is happening is a question scholars of contemporary Islam should find interesting to ask in relation to the region, but also beyond.

In the first section, I offer a quick look at the background that helps to contextualise the discussion. Then, I move on to examine the ways in which both radicalisation and deradicalisation have become significant concepts in the politics of Islam in the Sahel. The third section discusses how the deradicalisation programmes seek to affect subjectivities and govern Muslims. The subsequent section relates this initiative to the state agenda to reform Islam, an act that would supposedly inspire convenient practices and understandings of Islam. In the last part, I draw some conclusions for the anthropology of Islam and the Sahel as the region becomes a key site of theorisation of Islam. This contribution builds on material collected mostly in the last three years as deradicalising jihadis became the main initiative to counter Islam-related violence and terrorism in the Sahel.

## Background: A history of jihadism, turmoil and securitisation

For anyone familiar with the Sahel, this vast semi-arid region that extends roughly from Djibouti to Senegal, it should not be surprising that Islam serves as an ideological basis for the ongoing armed struggles in the region. Much like Marxism or Christianity in many other parts of Africa, Islam has been a major source of inspiration for various socio-political agendas. Political imagination in the region is significantly shaped by Islamic norms, references, and morality,

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Olanivi 2011.

<sup>12 &</sup>quot;Guerre idéologique" is the term officials have often used to characterise the narratives of Jihadism, but also to frame their own responses. Cf. https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-02496930, accessed December 28, 2020, http://www.marianne.net/debattons/tribunes/com ment-le-salafisme-pu-prosperer-au-niger, accessed June 13, 2020.

especially with regard to governance.<sup>13</sup> The Sokoto Caliphate<sup>14</sup>, the African Caliphate<sup>15</sup>, the Umarian Jihad<sup>16</sup>, or the jihad revolutions<sup>17</sup> are wordings scholars have used to characterise periods and historical processes of radical change that saw Islam become a dominant discourse and source of norms in the region. Over the centuries, Islam proved to be an ideological resource for both social cohesion and the struggle for regime change.<sup>18</sup> Thus, contemporary jihadi claims to revolutionise the socio-political order by using Islam is not a new phenomenon in the Sahel. On the contrary, one only has to look at the jihads of the 19th century that transformed the moral economy of the region and established a number of emirates. From Cameroon to Senegal, for example, many of these political entities emerged after kings and local chiefs converted to Islam or after jihads arose to impose their political structures and modes of governance.<sup>19</sup> Northern Nigeria, Central and Upper Niger, Senegambia and the Lake Chad regions, were all zones where jihads left their marks on political cultures, institutions, and communities.20

Today, and much like the 19<sup>th</sup> century movements, Ansar Dine in northern Mali, Boko Haram in the Lake Chad region, and Ansaroul Islam in Burkina Faso, seek to rule by the law of God, illustrating a recurring political preoccupation and historical continuity across the region. From the millenarianist movement Maitatsine in 1980<sup>21</sup> to the Groupe Salafiste pour la Predication et le Combat (GSPC), which later became Al Qaeda in the Maghreb, Islam was not only inspirational but also a mobilising force shaping social order.<sup>22</sup> In a more formal constitutional politics and elective governance, the Front Islamic du Salut (FIS) of Algeria and the Sharianisation of Northern Nigeria remain powerful references for local groups and organisations that envisage Islam as the norm of

<sup>13</sup> Holder and Dozon 2018, Gomez 2018, Idrissa 2017, Scheele 2015, Diouf 2013a, 1–35, Holder 2009, Lecocq 2010, Otayek and Soares 2007, Gomez-Perez 2005, Hunwick 1985.

<sup>14</sup> Last 1967.

<sup>15</sup> Sulaiman 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Hanson and Robinson 1991, Hanson 1996, Lovejoy 2016, Pirio 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Sulaiman 1986, Lovejoy 2016, Sounaye 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Sanneh 2016, Hiskett 1994.

<sup>19</sup> Idrissa 2017, Hamani 2007, Robinson 2000, Curtin 1971, Echenberg 1969.

<sup>20</sup> Olomojobi 2015, Hiskett 1994, Djata 1996, Lovejoy 2016, Pirio 2007, Last 1967.

<sup>21</sup> Maitatsine is an insurgent Muslim leader who gave his name to a millenarianist movement that rose up in 1980 to challenge the northern Nigerian society, and in particular the Muslim leadership, by claiming he was the Mahdi. A Boko Haram-like insurgency, the movement managed to gain support among disenfranchised migrants and youth before facing a military reaction that claimed thousands of lives.

<sup>22</sup> Campana and Jourde 2017.

political order and the solution to the ills of society, including the corruption of the state system and its secularisation.<sup>23</sup>

Though limited, this appeal of Islam to provide a new moral space and political opportunity became even stronger in the recent democratisation context. <sup>24</sup> In addition to what was referred to in many francophone contexts as *intégrisme*, new trends and forms of presence of Islam in the public arena emerged, complicating the appropriation and therefore the management of Islam and Muslim actors in the public space. <sup>25</sup> From Senegal to Niger, Islam took centre stage, prompting structural reconfigurations, ideological appropriations, and political articulations, which in certain cases have transformed the sociopolitical dynamics. <sup>26</sup>

While these references tend to insist on the local and regional dynamics, more global influences must be noted, particularly from the 1990s onwards, when Islam became a major factor in global politics. In particular, the democratisation processes in the region opened up the possibility for a *civil Islam*<sup>27</sup> that was eager to play a role in the new political and religious dispensations. <sup>28</sup> The vivid and dynamic presence of Islamic organisations, Islam-inspired political activism (Niger, Mali, and Mauritania in particular), and the democratisation of Islamic authority, so to speak, added another layer to the already complex connections between religion and politics in the region. <sup>29</sup> Obviously, this trend is by no means specific to the Sahel, as parallels can be drawn with other regions of the (Muslim) world where similar dynamics have developed. <sup>30</sup>

However, as far as the Sahel is concerned, I would argue that the appeal of Jihadism as an ideology that denies legitimacy to state secularism needs to be read against the backdrop of both the continuous challenge to the state's moral order and the constitution of alternative and non-state enterprises across the region, especially with the inability of the state to provide public services and the erosion of its authority. The rise of new anti-state forces and ideologies

<sup>23</sup> Holder and Dozon 2018, Holder and Sow 2014, Sounaye 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Schulz 2011, Seck 2010, Souley 2007, Zakari 2007, Samson 2005, Brenner 2001.

<sup>25</sup> Mesa 2017.

**<sup>26</sup>** Vitale 2018, Samson 2005, Diouf 2013a, LeBlanc and Gosselin 2016, Kendhammer 2016, Miran 2006, Kobo 2012, Idrissa 2017, Madore 2016, Mesa 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Hefner 2000.

**<sup>28</sup>** LeBlanc and Gosselin 2016, Diouf 2013b, Souley 2009, Holder 2009, Sounaye 2009, Gomez-Perez, LeBlanc, and Savadogo 2009, Miran 2006, Gomez-Perez 2005.

**<sup>29</sup>** Meagher and Mustapha 2020, Hernandez 2019, Lecocq and Niang 2019, Lecocq 2010, Bonnecase and Brachet 2013.

**<sup>30</sup>** Campana and Jourde 2017.

(cf. Boko Haram, Islamic State in west Africa, Al Oaeda in the Maghreb) has opened a window not only to "a strong antagonistic collective political will," to use Gramsci's words,<sup>31</sup> but also to actors whose influence has challenged the state in its territorial markers and prerogatives to maintain order and stability. Decolonial politics, especially towards the former colonial power France, which still exerts a major influence in the region, the desire among a growing segment of the population to free themselves from secular elites and Western models of social development (family planning, education), and the activism of Salafi entrepreneurs seeking to remedy the moral corruption of the society, their main battleground, have fuelled current developments in the region, in particular Jihadism.32

The wider context of the Sahel should also be read in relation to Libva, especially since 2011 and the regional implications of its civil war. Once a major influence in the region through Gaddafi's hate-love relationships with the regional governments and armed groups, Libya has remained a key factor in socio-political developments across the region even during times of crisis. "Tout a commencé avec la chute de Khadafi", 33 as an official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Niger argued. While this genealogy may be contested for dismissing other socio-political factors, it clearly draws attention to the impact the strife in Libya has had on the region. Both the ideas of a Sahelistan and Africanistan,<sup>34</sup> for example, are tied to what many have referred to as the Libyan chaos, the political and institutional instability that resulted from the civil war.<sup>35</sup>

Certainly, these links and evocations need to be further historicised, extensively probed, and critically established. For now, it suffices to note them and emphasise the ways in which developments in the Sahel involve Islam and its jihadi appropriations, but are also affected by the intricate connections between these jihadi movements and regional politics, in particular in relation to Algeria and Libya.36

A perspective on the people and the country must also highlight the fact that 'crisis' has been a recurring condition of the socio-political life of the region. Perhaps nothing has been more normal. From Tuareg and Tubu rebellions to civil war, draughts and economic hardship, to demands of autonomous

<sup>31</sup> Gramsci 1971, 211.

<sup>32</sup> Leblon 2019, Idrissa 2018, Thurston 2017, Sounaye 2017, Madore 2016, Kone-Dao 2005.

<sup>33 &</sup>quot;All began with the fall of Gaddafi." (M. Ba, interview by author, February 2016).

**<sup>34</sup>** The suffix suggests that both the Sahel and Africa are turning into troubled zones.

<sup>35</sup> Laurent 2013, Michailof 2018.

<sup>36</sup> Both President Deby of Chad and President Issoufou of Niger have used the argument of the responsibility of NATO in the quasi-statelessness of Libya to rush in European military support.

governance, the region has experienced critical developments that have challenged the authority of the state as the guarantor of the social contract. For example, while armed groups may certainly have their own specific political, economic, and ethno-religious goals, they have regularly contested the state's monopoly of violence. As a result, non-state armed groups and actors have carried alternative governance<sup>37</sup> in many areas and sustained economies of war and smuggling.<sup>38</sup>

In response to this challenge and this clearly disruptive dynamic, state authorities have opted for the militarisation of order by imposing a state of emergency, as is the case in Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso, and deploying armies to fight jihadi radicals. At the regional level, Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger teamed up to create the G5 Sahel, a joint force supported mainly by France and the EU to fight armed groups, usually claiming to be jihadis. Around Lake Chad, Benin, Cameroon, Chad, Niger, and Nigeria set up a similar military force to face the Boko Haram insurgency. New models of military cooperation emerged, aimed at sharing information and mutualising resources to create coordination between armies in their fight against terrorism and the disruptive effects of radicalisation. A key consequence of these developments has been to polarise communities and demonise groups, ethnic or religious, adding to the already tense intercommunal relations resulting from competition for resources. With Sahelistan<sup>39</sup> and Africanistan<sup>40</sup>, the suggestions of a resemblance to Pakistan and Afghanistan, where governing Islam has become a major challenge, are clear; and as developments in the Sahel region have shown, these two suggestive references have resonated as an imperative for effective policies and concrete initiatives.

In general, and though a major part of the current *Africa in Crisis* narrative, the Sahel can hardly be imagined as a quiet land before the ongoing security issues and reconfigurations of the political order. It has a history of insurgencies and rebellions that have shaped social interactions, livelihoods, <sup>41</sup> politics, and governance across the region, particularly in Niger and Mali. <sup>42</sup> The formation of new state elites and 'nouveaux riches' through the state co-optation of former

<sup>37</sup> Lawel 2010, Lecocq 2010, Djibo 2002.

<sup>38</sup> Scheele 2015.

<sup>39</sup> Laurent 2013.

<sup>40</sup> Michailof 2018, Pérouse de Montclos 2016.

**<sup>41</sup>** See https://issafrica.org/research/books-and-other-publications/responses-to-boko-haram-in-the-lake-chad-region-policies-cooperation-and-livelihoods, accessed February 10, 2021.

<sup>42</sup> Leblon 2019, Lecocq and Niang 2019, MacNeil 2019, Raineri 2019, Rosato 2016, Boonecase and Brachet 2013, Lecocq 2010.

rebels and leaders of armed groups in the 1990s, for example, has remade the sociology of the state. On the fringes of the governments of Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso, quasi-governmental institutions emerged and offered former rebels a place and a 'piece of the pie'. For many of these political entrepreneurs, rebellion has paid off, because it offered them an opportunity to become part of the system and expand forms of patronage that give new meanings to state administrative authority, but also to rebellion and insurgency. In Niger, for example, after the 1995 peace agreement, disgruntled groups of the Tuareg rebellion of the 1990s formed the second Tuareg Rebellion in 2005 to impose a renegotiation intended for additional provisions for these groups. This strategy of being part of the system has led to new practices of state power, including trafficking, in which many former rebels now in positions of power appear to be involved. Warlords a decade ago, they have turned into drug lords, affecting both the moral and the political economy of governance in the region.

#### Radicalisation to deradicalisation in the Sahel

Academic and political discourses have applied the term radicalisation to social and political processes or even individual life trajectories, often to characterise attitudes and modes of action that seek to force change through violence and terrorism.<sup>43</sup> This use may be highly contested, but remains popular in reference to the Sahel and even beyond.<sup>44</sup> In the Sahel, it is now used to account for political contestation, revolts, and rebellions against established orders, as is the case with the religiously motivated insurgencies in the tri-border area (Niger-Mali-Burkina Faso), in northern Mali, and the Lake Chad region. As part of the lexicon of the study of social movements – and often paired with violent extremism – radicalisation has become a major trope in referring to the Sahel. This is partly because contemporary Jihadism in the region manifests itself through physical violence and armed struggles carried out by groups targeting political and state institutions. Imposing "the rule of Islam" and promising "a just order", Jihadism appeals to youth, and rests primarily on a theological mobilisation that targets specific state institutions (the administration, the military, the

**<sup>43</sup>** Higazi and Brisset-Foucault 2013, Neumann 2013, Sommier 2012, Crettiez 2016, Kundnani 2012.

<sup>44</sup> Marchal and Salem 2018, Crettiez 2016, Crone 2016, Montclos 2016, El-Said 2015, Neumann 2013, Forstenzer 2012, Kundnani 2012, Sommier 2012, Rabasa et al. 2010a, Otayek 2000.

school system)<sup>45</sup> and authorities. Associated with a "war on education",<sup>46</sup> it is then equated to a social, religious, and political process that threatens state governance and rule.<sup>47</sup>

In the regions where I have conducted extensive research, in particular Niger and Northern Nigeria, the association between Jihadism, radicalisation, and violent extremism illustrates a key development in Muslim politics<sup>48</sup>; but most importantly, it reflects the intricate relationship between local politics and contemporary appropriation of Islam in the region. What radicalisation means and how it is used may be debatable; applying the concept to Muslim groups and Islam in general may be reductive and raise other theoretical and conceptual issues; but its prevalence in the language used to speak and think about Islam-related processes in the region today is striking. This topicality has obviously given it a right to exist as an analytical concept, despite its pitfalls<sup>49</sup> and hence the need for social theory to address it. This is important to note because radicalisation also serves as a discourse that helps states in the region justify their policies, notably towards Islam and Muslims. In this context, and as the vignette at the beginning of this chapter shows, radicalisation calls for deradicalisation.

As the minister's address suggests, in both its philosophy and deployment, deradicalisation is understood as both preventive and curative by the state and its supporters. In this case, and once applied to the region, it is part of a governance idea that focuses on the management of a threat with the goal to securitise Islam<sup>50</sup> and sanitise Muslims. In a context of war against Islamic terrorism, deradicalisation then offers legitimation to state's disciplinary measures and programmes to counter insurgencies and prevent further radicalisation, as the narrative goes. A particular feature of these programmes is that they remain

**<sup>45</sup>** In 2019, UNICEF reported that school closures affected more than 400.000 students, partly due to the insecurity resulting from jihadi groups' attacks on the school system. Cf. https://www.unicef.org/press-releases/school-closures-sahel-double-last-two-years-due-growing-insecurity-unicef, accessed February 10, 2021.

**<sup>46</sup>** Cf. https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/05/26/their-war-against-education/armed-group-at tacks-teachers-students-and-schools, accessed February 1, 2021. One may add the schools and the child victims of Boko Haram in Chad, Cameroon, Niger, and Nigeria.

**<sup>47</sup>** Last 2020, Umar 2020, Meagher and Mustapha 2020, Thurston 2018, Perouse de Montclos 2017, Sanusi 2007.

**<sup>48</sup>** For more on the concept of Muslim politics, cf. Eickelman and Piscatori 2004, 3–24.

**<sup>49</sup>** Pérouse de Montclos 2016, Harmon 2014, Marchal and Salem 2018, Anonymous 2012, Olomojobi 2015, Otayek 2000.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Mavelli 2012.

state-centred and as in other contexts, tend to emphasise that deradicalisation is not simply a "radicalisation in reverse", but a long and challenging process "of changing an individual's belief system, rejecting the extremist ideology, and embracing mainstream values."51 Renouncing violence and embracing responsible citizenship, as the words of the Minister emphasised, and as it is expected from the deradicalised, is not a mere individual decision, especially because it has implications for the community. Since group dynamics are a factor and patronage and allegiance also play a role in radicalisation, deradicalisation programmes tend to consider diverse dimensions of communal life.

Consequently, the programmes take diverse forms, from ideological training,<sup>52</sup> which is often understood as a cleansing process that focuses on affecting the character of the radicalised subject, to economic initiatives and the promotion of moderate views.<sup>53</sup> Geared toward combatting Islam-driven violent extremism and terrorism, deradicalisation programmes in the Sahel rely on public figures and influencers - mainly preachers and Imams - in their attempts to offer rebuttals of radical views and "exit strategies" to radicalised youth. In Mali, for example, with the support of the United Nation mission MINUSMA (The United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali) in the North, the government designed a preaching manual to help prevent radicalisation and violent extremism.<sup>54</sup> The document was intended as a vade mecum to Muslim preachers some of whom have been blamed for inciting radicalisation, violence, and terrorism, but whose support is also urgently needed in deradicalisation campaigns. A major step in the deradicalisation policy in Mali, the manual became a key component of a strategy that has inspired governments in the region.<sup>55</sup> Similar examples have been developed in Nigeria,<sup>56</sup> Niger, and Burkina Faso, often with a narrative that insists on the fact that "Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance, and those who challenge this view

<sup>51</sup> Rabasa et al. 2010a.

<sup>52</sup> Cheick Boureima Daouda, a prominent public figure in Niger and northern Mali, teams up with local and state institutions, but also with international organisations to provide training in deradicalisation, as his profile shows: https://www.linkedin.com/in/cheikhboureima/, accessed October 23, 2020.

<sup>53</sup> Baylocq and Hlaoua 2016.

<sup>54</sup> See http://maliactu.net/mali-lutte-contre-lextremisme-violent-et-le-terrorisme-le-mali-versun-guide-de-preche-et-dadaptation-de-sermons/, accessed October 23, 2020.

<sup>55</sup> Politique Nationale de Prévention et de Lutte contre l'Extrémisme violent et le Terrorisme au Mali.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Development Initiative for West Africa: http://diwafrica.org/donation/spreading-peacein-multi-cultural-environment/, accessed June 13, 2020.

are lost."<sup>57</sup> The connection with Islam is even more pronounced in the narratives of deradicalisation programmes where both Boko Haram and the Jihadi of Northern Mali usually feature as the exemplars of radicalisation, because of their strict anti-state stands and the sharia rules they impose in the areas they

Accounts of radicalisation in Muslim contexts have insisted on the role played by the cadres in propagating radical views and even promoting violence.<sup>58</sup> Recognising the social position and the ideological influence of these actors, deradicalisation programmes in the Sahel have mobilised Muslim theologians and preachers to promote moderate views (mostly quietist), and therefore deradicalise. As the literature emphasises, this strategy<sup>59</sup> is not specific to the deradicalisation programmes of the region (Ashour 2009). In the Sahel however, governments have regularly pointed to the deficiency and the failure of Muslim leaders to "counter the use of Islam to radicalize." <sup>60</sup> Both state officials and lay Muslims have blamed them for being too quiet, failing to oppose radical voices and defend Islam. 61 The remedy for deradicalisation programmes is therefore to "better train and provide them with the communication tools to do their work."62 One expert on the training of Imams goes so far as to argue that they need to be taught the Qur'an, theology, astrology, and communication skills so they can face the challenges of their time and environment. 63 Such views have contributed to several countries in the region developing cooperation with Morocco, a country that is now well positioned in deradicalisation programmes in the Sahel, as the next section of this chapter will show.

<sup>57</sup> Issa, interview by author, May 2017.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Hegghammer (2010, 139), who points to recruitment by sermon in Saudi Arabia when, for example, scholars became engaged in Afghanistan after hearing a radical sermon. Deradicalisation programmes point to the role of Islamic scholars in radicalisation processes. Along the same line, deradicalisation programmes try to build on the influence of these cadres to combat radicalisation.

<sup>59</sup> NB, The Netherlands' programme for training Imams in the 2000s. The first cohort of Imams graduated in 2003. Similar programmes exist now across Europe and Asia.

**<sup>60</sup>** Issa, interview by author, May 2017.

<sup>61 &</sup>quot;Nous devons défendre l'islam." Issa, interview by author, May 2017.

**<sup>62</sup>** Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e-pvcSbVt14, accessed June 13, 2020.

# A state-led Islamic reform: A theology of moderation

The way human subjects, social movements, and political actions are understood has consequences on the ways they are dealt with. That also goes for being Muslim, especially in the Sahel today. From its inception, the state in the region has been concerned with Islam and Muslim subjects, often devoting resources to formulate policies conscious of Islam and Muslim scholars, especially their potential to oppose or actively fight its agendas. <sup>64</sup> Both French and British colonialisms in the region have illustrated the permanence of Islam as a major factor in attempts to govern Muslims.

In promoting a "moderate Islam" or Moroccan Wassatiya<sup>65</sup>, as opposed to Saudi Salafism, through active and institutional interventions aimed at changing the power relations within the Islamic sphere, deradicalisation policies are leading to an Islamic reform intended to empower moderate views, if not to win the ideological war (la guerre idéologique), then at least to minimise the social impact of a radicalisation process associated with Jihadism. Again, as the vignette illustrates, this reform relies on programmes that focus on youth mobilisation strategies; but it also stresses the training of Muslim scholars (*ulama*). As Umar (2020) argues, *ulama* have been instrumental in radicalisation processes, whether by providing a "climate of opinion" that helps to legitimise radical views, creating and rising tensions between groups, tapping into conspiracy theories and Muslim victimhood, or demonising others, Muslim scholars have played a major role in radicalisation processes. As key social influencers and *cadres* of Islam, it is understandable that deradicalisation strategies also target them.

With such a perspective on deradicalisation, it appears that the state is no longer willing to stay off a stage where its own existence seems to be at stake. That is in fact the policy line that should be read in the words of the Minister of Religious Affairs of Mali,<sup>66</sup> where he blames previous regimes for vacating the Islamic sphere, leaving it to its own arguments, competitions, rivalries, and

<sup>64</sup> Seck 2010, Hanretta 2009, Umar 2006, Soares 2005, Robinson 2000.

**<sup>65</sup>** *Wassatiyya* refers to an Islam away from the extremes and which praises itself for its balanced views. In the region, it is now referred to as an "Islam of the middle ground" (un islam du juste milieu).

**<sup>66</sup>** See https://www.jeuneafrique.com/mag/316679/societe/imams-maliens-formes-maroc-lis lam-tolerant-face-wahhabisme-rigoriste/, accessed February 10, 2021.

agendas, including those that subvert peaceful coexistence. Suggesting more involvement, he goes on to claim that the government will now fully engage the Islamic sphere and Muslim leaders to promote a tolerant Islam. Similar discourses have also become common in Niger and Burkina Faso, where, as in Mali, the issue was how to regulate Islam. This engagement with Islam then resonates as a positioning that is eager to trigger new dynamics that would promote a *Good Islam*. By investing in their deradicalisation initiatives, governments no longer seem intent on protecting the citadel of the secular from religious influence, a position that has been a major governance stance, especially in the Francophone countries of the region. Instead, governments are devising rules of engagement and developing strategies to treat "the jihad madmen", the "lost subjects who have strayed from peace and good citizenship".<sup>67</sup>

It is worth noting that as these developments unfold, and unlike 20 years ago for example, governments in the region are now ready to accommodate religious views in the political arena;<sup>68</sup> but only the "good ones".<sup>69</sup> As they promote learned leadership and fund training programmes, they also note that they "will work to unify and reconcile [Muslims] and train other [Imams to promote] a peaceful Islam; an Islam of peace that respects others (...); a tolerant and open Islam"<sup>70</sup> because "the goal is a behavioural change among practitioners of the religion that has been revealed to the Prophet Muhammad (PUH) and which has been soiled by the isolated acts of extremists who have nothing to do with Islam, a religion of peace."<sup>71</sup>

**<sup>67</sup>** "Les fous du jihad", M. Ali., paper presented at "Forum sur Boko Haram", University of Diffa 2016. Indeed, the characterisation of Boko Haram insurgents as madmen has been one of the talking lines used to disown them and counter their mobilisation efforts, especially among youth in the Lake Chad region.

**<sup>68</sup>** It must be noted that despite this move, it has not always translated into a significant influence on the Islamic sphere. The recent developments with the *Conseil Islamique* in Mali are telling. The president of this institution, Mahmoud Dicko, has become one of the fiercest critics of the government and democratisation policies. In the last few years, he managed to establish himself as a 'counter-government' force. https://www.jeuneafrique.com/mag/749997/societe/mali-mahmoud-dicko-la-democratie-representative-quon-nous-impose-ne-fonctionne-paschez-nous", accessed October 23, 2020.

**<sup>69</sup>** See https://www.jeuneafrique.com/mag/316679/societe/imams-maliens-formes-maroc-lis lam-tolerant-face-wahhabisme-rigoriste/, accessed October 23, 2020.

**<sup>70</sup>** See https://niarela.net/religion/formation-des-imams-maliens-au-maroc-les-cent-premiers-stagiaires-font-le-point, accessed October 23, 2020.

<sup>71 &</sup>quot;L'objectif est de parvenir à un changement de comportements chez les pratiquants de la religion révélée du Prophète Mohamed (PLS) qui est aujourd'hui entachée par les actes isolés

With a religious diplomacy that positioned itself as a promoter of a moderate Islam (al wassatiya), Morocco emerged as a key ally of governments in the Sahel in their search for a reformed Islam. In fact, the Institut de Formation des Imams Mohammed VI of Rabat has trained several thousands of preachers and Imams from across the Sahel since 2012. In 2018 alone, the Institute trained 500 Imams and preachers from Mali. Thus, part of the continuities, the influence of Morocco has taken a new institutional form. While traditionally, the relationship between the Sahel and Morocco has been nurtured through informal networks and Sufi organisations whose connections date centuries, today, however, deradicalisation initiatives have opened another avenue of cooperation, offering official channels between the two partners, repositioning the Kingdom as the key partner in the theological offensive needed to deradicalise the Sahel.

Morocco's branding of its 'middle ground' Islam (islam du juste milieu) has apparently made an impact on local governments and initiatives as they distance themselves – at least to some extent – from Islamic cooperation partners, such as Qatar or Saudi Arabia. Radicalisation inspired by Salafi-Jihadi ideas costing these two influencers some of their reputation, especially in Mali, Chad, and Burkina, the repositioning of Morocco is important enough to note, as it points to the configurations of the Islamic sphere, affects policy lines, and at the same time alters the terms of the debate on both radicalisation and the strategies to combat it. For one, with the involvement of Morocco, deradicalisation relies on equipping key and influential actors such as Imams<sup>73</sup> with the theological tools they need, if not to win arguments against radicals, but at least to counter some of their views that have become popular mainly through Saudi Salafism. In this context, the Islamic reform that Sahelian governments now promote is about embracing what officials themselves have called *islam du juste* milieu, a concept that conveys both the avoidance of extremes and the cultivation of a middle and common ground.

Generally speaking, when scholars discuss Islamic reform, they usually focus on the religious actors, concentrating primarily on the internal dynamics and analysing theological debates and arguments. Although they recognise that

des extrémistes qui n'ont rien avoir avec l'Islam qui est une religion de paix." See http://infomatin.ml/formation-des-imams-maliens-au-maroc-les-stagiaires-sexpliquent-sur-futur-mission/, accessed October 23, 2020.

**<sup>72</sup>** See http://www.eurasiareview.com/28112016-moroccos-religious-diplomacy-in-africa-well-timed-royal-initiative-oped/, accessed June 13, 2020.

<sup>73</sup> See https://www.bladi.net/maroc-formation-imams-maliens,51154.html, accessed April 15, 2020.

some external factors and actors might play some role, their perspectives show that the impetus for reform comes from within the Islamic sphere.<sup>74</sup> As I have shown, one must add to these studies of Islamic reform in the region the statesponsored Islamic reform that is unfolding in the Sahel today mainly through deradicalisation programmes.

## An anthropology of (Islam in) the Sahel

Paying scholarly attention to radicalisation and deradicalisation in the Sahel could be theoretically stimulating, conceptually rewarding, and certainly offers an opportunity to re-examine Islam in light of the new reconfigurations of power and authority at work in the region. The remapping and recalibration of the role of the state as a religious actor in its own right with the aim of promoting a particular religious trend not only affects the concepts of Islam and being Muslim, but also creates political categories that assign specific identities and status, some of which are unwanted, rejected, and even violently combatted. Whether promoted or demonised, such categories end up calling for particular governing strategies while producing subjectivities that political authority or simply historical contingencies might pitch against each other. Thus, what the ongoing radicalisation processes and deradicalisation initiatives have offered us is both an opportunity to observe a reconstruction of an object called Islam, but also a terrain of and for anthropology, since this process affects human beings. Here, it goes without saying, that both radicalisation and deradicalisation are processes centred on ideas and the transmission of values that can be uprooting for the individual and destabilising for the community and the state.

Obviously, it takes more than a few paragraphs to systematically and satisfactorily address the epistemic implications of these developments for our academic perspectives. However, I felt compelled at this juncture to at least point to some of the possible ways in which scholars of Islam and academics, who have developed interest in the region, can think of the (anthropological) study of both Islam and the Sahel. Elsewhere, I have already referred to the category of Sahelian Islam, <sup>75</sup> which arises from the demand to consider contemporary local appropriations of Islam, but also from the influence of new articulations between

<sup>74</sup> Loimeier 2016, Iddrisu 2012, Kobo 2012, Samson 2005, Niezen 1987, Kane 2003.

**<sup>75</sup>** See https://blogs.alternatives-economiques.fr/florence/2010/11/15/islam-au-niger-de-la-contestation-a-la-normalisation-12, accessed April 15, 2020.

Islam and the state in the region. The assumption here is that this process has a major impact on how we theorise the region, but also how we factor in Islam-related dynamics, especially in a world where Islam and being Muslim have become major signifiers for individual subjects, authorities intending to govern them, but also for geopolitical reasons. Islam playing a key role in the geopolitics of our time, the significance of Jihadism as a social factor and an influencer in government strategies cannot be overlooked.

The academic engagement I evoke here is also an additional avenue for understanding Muslim arguments and therefore for theorising the dynamics of the Muslim Worlds, starting from the Sahel. In this specific case, the engagement opens a window onto the politics of religion, in particular how certain logics and policies shape Islam and produce not only political concepts but also subjects. In this respect, and especially because radicalisation and deradicalisation are problematic and resonate as processes and initiatives that produce subjects, they should be welcome in an anthropology of the Sahel, as a recent publication on Boko Harma has shown. What kind of Islam or Muslim does the state produce in that context? Deradicalised ones? How do people react to these constructs? How is Islam constituted in this process? But most importantly, what interactions and subjects result from these definitions and conceptualisations of Islam?

As we contextualise them, we may realise that these preoccupations are not only problematic for an anthropological engagement with contemporary Islam; they are very much part of the story of the state as a government idea, an institution that seeks to govern and establish regimes and order. Indeed, deradicalisation programmes help us uncover modes of policing Islam that rests primarily on reforming individual subjects, groups, and communities. What happens to these entities then? Placing such a question at the centre of our inquiry helps us to advance a critical anthropology of the state, an institution that has proven to be an authoritative force, a maker of law and order, and a normative idea. Picking up the title of a recent publication, I would point out that the various forms that jihadi radicalisation and state deradicalisation policies are taking in the Sahel are part of the *state at work*; not so much how the state bureaucracy works or functions, but what personal, social, and political experiences the state leads to and imposes on its subjects. Its current contestations by jihadis

**<sup>76</sup>** Holder and Dozon 2018, Luizard 2006, Cantone 2005, Sounaye 2005, Sow 2005.

<sup>77</sup> Ehrhardt and Umar 2020, Last 2020, Meagher and Mustapha 2020, Umar 2020.

**<sup>78</sup>** In particular Bierschenk 2014, Bierschenk and Olivier De Sardan 2014a, Bierschenk and Olivier De Sardan 2014b; Blundo 2014; Hamani 2014.

must then be read as part of an ongoing argument about the social contract on which it theoretically rests, and how it ought to operate and perform as a public institution.

Contemporary Salafi-Jihadism defined as a modality of radicalisation, as the literature has put it, has made the nexus of Islam and the state in the Sahel even more intricate, illustrating the connections and specially the conflicts between normative orders. Until recently, the main orders competing with each other were those inspired by the state and those informed by the so-called traditional/ customary rule. Among the current orders today, one has to count the emerging ones ushered by both Jihadism and rebellion, in particular those led by Tuareg and Tubu groups in Mali, Chad, and Niger. As a radical critique of the state and its order, Jihadism offers a fresh opportunity to examine the politics of the state, but also the political economy that has prompted such an institution, which has made it appealing to some, but also a symbol of violence and domination for others. Before it was armed, rebellious, and terrorist, Jihadism, for example, was quiet and quietist. Of course, today, the very understanding of Jihadism and quietism in social and political contexts make them exclude one another. What ideological conditions and developments have made this possible, and how both established and emerging authorities are dealing with such developments, are central questions that need to be asked if one wants to understand the reconfigurations resulting from state governmentality and Jihadism.

This is relevant because when states in the Sahel region design and support deradicalisation programmes that pit one group against the other (Moderates/ Radicals, Sufi/Salafi, Quietist/Violent), we must ask what political, social, and religious dynamics emerge from these interventions? When securitisation policies target specific socio-religious categories, behaviours and practices, which political subjectivities do they favour, alter, or inform? Where does the promise and the commitment of the state lie? What happens to its social contract? Obviously, these questions are not only pertinent to the Sahel, but also for other parts of the (Muslim) world where radicalisation has called for deradicalisation.

The point is that when it comes to analysing Islam-related radicalisation and deradicalisation programmes, the Sahel now offers the opportunity for a cross-cultural comparison with other regions such as the Middle East, South East Asia, Central Asia, but also Europe, where state sponsored deradicalisation programmes have become part of the practice of dealing with dissent, contestation, and political struggles. Before the Sahel, deradicalisation programmes were well established in Europe, especially in France, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, 79 Building on this historical reference, an anthropology of deradicalisation might contextually ask how people actually radicalise or deradicalise themselves? The structure and the content of the deradicalisation programmes, as well as the strategies they use, here again offer a window onto the perceptions of radicalisation and the means of countering it, or at least mitigating its impact.<sup>80</sup> In that regard, by proposing a policy-oriented anthropology of Boko Haram, Mustapha and Meagher (2020) illustrate a continuity in the academic engagement with the Sahel. Indeed, they have contributed to a subfield of the anthropology of development that has recorded important work, some of which have been shaping the interventions of the state and international agencies across Africa for decades.81

When reflecting on the added value of the recent examinations of Islam and Muslim life in the Sahel,82 perhaps one of the key questions is then: How do these contributions help us refine both our representations of this region and the theorisations of its social and political dynamics, including Jihadism? This is an important question in a context where the region has become a site from which scholars and politicians have sought to think and rethink Islam, often giving it an African flavour and distancing it from say the Middle East, which has allegedly produced an Islam of contestation and jihad.

There is no doubt that scholarly engagement with the region has exploded in recent years, in part due to its current experiences of Jihadism, but also due to renewed interest in Islam and Muslims across academic disciplines. The conjunction of these factors has made conceptualisations of Islam part of the social theory of the Sahel, a development that has also been gradually reconfiguring the way the region is thought of and repositioned in geopolitical terms.<sup>83</sup> A concern with the value of these contributions – and the forms of scholarship they produce - can hardly go without also asking the question of who is defining Islam and who is producing this scholarship.

<sup>79</sup> Rabasa et al. 2010c.

<sup>80</sup> Meagher and Mustapha 2020.

<sup>81</sup> Hoechner 2018, Michailof 2018, Flynn and Tinius 2015, Juris 2015, Bompani and Frahm-Arp 2010a, Bompani and Frahm-Arp 2010b, Graveling 2010, Olivier de Sardan 1995.

**<sup>82</sup>** Hill 2018; Renne 2018, LeBlanc and Gosselin 2016, Schulz 2011, Masquelier 2009.

<sup>83</sup> We can mention here how the Sahel has become part of the US strategy to combat terrorism, but also Europe's efforts to quell the migration trends that have affected its countries in the last decade.

#### **Conclusion**

In emphasising the ways in which deradicalisation prompts the imagining of a particular Muslim category that needs to be dealt with and sanitised, this contribution wanted to point to an aspect that has often been overlooked in the accounts of Islamic reform in the region:84 Islamic reform as a state agenda and project. This is important to highlight, especially because in most Sahelian countries and following the colonial model, the state has systematically defended secularity, making itself the prime servant and guardian of this normative framework. In the past, in Chad, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger, despite diverging political trajectories, the state has regularly claimed secular principles and logic, leaving religion to churchmen and Imams. In contrast, state interventions today challenge this line, as governments seek to produce not only citizens, but subjects with particular religiosity. The time of standing its secular ground has apparently ended, as deradicalisation programmes and the desire to restore the authority of state institutions prompt proactive religious policies and the assertion of a statist Islam. This process, as I have argued, illustrates how states are engaging in an Islamic reform project, a new reality that should be of interest to the anthropology of the Sahel, but also of Islam and Muslim life today.

This contribution intended also to draw attention to the experience of Islam and Muslims in the Sahel and how this experience feeds the construction of Islam. In other words, through various academic and political engagements, the Sahel becomes a site of theory that connects anthropology as a discipline involved in theorising human experience, and Islam as a source of normative socio-political order. How then do scholars engage with this relationship and situate the region within the intellectual history of anthropological endeavours? Translated into the historical context of this contribution, the concern then is how would this way of interrogating social science shape the future of academic engagement with Islam and the Sahel? With these questions, one really sees how both the Sahel and anthropology become academic terrains.

<sup>84</sup> Loimeier 2016, Holder and Dozon 2009, Bregand 2007, Soares and Otayek 2007, Otayek 2000, Masquelier 2009, Kobo 2012, Villalón 2006.

## **Bibliography**

- Aghedo, Iro. 2017. "Old Wine in a New Bottle Ideological and Operational Linkages between Maitatsine and Boko Haram Revolts in Nigeria." In Understanding Boko Haram: Terrorism and Insurgency in Africa, edited by James Hentz, and Hussein Solomon, 65–86. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Aning, Kwesi, Mustapha Abdallah, and Festus Kofi Aubyn. 2017. "Responding to Boko Haram -Interrogating the Effectiveness of State and Regional Intervention Approaches." In Understanding Boko Haram: Terrorism and Insurgency in Africa, edited by James Hentz, and Hussein Solomon, 237-56. Abingdon: Routledge.
- 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, no. 2: 118-44.
- Baylocg, Cédric, and Aziz Hlaoua. 2016. "Diffuser un 'islam du juste milieu'?" Afrique contemporaine 257, no. 1: 113-28. https://www.cairn.info/revue-afrique-contemporaine-2016-1page-113.htm, accessed March 24, 2019.
- Bierschenk, Thomas. 2014. "Sedimentation, Fragmentation and Normative Double-Binds in (West) African Public Services." In States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies, edited by Thomas Bierschenk, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, 221-45. Leiden: Brill.
- Bierschenk, Thomas, and Jean Pierre Olivier de Sardan. 2014a. "Ethnographies of Public Services in Africa: An Emerging Research Paradigm." In States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies, edited by Thomas Bierschenk, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, 35-69. Leiden: Brill.
- Bierschenk, Thomas, and Jean Pierre Olivier de Sardan. 2014b. "Studying the Dynamics of African Bureaucracies. An Introduction to States at Work." In States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies, edited by Thomas Bierschenk, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, 3-35. Leiden: Brill.
- Blundo, Giorgio. 2014. "Seeing like a State Agent: The Ethnography of Reform in Senegal's Forestry Service." In States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies, edited by Thomas Bierschenk, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, 69-91. Leiden: Brill.
- Bompani, Barbara, and Maria Frahm-Arp. 2010a. "Conclusion: Reflections on Modernization without Secularization." In Development and Politics from Below: Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State, edited by Barbara Bompani, and Maria Frahm-Arp, 240–51. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bompani, Barbara, and Maria Frahm-Arp. 2010b. "Introduction: Development and Politics from Below: New Conceptual Interpretations." In Development and Politics from Below: Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State, edited by Barbara Bompani, and Maria Frahm-Arp, 1-19. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bonnecase, Vincent, and Julien Brachet. 2013. "Les 'crises sahéliennes' entre perceptions locales et gestions internationales." Politique africaine 130, no. 2: 5-22.
- Bregand, Denise. 2007. "Muslim Reformists and the State in Benin." In Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa, edited by Benjamin Soares, and Rene Otayek, 121–36. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Brenner, Louis. 2001. Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Cantone, Cleo. 2005. "'Radicalisme' au Féminin? Les Filles Voilées et l'appropriation de l'espace Dans Les Mosquées à Dakar." In *L'islam Politique Au Sud Du Sahara: Identités Discours et Enjeux*, edited by Muriel Gomez-Perez, 119–31. Paris: Karthala.
- Campana, Aurelie, and Cédric Jourde. 2017. Islamism and Social Movements in North Africa, the Sahel and Beyond: Transregional and Local Perspectives. Basingstoke: Taylor & Francis Ltd.
- Crettiez, Xavier. 2016. "Penser la radicalisation." Revue française de science politique 66, no. 5: 709–27. https://www.cairn.info/revue-française-de-science-politique-2016-5-page-709.htm, accessed February 24, 2020.
- Crone, Manni. 2016. "Radicalization Revisited: Violence, Politics and the Skills of the Body." International Affairs 92, no. 3: 587–604.
- Curtin, Philip D. 1971. "Jihad in West Africa: Early Phases and Inter-Relations in Mauritania and Senegal." *The Journal of African History* 12, no. 1: 11–24.
- DeLong-Bas, Natana J. 2007. Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Diouf, Mamadou. 2013a. "Introduction. The Public Role of 'Good Islam': Sufi Islam and the Administration of Pluralism." In *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal*, edited by Mamadou Diouf, 1–35. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Diouf, Mamadou. 2013b. "Islam, the 'Originaires,' and the Making of Public Space in a Colonial City: Saint-Louis of Senegal." In *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal*, edited by Mamadou Diouf, 180–204. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Djata, Sundiata A. K. 1996. The Bamana Empire by the Niger: Kingdom, Jihad and Colonization 1712–1920. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.
- Djibo, Mamoudou. 2002. "Rébellion touarègue et question saharienne au Niger." *Autrepart* 23, no. 3: 135–56. https://www.cairn.info/revue-autrepart-2002-3-page-135.htm, accessed January 11, 2021.
- Echenberg, Myron J. 1969. "Jihad and State-Building in Late Nineteenth Century Upper Volta: The Rise and Fall of the Marka State of Al-Kari of Boussé." *Canadian Journal of African Studies Canadian Journal of African Studies* 3, no. 3: 531–61.
- Ehrhardt, David, and Muhammad Sani Umar. 2020. "Pathways to Radicalization Learning from Boko Haram Life Histories." In *Overcoming Boko Haram: Faith, Society and Islamic Radicalization in Northern Nigeria*, edited by Abdul Raufu Mustapha, and Kate Meagher, 169–92. London: James Currey.
- Eickelman, Dale F., and James Piscatori. 2004. *Muslim Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- El-Said, Hamed. 2015. "Sudan: De-Radicalization and Counter Radicalization in a Radicalizing Environment." In New Approaches to Countering Terrorism: Designing and Evaluating Counter Radicalization and De-Radicalization Programs, edited by Hamed El-Said, 174–217. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Flynn, Alex, and Jonas Tinius. 2015. "Reflecting on Political Performance: Introducing Critical Perspectives." In *Anthropology, Theatre, and Development*, edited by Alex Flynn, and Jonas Tinius, 1–28. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Forstenzer, Nicole. 2012. "Une déradicalisation collective? Institutionnalisation et divisions du féminisme chilien." *Lien social et Politiques* 68: 193–210.
- Gomez, Michael. 2018. African Dominion: A New History of Empire in Early and Medieval West Africa. Princeton University Press.

- Gomez-Perez, Muriel. 2005. "Introduction." In L'islam Politique Au Sud Du Sahara. Identités Discours et Enjeux, edited by Muriel Gomez-Perez, 7-26. Paris: Karthala.
- Gomez-Perez, Muriel, Marie-Nathalie LeBlanc, and Mathias Savadogo. 2009. "Young Men and Islam in the 1990s: Rethinking an Intergenerational Perspective." Journal of Religion in Africa 39, no. 2: 186-218.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci. New York: International Publishers.
- Graveling, Elisabeth. 2010. "Marshalling the Powers: The Challenge of Everyday Religion for Development." In Development and Politics from Below: Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State, edited by Barbara Bompani, and Maria Frahm-Arp, 197–217. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Hamani, Djibo. 2007. L'islam au Soudan Central: Histoire de l'islam au Niger du VIIe au XIXe siècle. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Hamani, Oumarou. 2014. "'We Make Do and Keep Going!' Inventive Practices and Ordered Informality in the Functioning of the District Courts in Niamey and Zinder (Niger)." In States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies, edited by Thomas Bierschenk, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, 145-73. Leiden: Brill.
- Hanretta, Sean. 2009. Islam and Social Change in French West Africa: History of an Emancipatory Community. Cambridge University Press.
- Hanson, John H. 1996. Migration, Jihad, and Muslim Authority in West Africa: The Futanke Colonies in Karta. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hanson, John, and David Robinson. 1991. After the Jihad: The Reign of Ahmad Al-Kabir in the Western Sudan. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Harmon, Stephen A. 2014. Terror and Insurgency in the Sahara-Sahel Region: Corruption, Contraband, Jihad and the Mali War of 2012-2013. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hefner, Robert W. 2000. Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia. New edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hegghammer, Thomas. 2010. Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hentz, James J. 2017. "Nigeria and a War across States in Northwest Africa." In Understanding Boko Haram: Terrorism and Insurgency in Africa, edited by James Hentz, and Hussein Solomon, 157-73. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hernandez, Andrew. 2019. "The Ganda Koy Militia: Ethnicity, Politics and Mobilisation in Northern Mali." In Identités Sahéliennes En Temps de Crise: Histoires, Enjeux et Perspectives, edited by Baz Lecocq, and Amy Niang, 157-80. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Higazi, Adam, and Florence Brisset-Foucault. 2013. "Les origines et la transformation de l'insurrection de Boko Haram dans le Nord du Nigeria." Politique africaine 130, no. 2: 137-64.
- Hill, Joseph. 2018. Wrapping Authority: Women Islamic Leaders in a Sufi Movement in Dakar, Senegal. Toronto, Buffalo London: University of Toronto Press.
- Hiskett, Mervyn. 1994. The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usuman Dan Fodio. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press.
- Hoechner, Hannah. 2018. Quranic Schools in Northern Nigeria: Everyday Experiences of Youth, Faith, and Poverty. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holder, Gilles. 2009. "'Maouloud 2006', de Bamako à Tombouctou. Entre réislamisation de la nation et laïcité de l'État: la construction d'un espace public religieux au Mali." In L'islam, nouvel espace public en Afrique, edited by Gilles Holder, 237-89. Paris: Karthala.

- Holder, Gilles, and Moussa Sow. 2014. "Introduction." In L'Afrique des laïcités: Etat, religion et pouvoirs au sud du Sahara, edited by Gilles Holder, and Moussa Sow, 19–37. Marseille: IRD.
- Holder, Gilles, and Jean-Pierre Dozon. 2018. "Introduction Le travail politique de l'islam en Afrique de l'Ouest entre libéralisme, démocratie et république." In Les Politiques de l'islam en Afrique: Mémoires, réveils et populismes Islamiques, edited by Gilles Holder, and Jean Pierre Dozon, 17–31. Paris: Karthala.
- Hunwick, John O. 1985. Shari'a in Songhay: The Replies of Al-Maghili to the Questions of Askia Al-Hajj Muhammad. London: New York: Oxford University Press.
- Iddrisu, Abdulai. 2012. Contesting Islam in Africa: Homegrown Wahhabism and Muslim Identity in Northern Ghana. Durham, N.C: Carolina Academic Press.
- Idrissa, Rahmane. 2017. The Politics of Islam in the Sahel: Between Persuasion and Violence. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Idrissa, Rahmane. 2018. "Les trajectoires du salafisme politique au Sahel. Le cas du Niger." Politique africaine 149, no. 1: 43–65. https://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-africaine-2018-1-page-43.htm, accessed March 11, 2019.
- Juris, Jeffrey. 2015. "Embodying Protest: Culture and Performance within Social Movements." In *Anthropology, Theatre, and Development*, edited by Alex Flynn, and Jonas Tinius, 82–104. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kane, Ousmane. 2003. Muslim Modernity in Postcolonial Nigeria: A Study of the Society for the Removal and Reinstatement of Tradition. Boston, MA: Brill Academic Publishers.
- Kendhammer, Brandon. 2016. Muslims Talking Politics: Framing Islam, Democracy, and Law in Northern Nigeria. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kenney, Michael. 2019. The Islamic State in Britain: Radicalization and Resilience in an Activist Network. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Khosrokhavar, Farhad. 2017. *Radicalization: Why Some People Choose the Path of Violence*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. New York: The New Press.
- Kobo, Ousman Murzik. 2012. Unveiling Modernity in Twentieth-Century West African Islamic Reforms. Leiden: Brill.
- Koehler, Daniel. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. London, New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Kone-Dao, Maimouna. 2005. "Maïmouna, Implantation et Influence Du Wahhâbisme Au Burkina Faso de 1963 à 2002." In *L'islam politique au sud du Sahara: Identités discours et enjeux*, edited by Muriel Gomez-Perez, 449–60. Paris: Karthala.
- Kundnani, Arun. 2012. "Radicalisation: The Journey of a Concept." Race & Class 54, no. 2: 3–
- Launay, Robert, and Benjamin Soares. 2009. "La Formation d'une 'Sphère Islamique' en Afrique Occidentale Française (1895–1958)." In *L'islam, nouvel espace public en Afrique*, edited by Gilles Holder, 64–100. Paris: Karthala.
- Last, Murray. 1967. Sokoto Caliphate. London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd.
- Last, Murray. 2020. "An Inquiry into Possible Factors Contributing to Radicalization in Childhood and Youth in Northern Nigeria." In *Overcoming Boko Haram: Faith, Society and Islamic Radicalization in Northern Nigeria*, edited by Abdul Raufu Mustapha, and Kate Meagher, 225–43. London: James Currey.
- Laurent, Samuel. 2013. Sahelistan. Paris: Seuil.
- Lawel, Chekou Koré. 2010. La rébellion touareg au Niger: Raisons de persistance et tentatives de solution. Niamey, Niger: L'Harmattan.

- LeBlanc, Marie Nathalie, and Louis Audet Gosselin. 2016. "Introduction." In Faith and Charity: Religion and Humanitarian Assistance in West Africa, edited by Marie Nathalie Leblanc, and Louis Audet Gosselin, 1-23. Pluto Press.
- Leblon, Anais. 2019. "Pasteurs marginalisés et/ou djihadistes: Représentations des Fuláe dans le traitement médiatique de la crise au centre du Mali (2015 - Juin 2017)." In Identités sahéliennes en temps de crise: Histoires, enjeux et perspectives, edited by Baz Lecocq, and Amy Niang, 93-132. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Lecocq, Baz. 2010. Disputed Desert: Decolonization, Competing Nationalisms and Tuarea Rebellions in Mali. Leiden: Brill.
- Lecoca, Baz, and Amy Niang, 2019, "Identités sahéliennes en temps de crise; Histoires, enieux et perspectives." In Identités sahéliennes en temps de crise: Histoires, enjeux et perspectives, edited by Baz Lecocq, and Amy Niang, 3-22. Berlin: Lit Verlag.
- Loimeier, Roman. 2016. Islamic Reform in Twentieth-Century Africa Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Lovejoy, Paul. 2016. Jihad in West Africa during the Age of Revolutions. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Luizard, Pierre-Jean. 2006. Le choc colonial et l'islam. Paris: La Découverte.
- MacEachern, Scott. 2018. Searching for Boko Haram: A History of Violence in Central Africa. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacNeill, Casey. 2019. "'Ca Devient Le Texas Là-Bas': Territoriality and the Diagnosis of Crisis in the Sahel." In Identités sahéliennes en temps de crise: Histoires, enjeux et perspectives, edited by Baz Lecocq, and Amy Niang, 227-56. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Madore, Frédérick. 2016. La construction d'une sphère publique musulmane en Afrique de l'Ouest. Paris: Hermann.
- Marchal, Roland, and Zekeria Ould Ahmed Salem. 2018. "La 'radicalisation' aide-t-elle à mieux penser?" Politique africaine 149, no. 1: 5-20. https://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-afri caine-2018-1-page-5.htm, accessed March 11, 2019.
- Masquelier, Adeline. 2009. Women and Islamic Revival in a West African Town. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mavelli, Luca. 2013. "Between Normalisation and Exception: The Securitisation of Islam and the Construction of the Secular Subject." Millennium: Journal of International Studies 41, no. 2: 159-81.
- Meagher, Kate, and Abdul Raufu Mustapha. 2020. "Introduction: Faith, Society and Boko Haram." In Overcoming Boko Haram: Faith, Society and Islamic Radicalization in Northern Nigeria, edited by Abdul Raufu Mustapha, and Kate Meagher, 1-30. London: James Currey.
- Meijer, Roel, ed. 2009. Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement. London: Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd.
- Mesa, Beatrice. 2017. "Le rôle transformateur des groupes armés du nord du Mali: De l'insurrection djihadiste et sécessionniste au crime organisé." Communaute Universite Grenoble Alpes, 2017. https://docplayer.fr/132695910-Le-role-transformateur-des-grou pes-armes-du-nord-du-mali-de-l-insurrection-djihadiste-et-secessionniste-au-crime-orga nise.html, accessed July 3, 2020.
- Michailof, Serge. 2018. Africanistan: Development or Jihad. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. Miran, Marie. 2006. Islam, histoire et modernité en Côte d'Ivoire. Paris: Karthala.
- Neumann, Peter R. 2013. "The Trouble with Radicalization." International Affairs 89, no. 4: 873-93.

- Niezen, Ronald. 1987. "Diverse Styles of Islamic Reform Among the Songhay of Eastern Mali."

  Dissertation, St. John's College [Unpubl.], November 1, 1987. https://papers.ssrn.

  com/abstract=3076287, accessed October 20, 2018.
- Olaniyi, Rasheed Oyewole. 2011. "Hisbah and Sharia Law Enforcement in Metropolitan Kano." *Africa Today* 57, no. 4: 71–96.
- Olivier de Sardan, Jean-Pierre. 1995. Anthropologie et développement: Essai en socio-anthropologie du changement social. Paris: Karthala.
- Olomojobi, Yinka. 2015. Frontiers of Jihad. Radical Islam in Africa. Safari Books Ltd.
- Otayek, René. 2000. Le Radicalisme islamique au sud du Sahara. Paris: Karthala.
- Otayek, René, and Benjamin Soares. 2007. "Introduction: Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa." In *Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa*, edited by Benjamin Soares, and Rene Otayek, 1–24. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine. 2016. "Boko Haram et la mise en récit du terrorisme au 'Sahelistan'." *Afrique contemporaine*, 255: 21–41.
- Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine. 2017. "Boko Haram-A Jihadist Enigma in Nigeria." In Understanding Boko Haram: Terrorism and Insurgency in Africa, edited by James Hentz, and Hussein Solomon, 19–40. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Porges, Marisa L. 2010. "Deradicalisation, the Yemeni Way." Survival 52, no. 2: 27-33.
- Pirio, Gregory Alonso. 2007. The African Jihad. Trenton, NJ: The Red Sea Press.
- Rabasa, Angel, Stacie L. Pettyjohn, Jeremy J. Ghez, and Christopher Boucek. 2010a. "Collective Deradicalization." In *Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists*. RAND Corporation, 157–80. https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND\_MG1053.pdf, accessed February 16, 2019.
- Rabasa, Angel, Stacie L. Pettyjohn, Jeremy J. Ghez, and Christopher Boucek. 2010b. "European Approaches." In *Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists*. RAND Corporation,121–56. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg1053srf.13, accessed February 16, 2019.
- Rabasa, Angel, Stacie L. Pettyjohn, Jeremy J. Ghez, and Christopher Boucek. 2010c. "Summary." In *Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists*. RAND Corporation, xiii–xxiv. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7249/mg1053srf.6, accessed February 16, 2019.
- Raineri, Luca. 2019. "Fous de Dieu ou indignés? Crise de gouvernance, polarisations identitaires et populisme religieux au Mali." In *Identités sahéliennes en temps de crise: Histoires, enjeux et perspectives*, edited by Baz Lecocq, and Amy Niang, 203–26. Berlin: LIT Verlag.
- Renne, Elisha P. 2018. Veils, Turbans, and Islamic Reform in Northern Nigeria. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Robinson, David. 2000. Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies & French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880–1920. Athens: Ohio University Press; Oxford: James Currey.
- Rosato, Valeria. 2016. "'Hybrid Orders' between Terrorism and Organized Crime: The Case of Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb." *African Security* 9, no. 2: 110–35.
- Sagramoso, Domitilla. 2012. "The Radicalisation of Islamic Salafi Jamaats in the North Caucasus: Moving Closer to the Global Jihadist Movement?" *Europe Asia Studies* 64, no. 3: 561–95.
- Samson, Fabienne. 2005. Les marabouts de l'islam politique. Paris: Karthala.
- Sanneh, Lamin. 2016. Beyond Jihad: The Pacifist Tradition in West African Islam. New York, N.Y: Oxford University Press.

- Sanusi, Lamido Sanusi. 2007. "Politics and Sharia in Northern Nigeria." In Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa, edited by Benjamin Soares, and Rene Otayek, 177-88. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Scheele, Judith. 2015. Smugglers and Saints of the Sahara. New York, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schulz, Dorothea E. 2011. Muslims and New Media in West Africa: Pathways to God. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Seck, Abdourahmane. 2009. "La question musulmane au Sénégal: Termes et enjeux d'une relecture de la modernité en Afrique." In L'Islam, Nouvel Espace Public En Afrique, edited by Gilles Holder, 292-305. Paris: Karthala.
- Seck, Abdourahmane. 2010. La question musulmane au Sénégal: essai d'anthropologie d'une nouvelle modernité. Paris: Karthala.
- Soares, Benjamin F. 2005. Islam and the Prayer Economy: History and Authority in a Malian Town. Oxford University Press.
- Sommier, Isabelle. 2012. "Engagement radical, désengagement et déradicalisation. Continuum et lignes de fracture." Lien social et Politiques, 68: 15-35.
- Souley, Hassane. 2007. "Le Nigeria, entre la Sharî'a et la démocratie." In Islam, sociétés et politique en Afrique subsaharienne: Les exemples du Sénégal, du Niger et du Nigeria, edited by Jean-Louis Triaud, 75-94. Paris: Indes Savantes.
- Souley, Hassane. 2009. "Société civile islamique et nouveaux espaces publics au Niger. Esquisse sur l'islam postmoderne et les pratiques religieuses 'globales' en Afrique." In L'islam, nouvel espace public en Afrique, edited by Gilles Holder, 101-25. Paris: Karthala.
- Sounaye, Abdoulaye. 2005. "Les politiques de l'islam dans l'ère de la Démocratisation de 1991 à 2002." In L'islam politique au sud du Sahara, edited by Muriel Perez-Gomez, 503-25. Paris: Karthala.
- Sounaye, Abdoulaye. 2009. "Ambiguous Secularism." Civilisations. Revue internationale d'anthropologie et de sciences humaines 58, no. 2: 41–58.
- Sounaye, Abdoulaye. 2010. Muslim Critics of Secularism: Ulama and Democratization in Niger. Lambert Academic Publishing.
- Sounaye, Abdoulaye. 2017. "Salafi Revolution in West Africa." ZMO Working Papers no. 19.
- Sow, Fatou. 2005. "Les Femmes, l'État et Le Sacré." In L'islam politique au sud du Sahara: Identités discours et enjeux, edited by Muriel Perez-Gomez, 283-308. Paris: Karthala.
- Sulaiman, Ibraheem. 1986. Revolution in History: The Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio. London, New York: Mansell.
- Sulaiman, Ibraheem. 2009. The African Caliphate: The Life, Works and Teaching of Shaykh Usman Dan Fodio. London: Diwan Press.
- Thurston, Alexander. 2017. Boko Haram: The History of an African Jihadist Movement. Princeton University Press.
- Umar, Muhammad Sani. 2006. Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule. Leiden: Brill.
- Umar, Muhammad Sani. 2020. "The Roles of the Ulama in Radicalization and Counter-Radicalization." In Overcoming Boko Haram: Faith, Society and Islamic Radicalization in Northern Nigeria, edited by Abdul Raufu Mustapha, and Kate Meagher, 33-63. London: James Currey.
- University of Diffa. 2016. "Actes du Colloque international sur la culture de la paix dans le bassin du Lac Tchad à l'Université de Diffa, Niger. Diffa, du 2 au 4 Novembre 2015." Unpublished Report, 206.

- Villalón, Leonardo A. 2006. *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal: Disciples and Citizens in Fatick*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vitale, Mara. 2018. "L'espace public religieux au Burkina Faso: Entre pouvoir charismatique et développement social." In Les Politiques de l'islam en Afrique: Mémoires, réveils et populismes islamiques, edited by Gilles Holder, and Jean Pierre Dozon, 187–200. Paris. Karthala, 2018.
- Zakari, Maïkorema. 2007. "La Naissance et Le Développement Du Mouvement Izala Au Niger." In Islam, sociétés et politique en Afrique subsaharienne: Les exemples du Sénégal, du Niger et du Nigeria, edited by Jean-Louis Triaud, 51–74. Paris: Indes Savantes.