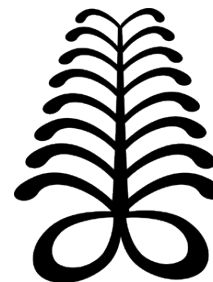


WEST AFRICAN
RESEARCH
ASSOCIATION

Fall Newsletter 2013

In this Issue:
Food & Agriculture



The fall edition of WARA's newsletter offers an exciting yet sobering look at the state of agricultural production on the continent. Food Studies, as it has come to be known, is an increasingly popular genre of scholarship inside and outside of the academy. As an increasingly stressed planet struggles to provide sustenance to a growing population, our understanding of food: how and where agricultural production takes place, who has access to it, who controls it, and how technology enhances or diminishes its production, increasingly demand thoughtful and equitable answers.

Articles included in this edition of the newsletter situate many aspects of the dilemma and offer insight as to how to enter the conversation. Essays include commentary on how the future of food production in Africa works against popular and misguided notions that the answers to food production lie only in the traditional models used by Europe and the West. Many corporate models of production further compromise the global food chain and offer short-term and short-sighted solutions. Not only are many of the business models detrimental to small and subsistence farming, they seek to patent seed and other genetic materials and utilize technology to increase profits. This is often despite the admonishments and rights of the other stakeholders in agricultural production.

Although, human models of food production are concerning, the very changes in the planet itself have and will continue to shape the way we nourish one another. West Africa is one example of a region that has had to adapt to extreme environmental conditions to maintain life. West Africa demonstrates that strong governmental infrastructures are vital to support a viable food chain. Programs that train and encourage young people to use sustainable methods and new technologies and to remain in or enter into agricultural and other kinds of food production are at the forefront of increasing supplies to meet the demand.

The way the world understands food in general, and agriculture in particular, must include thought leadership that includes Africa. The continent has always had rich and varied resources that need to be tapped in sustainable ways. The African diaspora has globally influenced food choice and production since trade routes began. It is only logical that conversations about and actions that consider sustainability, methodology, and technology concerning agriculture would place Africa at the head of the table—if not at the center.
— The Newsletter Committee

Africa: The Future of Food?

Bountiful. Munificent. Wealth. The genetic treasures of the African continent are as rich as the oil and minerals under the soil. The biodiversity of the continent far surpasses that of Europe or the U.S./Canadian sections of North America. Since the 1920s, scientists have recognized Ethiopia/Eritrea as a center of diversity, continuing today as a designated biodiversity "hotspot" by Conservation International and the Worldwide Wildlife Fund. The forests of Central Africa not only offer the second largest "carbon sink" on the planet, but also a treasure trove of biodiversity.

Food production across the continent expresses this genetic wealth: Africans eat from a food base of about 2,000 plants, while the U.S. currently relies on just 12 crops for 75 percent of its marketed food. Over the last two decades, Africa's genetic wealth has been attracting increased global attention as an untapped resource for the biotech and agricultural industries. With the demise of Soviet agriculture from the 1990s, the attributes of U.S. commercial agriculture also seem to diminish, for the high yields are coming at a very high price in terms of pollution of ground water and soil, genetic vulnerability of monocrops (one variety of one plant over thousands of hectares), and fossil fuel dependence, all highly subsidized by the public sector, not unlike the failed Soviet model. Further, the 1980 U.S. law permitting the patenting of living organisms allows corporations to enter the African continent and claim private ownership over indigenous genetic resources, without recognition or benefit sharing. As will be discussed below, international laws link breeders' "access" to seed with "benefit sharing" (ABS) back to those who cultivated the parent genetic material.

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"Winds of change: 21st Century climate risks pose new challenges for West African drylands" - Leif Brottem page 18

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This newsletter is published twice a year by the West African Research Association and is distributed to all members and associates of WARA. Material for publication in upcoming newsletters should be submitted to the editor at the WARA email address above. Please send an electronic version of your submission. WARA has the right to reject items that do not comply with the goals and purposes of the organization and reserves the right to edit and/or modify any submissions for content, format or length. Opinions expressed in published articles, however, are those of the author(s).

WARA is grateful to the African Studies Center and the College of Arts and Sciences at Boston University which serves as WARA's institutional home.





This has been another exciting and productive year for the WARA / WARC team. Our reputation continues to grow as a leading resource for collaborative, trans-Atlantic knowledge production and dissemination on key matters of importance in West Africa and the African diaspora. This is evidenced in many ways. For example, U.S. President Obama seriously considered visiting WARC

during his visit to Dakar in July. While he chose not to do so due to the difficulty of providing security, Ousmane Sène met with Obama as part of a delegation of 15 members of Senegalese civil society—a testimony to Ousmane’s outstanding leadership skills and reputation as a world class intellectual. During President Obama’s visit to Senegal, WARC served as the primary resource institution both for local and international media, and Ousmane granted several radio and television interviews to explain the timing of the visit as well as its meanings and consequences for relations between the U.S. and Africa. Furthermore, increasing numbers of scholarly organizations are seeking partnerships with us.

I think you will appreciate this Newsletter’s focus on agriculture, food security, and sovereignty—crucial issues that bridge the social and natural sciences. It includes articles by Carol Thompson, Iba Mar Faye, and three DAART fellows. In keeping with our new tradition, this issue includes a spotlight on a WARA Lifetime Member. The Membership Committee chose Jeanne Koopman due to her research focus on agriculture and economic development, and for her outstanding service as a WARA Board Member and continuing input on our Finance and Development Committee.

I am also pleased to report that WARA continues to improve its governance policies to emphasize efficiency, productivity, communication, continuity, accountability, and transparency. Our Standing Committees—Newsletter, Membership, Fellowship, Finance and Development, and Program—are meeting more frequently than ever and disseminating periodic reports throughout the year. Recent past WARA Presidents Mbye Cham and Maria Grosz-Ngaté remain important advisors and contributors, even serving as ex-officio members of the Program Committee. The WARA Executive Committee held a very productive mid-year meeting in April at Lafayette College. We were once again graciously hosted by Vice President Wendy Wilson Fall. We are currently planning a full-day Executive Committee Meeting for November 20, the day before the ASA annual meeting begins.

Finally, I encourage all current and prospective members to attend our annual General Membership Meeting on Friday, November 22 at 8:45 pm, at the Lebanese Taverna. The meeting provides a fantastic opportunity to celebrate our achievements, reconnect with one another, and share ideas about future WARA initiatives. As ever, your constructive critique is also welcome.

Scott M. Youngstedt
WARA President

WARA Membership Meeting & Reception

Friday November 22,
8:45 pm
Lebanese Taverna
719 S. President St.
Baltimore, MD 21202



WARA ASA Roundtable

US Immigration Reform:
Implications for West Africans on Both Sides of the Atlantic

Friday, November 22, 2013 - 4:45 PM
Harborside Ballroom E

Immigration policies and efforts to reform them are politically charged. They bring forth questions regarding national identity and rights of citizenship as well as human rights and questions of justice within the global labor market. This round table discussion will highlight US immigration policy reforms that will impact the future lives, work prospects and mobility of West Africans and by extension their kin who remain in West Africa. Approximately 75% of all foreign born Africans in the United States today arrived within the last two decades. Much of this rapid growth has been due to influxes of West Africans, who now account for about 40% of all African migrants in the United States. Given recent oil and mineral discoveries and political turmoil and unrest in West Africa, the region’s citizens and diaspora are feeling vulnerable and uncertain about their future. Round table participants include policy analyst, academics, immigrant lawyers, will provide a broad spectrum of perspectives on these issues.

Chair: Badiane, Louise
African Studies Program Coordinator,
Professor of Anthropology, Bridgewater State University

Moderator: Ndimyake Mwakalyeye
Broadcast journalist; Africa expert

Panelists
Zain Abdullah
Professor of Religion & Society and Islamic Studies
Temple University

John Arthur
Professor of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Minnesota-Duluth

Mojúbàolú Olúfúnké Okome
Professor of Political Science
Brooklyn College-CUNY
Editor, *Ìrìnkèrìndò: a Journal of African Migration*

Mamadou Ibra Sy
Maryland Governor’s Commission on African Affairs Program
Director for Refugee and Immigrant Services
Lutheran Social Services of the National Capital Area

Emira Woods
Co-Director, *Foreign Policy In Focus*
Institute for Policy Studies

News From WARA and WARC Headquarters

From the WARA and WARC Directors



Thanks to our active newsletter committee, we have another great issue, which we hope you will enjoy. Special thanks go to Carol Thompson for her article on food sovereignty, and to other members of the WARA community who prepared articles on issues related to agriculture.

As we enter into a new academic year, we can look back with satisfaction on our accomplishments over the course of the last year. We awarded 20 research grants and one Library Fellowship; we held our first competition for the Saharan Crossroads fellowship program, proceedings from the first and second Saharan Crossroads conferences are in press; and our third conference has been rescheduled for 2014. And, thanks to the tireless efforts of Stephanie Guirand, we held a very successful membership campaign through the Giving Common, and will be making that a regular feature of the WARA year.

As always, lots has been happening at WARC. In addition to a rich offering of roundtables, book signings, lectures, and workshops, we are thrilled to announce the completion of a new wing at WARC. The DAART wing, as it is called, has a fully-equipped conference room and two new offices. This major improvement in the WARC facility was made possible through the DAART (Dakar-American Applied Research & Training) Program, funded through a grant from the Africa Bureau of the State Department. The Library of Congress West African Acquisitions Project continues to operate out of WARC, actively collects materials from 11 different West African countries.

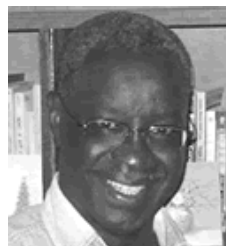
We are thrilled to have two WARA Resident Scholars here in the Boston area this fall, Dr. Kingsly Awang Ollong of the University of Bamenda in Cameroon, and Dr. A. Raphael Ndiaye, Director of the Fondation Leopold Sedar Senghor in Dakar. And some exciting things are on the horizon for this year: The American Institute for Indian Studies (AIIS) is working with other AORCs to organize a workshop on Sufi Shrines that will take place in the summer of 2014. WARA is pleased to be part of this important program.

This year the African Studies Department at Howard University, WARA's first institutional home, will mark its 60th birthday!!! Please join us in congratulating them!

WARA's support comes from the Educational and Cultural Affairs Bureau of the US State Department, from the Title VI AORC Program of the US Department of Education, from the various programs we run, and from the generous support of our members. As always, we are grateful for the unwavering support—both financial and moral—that we receive from CAORC and its wonderful director, Dr. Mary Ellen Lane.

Looking forward to another great year for WARA and each of you,

Jennifer Yanco



Over the last three months, WARC has had a real face lift and, with a new coat of light-colored paint, looks more welcoming than ever. The new conference room built thanks to the DAART project has a capacity of close to 80 seats and will soon, with a little bit of luck, be equipped with state-of-the-art video-conference technology.

Just a few days ago, the new DAART conference room welcomed over 40 young African leaders who were in Dakar for their annual reunion in the framework of the Young African Leadership Initiative (YALI). They hailed from the four corners of the continent and, after the plenary session at the Center, unanimously lauded the hospitality of WARC. It is hoped that they will maintain contacts with the Center and turn out to be valuable resource persons for us in all those African countries where our presence and existence have not been felt yet.

With the termination of the Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program the world over, new office space has been vacated and another office has been reclaimed and equipped to be used as a mini-conference or meeting room.

A few week's vacation in Sao Paulo, Brazil quickly turned into a business trip with lectures and presentations lined up: a public lecture on the place of the Black Diaspora in the political and literary achievement of President Leopold Sedar Senghor (his first trip to Brazil as President of Senegal dates back to 1964), contributions to discussions and debates on Sembene Ousmane's films, and a presentation on WARC as a gateway to research in West Africa at the celebrated University of Sao Paulo. I was able to make strong contacts with la Casa de Africas, an institution dedicated to the study of Africa in Brazil, and particularly in Sao Paulo, whose Director, Dr Denise Diaz, has been invited to visit WARC. Plans and arrangements to that effect are being made for the year end.

Now that WARA/WARC are steadily consolidating their capacities in promoting research and cultural expression in West Africa, the networking efforts need to be maintained and reinforced with the aim to assert ourselves as a reliable institution to be reckoned with for the promotion of learning in and on West Africa.

Meanwhile, other efforts are being made to strengthen expertise and professionalism in the daily operations of the Center. In July, an audit firm was hired to look into the administrative and financial operations of the Center. The final recommendations made from that exercise are expected sometime in October, but already the Center's management team is implementing some recommendations made during the consultations with the auditing team.

The future is full of hope and the will and determination to get there are obvious. Let's keep forging ahead!

Ousmane Sène

Notes from former grantees

Building Communities that Can Produce Their Own Food

Founded in 2007, "Potentiel Terre" is dedicated to building a community that produces its own food. As a relatively young organization, "Potentiel Terre" faces certain obstacles, such as a lack of confidence from partner organizations, and difficulties making its goals known. A Haitian expression says "Deye monn Gen monn," which means "life is full of obstacles." To overcome the obstacles we need civic engagement and above all an unwavering motivation.

Niger has a fragile economy, and it is only through the EARTH that it can recover its socio-economic equilibrium and become competitive in the global economy. Through its participation in the DAART program, Potentiel Terre received a grant to develop and disseminate our ideas under the banner of "PAPOGA" (Proposal to increase agricultural production and encourage a new generation of farmers), helping with our strategy to keep young people connected to the earth.

We increased our understanding and analysis, improved our mobilization and community engagement process, and our experimental project, which took place in Tilla, a community of Say, was a success. Potentiel Terre was assigned to implement PAPOGA in Tilla; and investors and beneficiaries were enthusiastic and eager to be involved in this youth led process. We encouraged collaboration between youth and qualified professionals, centered on profitability and a guarantee of food for the population.

The Farmers Field School created an accelerated level of instruction that had two objectives

- To put young farmers in a situation where they take their work seriously
- To guarantee the transfer of technological knowledge so they will be capable of professional farming.

The young people respected the schedule of activities, however, they often became distracted. During the field test, we consistently found that the rural youth dressed fashionably after work, sang and danced to pop music working. We understand young people are linked to "current" culture and it would be unproductive to attempt to make them disengage. We channeled their energy towards a larger understanding of the world, so that they could better understand and meet the challenges that face them. At the field school, communication skills are taught to the workers. They learn to use phones, to write e-mails, join social networks, and join community groups.

Youth from surrounding villages became interested in the work and came in greater numbers to join. The initial 10 participants grew to 70 in 50 days. The first candidates taught the new recruits what they had learned. They explained our goals and their responsibilities. The team of young professionals was led by the President of Potentiel Terre, Zakari Hassane; the head of the Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, Oumarou Yabo; and Administrator AbdulKarim Amadou.

This influx in young volunteers illustrates a new dynamic in the traditional categorization of farmers. The traditional method of categorization identifies three levels of agricultural development. According to Mr. Saley Mahamadou, Director of

the Department of Social Mobilization and the Strengthening of Skills, the levels are Level 0, Level 1, Level 2, and Level 3.

Level 0

The individual becomes a farmer because his or her parents are farmers. This is the most classic form, and outside of producing enough to eat, the worker has no ambition for economic advancement. Without external pressure, at Level 0 the worker would possibly even abandon the profession all together. This is a farmer who works blindly.

Level 1

The individual understands that farming can provide income, or allow one to spend less on essential foods. But a Level 1 worker isn't very interested in profitability and his ambition to progress diminishes even if he or she manages to acquire substantial revenue from the activity.

Level 2

The individual who practices agriculture because he or she *knows* it is profitable and feels that one can lead a fulfilling life through farming. This person is building a business to obtain credit in order to accomplish his or her goals and is interested in questions of price and productivity. People in Level 2 are prominent all along the 1497 km boarder Niger shares with Nigeria, but quite rare within Niger, where it is only seen among private farm promoters whose level of instruction, and the transfer of knowledge is very poor.

Level 3

We practice agriculture with synergy and with skills that we transfer to our brothers and sisters, urban and rural, so that they too can work in the field with a reasonable understanding and knowledge of farming techniques, cost management, respect for the environment, and social awareness. This dynamic, resulting from our experience with PAPOGA and made possible through DAART, is welcomed by village and community leaders, and could be identified as "Level 3. This level is very important for Niger, as well as for other countries in Africa, because it is the solution to problems of providing proper food and nutrition; it prevents future food crises, and stops the leaking of money out of developing countries. Potentiel Terre's new dynamic offers prospects for a socially and economically stable country, with less unemployment, and less out migration. In addition, it promises increased national revenue, improvements in the nation's food supply and environmental consciousness.

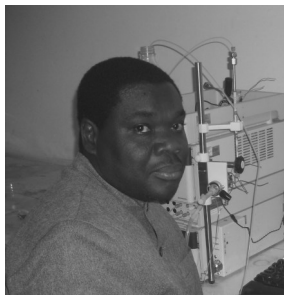
Our technical, financial and administrative partners, as well as numerous experts, all agree that the generation of dependent Nigerian farmers is outdated. It's absolutely necessary to establish a system that encourages new generations of farmers. Without such a system, no developments can be made. However, the absence of an adequate financial system to fund this project remains an obstacle in the way of our goals.

(

Zakari Hassane
Founder, Potentiel Terre
DAART Fellow
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Impurities profiling of some antibiotics circulating in Nigeria using High Performance Liquid chromatography



Dr Adegoke in the Research laboratory of the Department of Pharmaceutical Chemistry, KNUST

I was awarded a WARC Travel grant to work with colleagues at the Department of Pharmaceutical Chemistry, Faculty of Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Sciences, College of Health Sciences, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, (KNUST) Kumasi Ghana from August 12 to 19. Professor Adosraku Reimmel K., Head of Department of Pharmaceutical Chemistry was my host and collaborator. My visit is a research-based study, though I participated in other activities.

Introduction and objectives

Identification of pharmaceutical impurities is a critical analytical activity in the drug development process and in guaranteeing the quality, safety and efficacy of pharmaceuticals. Drugs used in Nigeria are subject to the typical tropical climate which is characterized by extremes of high temperature, humidity and sunlight. These exaggerated environmental factors might have adverse effects on the stability of such antibiotics as cephalosporins and quinolones which are now first-line treatment options for infections. Our collaborative research was aimed at conducting a comprehensive assessment of these drugs to discover if they meet ICH guidelines. While some of the medications, especially antibiotics, may be stable shortly after manufacture; the extremes and exaggerated environmental conditions all-year round may expose these drugs to instability problems leading to loss of quality and efficacy and posing increased risks as their safety may no longer be guaranteed.

Methodology

The strategy adopted for the research project was to commence a comprehensive impurities profiling of some cephalosporins beginning with ceftriaxone. One expired brand and one brand still within its shelf life were investigated. The methodology consisted of a modification of the British Pharmacopoeia 2007 method where the mobile phase was 0.067 M Potassium dihydrogen phosphate and methanol (98:2 % v/v). The other chromatographic conditions consisted of utilization of the C₁₈ column (Lichrosob 18, Phenomenex, USA), and detection at 254 nm with a flow rate of 1.5 mL/min. Separation was carried out

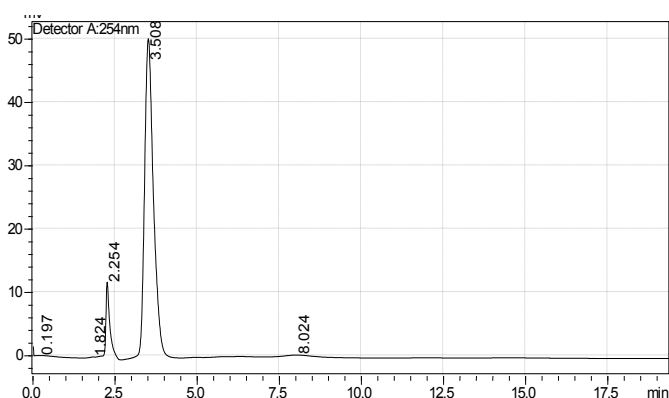


Fig. 1: Chromatographic separation of an old brand of ceftriaxone injection

using UFLC chromatograph (Shimadzu, Japan) fitted with SP-20 A Prominence detector and equipped with LC Real time Analysis software for data acquisition and processing. Both the old and new samples of ceftriaxone brands were respectively dissolved in the mobile phase (1 mg/mL solution). Each sample was consecutively injected after mobile phase equilibration.

Preliminary findings

The modified mobile phase was found to adequately elute the two samples and separation was completed within 12 minutes. This is one of the major advantages of the research design as it was possible to adapt a less-cumbersome mobile phase system for the separation of the principal components of the samples. In

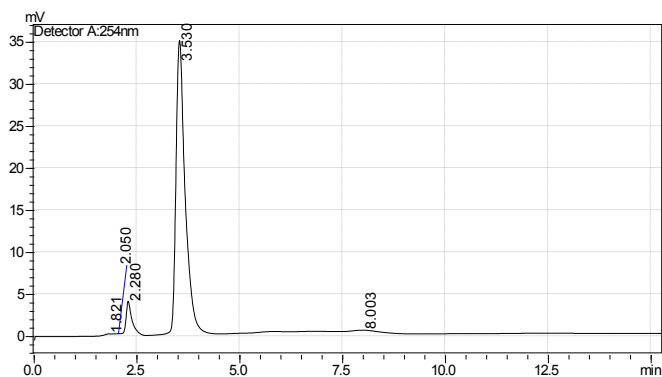


Fig. 2: Chromatographic separation of a new brand of ceftriaxone injection

addition, the main impurity which eluted at around 2.5 mins was found to be more prominent in the old sample than in the new brand of ceftriaxone. In typical chromatograms (Fig. 1 and 2), the relative area of the main impurity in the old brand was 9.9 % relative to 7.0 % in the new brand.

These preliminary results have established the need for a thorough monitoring of the brands of cephalosporins in the tropical climate. Further research work will be aimed at identifying the specific impurities and determining their level of compliance with ICH guidelines.

But it was not 'all work and no play'; I had the opportunity to visit the Manhyia Palace Museum where the historical artefacts of the Ashante are kept. It was a great in-road to understanding the rich, centuries-old tradition of the Ashante. I saw the chairs used in entertaining one of the Manhyias brought from different countries, including the one he sat on when he visited Nigeria. Tradition has it that no one else is permitted to sit on any chair the Manhyia has sat on. It was indeed wonderful being exposed to another tradition.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge the financial support received from WARA that facilitated this visit. I also express my profound gratitude to the Head and members of staff of the Department of Pharmaceutical Chemistry, KNUST, Kumasi for hosting me for the period of the travel grant.

Aremu Olajire Adegoke
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THE INCUBATOR:

A Cooperative of the Women of Sal Island, Cape Verde



THE INCUBATOR (Cooperativa Mulheres do Sal, A INCUBADORA) is an organization that aims to reduce poverty and social exclusion, especially in single-parent families headed by women. It consists of a group of proactive young people, motivated to make a difference in the society of Sal island, Cape Verde. The Incubator empowers women and their families, enabling them in their pursuit of self-employment in order to make them more confident and independent. All 12 members are trained in specific areas, and each member uses her abilities to empower other women, teens, children and all who wish to participate.

The Cooperative creates employment for women heads of single-parent families. This is being done in two ways: Empowering women by trainings in areas such as hand-crafts, recycling, domestic arts, babysitting, small businesses management, hydroponics and agriculture; and workshops on gender based violence, women's health, and food security. Trainings are followed by the creation of small projects for self employment, so that they are able to put into practice what they have learned and begin to produce. Products like handmade crafts and foods have and will continue to be sold by the cooperative, ensuring self **sustenance** of these women and the cooperative. The cooperative links services such as domestic arts and babysitting with companies and private employers.

In our community discussions, women participants were very interested in the issues of domestic arts, food security, women's health and gender violence. They asked to continue these discussions and asked questions about the cooperative, and small business management.

The Cooperative has acquired property for a center for hydroponic production of vegetables in greenhouses, employing about 30 women directly benefiting their families and their communities.

We have also begun working with an ice cream company in Praia. They will sell to the single parents on Sal Island materials to produce their own ice cream, as well as donations from the company. These women will then have the profit at the end of the month, creating their employment.

The cooperative already participated in craft fairs, tourism and agribusiness, which has developed our contacts with various

companies and people, so we created some opportunities to promote our work and create partnerships. Through the cooperative store, we have released national crafts and artists both on the island and elsewhere in Cape Verde, presenting work in exhibitions and sales.

Although still quite young, the Cooperative has had an important role in the society of Sal Island, dissemination of traditional and national hand crafts, and has drawn attention to the development of agriculture on the island.

Being a very new Cooperative has had several difficulties; one of them is credibility in the Cape Verdean society, although we have already developed some partnerships with the government, and with some national and international institutions.

A major difficulty we have right now is the bureaucracy. Despite already having a protocol with the Ministry of Rural Development to implement the project of the Center for vegetable production in greenhouses for hydroponics, we can't implement the project until we have the approval of Director General of the Scheme Property to begin work on the ground. This has caused great inconvenience and delay in the implementation of our project.

The center already has installed a 500 m² greenhouse guaranteed to work with hydroponics. However, it demands large amounts of clean water. To start with, the production plant will use water from the central electric of the island of Sal, but it will be a very expensive process, which will in turn increase the cost of our products. We have been studying a better way to get clean water through desalination, and all such proceedings shall be conducted with renewable and clean energies. But this project needs funding to start and the cooperative, being little known nationally and internationally, has not had access to the necessary levels of funding.

We have developed partnerships with some nonprofit organizations on the island to develop projects that help the poorest communities and society in general. The Cooperative has worked consistently to achieve its objectives and, despite many obstacles, has achieved some good results. Increasingly, the Cooperative is gaining respect among people in Sal. More and more people and companies, institutions and NGOs have sought out the cooperative for consulting, training and partnerships. We will continue to develop our work, seeking partnerships and funding, as we have done so far.

The results of the work, although modest, have been very rewarding, and we will continue to reach our targets slowly and in a balanced way.

Selma Neves
President
Cooperative Women of Sal Island
The Incubator
coopmsincubadora@gmail.com



Research on the Evolution of Political Parties in Senegal

The characteristics of political parties and political party systems are thought to exert a strong influence on the quality of democracy and government performance in countries. There is still much to be learned about the nature of political parties and the roles they perform in Africa's multiparty regimes. Senegal is a particularly interesting case to study in this regard. Senegal has had a long, rich history of electoral politics, extending back into the colonial period. Prior to the election of 2000, Senegal had a highly stable political party system. During the first 40 years of its post-independence period, Senegal was under de facto one-party rule by the Parti Socialiste (PS). The alternation of executive power achieved in the presidential election of 2000 seemed to bode well for the consolidation of democracy in Senegal, but alas this road was not taken by the administration ushered into power through this watershed election. Following what seemed like years of torpidity under the rule of the PS, the Senegalese political sphere entered a state of rapid change and fluctuation. Senegal had another alternation of executive power in 2012, but despite its democratic achievements and its long experience with electoral politics, as others have noted (e.g., see Osei 2012), Senegal's parties appear to be weak and largely the vehicles of their political leaders. On the positive side, the quality of Senegal's democracy seems to have improved since the last election, and Senegal's status has been upgraded to "free" by Freedom House in its latest reports.

This study is intended to contribute to the growing literature on Africa's political parties and party systems and builds on previous research I have conducted on Senegal's political parties and leaders in Senegal. It also builds on the research I have conducted with Gina Lambright on political party systems, parties and elections in Africa and will help inform the book we are currently writing on this topic. In 1998, I began interviewing Senegalese political party leaders. During the 2000 campaign season, I traveled with the *Marche Bleu* (the appellation given to the opposition campaign) on a few occasions, attended campaign rallies, collected party documents, read the daily papers and conducted numerous interviews with party members, particularly those associated with the coalition of opposition parties called the *Coalition Alternance 2000*. This past spring, I spent two and a half months doing fieldwork in Senegal. I was able to interview many political party and civil society leaders, including members of the media. I also gathered political party documents and should note that I am extremely grateful to Professor Amy Poteete, whom I met at WARC, for generously sharing relevant documents and information. (I should also note that the members of WARC went well beyond the call of duty in facilitating my research, and I am extremely appreciative of their efforts on my behalf.)

The fieldwork I conducted will help me to ascertain political party leaders' views on the roles and responsibilities of their respective parties as well as observe how the political parties and party leaders actually behave. This case study seeks to answer the following questions: How do political party officers, leaders and candidates view the roles and responsibilities of political parties? How and to what extent do they think political parties should serve their constituencies and the

public in general? What types of appeals are utilized to obtain public support? Do political parties fulfill or attempt to fulfill their campaign pledges once in office? How well is Senegal's diverse population served by the political parties that dominate political life?

The two alternations of power make it clear that the citizens of Senegal are ready to oust leaders and parties that flout the preferences of the people. Thus, elections and parties do appear to be promoting some responsiveness and accountability. Even though the current president, President Macky Sall, has not been able to address all of the core problems identified by Senegalese in the short period of time he has been in office, he has certainly not ignored them. The program his coalition presented, his rhetoric in public speeches, and the ruling party's website all demonstrate President Sall's and the government's awareness of these citizen priorities. Thus, it would appear that the government is at least somewhat responsive to citizen interests. Although the political parties in government today may be a bit more constrained by public vigilance than their predecessors, one must nonetheless question whether they are poised to meet the long-term aspirations of the Senegalese people.

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WARA Board Election Results

The WARA staff is pleased that of the 208 current WARA members, 113 voted in this year's election.

The ballot included two questions.

The first asked members to vote on extending the terms of two current board members, Matthew Christensen and Ibra Sene. We are pleased to announce that Matthew Christensen, who joined the board last fall to fill a vacancy, has been elected by the membership to serve a full three-year term, ending in 2016; and Ibra Sene has been elected for a second term, also ending in 2016. (108 yes; 1 No; 4 abstentions)

The second asked members to vote on allowing board members to serve second terms. The item passed with 107 voting yes; 3 No; and 3 abstentions.

Congratulations
Professors Ibra Sene & Matthew Christensen



2013 WARC Library Fellow



The WARC Library Fellowship is a rare opportunity to bridge a gap between academic training and direct experience. American library students go Senegal to work at the WARC library. I am thankful to have been the library fellow this year.

The eight week fellowship was a challenging and unique experience. The two reading rooms and library office bustled with the energy of researchers intensely involved in their projects. WARC library director, Adama Diouf, and her assistant, Aliou Badara Sarr, take on responsibilities that in a larger institution would be distributed among whole departments, keeping pace with a range of activities taking place in a number of languages.

My time was spent working with the library's records, supporting the effort to migrate the library to an automated system with an online catalog. This effort, though challenging to implement, will greatly improve access to the collection, especially as the computer network and internet access improve. The process of moving to an automated system involves a shift in procedures for almost all of the tasks involved in managing a library, and my experience with the software this summer called to mind a bit of wisdom offered by an experienced artisan that "having the right material sometimes makes more difference than the level of skill". A system that allows staff to accomplish routine tasks with minimal training is an attractive feature, but software designs and reliance on the internet can also put constraints on workflow.

I also attended to the maintenance of shelves: checking call numbers, reshelving misplaced books, pulling volumes in need of repair, cataloging, or reclassification, and sometimes reading the inscriptions. Managing the collection and improving access can be improved with strategies that address both goals. The current call numbering and classification schedules could be expanded with more specific classification numbers so that new acquisitions are distributed more appropriately and evenly in the shelves. Within the LibraryWorld system, I strongly recommend taking the time to reuse catalog records that include table of contents notes for edited collections. Also, checking for and correcting problems before a book is loaned, and before it is returned to the shelves, is a small but important measure.

Lack of space is an unforgiving constraint, and the time and skill of the library staff are of high value. One of lesson learned at WARC is the intimate relationship between the library functions of cataloging, physical maintenance, management of space, and development of policies. The library's Diaspora reading room is close to capacity, making it difficult to maintain the shelves in call number order. To alleviate this, following the work of prior fellows, a collection development

statement and donation policy have been drafted and posted to the web site. Mrs. Diouf, her assistant, and I spent our last days together identifying, removing, or relocating items that were outside the scope of the collection or of low research value, to other parts of the collection. This work needs to be continued.

Collection development is an ongoing process of building and shaping the collection to meet the scope and mission of the institution, as well as the needs of its users. Collaboration between librarians and faculty, as well as ongoing assessment and planning are essential. The library can anticipate student needs through increased communication with faculty before the beginning of classes to identify the resources required for upcoming courses so that measures can be taken to acquire and catalog these high priority items. Maintaining an online "wish list", as well as a list of recent research requests that were not able to be filled, can also help the library align donations with the scope of the collection.

Policies and procedures can also help the library manage high demand. For example, materials that circulate frequently, as well as required readings, can be placed "on reserve" with shorter loan periods or on-site use only. A scanning station, with appropriate training in copyright and fair use, and a good hardware and software environment, can also ease the demand for limited physical copies while allowing the library to archive scanned materials for future use.

Thanks to Mrs. Diouf I saw other libraries and archives in Dakar. These visits were a chance for me to connect with professionals working in different disciplines. We saw software demonstrations, discussions of open access and intellectual property in academic settings, examples of efforts to expand access to specialized resources through creation of educational materials for wider audiences. We also discussed management and administration of large libraries with many departments, strategies for sharing resources regionally and internationally, and welcome tips about LibraryWorld. The visits and working at the center left me inspired, and motivated.

I learned of the WARC library fellowship simply through research. I learned of current work being done in the region through the internet before I had arrived, making me optimistic about the role of the internet in connecting people. The library's growing online presence, I will encourage membership and engagement with regional and international professional associations. Associations provide support to libraries and librarians.



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Dancing at the Crossroads: Contemporary dance and Kriolo identity in Cape Verde



My dissertation is entitled “Dancing at the Crossroads” and I am writing about Kriolo identity and nationalism as reflected, created, and promoted through contemporary dance. My dissertation research takes place within the archipelago of Cape Verde, a nation situated 250 miles off the coast of Senegal at the geographic and cultural crossroads of Europe, West Africa, and the Americas. The WARA pre-dissertation grant enabled me to return to Cape Verde to work with the dance company, Raiz di Polon, the national dance company that has developed the contemporary dance genre in the archipelago. Through spending more time with this group, using my artistic identity as an experienced performer, I was able to merge my scholarly work with my artistic interests by engaging in teaching exchanges, collaborate as a performer, and interview people on different islands about how dance plays a role in the production of Cape Verdean identity. I initially went to Cape Verde to learn about batuko performances, which are traditional drumming and dance idioms performed traditionally by women within the island of Santiago. But as I spent more time in the field and engaged in participant-observation, I was able to refine my topic to focus more exclusively on the importance of a group that uses traditions like batuko within choreography. This topic-shift was necessary and I would not have been able to make it (or realize it was necessary) without the pre-dissertation grant from WARA. In order to understand the meaning of this art form to the community I was able to simultaneously continue to learn about the traditional forms of cultural expression endemic to the islands which I had just begun to understand during other visits in previous years.

Cape Verdeans place music and dance traditions among the highest positions in a hierarchy of cultural preferences, but because musical recordings are easier to spread throughout interconnected Cape Verdean communities abroad, Cape Verde is far better known for its music than its dance. But I believe that the spotlight on dance has and is growing in the archipelago, and my dissertation (to be completed by September 2013) will give focus to the dance

community as a player within the performance community and not merely a decorative detail for musical performances. I believe that Cape Verdeans world-wide see themselves in the work of Raiz di Polon because they connect with the feelings and themes presented in their work. The group has innovated a performance style that blurs boundaries of tradition, language, and history using techniques noticeably rooted in the archipelago’s traditional folk practices and soaked in intercultural collaboration. As members of Raiz di Polon perform, train, and go on international tours, they metaphorically and literally cross national borders and rewrite their own national histories—a process of constant border-crossing that most Cape Verdeans understand at a personal level. Before my fieldwork, I thought that living at a crossroads—where visible influences from around the world saturate daily life—would produce an identity complex, leaving people constantly searching for a sense of cultural autonomy.

After completing my fieldwork, my findings reveal that this “search” is not entirely relevant... or at least deserves a different perspective or word choice. National identity is constantly restaged in Cape Verde through the lyrics and symbols in performance festivals, which shows that national identity is constantly a topic of “discussion” so-to-speak. However, intercultural exchange has always been intrinsic to Cape Verdean quotidian life, and since the beginning of the archipelago’s young history, people have accumulated a mentality of boundarylessness and openness. Perhaps staging national identity could be seen as a sign of a struggle with crossroads identity, but at the same time, I believe we can also understand how performers embody a sense of balance, rich creative innovation, and intellectual autonomy—words with agency that differ significantly from “struggle” or “complex.” My pre-dissertation award helped me find out more about the crossroads identities of Cape Verde and how Raiz di Polon has taken on a role of expressing powerful characteristics of national identities (plural!). I believe that my dissertation will highlight dance as an important agent for the promotion of national identity, and contribute to conversations surrounding debates about globalization and the cultural economy.



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Cultural Nationalism at the Margins: A Look at Trans-border 'Radio Communities' in the Senegal River Valley

Thanks to WARA's Pre-Dissertation Fellowship, I spent three months in the Senegal River Valley from December 2012 to March 2013 to research the connections between several community radio stations and a language activist movement pursued by Pulaar speakers since at least the 1950s. Pulaar is the most widely spoken language in the middle part of the Senegal River Valley, which straddles the border between Senegal and Mauritania. The study focused on the radio stations Cascas FM (Cascas, Senegal), Pete FM (Pete, Senegal), Fuuta FM (Pete, Senegal), Salndu Fuuta FM (Thilogne, Senegal) and Tiimtimol FM (Ouro Sogui, Senegal).

These stations are often referred to as the radios of "the farmers, fishermen and herdsman". Accordingly, they regularly air programming addressing those groups, as well as issues related to education and health. Often, stations feature a particular topic, such as maternal health, in exchange for financial support from NGOs. In addition, farmers, herders and fishermen use the radios to exchange information and ideas essential to their livelihoods. For example, herders call the radios to warn listeners of bush fires that threaten to spread or make areas unsafe for grazing. Reports of missing or stolen cattle are also common. This can require special language skills on the part of radio staff communicating such news. One broadcaster, born and raised in Fuuta Tooro's fishermen caste, told me that when he began working at Pete FM he had difficulty understanding the terminology herders use to describe their cattle, even confusing terms referring to the shapes of horns to those referring to fur color.

Many radio staffers view their efforts as linked to those pursued by Pulaar radio hosts based in Dakar and Nouakchott. Over the past three decades, certain media personalities such as the late Elh. Tidiane Anne, who acquired a large following in Senegal and Mauritania through his broadcasts on Senegal's *Radio Nationale*, have been regarded as heroes of Pulaar language activism. According to several broadcasters I interviewed, Tidiane Anne and others "cleared the paths" for a greater Pulaar mass media presence in Senegal, of which the community radios are an example. In addition, many radio staff members read and write in Pulaar, using the Latinized orthography that was drawn up by Pulaar-speaking activists in the early 1960s. At the radio stations I visited, Pulaar was often the language of written communication, and funeral announcements prepared for broadcast were almost always written in Pulaar. While many broadcasters cannot read French, even those literate in French sometimes find it convenient to use written Pulaar in their work. One community radio announcer attending a health clinic translated a hospital-issued questionnaire from French to Pulaar before using it to quiz mothers on their knowledge of children's nutrition issues.

The community radios in the Senegal River Valley benefit from the participation and support of communities in Mauritania. For example, the radio station Fuuta FM, signed a contract with the NGO Institut PANOS to air programming on the effects of international migration on villages in Mauritania, and on

International Women's Day, Cascas FM invited members of a woman's association from Bababe, Mauritania as guests on one of its programs. There are many quotidian examples indicating the radios' transborder role, such as the staff of Radio Pete receiving Mauritanian Ougiya as payment for a funeral announcement, the regular talk show callers from the Mauritanian side of the Senegal River, the sound of Senegalese community radio program playing in Mauritanian compounds, and trips made to Mauritania by radio staff, whether to engage in reporting or visit the radios' regular callers and financial supporters.



The Senegal River Valley's community radio stations face many challenges, chief among them accessing financial support. The broadcasting of funeral announcements provides a steady yet inadequate flow of money for financing the maintenance of

equipment, payment of staff, transportation necessary to cover local and regional events and electric bills. Further research may look at whether entities supporting the radios such as Institut PANOS foresaw Pulaar activists being regularly invited as guests on talk shows, the playing of recorded speeches by religious leaders and the airing of advertisements by traditional healers. Moreover, in aiding the creation of Radio Pete, did USAID foresee Mauritians becoming a core part of the station's listenership and support base? At issue is not whether these developments are "good" or "bad", but how they illustrate the different interpretations among audiences, radio staff, state authorities and NGOs of the role community radios are to play in the Senegal River Valley.



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The WARA staff and newsletter committee would like to thank the translators, without whose work this newsletter would not be complete.

A special thanks to Habi Diop and Joanna Shell.



History and its alternatives in Ghana: democratizing knowledge about the Ghanaian past



I initially requested funding to explore the relationships between disciplinary History and public understandings of the past through the field that I know best – 19th century Gold Coast Colony and Protectorate. Specifically, I asked for support to complete two projects that embody an exploration of the ways Ghanaians remember particular episodes and issues in the past, both within and outside of academic history. First, I wanted to look at the contested interpretations of the Fante Confederation produced by the oral traditions of *asafo* (sodality groups), classroom accounts, nationalist historians, world historians, and community historians. I was particularly interested in the way that *asafo* members remember the Confederation in their narratives and to see how these differ from official, national, and academic accounts that focus on chiefs and formally-educated men of the era.

The second part of the project involved asking the Ghanaian public, and especially women, to provide critiques and feedback on a paper in draft form that reimagined the world of a young, 19th century woman whose experiences and perspectives form the core of *Abina and the Important Men*. At the center of this reimagining was a focus on issues of gender and sexuality as markers.

Through these two projects, I proposed to explore the ways in which “publics” can be more effectively invited to intervene in the production of academic discourse and scholarly narratives of the past. I did not know whether this type of interaction would be successful, although I had some idea of the limits and issues involved through my interaction with other scholars around the world working on similar questions. Our initial papers on this issue had been published on <http://www.subjectinghistory.org> at the time that I departed for Ghana.

My proposed methodology was a series of discussions to be held in various settings in which I would lay out my arguments or read parts of my paper and ask my interlocutors to interject comments or critique. I also planned to reverse this method by asking Ghanaians to give me their oral accounts of the Fante Confederation and of the historical relationships between slavery and marriage in any form they chose.

Overall, this was a successful trip in both some expected and unexpected ways. Working with Fante-speaking community members, I developed a critique of the linear, chronological narrative of the Fante Confederation I had developed. My collaborators also raised critical questions about ways of delivering this history that have brought me round to a proposal to build a “heritage trail” around the Confederation’s main sites including religious shrines, political/constitutional meeting places, and homes of important people. Such a spacially-oriented “narrative” fits with the ways in which local knowers-of-the-past choose to represent the Confederation. The process by which I

arrived at this plan will be published in the forthcoming volume *Subjecting History* [Ohio University Press].

In addition, through interactions I developed an “affective” approach to the relationship between marriage and court cases involving “slavery” and “pawning” in the wake of colonialism that suggests much greater agency and choice for women than previously assumed but also critiques the use of the universalizing signifier “slave” in the Gold Coast context for the late nineteenth century. I will present a paper applying this analysis to six court records in Hanover, Germany in November. In addition, this approach helped me to revise a paper I co-authored that will be published in the *Journal of West African History*.

Potentially the most significant result of this trip, however, is that I connected with faculty and administrators at the University of Ghana who are designing a Digital Information Center. They are interested in reworking one of my books - *Abina and the Important Men* - in a digital animated format drawn, scripted, and scored by local artists and students. I am working hard to collaborate with them on this process, as it represents a signal intervention by “publics” in an academic work.



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The Giving Common Challenge

November 13-14, 2013

WARA is participating in the Giving Common Challenge again. Starting on November 13 at 8am, please go to the link below to renew your membership and make a gift to WARA. If we raise \$5000 in memberships, it will be matched, for a total of \$10,000!

Support your link to the Community of West Africa & Diaspora Scholars

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Fed Up: Creating a New Type of Senegal Through the Arts

In 2011, when President Abdoulaye Wade attempted to rewrite the Senegalese constitution and seize a third term in office, young Senegalese responded from artistic and cultural positions, rather than from the traditional political opposition. The *Y'en a Marre* ("We're Fed Up"/ "Enough is Enough") youth movement, the most visible group among the many actors protesting against Wade, formed when several Senegalese journalists and hip-hop artists banded together. My research in Dakar this summer has focused on the current status of *Y'en a Marre* through interviews and observation, but also on how the collective is simply indicative of a greater trend of young Senegalese using the arts to refashion their society, their personal identities, and their local communities.

Young authors, visual artists, actors and directors, and musicians of all genres are rethinking traditional models of artistic creation in order to examine the Senegal in which they live and inspire social engagement among their audience. Felwine Sarr is an author and professor at Gaston Berger University in Saint-Louis who organized a group of university instructors and researchers called *Devoir de résistance* ("Responsibility of Resistance") to oppose Wade's attempt to secure a third term. Since that time, it has remained active by proposing citizen-led solutions to public issues. Visual artist Kan-Si has been a very active leader and organizer of socially conscious art. Since 1999, he has led the Gorée Institute Printmaking Workshop, which has brought together artists, instructed them in the practices of etching, lithography, and woodcut, and then allowed them to produce works around a single social issue, among them HIV/AIDS, peace and conflict resolution, and gender and sexual freedom. Faced with the deteriorating Senegalese cinema industry, young filmmaker Adams Sie has begun his own production company through which he has written, directed, and produced a number of short films focused on important social issues such as albino social integration, homeless children, sexual abuse, female genital mutilation, alcoholism, and gender parity in politics. Confronting a stagnant political culture that discourages their participation, young Senegalese are engaging with their society and expressing their concerns with social ills through artistic mediums. As a result, they are refiguring the role of the arts from their traditional antecedents.

These socially engaged Senegalese artists show that their work has not been confined to opposing Wade's attempt to win a third presidential term. Even *Y'en a Marre*, whose initial objective was to remove Wade from office, has worked diligently to expand its perspective to include a range of social problems. *Y'en a Marre* remains an active, engaged collective that continues to draw the attention of both the public and the government. They hold weekly Tuesday meetings in the old apartment owned by Fadel Barro, one of the founders of the group, in the Parcelles Assainies neighborhood of Dakar. The door remains open throughout the day for groups and individuals to come, share ideas, and benefit from *Y'en a Marre*'s experiences and perspectives. On Tuesday, July 2, 2013, members of Mali's community of civic

groups, preparing for the country's elections after its recent civil war, wanted to hear Fadel Barro and Aliou Sané's suggestions for stoking voter participation and ensuring fair results. *Y'en a Marre* has become an example to citizens of other African nations of social engagement, and individual members of the movement remain active in endeavors outside of the confines of official *Y'en a Marre* programs.



Despite the success of *Y'en a Marre* and its founding members, not all Senegalese are enamored by the rhetoric and tactics of the movement. Some young people express doubts about the group's motives, are convinced that the members are being paid for their activism, and are displeased with the movement's forceful denunciation of Wade. However, these same young people who oppose *Y'en a Marre*'s debated disrespect of Wade are themselves engaged in thoughtful activism to improve their country, often through artistic mediums. One such group, Eaux secours, works in the Pikine/Thiaroye region of the greater Dakar area and uses rap music, video clips, on-line interactions, and social gatherings to promote the need for a greater consciousness and a stronger infrastructure towards flood prevention and

relief. Thus, such groups prove that *Y'en a Marre* is just one iteration of a widespread current running through contemporary Senegal that unites the arts and politics.

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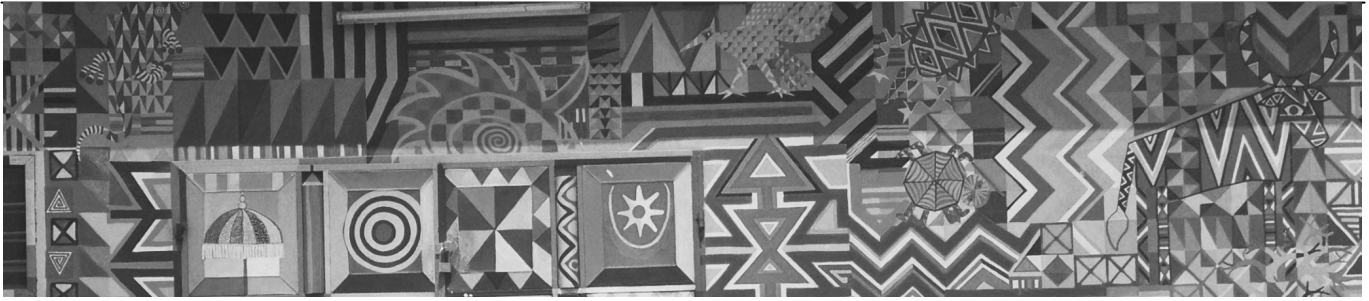
Congratulations to our fall 2013 WARC Travel Grant Awardees

Cletus Anes Ukwubile (University of Ibadan) for research in Ghana -- "Design and Development of Annona Muticata Chitosan Nanoparticle for targeting ovarian cancer tissue"

Bayanatou Toure (CNRS) for research in Benin, Niger and Nigeria -- "Gouvernance des Bassins transfrontaliers en Afrique de l'Ouest. Le fleuve Niger entre Bénin, Niger et Nigéria"

Kwevitoukoui Hounkpati (University of Georgia) for research in Benin, Ghana and Togo ---" Systematic studies of West African Coccinellidae"

From Our Fellows– Julia Neal



With support from the West African Research Association, provided and structured in the form of a Diaspora Internship, I encountered the bustling life of urbanizing spaces in Ghana. From the metallic rattling of tro-tros, to the lively honk-and-gesture messaging system by the taxis; from the vibrant energy of vendors, performers, everyday citizens and tourists walking along congested streets, to the still quiet found in abundance near the residences in the Cantonments, I encountered the kinetic momentum of life and culture in Ghana, seemingly infinite in its abundance. Matriculating from the Masters program in the History of Art & Architecture at Boston University just days before setting off for Africa and the Foundation for Contemporary Art-Ghana, I traveled with a set of art historical objectives in mind. Western students in the United States traditionally learn about the history of art in Africa through lecture-style slide presentations. And being a young field with innumerable possibilities, resources are constantly developing to enrich a classroom education with the dynamism of African arts, such as masking, sculpture, and painting. Hands on experience with FCA proved to be invaluable.

Nearing ten years since its inception in 2004, FCA-Ghana is an artists' networking organization created by Virginia Ryan and Professor Joe Nkrumah. FCA-Ghana supports local Ghanaian artists by providing platforms whereby issues of contemporary art can be debated, challenged and discussed. To facilitate an active environment for arts discussion and creation, FCA's daily operations involve tasks quite similar to the operations found throughout all curatorial departments at museums in the United States: exhibitions, research, consultation, workshops and subject-oriented seminars. In addition, FCA-Ghana has served Accra and neighboring residential areas as a resource center. It maintains an impressive library of texts ranging from topics of canonical Western art history to critical theory and contemporary art in Africa, of which the latter two are genuinely challenging standardized and normative modes of art interpretation.

In addition, FCA's objectives are also international in scope. Late into the event, "The Archive: Static, Embodied, Practiced," created in collaboration with the Center for Contemporary Art, Lagos, I began assisting co-directors Ato Annan and Adwoa Amoah, with basic administrative tasks. FCA-Ghana and CCA, Lagos billed "The Archive" as a "part art laboratory, part residency and part informal art academy," that lasted from May 6 to June 9, 2013. This collaborative adventure was packed with crucial programming on topics such as historicism and race or gender, and was enriched by the impressive array of art and curatorial professionals. Towards finalizing "The Archive" which culminated in an exhibition, artist-faculty guided

portfolio and studio critiques, beginning with Kianga Ford, Assistant Professor of New Genres at Parsons, the New School for Design; internationally-renowned Miguel Luciano; and Karyn Olivier, Assistant Professor of Sculpture at Tyler School of Art. It must be said that Ghana, Accra especially, is not just a hotspot for internationals, but is a hub for those interested in the visible progress of art in Ghana and on the continent.

Caught in-between a wonderful whirlwind of activity, I was delegated Webmaster responsibilities by Ato and Adwoa. I maintained the CCA, Lagos International Art School website, which was created to share program information. I was oftentimes a silent observer and recorder at talks and lectures. I have an ongoing project involving the digitization of their library, but digitization firstly as a searchable online library database for their website. This will expand the accessibility of their library to a growing number of individuals who are increasingly relying on their Internet for access. It will be a slow, but rewarding process.

Beyond the administrative project and the technological project, my time in Ghana was encompassed by a trip to Cape Coast, perhaps the most rewarding experience with regards to speaking to individuals about Pan-Africanism, and frequenting Oxford Street, a main market thoroughfare characterized by its many shops. I also ventured out to other areas in Accra and its metro-areas such as Tema Newtown, Asylum Down, East and West Legon, and Jamestown. I have seen the Gulf of Guinea and "touched" two sides of the Atlantic Ocean, and am already unraveling the mechanics to return to Accra and Cape Coast for doctoral research and time with W.E.B. Du Bois's *Encyclopedia Africana* at the Du Bois Memorial Centre for Pan-African Culture. Visiting Ghana and having the opportunity to observe and work with FCA truly was an invaluable experience, one that definitely influenced my ability to more accurately discuss artists, artwork, and art historical issues from another country.



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Exploring the impacts of pioneering food assistance policies on food security and food systems in the Sahel



While my initial plans for the WARA pre-doctoral dissertation fellowship did not turn out exactly as intended, the grant and flexibility it provided helped to pave a path of discovery and develop my research program on food security and food assistance policy in the Sahel.

I was originally a grantee of the fellowship for the summer of 2010, for an endeavor to understand the impact of Nigerian market dynamics on food security in Niger. I postponed this trip when called to undertake a study of maize markets in Uganda; I published an article in the spring 2011 edition of this newsletter discussing that journey and the ways that it prepared me for my future work. By the time I set off for the Sahel the following summer, I had developed partnerships with the evaluation teams for two progressive food assistance policies in Burkina Faso and Niger. I was able to leverage these projects to expand the scope of my research far beyond the WARA grant, and maximize WARA's contribution to my study of regional food markets and policies and their relationship to Nigerian food security.

The first project involved localized procurement of cowpeas and millet for a school-feeding program in Burkina Faso. With an aim to understand the impacts on both small-farmer suppliers and schools, we visited regional markets and interviewed 160 members of farmers' associations and 120 recipient schools. While our study focused on the small farmers' associations, I took additional time to interview large farmers' unions and travel to regional agricultural markets to better understand food assistance purchases and food supply chains.

We found that school cooks and pupils preferred to receive the local foods—even though the U.S. commodities were easier to prepare. The purchases were also beneficial for smallholder farmers, who received higher prices and revenues, had to travel less, and learned about food quality and marketing. Additional explorations revealed questions that help to guide my further research. Burkina Faso has been utilized as a source for regional procurement of food for many years, with purchases predominantly undertaken through competitive bids and from very large farmers' unions. While we were able to establish benefits from purchases directly from small farmers' associations, there are many unknowns regarding whether or not small farmers benefit from large scale purchases, and what the best strategy is for achieving benefits for farmers while meeting recipients' needs.

The other study involved a randomized distribution of cash or food transfers and subsequent surveys with over 5000 household recipients in Mirriah, Zinder. I extended my time in Niger to acquire additional information about food sources and markets, meeting with market specialists at AGHRYMET, FEWS.net, CRS, and WFP. While my initial plans to travel from Zinder into provisioning markets in Nigeria were thwarted due to particularly dangerous conditions in the region at that time (and the resulting refusal of a visa from the Nigerian embassy), I managed to build a network of Nigerian contacts through the embassy and interview officials who work on markets and trade relations across the Niger-Nigeria border.

Our initial findings show that food transfers had a greater impact than cash transfers on household food security, in part because cash recipients purchased only inexpensive grain in order to use the rest of the transfer to meet other needs. I additionally learned the sources of the commodities provided as food, and will examine whether recipients had better outcomes with and/or preferred receiving the regionally-sourced foods. I also learned more about the marketing chain that serves Eastern Niger, which was of particular importance for cash transfer recipients who were subject to price dynamics that are largely related to Niger-Nigeria trade patterns. I remain in contact with Nigerian officials regarding government efforts to make the cross-border supply chain more efficient and transparent, for example by improving communication, banking systems, and other market-supporting infrastructure. I plan as possible to continue to study the impacts of these efforts.

The WARA pre-doctoral fellowship has played an important role in my research, allowing me to pursue supplemental questions outside of the specific objectives of my other partners and funding sources. This has expanded the depth and creativity of my studies, and of my on-going research program around the complex and dynamic process of assuring food security in the Sahel.



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African Peacebuilding Network workshop

Knowledge about Africa: What Role for African Scholars? Increasing Global Visibility of African Scholarship

The global visibility of African scholarship and enhancing the contributions of Africa-based researchers to knowledge about Africa has been a major challenge. The West African Research Association has made significant efforts to promote the global visibility of African scholarship and the contributions of Africa-based researchers to that scholarship through its journal, *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*. Similarly, the African Peacebuilding Network (APN) at the Social Science Research Council (New York) is promoting African scholarship through grants and workshops for emerging scholars in Africa. The African Peacebuilding Network Grantee Workshop II was held at the African Leadership Centre in Nairobi, August 26-30, 2013.

The APN workshop brought together junior scholars from across Africa (each of whom received an APN research grant) and senior scholars from both African and Western countries. The primary goal of the workshop was to explore strategies to enhance the global visibility of African scholarship and increase the contributions of Africa-based scholars to scholarship on Africa. A key component of the workshop is mentoring of the APN grantees by editors of major journals on Africa such as *African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review*, *African Affairs*, and *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal*. The mentoring is aimed at providing feedback to junior scholars on how to improve their academic and policy papers. Equally important, mentoring provides guidance on appropriate outlets for their work and how to navigate the submission and review process. The workshop provided a rare opportunity for editors and junior authors to openly discuss the rules of academic peer-review and the problems of the gatekeeper tendencies in the process of authenticating knowledge.

The key problems that emerged during the plenary sessions of the workshop were 1) that the proportion of works published in western-based African studies journal that are authored by scholars based in Africa is too small, and 2) that journals published in Africa have very limited access to the global academic distribution infrastructure. Thus, African-based scholars hardly publish in the western-based journals which are available through major journal archives, indexing, and abstracting services such as JSTOR, Project MUSE, and Sociological Abstracts. At the same time, works in Africa-based journals, which are mostly written by scholars based in Africa, have a very limited reach because these journals are hardly available via the major academic journal archives, indexing, and abstracting services.

These twin difficulties have not been easy to overcome. *African Conflict and & Peacebuilding Review* has taken note of this problem and initiated a mentoring process for contributors based in Africa. Africa-based authors with promising works are given extensive feedback and opportunities to revise and improve their works before they go for full peer-review. *African Conflict and & Peacebuilding Review* also invites established scholars to do special issues which provide unique opportunities for mentoring of junior scholars in Africa and improving their work to meet the standards of the peer-review process.

One way of enhancing the visibility of journals based in Africa, and thereby the works of scholars based in Africa, is through open-access publications. The growth of internet technologies and access in Africa will make the open-access model a feasible option for African-based journals, allowing them to bypass some of the infrastructural hurdles of the western academic distribution system. However, for open-access to meaningfully enhance the visibility of the works of researchers based in Africa and increase their contribution to knowledge about Africa, African open-access journals must strictly abide by the double-blind peer-review principle of academic publishing and insist on high quality research and writing.

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Editor-in-Chief
African Conflict & Peacebuilding Review

The Foundation For West Africa

Leh Wi Tok Film

Leh Wi Tok is a documentary about radio journalist Andrew Kromah and his struggle to grow an independent network of community-based radio stations in war-torn Sierra Leone, West Africa. Amidst flagrant and persistent political harassment, financial and technical woes, Andrew puts his life on the line to bring information to his voiceless listeners.

Visit www.lehwitok.org to learn more; there you can see short film clips from interviews conducted in the summer of 2009, and meet the filmmakers and receive updates as filming and production continue in the United States and West Africa. You can receive news about the premiere screening of *Leh Wi Tok* and screenings in other locations around the country.



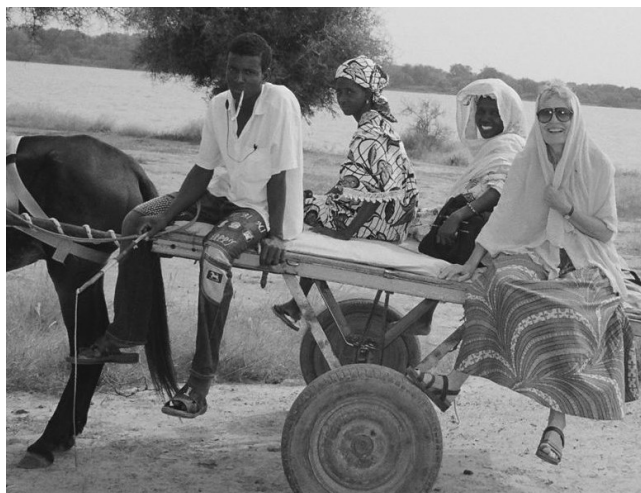
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Spotlight on WARA Lifetime Members

This section of the West African Research Association newsletter is dedicated to WARA Lifetime members. The WARA Membership Committee has decided to honor a distinguished scholar and a former member of the WARA Board of Directors, Jeanne Koopman. She is a long-time student of African rural political economy and agricultural transitions.

JEANNE KOOPMAN



I fell in love with Africa in 1968. I was ripe for this affair. Three years earlier, I had dropped out of an MA program in Soviet Area Studies and become passionately interested in the civil rights movement. I moved to Detroit, my home town, to teach at an inner city high school, living in the neighborhood where the tragic riots broke out in 1967. I learned a lot in Detroit, but I didn't find my calling there.

In 1968, my husband became the Peace Corps physician for Togo and Dahomey. We discovered Africa's charms while traveling in Togo, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Benin, toddler in tow. After learning some Ewe, sitting in on a training program for Togolese community development workers, and helping out in a village health program, I wanted more. When we returned from Togo, I enrolled in a PhD program in economic development. I wrote my thesis while our family lived for four years in Yaoundé, Cameroon. My basic concern was to explore how a surplus is extracted from the rural sector. I studied how the rural household functioned in the pre

-colonial period, how it was affected by colonialism, and how surplus continued to be extracted without overt force after independence. I used detailed household surveys from the 1950s, 60s and 70s that enabled me to trace the market and non-market labor times for senior males, junior males, and women, to attribute market values to all resulting products and services, and to estimate how much the 'surplus' the state amassed by underpaying people for their cocoa. I'm still concerned with these issues.

After I got the PhD (Harvard, 1978), we moved to Tanzania where I had the great good fortune to teach economic development and economic planning at the University of Dar es Salaam. The students and I thoroughly enjoyed the adventure. I also learned a sobering lesson when I invited a government agricultural planner to our economic planning course. He concluded his presentation with his belief that until Africa gets large-scale, mechanized agriculture, there is no hope. I was stunned. It was my first encounter with the idea that peasant agriculture is hopeless. Sadly, many of Africa's elite are still convinced that industrial agriculture is the answer, an attitude promoted by the World Bank and the mega-corporations that dominate global agriculture.

My life's work has been to examine the role, constraints, and needs of peasant household farming in the political economic context of a globalizing world. In field research, I have paid close attention to the labor and incomes (self-consumed and monetary) of all household members. I've learned that women in every country I've studied have separate enterprises (farming, trading, artisanal production) for which they must invest their own money, even though they have only insecure access to land and little time, due to labor obligations to husbands and family. The patriarchal and practical constraints on women's ability to increase their productivity and incomes are among the most enduring and neglected challenges to improving rural livelihoods all over Africa.

After we returned to the United States in 1981, I taught in Boston for six years, but didn't find my economics department nearly as exciting as the University of Dar es Salaam, so I was not keen to seek tenure. In 1988, I left academia to take up consulting with FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) and IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development). I worked in villages in Southern, Eastern, Central, and West Africa, as well as New Guinea and Nepal. Most assignments allowed me to teach or use participatory, gender-sensitive project planning, implementation, and evaluation methods.



In 2002, I was awarded a Fulbright fellowship to teach environmental/ecological economics at the Institute for Environmental Sciences at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar. I also did research on the forced transition from traditional flood recession agriculture to high cost irrigated rice production in the Senegal River Valley. Currently, I'm studying the impact of land grabs on agricultural and pastoralist households. I'm also trying to go beyond a critique of industrial agriculture by studying the benefits of traditional and improved agro-ecological and organic cultivation methods that don't risk bankrupting farmers.

Recent publications on work include:

- Globalization, Gender and the Modernization of Poverty in the Senegal River Valley. *Feminist Economics*. July, 2009
- Will Africa's Green Revolution squeeze family farmers to death? Lessons from small-scale high-cost rice production in the Senegal River Valley. *Review of African Political Economy*. September 2012
- Land grabs, government, peasant and civil society activism in the Senegal River Valley. *Review of African Political Economy*. December 2012.

Message from WARA Fellowship Committee

TIPS ON APPLYING FOR WARA FELLOWSHIPS

Every year, the WARA fellowship committee receives dozens of excellent applications for pre-doctoral and post-doctoral research fellowships, residences, and internships. The selection of the awardees is a challenging process because we can only fund a very small percentage of these applications. Understandably, unsuccessful applicants usually ask for tips on how they could have made their applications successful. Below are some tips which, although by no means, exhaustive, should be helpful.

GENERAL

Ensure that your application is complete and that all of the requested materials are submitted by the due date. While your proposed research project, internship or residency may be compelling, the fellowship committee cannot fully assess an incomplete file. The secretariat does its best to ensure that applications are complete, it is the responsibility of the applicant to ensure that their referees and universities send in materials on time.

QUALITY OF RESEARCH STATEMENT

Describe clearly the nature of the project or residency that you will be undertaking. For residencies, how will these enhance the African pedagogy/scholarship in your institutional curriculum and the scholarly development or career of the resident scholar. For post-doctoral applications, explain whether the research project will lead to the completion of an article, book chapter, artistic or creative performance or a discrete part of a larger project. For pre-doctoral applicants, avoid sending proposals that are at the very early stages of conception, especially ones that do not convey a concrete sense of the direction that the dissertation is heading.

Make sure that you *communicate very clearly the larger significance and relevance* of your proposed project. Ask yourself: Why should the committee or anyone care about this project? The committee usually wants to see how the project speaks to ongoing concerns and debates in the applicant's discipline and in broader multidisciplinary terrain of West African studies. The applicant should be able to convey clearly and concisely to reviewers from an array of disciplinary backgrounds how his or her research will nuance standing debates or help us rethink them altogether.

Projects should be *feasible in its scope, proposed research locations, and its activities*. Are the regions and countries that are you proposing to conduct your research reasonably accessible, stable, and secure? Can the research activities that you have outlined be conducted successfully in the places that you have specified?

Be explicit about the relevance and your knowledge of the different languages necessary for the successful conduct of your project. The committee looks favorably on candidates who have or are making effort to acquire the requisite language skills. If you do not have the language skills, discuss the nature and cost of the arrangements you have made or will be making for language services.

BUDGETS AND TIMELINES

Make sure that your budget is carefully outlined, reasonable, and can support the field, archival or artistic/creative project(s) that you have planned. Note that the upper limit of the grant support to pre-doctoral and post-doctoral grants is \$6,000, with airfare set around \$2,500, and the rest for board, lodging and other research costs. Excessively high or low budgets will signal that your project is not feasible within the guidelines established by WARA. If you have applied, are applying, or plan to apply for additional sources of support for your research, let WARA know. This will not adversely affect the competitiveness of your proposals.

Develop a realistic timeline. The grants are not being given for very short trips or long-term field research. Plan to spend two to three months in the region.

Use the West African Research Center as a resource to help you with establishing contacts and helping you with other information regarding research in West Africa.

WARA GRANT APPLICATION LINK

<http://bit.ly/wara-grants>

Informal order: The importance of traditional elites in Chad's governance



I spent more than 11 weeks in Chad this summer conducting interviews about the role of traditional elites in peripheral governance thanks to a WARA pre-doctoral grant. The data I collected, the travels I made, and the contacts I established will be invaluable as I prepare for dissertation research about the mechanisms of politics on the edges of weak states.

My previous studies and research in Cameroon taught me the importance of traditional institutions, especially in areas far from the capital where the formal state is weak. I had also learned that different social groups often respected the authority of traditional leaders from different groups, even within the same physical region. These competing elites, often associated with different economic activities, also had unequal relationships with the central state. These observations led to my research on the interactions between these different traditional institutions and the central state.

To learn more about the role of these institutions across a wider area, I traveled to Chad to interview a range of traditional authority figures, government officials, and Chadian scholars. Over the course of the summer, I conducted these interviews in N'Djamena, Abéché, Moundou, Bédaya, and Kélo. In addition to the wealth of data I gathered in these detailed interviews, I learned a great deal from informal conversations with the families who hosted me in each place and by observing life in some of the country's different peripheral regions.

One of my first realizations was that the line between traditional and formal institutions was even blurrier than I had anticipated: most 'traditional chiefs' are paid by the central state and are technically named by state decree. Yet in some regions, local tradition still dictates who will be named chief, while in other places the formal state plays a larger role in the selection. I also observed substantial variation in the degree to which traditional authorities acted as the de facto government of their region. In some places, traditional authorities are responsible for resolving most legal disputes, allocating land among the population, and collecting formal and informal taxes. They even have their own security forces,

of varying sizes and strengths. Yet in other regions, the role of traditional elites is much more limited.

My interviews revealed the key role traditional institutions play in mediating relations between pastoralists and sedentary farmers. Traditional leaders define the areas for nomad pastoralists to pass through (*les pistes de transhumance*), as well as adjudicating disputes between groups when they arise. I also learned one circumstance in which these institutions fail: when herders with privileged ties to the central state and the military ignore them. Their cattle move with impunity.

I also saw how traditional inequality between groups remains a defining part of life for people in some regions. Divisions between upper castes and lower castes are still de facto enforced in some areas, limiting how people interact socially, who they marry, and what professions they can enter. In areas where traditional authorities are more prominent than formal state institutions, such inequality can effectively have the force of law.

Perhaps most importantly, my trip allowed me to make connections with a wide range of Chadians, including great scholars at universities in N'Djamena and Abéché. I plan to return to the region to complete the field research for my dissertation, and I am grateful that this fellowship allowed me to collect such a rich set of preliminary data and a valuable set of contacts.

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WARA Member Institutions: Don't miss this opportunity to host a West African Scholar on your campus!

Through the WARA Resident Scholar Program, WARA offers member institutions the opportunity to host West African scholars at their campuses. This completion is open exclusively to WARA member institutions. WARA pays roundtrip travel costs for the resident scholar as well as providing a stipend of \$3,500 to help cover meals and local transportation costs. Host institutions are expected to provide additional support in the form of housing, office and laboratory space, etc..

Details are available on the WARA website under Grants & Fellowships. Applications must be submitted online ; the deadline for receipt of applications is Feb 1, 2014.

Africa: The Future of Food? (continued)

In addition to tapping the genetic wealth of Africa, global cartels are working to link both African food production and consumption to the “global food value chain” (their words). Their analysis, emanating from the Gates Foundation’s *Alliance for a Green Revolution for Africa* (AGRA) and the Davos World Economic Forum’s *New Vision for Agriculture*, is shared by the U.S. *Feed the Future* initiative and the World Bank’s *Global Agriculture and Food Security Program* (GAFSP), which is implementing the G-8 pledge from the L’Aquila Summit in July 2009: Meeting in Italy right after global food commodity prices reached unprecedented levels, the G8 leaders addressed the fact that over one billion people were “suffering from poverty and hunger.” Their response pledged new funds for food security, setting “priority actions [to] include improving access to better seeds and fertilizers, promoting sustainable management of water, forests and natural resources, strengthening capacities to provide extension services and risk management instruments, and enhancing the efficiency of food value chains.” Just before the 2012 G8 meeting, President Obama focused specifically on African food production, proclaiming it a security issue: “[Food security] is a moral imperative, it’s an economic imperative and it’s a security imperative.”

These international initiatives call for free access to African genetic treasures in order to breed “improved” seeds, while indigenous seeds cultivated for generations are condemned as low quality. They work to link small commercial African farmers to the global market for these “improved” seeds (hybrid or genetically modified), along with the necessary fertilizer and pesticides for their fruition. Finally, they are linking African urban consumers to their packaged and processed sugar-salt-fat products, labeled “convenience” or “fast-food”—from fried chicken and chips to hamburgers. African food producers have important genetic knowledge for the global cartels, while the urban consumers with a bit of discretionary cash represent a market ready to buy from the global market.

Many African smallholder food producers, however, resist these incursions into their fields, their seed banks, and their production. African governments were unanimous at the 1999 World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in rejecting all patenting of life. Africans organizing locally and regionally emphasize alternative models for food production which already exist and are successful in providing highly biodiverse foods for local markets using sustainable production methods: In terms of yield per water consumed, per fossil fuel/chemical input, and per capital expenditure, their production outperforms large-scale commercial farming. The large-scale commercial model only surpasses African smallholders in terms of labor. It requires less labor per bushel or per ton produced—a rather questionable ‘advantage’ in a world region where there is no shortage of labor.

This short article cannot begin to represent the nuances or documentation of the arguments, and therefore, its goals are modest: to alert scholars of Africa in all fields to the disparate discourses and to offer a couple points of conceptual clarity that will facilitate understanding. The stakes are very high; no matter what our academic discipline, the debates concern the

future of food for us all.

As hinted above, the first conceptual confusion revolves around the term “smallholder food producer”. Those advocating large-scale commercial food production use the term to refer to smallholder commercial farmers—generally those who are planting 50-150 hectares, and who have sufficient access to foreign exchange to purchase seed, pesticides, and fertilizers from the global market. In contrast, those promoting the agroecology approach to food production use the term “smallholder food producer” to refer to the smallholder with fewer than 10 hectares (and often as little as 2 to 3 hectares). Successful farmers (often women) on such small plots can and do provision local markets, but their production is often not taken into account in national statistics on food production. The size differential between these two interpretations of the term immediately signals the severity of the dissonance: setting the former as a goal will most likely require the demise of the latter.

Another critical conceptual issue is the distinction between **food security** and **food sovereignty**. **Food security** asks that a government find the most cost-effective way to provide basic food to its population. For several African governments, that may translate into selling minerals or oil to purchase food on the global market. For example, Botswana can sell its diamonds to buy global food, for its ecology is considered too arid for cost effective food production.

Smallholder farmers and many of their governments, however, prefer the term **food sovereignty**, acknowledging that food production and consumption involve heritage, local tastes, medicine and often, sacred seeds and plants. Food is not simply a commodity on the global market, like a battery or automobile; it is at the core of human sustenance. A key principle of food sovereignty is that basic foods (the “three sisters” of maize/rice (carbohydrates), beans (protein) and greens (vitamins/minerals)) be provided locally in order to preserve local tastes, identity, and most important, indigenous knowledge. This approach does not reject the global markets for such items as exotic fruits, but advocates that basic daily consumption remain as local as possible.

Food sovereignty as a policy confirms farmers’ rights to save, plant, breed and exchange all seeds, recognizing that for over 7,000 years, farmers have constantly innovated to provide new varieties adapted to different ecological zones and to climate change. While farmers’ rights are recognized by the International Treaty for Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (ITPGRFA), the U.S. refused to ratify this treaty, and has worked instead within the WTO to promote plant breeder rights (PBRs), privileging the scientists with white coats in laboratories, rather than the bare-footed ones conducting their experiments out in their fields, as they have done for millennia.

The above policy disagreements have been further elaborated by debates over access and benefit sharing of genetic resources. Both the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD, 1993), especially with its Nagoya Protocol of 2010, and the ITPGRFA of 2004, establish international laws for both access and benefit sharing (ABS) for the world’s genetic resources located in international and national genebanks. The tradition

Africa: The Future of Food? (continued)

of freely sharing seeds is as old as human agriculture and provides the means for experimental cultivation, the key to sustaining food biodiversity. This global tradition is fully implemented and enforced by the public genebanks, national and international, in recognition of the treaties.

In contrast, the other tradition of reciprocity— sharing benefits from the breeding of new seeds—has been neither implemented nor enforced. When a new commercial seed is marketed, benefit sharing calls for material rewards to recognize previous breeders of the seed variety, not just the last one who might have inserted one gene. The international principle of benefit sharing points out that the patenting of a variety, after only one gene is added, ignores the antecedent breeders and their indigenous knowledge. Although international mechanisms, such as material transfer agreements (MTAs) and certificates of compliance, are part of the above treaties, they remain inoperative. These international laws are ignored with impunity, for they rely on funds donated by those who have the most to lose from enforcement of the benefit sharing side of ABS. The governments and foundations of the countries that are possible donors for implementation are also the home bases of corporations who do not honor free access to seed. They benefit from public free access, receiving whatever seeds they demand, only to quickly privatize any off-spring in the name of intellectual property rights. They erase the intellectual property rights of originators of the seed, while enforcing their own. Why then should the international community expect these potential donors to finance benefit sharing instruments that require them to acknowledge their debt to previous breeders and to share profits from commercial use?

How these issues of the sustenance of smallholder farmers producing for local markets, of food sovereignty and farmers' rights, and of access to seeds with benefit sharing are resolved will direct the future of food. African smallholders, working with rather than against nature, offer alternatives to the unsustainable model of industrial agriculture, too addicted to fossil fuels and too deleterious to the environment. These smallholders do need support from their governments and international agencies to flourish with their biodiverse crops (as many as 20 different ones on one hectare), improving production and markets. As Americans increase local food production and consumption ("locavores"), we have much to learn from African farmers, who conserve their genetic wealth and indigenous knowledge for resilient, biodiverse sustenance.



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ENDNOTES:

Nabhan, Gary Paul. 2009. *Where Our Food Comes From – Retracing Nikolay Vavilov's Quest to End Famine*. Washington, DC: Island Press, pp. 16-19.

Mushita, Andrew and Carol B. Thompson. 2007. *Biopiracy of Biodiversity: Global Exchange as Enclosure*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, p. 9.

A few corporations dominate global market sales.

Seed: 58% by Monsanto-USA, DuPont/Pioneer-USA, Syngenta-Switzerland, Groupe Limagrain-France. Agrochemicals: 57% by Syngenta-Switzerland, Bayer-Germany, BASF-Germany, Monsanto-USA.

Food Processing: 58% by Nestlé –Switzerland, Pepsi-USA, Kraft-USA, ABInBev-Belgium.

Source: ETCGroup. 2011. *Who will Control the Green Economy?* (December): 22,25,37.

For analysis of the global food chain, see Thompson, Carol. 2011. "Cartels Chaining the Global Food Agenda – BOPping the Hungry," Pambazuka News, 28 September. <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/76694>

"L'Aquila" Joint Statement on Global Food Security, L'Aquila Food Security Initiative (AFSI), Point 10, p. 4.

<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/summit/2009/statement3-2.pdf>

BBC. 2012. 'Obama unveils US Food Security Plan for Africa,' 18 May. www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-18119024, accessed 7 June 2012.

For example, the Gates Foundation's Program for Africa's Seed System (2012: 1) claims the following: "Africa is facing a shortage of quality seeds. Poor seed combined with climate change will exacerbate the already critical food shortage situation in sub-Saharan Africa. Most farmers plant varieties that were released more than 30 years ago or land races [farmers' seeds]..."

African smallholder farmers' advocacy organizations are too numerous to list. These selected few have a record of over ten years of working in farmers' communities, facilitating policy recommendations from the ground up. Each website leads to many other organizations. Participatory Ecological Land Use Management (PELUM, <http://www.pelumrd.org/index.html>, a network of 230 member organizations), Regional Agricultural and Environmental Initiatives Network (RAEIN-Africa, www.raein-africa.org, based in Southern Africa), Réseau des Organisations Paysannes et de Producteurs d'Afrique de l'Quest (ROPPA, <http://www.roppa.info/?lang=en>), Eastern and Southern Africa Farmers' Forum (ESAFF, <http://www.esaff.org>, with members in twelve countries). Tanzania Alliance for Biodiversity (TABIO, <http://envaya.org/tabio>) is an example of a national network of fifteen organizations. Community Technology Development Trust (CTDT, www.ctdt.co.zw) is an example of an organization with three country offices in one region, Southern Africa.

For example, this brief introduction only distinguishes smallholder farms (one to five hectares) from industrial agriculture that directs attention to small commercial farms (>50 hectares). Many analyses exist for understanding the diversity among African farmers; two are as follows: Mueller, Bernd. 2011. "The Agrarian Question in Tanzania: Using New Evidence to Reconcile an Old Debate." *Review of African Political Economy*. 38.127: 23-42. Bernstein, Henry. 2010. *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change*. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing. Another whole issue of land grabs is also quite related to these debates. The Oakland Institute is doing an excellent job of documenting those controversies: <http://oaklandinstitute.org>

For an article analyzing the food security versus food sovereignty paradigmatic divide, see McMichael, Philip and Mindi Schneider. 2011. "Food Security Politics and the Millennium Development Goals." *Third World Quarterly* 32.1: 119-139.

Notes from former grantees

Winds of change: 21st Century climate risks pose new challenges for West African drylands

Semi-arid West Africa possesses one of the most capricious climate regimes in the world. During the 20th century, the region experienced the most pronounced decline in rainfall in recorded history. Rainfall partially recovered during the 1990s but areas such as the Sahel, which has suffered acute droughts during two of the past four years, remains highly vulnerable to annual swings in climate conditions. An ongoing consequence is persistent food insecurity and uncertain development prospects, particularly in rural areas where people rely heavily on rainfed agriculture and livestock production. The onset of anthropogenic climate change in the 21st century is adding a new chapter to the long story of adaptation in West Africa's drylands. This article provides a brief sketch of this complex and evolving challenge.

West Africans have always adapted to climate variability. To name just two, farmers sow a variety of crops in multiple fields and herders move their livestock long distances in search of available water and pasture. Indeed, such traditional strategies have proven to be far more resilient than certain development schemes that have since failed in the region, such as intensive livestock ranching. Nonetheless, livelihoods such as extensive agriculture and pastoralism that may appear timeless and even anachronistic are deeply embedded in market economies, networks of trade, and modern technologies.

A hotly disputed issue is whether increased integration into cash-based markets is a source of vulnerability to climate change or a potential solution to it. For example, most West African pastoral livestock producers invest most of their resources for household subsistence consumption. National policies that focus on boosting milk or meat production for national (i.e., urban) markets often undermine such livelihood strategies that are carefully designed to minimize the risks associated with semi-arid environments. Moreover, not everyone in dryland West Africa experiences the same level of vulnerability to climate change. Rural communities are socioeconomically stratified with some households possessing enough livestock, land, or income to weather drought years while others are a single bad harvest or epidemic away from disaster. For these households, measures such as better access to credit, improvements in small ruminant breeding would help strengthen their asset bases and provide them with resilience to more hostile climate conditions in the near future.

West Africa's climate is likely to become hotter in the coming decades. This warming trend will have far reaching implications for crop production and livestock husbandry, which will continue to be principal livelihood activities for the vast majority of West Africans living in dryland areas. Hotter temperatures could increase dependence on desert-edge crops such as millet and a preference for goats and sheep rather than cattle. In terms of rainfall, it remains unclear whether dryland West Africa will become drier or wetter due to global climate change. The annual monsoon cycle is part of a complex system that is driven by ocean surface temperatures, which are rising. However, different climate models indicate different trends in precipitation. What is certain to continue and is already being observed by West Africans is increasing weather intensity. Parts of the region may experience a September drought one year and flooding the next.

If rainfall does decline in dryland West Africa, one likely effect is the disappearance of maize from farming systems in areas that no longer receive sufficient precipitation to support a viable crop. Such changes have already occurred in recent times: the droughts of the 1970s and 1980s caused farmers across a wide swath of

Mali, and likely Senegal and Niger as well, to abandon peanut cultivation. In other areas, cultivation could only continue with new, shorter cycle peanut varieties developed by national agronomic research institutes, which have since withered due to years of budget cuts and neglect.

Although rural West Africans will continue to rely on tried and true adaptation strategies such circular or permanent migration and forest production collection, population growth is making these strategies less viable as the 'bush' disappears under the plow. These are not neo-Malthusian doomsday scenarios that occasionally hit the pages of the popular media, but rather the steady rarefaction of certain critical resources such as nutritious forage grasses for livestock. Even in remote, sparsely populated areas, there is a growing need to supplement extensive agriculture with new inputs and sources of income. Popular initiatives such as weather and market price information will continue to be deployed and play a role in strengthening rural adaptive capacity, but the disappointing results of certain schemes such as village cyber kiosks should temper enthusiasm for technological fixes that work on short time horizons. Information schemes, for example, typically underestimate the politics involved with markets, prices, and even information itself.

The most important aspect of climate change adaptation in West Africa is likely to be more fundamental: whether government institutions at all levels are able to function more equitably and effectively. Senegal's Operation Sauvegarde de Bétails (OSB) is a case in point. Set up as an emergency response to the devastation of the 1970s Sahelian droughts, OSB was originally a top-down giveaway of free livestock feed that served as an excellent channel of graft and patronage but did not reach most of the pastoralists who needed it the most. As a benefit of democracy and decentralization, the OSB has, at least in certain parts of the country, become more transparent, market-based, and now involves pastoralists themselves in its management.

The chief livestock extension agent in the Senegalese department of Kanel reports a much more effective distribution of livestock feed supplements, which are increasingly an essential part of pastoral production strategies.

Although rural areas are typically neglected and perceived as lacking opportunities for young people, one veterinarian in Kanel likes to tell young locals not to leave the area for the expensive metropolis of Dakar because the future of the country is in its rural hinterlands. Indeed, rural dryland West Africa should be seen as much for its economic potential as for the serious climate risks it faces in the coming decades. Nonetheless, those risks are real and rural people need access to new assets and opportunities to manage them effectively. Senegal appears to be on the right track in this regard and provides an example to its neighbors about how better governance will lay the foundation for a climate resilient future.

Leif Brottem was a WARA Pre-doctoral Fellow in 2008. He holds a PhD in Geography from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and has worked in West Africa for the past eleven years. He is currently working as a consultant to a USAID-funded climate change adaptation projection in Senegal and will begin an Assistant Professorship of Development Studies at Grinnell College in 2014.



Think Globally, Act Locally

*Making change happen is about starting local.
It has always been.*

We are in the wake of global collapse. The telling signs are screaming out: The West's century old economies of extraction leading to accelerated climate change which today is affecting everything from water shortages to extreme weather events. This impending environmental challenge coupled with crippling wealth inequality – especially in America where the richest 1% continue to accumulate extreme wealth as the economically less fortunate are barely surviving is dire. The seeds of change – the new ways of doing things will be built on local solutions. And it will be the entrepreneurs, the innovators, the doers and the disruptors that will be the ones to set things in motion. They always have been.

Those of us of African descent have special understanding of the power of history. Whether you are an African in West Africa or an African American living in the North East, our family lineage has the weight of economic dispossession. As we move to right this, I challenge us to do it wisely learning from the shortsightedness and cruelty of the last couple of centuries. But we do not have to adopt the ways of what exists now, where so few control so much and resources are thought of as unlimited, separate from the Earth's delicate balance. We will need to learn from the lessons of the last century as we create change into the 21st century.

Our innovation is born out of necessity. We must unleash the confidence that we have the ability to take care of ourselves. It starts with the localized control of the basic necessities: food, water and energy. In Boston a small group of dedicated community residents asked a few questions: why can't we grow food on the hundreds of acres of vacant land that exist within our communities within the city? With so many idle hands and strong demand for fresh local produce can we create self-sustaining urban farms?

Three years later, a cluster of four ¼ acre farms, in this pioneering northeast city, are growing greens and other crops intensively for market. Revenues support the team. The city of Boston has agreed to move some of the more than 800 acres of currently vacant land into a local land trust for more urban farmers to grow on in the future. The demand for hyper local product far outstrips the foreseeable supply. Our older generation is pairing their knowledge with the next generation- and together both are learning how to grow intensively for market, all the while building the infrastructure for larger volume local food production with the end goal for our community to take a step closer to being able to feed itself.

One of the larger customers of this urban farm cluster is a food service company preparing and delivering thousands of ready to eat meals daily servicing the surrounding communities. I point this out because it too is owned and operated by local residents of color. It is an example of our

potential to not only own the production but also the means to add value to the raw materials which is where the true community economic benefits lie. We are still exploring collective ownership models which translate to shared and equitable wealth creation. The Mondragon Coop in Spain shines as one model of how new economic development can be structured and executed. This group of committed residents is committed to show a new way of more equitably structuring enterprises while simultaneously taking back the basic functions of community self reliance.

Let us multiply efforts like this again and again in food, energy, water and shelter in every corner of the globe. This just may be our only antidote to the perilous course we have been swept into.



Glynn Lloyd
Founder of City Fresh & City Growers
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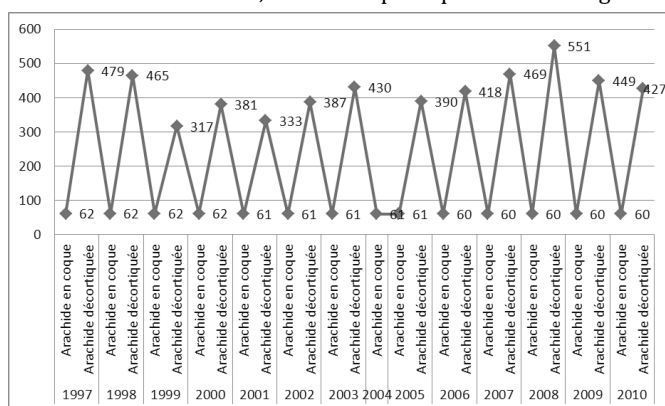
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Agricultural changes in the Southern Rivers: Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea-Conakry and Senegal

This short paper, a summary of my doctoral thesis, is part of a postcolonial intellectual effort to understand and interpret African borders. The hypothesis I defend is one that perceives the border as an economic and diplomatic resource.

Moving from a corridor or a border to a resource barrier, we analyze using changes in agriculture in the Southern Rivers. In agriculture, new forms are replacing more traditional structures. Indeed, the transformation of agriculture is affecting the marketing of products (processing), social organization and agricultural practices. This agricultural revival is due to the increase in cities' demands for fresh products and the development of cross-border and interregional trade. The city and the border boost agriculture and provide it with unprecedented markets in a context of strong foreign competition and technical uncertainty. However, it is in the trans-nationalization of consumption—using the border as a resource—that agriculture in the Southern Rivers is really restored and mutated. Indeed, the movement is not analyzed as a conceptual category, but as a need which arises in the Southern Rivers, the delicate relationship that may exist between the local and the global, the surplus and deficit. At the same time, the movement reassesses producers' prices and compensates interregional deficits. The first conclusion we draw is that a contribution of movement (crossing the border) in the fight against food insecurity and agricultural dynamics.

The analysis of the groundnut sector highlights a deep transformation and reorganization of the entire industry. The first transformation observed is related to working time. It increases, becomes denser and involves new specializations, new types of actors, not necessarily specialists in their fields. The extension of working time also includes local processing of the product. The transition to the peanut butter is not only a transnational cultural dimension, but also adds a significant economic value. Indeed, the fall in price per kilo in the global



market, has led producers to turn to the local market where the price is more than double that of the international market. The analysis of the chart above shows two major events: the economic importance of local cross-border markets and the adaptation of the rural to crises.

During each production crisis (in relation to the world market),

a local alternative is recommended (the border will be inserted in the local). By turning to the local market, agriculture is not a seasonal activity, but a sustainable one. Therefore, the temporary constitutes a profound change in rural areas of the Southern Rivers. De facto, there is a strong overlap between economic development related to cross-border trade, urban consumption and temporal transformation of agriculture. The whole is punctuated by the development of small agro-industrial units, which are artisanal.

A major change affecting agriculture in the Southern Rivers is related to its internal structure. Its family character tends to disappear in some sectors: peanut (pulping), coffee, banana, mango, etc. Organizations or villages based on gender types which belong to a religious or ethnic community are putting more and more in place. In summary, the lengthening of working time affects the price of products and allows the development of local cross-border local production clusters (SPLT) in the Southern Rivers.

The second change which affects agriculture in the Southern Rivers is related to the type of production. The old production systems based on slash and burn agriculture, cohabitation with the cattle, cash crops, are increasingly associated with export monoculture plantations. This shows that the countries of the Southern Rivers in particular and Africans in general have taken advantage of the comparative advantages promoted by structural adjustment policies. They specify the orientation of production in sectors where countries had an advantage. Monocultures such as cashew, coffee and banana plantations have therefore occupied large areas. The downside is that they usually belong to one operator.

The challenge for mutation of agricultural land is that of access to land. Increasingly, urban elites and multinationals interested in agriculture are expropriating traditionally peasant farming communities. In Guinea-Bissau, there is a nation-wide problem of land grabbing. The development of plantation agriculture (the *pontas*), the rising economic value of cashew and inconstant salaries have caused political, administrative and military elites to become *ponteiros* (plantation owners) and, to some extent, deprive the traditional peasantry. The development of monoculture has also contributed to rendering moribund a historical agrarian system and contributed, to some extent, to the problem of food (in)security; because poor marketing of cashew (or other products) most often results in periods of famine in rural and urban areas. In fact, the option of plantations causes and exacerbates tensions in land capital as well, as in Guinea-Bissau, Guinea-Conakry and Senegal.



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Determinants of Upland Rice Farm Productivity in Ogun Southwest-Nigeria



This study aims at determining the factors that influence rice production in Ogun State, Nigeria. We conclude that there is hope for rice production in the study area.

One hundred and twenty rice farmers were randomly selected. These include thirty-two farmers who cultivated improved varieties (NERICA), while the remaining cultivated local varieties. OLS regression analysis was used for data analysis, while Chow-test was used to test the hypothesis. For the determination of production and socio-economic factors influencing farmers' productivity, regression analysis follows the Cobb-Douglas production function.

The most significant variables of rice production are quantity of seeds sown and the variety of rice cultivated on the farms. It is revealed that increase in the quantity of seeds cultivated would enhance higher productivity of the rice farms. It is also observed that farmers that cultivate local varieties are more productive than those that cultivate the improved rice varieties (NERICA). The low productivity of improved varieties may not be a result of lower potential of the varieties but rather due to the incidence of pests, especially rodents. This could be deduced from the information obtained through personal interviews with the farmers. It was gathered that the rodents have preference for NERICA varieties paddy output over the local rice varieties paddy output. Hence, relatively lower outputs and yields are recorded by NERICA farmers in the study area. The study shows that there is a statistically significant difference between the production of NERICA farmers and local rice farmers in the study area.

Age, sex, household size, farm size, distance from extension office, and frequency of extension contact were significant factors influencing a farmer's productivity. We found that male farmers are more productive than female farmers; possibly because male farmers usually have better access to productive factors than the female farmers, who are usually marginalized with respect to gaining access to these resources. Not surprisingly, younger farmers are more productive than older ones.

Household size is significant but has a negative coefficient. This could be a result of over-utilization of household members as sources of farm labour. It may therefore be advisable that farmers reduce the utilization of household members in rice farming. Such excess family labour could be diverted into other important enterprises. Farmers that are operating on relatively larger farms are more productive than those cultivating smaller farms, suggesting that farmers work to increase their scale of farmland cultivation to enhance higher productivity. This study shows that the farmers residing farther away from extension service offices tended to be less productive than those residing nearer. In light of this, an increase in, and more even spread of, the number of extension service agents could enhance farmers' productivity. This is also confirmed by the positive and significant level of frequency of extension contact as shown in the result.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the following are our recommendations for improved upland rice farmers' productivity:

- The agricultural researchers that are involved in the development of NERICA varieties should look into developing varieties with traits that would discourage rodent attacks, or seriously investigate alternative strategies for combatting rodent attacks.
- Focus should be on younger farmers when considering issues to do with improving farmers' productivity.
- Any issue that impedes female gender productivity should be discouraged. Female rice farmers should have the same access to productive inputs as their male counterparts.
- Rice farmers in the study area should consider proper allocation of household labour resources so as to avoid its over-utilization.
- Farmers should be encouraged to increase the size of their farmland as this was observed to improve rice productivity in the study area.
- The government should consider increasing the number of extension service agents so as to improve the ratio of extension agents to farmers, and to encourage better distribution of extension services.

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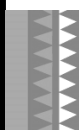
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