

## Scientific report for ABORNE's 2012 Annual Conference in Edinburgh, 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> June 2012

### A. Summary

ABORNE's 2012 annual conference was organised as an integrated part of the program of the 50th anniversary conference of the Centre of African Studies (CAS) at the University of Edinburgh. The ABORNE meeting consisted of 2 parallel streams of altogether 14 conference panels and round tables. These were built by network members around specific ABORNE topics, using our own core funding from the European Science Foundation (ESF). In this way, the ABORNE meeting became part of a larger event and we were able to reach out to the wider Africanist audience present at the conference (ca. 280 delegates altogether), while preserving the distinct ABORNE identity the network members have collectively created over the past years. The annual management meeting of the ABORNE steering committee took place before the start of the conference. During the conference, the network Chair and Coordinator as well as three other senior network members (Prof. Anthony Asiwaju, Dr. Wafula Okumu from the African Union Border Programme and Dr. Mohamadoy Diarrasouba from the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit) participated in a transcontinental video conference to mark African Borders Day on June 7<sup>th</sup>. Following the conference, a group of 27 network members visited the Scottish-English border town Berwick-upon-Tweed for a day excursion guided by a local historian.

**The theme of ABORNE's 2012 annual conference was "Regional Integration from Above and Below".** Ideas to foster cross-continental cooperation as a counter-measure to redress the balkanization of Africa during the colonial period have been around for decades. They were among the key motivations behind the creation of the Organisation of African Unity. Pan-Africanism and other grand ideas of continental unity have arguably made little difference to the lives of ordinary Africans over the years, while their leadership settled into, and often became entrenched in the relative comfort zones provided by recognized territorial sovereignty. Instead, more modest and often hands-on projects by Regional Economic Communities (RECs) like SADC, ECOWAS and EAC have in recent years forged ahead with their own protocols. With the official and highly 'marketable' purpose to foster more liberal movement of people, goods and finances, they have brokered significant investments in infrastructure and policy reforms, often with significant input from external donors. Also the AU treats regional integration initiatives as an important step on the route towards continental unity. It sees itself as playing a bridging role between the RECs, whose memberships overlap in many cases. Despite these groundbreaking developments, two critiques of the integration agenda have come to the fore:

The first argues that it is embedded in a neo-liberal project with overwhelming emphasis on the promotion of capital investment and global commercial flows. This bias is reflected in the sub-contracting of substantial border functions to private companies and the creation of 'frictionless' cross-border 'transport corridors' managed by public-private joint ventures. Borderlands are often construed as peripheral spaces through which these flows take place, while their inhabitants and institutions are not consulted or play an active role in their own right.

The second and closely related critique argues that the integration agenda is typically conceived of, and acted upon, in a top-down manner by national governments, RECs and the AU itself, and with extensive intellectual and financial input from agencies and consultants in aid donor countries. Local initiatives and existing, sometimes century old regional socio-political networks which transcend national boundaries are seldomly taken into account and may even be frowned upon where they are perceived to infringe upon national sovereignty and big business interests.

**The overall question the conference sought to address** was: What evidence emerges from research and policy-making experience in African borderlands, past and present, of regional integration in Africa as something other than a top-down and externally driven process?

Additional questions we sought to address were:

- How exactly does African integration from below arise from, and play itself out in borderlands?
- What are the specific contexts and arenas where these processes are negotiated?
- What concrete links can we observe between formal integration initiatives on the one hand and the ways in which borderlanders themselves build new and maintain existing links across Africa's borders on the other.
- Are the top-down and bottom-up agendas at all compatible or do they by definition pull in different directions?
- Is there anything that Africa could learn from the European experience of bottom-up integration, or indeed the mistakes of its northern neighbour's own top-down approach?

The conference panels and round tables were organized with the explicit agenda to create a platform for exchange and dialogue across two (imaginary) lines of separation:

1. Between conceptual, historical and large-scale investigations of the theme of African regional and cross-border integration on the one side, and close-up and empirically more detailed studies of specific aspects, instances and policy initiatives of integration from above and/or below on the other.
2. Between those more firmly rooted in the academic investigation of the conference topic on the one side, and those working predominantly with a policy-making approach and background on the other.

The successful outcome of the conference agenda is well reflected in the content and diversity of panel themes and individual contributions. Below follows a full breakdown of all ABORNE panels and participants, each supplemented by a brief summary of main results, as reported by the convenors. The full final programme of the CAS@50 conference, including the original abstracts of all panels and all paper titles is also included.

## **B. Content and Results by Panel**

### **Roundtable 5 Years ABORNE**

Five years since ABORNE was founded the network has grown to more than 200 members, and roughly 300 papers have been given at conferences and workshops organized by it. The panel discussed what empirical and theoretical

themes have emerged from the discussions within the network, if there is a dominating ABORNE perspective on African borderlands, and if ABORNE has contributed to a comparative analysis and a theory of borderlands in Africa and beyond. The panelists and audience members participating in the lively discussion shared the views that, while ABORNE has achieved remarkable progress on bringing together the diverse empirical work on African borderlands, the task to formulate and express a summary of theoretical achievements will be a very important task to address in the remaining period of ESF funding. The plenary agreed that the tentative plan, discussed earlier on the same day in the annual management meeting, for the topic of the next annual conference to be held in the Netherlands would be likely to support this agenda.

Prof Gregor Dobler, convenor	Germany	U of Freiburg
Dr Thomas Hüsken	Germany	U of Bayreuth
Wolfgang Zeller	UK	U of Edinburgh
Dr Timothy Raeymaekers	Switzerland	U of Zurich
Prof David Coplan	South Africa	U of Witwatersrand
Dr Wafula Okumu	Ethiopia	African Union
Prof Paul Nugent	UK	U of Edinburgh

### **Roundtable Frontafrique**

Four members from the French borderland scholars' research group Frontafrique presented their forthcoming book "Frontières Africaines: Absurdité ou Enracinement". This book will interrogate the historicity and uses and African boundaries in the perspective of recent works and introduce the actual state of boundary studies in the francophone area. It studies the actors' logic and conflicts in the delimitations processes, the changes from old to new territorialisations and the stakes involved at different scales. It then investigates the integration of boundaries into social practices and local strategies. The study of boundaries conflicts and the AUO in 1964 brings the authors to the representations, practices and political view of boundaries and citizenship by States.

Dr Simon Imbert-Vier, convenor	France	U of Paris
Dr Caroline Roussy	France	U of Paris
Dr Isabelle Surun	France	U of Lille
Prof Pierre Boilley	France	U of Paris

### **Panel West African Border Markets and Regional Integration from Below**

The objective of this panel was to bring historical and geographical approaches together by investigating the dynamics of West African border markets and their implications for regional integration 'from below'. The panel examined four interrelated issues: (1) What were the

relationships between the circulatory and the productive spatial systems in pre-colonial West Africa? (2) How were markets affected by the colonial and post-colonial spatial organisation? (3) How do contemporary border markets contribute to regional integration? (4) What are the strategies developed by regional and international bodies to accompany the development of functional cross-border regions and border markets?

This interdisciplinary panel has contributed to formalize the scientific collaboration between Prof. Allen Howard, the key proponent of the ‘spatial factor’ approach in African history at Rutgers University (USA) and Dr Olivier Walther in Luxembourg. Dr Walther has recently submitted a mobility application to the National Research Fund of Luxembourg, with the aim to spend six months at Rutgers University in 2013. By bringing together two scholarly traditions this research will contribute to develop a comprehensive theory of African economic networks.

A co-publication entitled “West African Spatial Patterns of Economic Activities in History and Geography” is in progress between Prof. A. Howard (Rutgers), Dr O. Walther (Luxembourg) and Prof. D. Retaillé (Bordeaux).

Dr Olivier Walther, convenor	Luxembourg	
Dr Denis Retaillé, convenor	France	U of Bordeaux
Prof David Skinner	USA	U of Santa Clara
Prof Allen Howard	USA	Rutgers University
Dr Marie Trémolières	France	OECD
Dr Philipp Heinrigs	France	OECD

### **Double Panel Borderland Traders**

This panel was constituted out of six individual paper abstracts with an overlapping focus on the subject of trade in borderlands.

Dr Paolo Gaibazzi, convenor	Portugal	CEA Lisbon
Clara Devlieger	UK	U of Cambridge
Hussein Abdullahi Mahmoud	Kenya	Pwani University College
Namhla Matshanda	UK	U of Edinburgh
Dr José-María Muñoz	USA	Emory University

### **Roundtable Theoretical Reflections on the African Frontier**

This roundtable was convened by Dr JoAnn McGregor and Dr Mark Leopold. It involved seven panelists and attracted a lively audience of around thirty. The contributors were invited to reflect on the challenges posed by Scott’s recent provocative book *The Art of Not Being Governed* to Kopytoffian conceptions of African frontiers. The panelists presented a largely critical commentary on Scott, highlighting his romantic anarchism, the fact that his thesis was less about borders per se than about the reach of the state, and that it remains within a paradigm of domination and resistance. Nonetheless, it was argued that his ideas were 'good to think' and particularly relevant to some African borders, where there are notable historical continuities in marginal status underpinned by geographical features, such as the escarpment of the Ethiopian highlands, where it was possible to

discuss such continuities through a 2000 year time depth. In the discussion, the audience suggested that Scott's thesis was re-activating an old debate, formulated by Hyden in relation to the 'uncaptured peasantry', and debated new modes of bringing state power to peripheries in sub-contracted form via concessions to commercial companies and transfrontier conservation parks. It also highlighted the importance of thinking about the diversity of African frontiers, about the need for comparative insight not necessarily constrained within the region.

Dr JoAnn McGregor, convenor	UK	U College London
Prof Gregor Dobler	Germany	U of Freiburg
Prof Wendy James	UK	U of Oxford
Dr Mark Leopold, convenor	UK	U of Sussex
Wolfgang Zeller	UK	U of Edinburgh
Prof Paul Nugent	UK	U of Edinburgh
Dr Timothy Raeymakers	Switzerland	U of Zurich

### **Panel Borderland Bonanzas: Cross-Border Resource Enclaves in Southern Africa**

This panel focused on past and present processes of re-spatialization in border areas in (Southern) Africa with significant, commercially viable resources, such as game/tourism in transfrontier parks and mineral deposits. The panel considered the historical trajectories of these areas in relation to colonial and post-colonial states, as well as the practical and theoretical implications of spatial control mechanisms set up to regulate access to them. Special attention was given to cases in which these mechanisms replicate key functions usually associated with sovereign state boundaries in actual border areas (fencing/demarcating, entry/exit controls for people & commodities along major transport routes, pass regimes, patrols & spatial surveillance, mapping techniques, specific legal frameworks). A tentative plan was discussed for an ABORNE workshop and publication on the same topic, to be organized at the University of Vienna during 2013.

Sam Spiegel, convenor	UK	U of Edinburgh
Wolfgang Zeller, convenor	UK	U of Edinburgh
Dr Miles Larmer	UK	U of Sheffield
Prof Werner Zips	Austria	U of Vienna
Dr Manuela Zips-Mairitsch	Austria	U of Vienna

### **Double Panel Smuggling in Africa**

Smuggling plays an important role in the socio-economic landscape of African borderlands. As long as territorial boundaries have been enforced, traders have sought and found ways to circumvent them and profited from the differences in prices and regulatory regimes they often demarcate. Despite its innovative and vibrant nature, not only representatives of state authority but also scholars often relegate smuggling to the realms of 'illegal', 'unregulated' or at best 'informal' activity. This panel went beyond the dominant normative approaches and instead linked smuggling to the wider phenomena of innovation and 'productivity of the margins' observed widely in African borderlands, while also critically investigating this approach as potentially romanticizing "marginal"

phenomena that may well be seen as evidence of the increasing dominance of unrestrained and deregulated capitalism gone wild, thus suggesting that smuggling in Africa might be better viewed as integrated into wider phenomena of transnational trade in and out of the continent (e.g. drug trafficking, money laundering and trade in high-value minerals), which routinely by-pass state regulation. The convenors and discussant are pursuing plans to publish selected papers from this panel and other panels on the same topic from previous ABORNE meetings in an edited volume or special journal issue.

Dr Kristof Titeca, convenor	Belgium	U of Antwerp
Wolfgang Zeller, convenor	UK	CAS
Prof Gregor Dobler, discussant	Germany	U of Freiburg
Cynthia Howson	USA	Washington
Dr Kate Meagher	UK	LSE
Hugh Lamarque	UK	CAS
Dr Thomas Hüsken	Germany	U of Bayreuth
Laia Soto Bermant	UK	Oxford
Patricia Gomes	Italy	U of Cagliari

### **Panel Musical Borderlands: A Cultural Perspective of Regional Integration in Africa**

This panel explored the emergence and deployment of musical practices across and beyond borders, which offer symbolic images and pragmatic illustrations of cultural processes engaged in African regions. As the general discussion revealed, there is a great interest and relevance in addressing music from the perspective of both its political and economic articulations across African borders. Indeed, such cultural products represent a ‘connective glue’ for African societies, capable of drawing relationships between past and present. They also reveal distinctive sites of market potential, especially in a digital era (one of ‘world music 2.0’ and social media innovations). While musical borderlands unfold in a networked fashion throughout the continent, being generally grounded in the distinctive spaces of its cities, the panel reminded how it is now an exciting time to engage with the productive dynamics of culture and creativity in African urban landscapes. These issues would not only allow Africanist scholars to actively participate in current debates that intensely resonate with both academic and policy-making circles – those focusing on the creative economy – but also to decisively explore and highlight encouraging as well as promising dimensions of contemporary African borderlands.

Jenny F. Mbaye, convenor	UK/South Africa	LSE/UCT
Joseph Trapido	South Africa	U of Pretoria
Prof. David Coplan	South Africa	Wits University

### **Double Panel Peace & War Making in Borderlands**

This panel was convened and chaired by Prof Ian Taylor. It was held in two sessions. Each session attracted around 40 people in the audience. Both sessions provoked sustained and stimulating discussion as to the issue of insecurity on African frontiers and the need to have a more coherent

policy response to such problems. Publisher representatives attended and approached a number of the participants afterwards, making initial enquiries regarding publication of the research findings. The bringing together of people from various backgrounds to discuss the shared concerns regarding conflict and insecurity in African borderlands was a great opportunity to explore common themes and plans were made for future similar discussions.

Prof Ian Taylor, convenor	UK	U of St Andrews
Dr Noah Echa Attah	Nigeria	Osun State University
Karen Büscher	Belgium	U of Ghent
Dr Osarhieme Benson Osadolor	Nigeria	U of Benin
Aidan Russel	UK	U of Oxford
Gillian Mathys	Belgium	U of Ghent

### **Panel Borderland Visualities: Mediating Border Regimes**

This panel constituted itself around the question of the place of visibility in processes of regional integration in African borderlands. It anticipated the hypothesis that borders, both in the past and in the present, need to be materialized, mediated, translated and represented in order to become effective, visible and meaningful within society. Maps, books and photography but also borderland infrastructure/architecture and ID documents were considered as relevant visual representations of border regimes.

Dr Lorena Rizzo, convenor	Switzerland/SA	Basel/Cape Town
Dr Giorgio Miescher, convenor	Switzerland/SA	Basel/Cape Town
Luregn Lenggenhager	Switzerland	U of Zürich

### **Roundtable Uganda's Borderlands**

This roundtable introduced a new special issue of the Journal of Eastern African Studies on Uganda's borderlands. A brief introduction gave insights into how viewing a country from its borders delivers different insights and perspectives into internal processes. The roundtable then addressed in detail three particular issues: the activities of large-scale smugglers (with a particular focus on the regulatory dynamics of this trade), the history of the rebel Allied Democratic Forces (which had bases across the border in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and the history of military intervention of Uganda's forces in Sudan in pursuit of Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army, with a particular emphasis on the experience of Sudanese civilians.

Mareike Schomerus, convenor	UK	LSE
Dr Kristof Titeca	Belgium	U of Ghent

### **Panel Chiefs and Colonial Regional Integration**

This panel raised the following points:

- The appeal of nationalist movements beyond the boundaries of the nation – the notion of a de-territorialised nationalism

- Comparisons between West African and southern African regional integration efforts/movements
- The importance of diaspora politics, including chiefs who fall beyond colonial borders and outside of their original area of influence
- The wider political contexts and key players which shape regional integration efforts

The panel was a very valuable networking opportunity, especially for Christine Pörsel who was planning doctoral field work to South Africa later in the year. It also allowed Zoe Groves an opportunity to discuss with other colleagues working on central/southern Africa.

Dr Zoë Groves, convenor	South Africa	U of Witwatersrand
Dr Michael Kehinde	USA	Pennsylvania State University
Christine Pörsel	Germany	U of Freiburg

### **Panel Money on Borders**

The three papers and discussion in this panel explored how borders are shaped by their monetary dynamics, at different levels from micro to macro. The papers highlighted money's role in the definition and transgression of boundaries. As Guyer noted, they also raised questions about the knowledge and expertise involved in the use and management of money on borders. Gardner's and Bolt's papers are part of an on-going collaborative project at the British Museum.

Maxim Bolt, convenor	UK	British Museum
Karin Pallaver	UK	British Museum
Leigh Gardner	UK	LSE
Prof Jane Guyer, chair	USA	Johns Hopkins University
Dr Djanabou Bakary	Cameroon	University of Maroua

### **Panel Religion in Senegambia**

This panel focused on religion as a crucial factor that has received scant attention in comparison to other socio-cultural patterns such as for example kinship and ethnicity in borderland studies. In particular, it examined how borders enable peoples, authorities, and believers in particular, to construct new forms of social bonds within large networks that determine their use of the border, hence their mobility and resulting connections beyond and across borders. In doing so, it took into account multidimensionality and non-conformity as markers of the transformative capacity of religion when deployed across borders. Focussing on the African context and the peculiar space of Senegambia, the approach of this panel was inter-disciplinary and comparative with a strong historical focus though that took into account the way in which the relationship between religion and bordering traversed the course of state formation in Senegambia.

Amy Niang, convenor	South Africa	U of the Witwatersrand
Aboubakr Tandia	Senegal	U Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar
Mamadou Seydou Kane	Senegal	Gaston Berger Uni



# CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Centre of African Studies

CAS@50

*Cutting Edges and Retrospectives*

5-8th June 2012

John McIntyre Centre, Edinburgh



THE UNIVERSITY  
of EDINBURGH



Cutting Edges and  
Retrospectives

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# CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

CAS@50: Cutting Edges and Retrospectives  
5-8th June 2012, John McIntyre Centre, Edinburgh

Please note that the sessions on June 5<sup>th</sup> are for members of the African Borderlands Research Network only. The main conference begins on June 6<sup>th</sup>.

## June 5<sup>th</sup>

Time	Event	Location
2:00-2:30	Keynote: Anthony I. Asiwaju	Chrystal Macmillan Building 1 + 2
2:30-4:00	Plenary Round Table: Five Years of ABORNE (Session A)	Chrystal Macmillan Building 1 + 2
4:30-6:00	Session B	Chrystal Macmillan Building 1/2

## June 6<sup>th</sup>

Time	Event	Location
9:00-10:00	Registration	John McIntyre Conference Centre
10:00-10:45	Launch of Conference	Pentland Room
11:00-12:30	Session I	John McIntyre Conference Centre
12:30-2:00	Lunch	
2:00-3:30	Session II	John McIntyre Conference Centre
3:30-4:00	Coffee Break	
4:00-5:15	Keynote: Jean-Francois Bayart	Pentland Room
5:30-8:00	Drinks Reception	John McIntyre Conference Centre

## June 7<sup>th</sup>

Time	Event	Location
9:00-10:30	Session III	John McIntyre Conference Centre
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break	
11:00-12:30	Session IV	John McIntyre Conference Centre
12:30-2:00	Lunch	
2:00-3:30	Session V	John McIntyre Conference Centre
3:30-4:00	Coffee Break	
4:00-5:15	Keynote: Frederick Cooper	Pentland Room
7:00	Conference Dinner	Balmoral Hotel

## June 8<sup>th</sup>

Time	Event	Location
9:00-10:30	Session VI	John McIntyre Conference Centre
10:30-11:00	Coffee Break	
11:00-12:30	Keynote: Thandika Mkandawire	Pentland Room
12:30-1:30	Lunch	
1:30-3:00	Session VII	John McIntyre Conference Centre
3:00-3:30	Coffee Break	
3:30-5:00	Session VIII	John McIntyre Conference Centre
5:00-5:30	Conference Closing	Pentland Room

## CAS@ 50: SESSION SCHEDULE

Date	June 5	June 5	June 6	June 6	June 7	June 7	June 7	June 8	June 8	June 8
Time	2:30-4:00	4:30-6:00	11:00-12:30	2:00-3:30	9:00-10:30	11:00-12:30	2:00-3:30	9:00-10:30	1:30-3:00	3:30-5:00
Session	A-1	B-1	I-1	II-1	III-1	IV-1	V-1	VI-1	VII-1	VIII-1
		B-2	I-2	II-2	III-2	IV-2	V-2	VI-2	VII-2	VIII-2
			I-3	II-3	III-3	IV-3	V-3	VI-3	VII-3	VIII-3
			I-4	II-4	III-4	IV-4	V-4	VI-4	VII-4	VIII-4
			I-5	II-5	III-5	IV-5	V-5	VI-5	VII-5	VIII-5
			I-6	II-6	III-6	IV-6	V-6	VI-6	VII-6	VIII-6
			I-7	II-7	III-7	IV-7	V-7	VI-7	VII-7	VIII-7
			I-8	II-8	III-8	IV-8	V-8	VI-8	VII-8	VIII-8
			I-9	II-9	III-9	IV-9	V-9	VI-9	VII-9	VIII-9

## CAS@50: SUBJECT INDEX

### Politics, Power and Popular Culture

I-1, II-1	Africa's Place in the Indian Ocean (Hollyrood)
I-9	Inserting Race, Power, the West and Local Politics in China-Africa Relations (Pentland-East)
II-9	China-Africa Trade: Labour Relations, Global Value Chains, and Market Entry (Pentland-East)
III-1	Labour and Politics in Apartheid and Post-Apartheid South Africa (Hollyrood)
III-9	Electoral Politics: What Long-Term Effects? (Pentland-West)
IV-1	Political Violence in and Around Harare (Hollyrood)
IV-9	Marginalization (Salisbury)
V-1	Urban Life and the Politics of Survival in and Out of Harare (Hollyrood)
V-8	Roundtable: Malawi and Scotland: Current Developments and Future Prospects (Pentland-East)
V-9	African Architecture, Art and Culture; Identity, Assimilation, Synthesis (Salisbury)
VI-9	Contemporary Politics of Culture in Western Africa: New Forms, Norms and Networks (Prestonfield)
VII-1	Parties, Legislatures and Local Politics (Pollock)
VIII-3	Music and Dance (Salisbury)
VIII-9	Roundtable: African Studies Facing the Future: New Players, Different Agenda? (Pentland)

### Histories and Connectivities

I-2	Recent Research on the Early Modern History of Atlantic Africa (Salisbury)
II-2	Roundtable: Christopher Fyfe/Sam Shepperson (Prestonfield)
IV-2, V-2	African Post-Slavery Societies: Practice Discourse and Memory from the 19 <sup>th</sup> to the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century (Pentland-West)

- VI-2 New Approaches to Colonial and Post-Colonial History of the Horn of Africa: Questioning Categories of State, Gender and Memory (Pollock)
- VIII-2 Trading in Evils? Imperial Practices and Discourse on 'Illegitimate Trade' (Hollywood)

### **Religion**

- I-3 Roundtable: Religion in Africa in the Past Fifty Years: Changes and Methodological Challenges (Prestonfield)
- II-3 The Challenges of Transdisciplinarity: Researching Religion and the Public in Africa (Salisbury)
- III-3, IV-3 Religion and Politics in Uganda: Contesting the Public Sphere (Pollock)
- VI-3 Religion, Borders and Transnationalism in Western Senegambia (Hollywood)

### **Development**

- I-4, II-4 Planning and Measurement in African Development (Pentland-West)
- III-4, IV-4 Heritagization of Biodiversity and Governance of Natural Resources: The Case of Water in the Horn of Africa (Duddingston)
- V-4 Roundtable: Technological Change and the Development of the African Economy: Connecting Historical and Contemporary Debates (Pollock)
- VI-4 Religion and Development in Africa (Salisbury)
- VII-4 African Education, Training and Development in Historical Perspective (Prestonfield)
- VIII-4 Learning for All in Eastern Africa? (Prestonfield)

### **Peopling Places & Placing People**

- I-5, II-5 Fencing Wildlife in and Moving People Out: Impacts of Private Wildlife Conservation and Production on Land Rights and Labour Relations (Pollock)
- III-5, IV-5, V-5 The Vitality and Efficacy of Human Substances (Prestonfield)
- VI-1 Perceptions and Perspectives of Changing Landscapes in Southern Africa (Duddingston)
- VII-5, VIII-5 Khoisan Kinship and Society Revisited (St Trinneans)

### **Borderlands**

- A-1 Roundtable: 5 Years ABORNE (Chrystal Macmillan Building 1 & 2)
- B-1, Roundtable: Frontafrique (Chrystal Macmillan Building 1)
- B-2, West African Border Markets (Chrystal Macmillan Building 2)
- I-6, II-6 Borderland Traders (Nelson)
- I-7 Roundtable: Theoretical Reflections on the African Frontier (St Trinneans)
- II-7 Borderland Bonanzas: Cross-Border Resource Enclaves in Southern Africa (St Trinneans)
- III-6, IV-6 Smuggling in Africa (Nelson)
- III-7 Musical Borderlands: A Cultural Perspective of Regional Integration in Africa (St Trinneans)

IV-7, V-7	Peace & War Making in Borderlands (St Trinneans)
V-6	Border Visualities: Mediating Border Regimes (Nelson)
VI-6	Roundtable: Uganda's Borderlands (St Trinneans)
VI-7	Chiefs & Colonial Regional Integration (Nelson)
VII-7	Money on Borders (Nelson)

### **Legality and Illegality**

I-8, II-8	Justice, Order and Rights: Remaking Law from a Legal Pluralist Perspective (Duddingston)
III-8, IV-8	Processing the Paradox: When the State has to Deal with Customary Law (Pentland-East)
VI-5, VIII-8	The Criminalization of Conflict (Session One: Pentland-West, Session Two: Pollock)
VI-8, VII-8	Formality/Informality: Money and Popular Economies (Pentland-East)

## **CAS@50: ABSTRACTS**

### **Session A (June 5, 2:30-4:00)**

#### **Roundtable: 5 Years ABORNE (A-1)**

The African borderlands research network ABORNE was founded in 2007 in Edinburgh. Five years later, it has grown from the original 23 to more than 200 members, and roughly 300 papers have been given at conferences and workshops organized by it. The second meeting in Edinburgh might be a good occasion to reflect on the changes ABORNE's activities have brought both to African studies and to borderland studies. What empirical and theoretical themes have emerged from the discussions within the network? Is there a dominating ABORNE perspective on African borderlands, and if so, what are its strengths and weaknesses? Has ABORNE contributed to a comparative analysis and a theory of borderlands in Africa and beyond? What aspects remain neglected, which perspectives missing? How can we come to better syntheses of existing research, and where should we move from here?

Roundtable Participants: Wolfgang Zeller, Timothy Raeymaekers, David Coplan, Wafula Okumu, Paul Nugent, Thomas Huesken

### **Session B (June 5, 4:30-6:00)**

Roundtable: Frontafrique (B-1)

Chair: Simon Imbert-Vier

Roundtable Participants: Caroline Roussy, Isabelle Surun and Pierre Boilley

#### **West African Border Markets and Regional Integration from Below (B-2)**

The idea that regional development in West Africa depends on the combination of two spatial strategies – circulation and production – stems from different bodies of literature which, until recently, had remained separate. These are firstly, the historical approach developed initially from the case of the pre-colonial organisation of the Sierra Leone-Guinea region by US historians (Howard 1976, Howard and Skinner 1984, Howard and Shain 2005); and secondly, the geographical approach developed from the analysis of the Sahel region by francophone geographers (Gallais 1984, Retailié 1995, 2005, Retailié and Walther 2011).

Despite their different backgrounds, both approaches share a view of markets as both nodes of transnational trade networks and places in production territories, i.e. locations where the space of flows meets the space of places. A general interpretation of territoriality in West Africa can thus be developed via the analysis of two different and sometimes conflicting spatial systems: circulation space, whose primary characteristic is a reliance on urban centres organised along trade routes, and production space, characterised by a central-place distribution of urban centres, similar to that posited by classic spatial analysis models. Despite their critical importance to African economic integration, scholarly work examining the conflicting or complementary relationships between these two spatial

systems has been rather limited. Most studies deal principally with either the commercial or the productive dimension of border regions.

A second point of convergence between the two approaches is that both see spatial development in West Africa as being highly dependent on shifts of trade flows and production activities. In a pre-colonial context strongly marked by shifting climatic potentialities and political unrest arising from wars and slave raids, trade routes and production areas were likely to shift over time. Throughout West Africa, uncertainty has led traders and producers to focus on mobility at the expense of fixed investment. This has resulted in an urban organisation consisting of a very large number of markets which do not vary significantly in terms of size or economic function, whose activity can display large fluctuations over time. This economic organization was disrupted by the colonial and post-colonial spatial organisation: new economic and administrative functions were assigned to urban centres, space was divided on the basis of specific types productions, and control was imposed on migrants and nomadic populations. Independent West African states and development programmes both tended to pursue productive strategies of development. Local entrepreneurs, in contrast, developed flexible and versatile patterns of mobility across West Africa and the world, especially in border regions, which offer a favourable location both for merchants willing to develop transnational routes and for entrepreneurs wishing to invest in productive activities in what can be considered as a form of integration “from below”.

Against this background, the objective of this panel is to bring the historical and geographical approaches together by investigating the dynamics of West African border markets and their implications for regional integration ‘from below’. The panel examines four interrelated issues: (1) What were the relationships between the circulatory and the productive spatial systems in pre-colonial West Africa? (2) How were markets affected by the colonial and post-colonial spatial organisation? (3) How do contemporary border markets contribute to regional integration? (4) What are the strategies developed by regional and international bodies to accompany the development of functional cross-border regions and border markets?

*David Skinner: States, Markets and Islam in the Gambia River Basin and in the Northern Rivers of the Upper Guinea Coast*

For many centuries prior to 1800 states of various sizes, trade networks and Islamic communities had been developing in the Gambia and ‘Northern Rivers’ regions. The territories to the north, east and south of the Gambia River basin had long been sites for state formation, trade and the settlement of Muslim educators; and the migration and trade networks based in these territories extended to the south and southwest to provide additional means for the creation of states, markets, family networks and centres of Islamic propagation. While families from Mande ethnic groups were prominent in this process, members of Wolof, Fula and other ethnic groups also participated. Most of these political, economic and religious activities were stimulated by internal factors, but the intensification of European trade interest in the 17th and 18th centuries contributed to the growth of new states and economic enterprises.

This paper focuses on the formation of states, the competition for markets and the pursuit of Islamic goals in the two regions during the 18th and 19th centuries when Europeans contested with African notables for political, economic and religious space. By the time European intervention began African states, economic production for local and regional markets and Islamic centres had been well established. The Gambia River basin was connected to many interior and coastal centres such as Kankan, Timbo, Falaba, Kukuna, Moriah, Port Loko, Madina and the Sierra Leone peninsula through a series of political, economic, religious and ethnic networks. Subnational and transnational identities, memories, institutions and networks contributed to enduring patterns of behaviour and aspirations. It is the argument of this paper that colonial boundaries created after the Berlin Conference did not erase the prior formations of political, economic and religious networks which will be examined in some detail in the paper. Research about the period since independence indicates that memories about the precolonial era are profound and cross-boundary contacts are lively.

*Allen Howard: Pre-Colonial Markets: circulation and productive systems*

An important tool for interpreting the relationship of circulation space to production space in the pre-colonial period is the notion of social power, broadly defined here to include political and cultural, as well as economic, dimensions of resource accumulation and power. Spatial approaches to power enable us to determine how traders obtained resources to construct and maintain nodes that promoted exchange and also how they employed networks to reach their commercial goals or to block competitors. This approach is particularly important in those areas such as Northwestern Sierra Leone where exchange in market places was limited and where most traders operated out of their households or where householders facilitated exchange among traders. The spatiality of power focuses, among other things, on households where traders and those who organized commercial space extracted the labor of slaves, wives, and junior kin and where such people resisted extractions and asserted their own strategies. Studying the spatiality of power also requires looking at sites where political authorities intervened to prevent traders from challenging them or to favor some traders over others. This paper explores the relevance for Africa of such theorists as Allen Pred and also speculates about the how understanding the pre-colonial spatial relationships of power to circulation and production has continuing significance for the colonial and post-colonial periods.

*Olivier Walther and Denis Retaillé: Border Markets and Economic Networks in West Africa*

To date, most of the literature on cross-border economic networks in West Africa has considered networks in a metaphorical way. The aim of the paper is to go one step further by considering networks as an analytical concept and show how network analysis could be applied to the study of regional trade in West Africa. After a brief review of the literature, this exploratory paper discusses two main issues related to regional trade. We start by discussing how recent development in regional trade in West Africa, brought by urbanization, liberalization and globalization, have contributed to challenge the social structure of traders. We then discuss the changes brought to the spatiality of regional trade by looking at the influence of the spatial location and of the geographic scale on the traders capabilities to trade. In both cases, we argue, social network analysis is an underestimated



tool to estimate how traders progressively adapted to the social and spatial changes of economic activities, notably increasing market relations and borderrelated activities. By combining social and spatial ties together, we ultimately show that the structural position of economic actors can be used to reconsider the centrality of places. By doing so, the relational approach developed in this paper invites to reconsider the geographic organization of West African societies.

*Marie Trémolières and Philipp Heinrigs: Regional Market Sheds, Border Markets and Food Security*

### **Africa's Place in the Indian Ocean (I-1 & II-1)**

Chair: Preben Kaarsholm

Recent restructuring of global relations has created opportunities for a more multi-polar world, and the Indian Ocean region has emerged as a central stage for the playing out of such opportunities. This has involved new dynamics of tension between local concerns and transnational regimes of power. It has also brought to the fore forms of religious mobilisation and popular cultural connections which open up new possibilities for the challenging of hegemonic structuring through collaboration and exchange. The panel will investigate the effects of such trends of globalisation in Africa, which may result in new forms of dependency and subordination, but may also involve a breaking up of the continent's isolation, and the integration of African societies into new transnational contexts for development. The panel will discuss also the possibilities for establishing an AEGIS collaborative research group on the Indian Ocean, which may pursue interest of study in a longer-term perspective.

*Jeremy Prestholdt: Finding Fazul: Counterterrorism and the Securitization of the Western Indian Ocean*

American foreign policy in East Africa and the Horn has shifted significantly in recent years as a result of heightened concerns around terrorism and piracy. While anti-piracy efforts in the Arabian Sea have gained significant media attention, counterterrorism has entailed greater diplomatic pressure, supplies of aid, and military engagement. Since 9/11 American policy-makers have focused intently on limiting the influence of a handful of al Qaeda operatives, most notably a young Comorian named Fazul Abdullah Muhammad. Fazul trained in Pakistan and Afghanistan, traveled regularly across the Kenyan-Somalia border, and planned multiple terrorist attacks in the region. Thus, for a decade Fazul has personified the specter of al Qaeda in eastern Africa, while his ability to elude authorities made him into a near-mythic figure.

The search for Fazul offers a critical entry point into America's privileging of security in its foreign policy. By focusing on the search for Fazul and other high value al Qaeda targets in the region, this paper outlines changing American perceptions of the western Indian Ocean, the complex relationships between the US and regional states, and the repercussions of counterterrorism operations for Muslim communities. The search for Fazul suggests that even though counterterrorism has become an overarching agenda in America's foreign relations, significant investments of resources and political capital have produced few dividends and alienated Muslim communities across eastern Africa. More important, the

Natal Hunters and Conservation Association. In the case of the second farm, a successful labour tenant claim prevailed over the tribal claim and the land was returned to the labour tenants. In this case, the Department of Land Affairs indicated that it could not afford to buy the game on the farm as well as the land itself and the former owner disposed of his game prior to the handover. The now dismantled Khobotho game reserve is currently occupied by the former labour tenant families who are using the land for settlement and have plans for other economic activities.

The article uses these contrasting stories to raise questions about the nature of success in land restitution generally and in so-called 'community game farming' in particular. It suggests that in analysing these outcomes, scholars need to take account of the deeper meanings of restitution and to think beyond conventional verdicts of 'failure' and 'success'.

*Marja Spierenburg: Stuck Between a Park and a Plantation: The privatization of Majete Wildlife Reserve in Malawi*

Recently the Conference of the Parties of the Convention on Biodiversity urged signatories to dedicate 15% of their land to nature conservation. Many developing countries, however, experience difficulties with the financial management of protected areas. In response, a number of private foundations established by wealthy businessmen offer their assistance by taking over both the financial responsibilities and management of protected areas. These foundations boast a more efficient, less bureaucratic approach, and claim that their marketing skills will result in increased job opportunities for local communities. However, they often lack experiences in working with local communities and frequently revert to 'fortress' conservation strategies. The paper explores the case of Majete Wildlife Reserve in Malawi, a national park that till recently only existed on paper. In 2003, the government of Malawi granted the African Parks Foundation a 25-year lease to take over the funding and management of the park; in return, the foundation obtained the right to financially exploit the park through tourism. The reinforcement of the park's – contested – boundaries resulted in local residents losing access to land and water sources. This situation was exacerbated by the revitalisation of a sugar cane plantation which after years of neglect was taken in production again for biofuels.

### **Borderland Traders (I-6, II-6)**

Chair: Paolo Gaibazzi

*Paolo Gaibazzi: Where Have the Julas Gone? Trading diasporas, border policy and scales of integration in the Senegalo-Gambian borderland*

This contribution focuses on Muslim traders from the Upper River Gambia valley and the ways in which their migrations are entangled with institutional projects of regional formation. In precolonial times, Muslim traders known as juula and their settlements along trading routes constituted a major force of economic, political and socio-cultural integration between the Gambia and Senegal river valleys. The juula remained key actors of regional integration after the onslaught of colonization and the creation of national boundaries; however, the progressive marginalization of indigenous traders in the colonial economy greatly affected this dynamic integration 'from below'. Postcolonial (economic) policies of

cross-border cooperation (e.g. ECOWAS, Gambia's re-export trade policies) have also contributed to transforming the position and function of long-standing trading communities in the Upper River borderland. The juula have withdrawn from the socio-commercial networks currently spanning the Senegalo-Gambian borderland; at the same time, by extending their trading ventures across ECOWAS countries and beyond, they have simultaneously become key economic actors in West Africa, thus integrating the Upper River in the wider regional economy. Other border regimes have become relevant to them and help, in contradictory ways, in conferring on the current juula a role in regional formation. The paper shows that an analysis of this contrasting outcomes of the interaction between Upper River traders' long-term strategies and policies of regional cooperation cannot be sufficiently understood within a simple dichotomy between integration 'from below' and 'from above'. The paper argues for a scalar approach to the study of economic actors, states and markets in the (un)making of regional (dis)integration, thus showing the multiple trajectories and configurations that processes integration may yield.

*Clara Devlieger: Bridging the Congo River: Governmental interests versus disabled traders' niche*

Kinshasa and Brazzaville, self proclaimed "sister cities" since the 1980s, long ago agreed to build a bridge over the Congo River to connect these two capitals, the closest in the world. Such a construction, optimistic governmental authorities believe, will bring them closer economically, culturally and politically. Decades of inactivity have passed and the actualization of the project has slowly begun to take shape. Both countries recently signed a protocol agreeing to materialize the project; in the past year the African Development Bank has freed up 7 million USD for a feasibility study. However, local traders see the coming of the bridge as a substantial threat to their own functioning form of bottom-up integration. Between the capitals, disabled traders have built a niche in international trade and smuggling thanks to reductions in passage fees and customs taxes. Given their limited mobility, the ferry that goes between the cities is an essential part of their fragile niche, a form of integration ironically based on the obstacle of the river border. With the coming of the bridge, the strong position and international ties these usually weak individuals have built up over past decades risk disintegration; diverging interests from top-down integration projects threaten the existing and functioning bottom-up initiatives that depend on the absence of higher level interconnections.

*Hussein Abdullahi Mahmoud : Integration through Livestock Trade on the Kenya-Somalia Borderlands*

This paper examines livestock trade as a medium of integration through which vital links between groups on the Kenya-Somalia borderlands have been created. While livestock trade on the borderlands have long been sources of incomes for a wide range of actors, including herders, livestock traders, middlemen, and local county councils, the commerce in this area is increasingly creating communal trust and cohesion and most importantly emerging as a mechanism of regional integration. The paper demonstrates that the cross-border Somali livestock trade is obviously an emerging element of regional integration in the absence of a favorable political environment and appropriate mechanisms. The cross-border clan relationships that always underpinned the trade are increasingly giving way to

multiple clan business enterprises. The Kenya-Somalia borderlands are important for regional economic integration because they connect prime livestock-producing areas of southern Somalia to the region's large livestock markets in Kenya, including Garissa, Nairobi, and Mombasa. There is immense potential for regional integration through increased economic relationships and political stability not only in the Kenya-Somalia border areas but also across the Horn of Africa generally.

*Namhla Matshanda : Cross-border Integration on the East Ethiopia Borderlands of the Ethiopia/Somaliland Border: The bustling market place of Harar*

The eastern Ethiopia and northern Somalia or Somaliland border has a history of instability. The surrounding borderlands are located where the Ethiopian highlands meet the Somali desert lowlands. This border has at least twice since 1960 led the Ethiopian and Somali states to war with one another as part of a protracted and violent territorial claim. However, this region is about more than dramatic landscapes and territorial claims, it is also an area of intersecting cultures. This paper seeks to explain how integration from below takes form and the mechanisms used to encourage it on the Ethiopian borderlands of this border. The paper argues that while state rhetoric tends to perpetuate an image of discord and intolerance, the reality on the ground is somewhat different. Cross-border trade in the region which manifests in the ubiquitous market has been one of the main drivers of cross-border cooperation. The paper will argue that the market is more than an economic activity, but also a significant social and cultural endeavour that transcends the state. The cultural diversity of Harar and its colourful markets will reveal the complex yet bottom-up approaches to cross-border cooperation on these borderlands.

*José-María Muñoz: Freight and "Disorder" in the Central African Transport Corridor*

In 1994, in a review of its previous lending for transport in Africa, the World Bank made explicit its commitment to an agenda built on the concept "transport corridors". Other international organizations have since shown to be also invested in turning these regional corridors into the free, fast and efficient arteries that are deemed essential for the proper functioning of African economies. In Central Africa, these ambitious designs have yielded what many observers consider unambiguously disappointing results. Based on fieldwork dating from 2004 to the present, this paper moves past issuing a pronouncement on the successes or failures of these policies and programs. Instead, it examines how this process of regional integration is being shaped by some of the protagonists of the road transport sector. In the Cameroonian city of Ngaoundéré, the railway-road interface used by most Chadian imports and exports, conflicts over the distribution of freight are the daily bread of interactions between transit and trucking companies. These arrangements are crucially mediated by Chadian and Cameroonian truckers unions and the two governmental agencies that oversee the respect of the quotas agreed by the two neighbouring countries. The paper documents the historical processes that have led to the present configuration and reconstructs the factors that contribute to its reproduction.

## **Roundtable: Theoretical Reflections on the African Frontier (I-7)**

Chairs: JoAnn McGregor and Mark Leopold

This roundtable discusses theorizations of the African frontier, with a focus on long and medium term history, and connections between past and present. Contributors are invited to reflect on theory in the light of their own research and specific borderlands. Specifically, they are asked to look at the challenges posed by Scott's recent provocative book *The Art of Not Being Governed* to Kopytoffian conceptions of African frontiers.

Scott's thesis both extends and contradicts Kopytoff's ideas, and brings discussion into the present. Arguing that stateless peoples occupying the margins of South Asian states should not be conceptualised as archaic and waiting for development, Scott sees statelessness as a deliberate choice, based on negative evaluations of centralised state authority, with marginal groups continually remaking themselves over time in relation to expanding more powerful others and repeatedly evading organised state programmes. Such 'anarchist' strategies include occupying hostile physical landscapes, adopting mobile livelihoods and following charismatic prophets, having shifting ethnic identities, with the propensity to repeatedly reinvent and redefine themselves facilitated by maintaining oral cultures. Scott's thesis thus reiterates some tenets of conventional wisdom on the African frontier, while challenging and inverting others. Scott's formulation has the advantage of simplicity and contemporary relevance because it is about on-going relationships between states and marginalised peoples within them.

This roundtable will consider Scott's thesis in the light of medium to long term perspectives, bringing scholars together to reflect on their own research in the light of this challenge to conventional wisdom in the African context.

Roundtable Participants: Gregor Dobler, Wendy James, Paul Nugent, Tim Raeymaekers, Wolfgang Zeller

## **Justice, Order and Rights: Remaking Law from a Legal Pluralist Perspective (I-8, II-8)**

Chair: Anne Griffiths

*Anne Griffiths: Dealing with Land under Customary Land Tenure: A view from Botswana*

*Julie Stewart: Will Anything Ever Change? A retrospective on s23 of the Zimbabwe Constitution*

S23 of the current Zimbabwe Constitution is a broad and wide ranging equality clause. A cursory examination leads one, erroneously, to believe that implementation, law reform and law enforcement are the stages in equality process. However, s23 (3) contains a clause back clause that exempts both customary law and personal law from compliance with the equality provisions contained elsewhere in s23. Currently constitutional reform is being attempted and indications are that there will be an unqualified equality provision and extensive socio-economic rights. I will attempt to consider how effective such a clause might be in a new constitutional dispensation, and what might be potential barriers to the effective implementation of such provisions. This requires a retrospective on how to date s23(3) has helped retain a discriminatory framework that in the main adversely affects

impact on research focus and approach, and how the research work of African Studies has migrated outside of the Centres of African Studies into the transdisciplinary spaces ‘in between.’ This highlights the critical importance of drawing on perspectives developed in African Studies for the rapidly emerging field of ‘health systems research.’

#### **Planning and Measurement in African Development (I-4, II-4)**

\*Continued from session I-4, see above for details.

#### **Fencing Wildlife in and Moving People Out: Impacts of Private Wildlife Conservation and Production on Land Rights and Labour Relations (I-5, II-5)**

\*Continued from session I-5, see above for details.

#### **Borderland Traders (I-6, II-6)**

\*Continued from session I-6, see above for details.

#### **Borderland Bonanzas-Cross-Border Resource Enclaves in Southern Africa (II-7)**

Chairs: Samuel Spiegel and Wolfgang Zeller

This panel focuses on past and present processes of re-spatialization in border areas in (Southern) Africa with significant, commercially viable resources, such as game/tourism in transfrontier parks and mineral deposits. The panel will consider the historical trajectories of these areas in relation to colonial and post-colonial states, as well as the practical and theoretical implications of spatial control mechanisms set up to regulate access to them. Special attention will be given to cases in which these mechanisms replicate key functions usually associated with sovereign state boundaries in actual border areas (fencing/demarcating, entry/exit controls for people & commodities along major transport routes, pass regimes, patrols & spatial surveillance, mapping techniques, specific legal frameworks). These processes of re-spatialization can be driven by actors within state and commercial entities, but the panel will also investigate ‘subversive’, ‘unofficial’ and ‘reactionary’ initiatives driven by the residents of these borderlands.

*Miles Larmer: Two Sides to the ‘Resource Curse’: Historicising mineral extraction and contested modernities in the Zambian Copperbelt and Katanga*

The central African Copperbelt, one of the continent’s most valuable mineral resources, has been divided for more than a century between two colonial/post-colonial states. Both Northern Rhodesia/Zambia and Belgian Congo/DR Congo experienced major political and social effects as a result of possessing a profitable mining enclave linked to international markets, in what were and remain relatively underdeveloped colonies and nation-states. Both colonial and post-colonial states sought to channel mining revenue for various developmental and political projects and to control and discipline the activities of mining capital, with varying success. The peoples of both regions sought ways to ensure that mineral investment and development benefited them, acting politically to do so. The Copperbelt and Katanga developed distinct regional political movements and ideas

reflecting their particular status as enclave regions within their wider colonies/nation-states, but the unfolding of regional-national relationships was very different.

The extraction of the region's copper and cobalt has always involved elements of cross-border cooperation from both 'above' (e.g. the construction of railways and more recently the flow of mining capital) and 'below' (e.g. the migration of Northern Rhodesians to labour in Katanga's mines). Different colonial legacies and academic practice has however meant that the two 'Copperbelts' have generally been studied in isolation, and distinct intellectual traditions developed in relation to the two regions as a consequence. This paper argues in contrast that a singular approach to the history of these border regions enables valuable comparisons to be made. Commonalities of the central African mining experience that can be usefully examined include the management and later stabilisation of migrant labour; dilemmas in the relations of international capital with colonial and post-colonial states, the complex and unpredictable relationship between mineral revenue and projects of developmental modernisation, and the construction of 'modern' urban politics, societies, landscapes and identities. Instructive contrasting outcomes include the early stabilisation of labour in Katanga and its impact of labour and gender relations; the very different relations between 'autochthon' residents and migrant incomers; the differential post-colonial political relations of Copperbelt and Katanga to their respective nation-states; and the recent impact of the 21<sup>st</sup> century global mining boom.

It is also suggested that such an approach can provide useful empirical evidence that enriches understanding of and helpfully complicates simplistic ideas of a 'resource curse'. Studying a single mineral region, in which both similar and contrasting political, social and cultural outcomes can be observed over a century of commercial mining, may indicate in what circumstances in which mineral extraction may create poverty, conflict and under-development, and in contrast, when it may contribute to raising living standards and meeting the aspirations of African peoples.

*Samuel Spiegel: Theorizing Resource Extraction and Smuggling along the Mozambique-Zimbabwe Border: Transnational politics and fragmented identities in the Chimanimani Mountains*

In a published review of the book *From Enslavement to Environmentalism: Politics on a Southern African Frontier* (Hughes, 2006), Professor Paul Nugent explores the politics of representing borderlands and notes, "If he [the author] had started his work in Mozambique, one wonders whether the book might have a rather different feel." The review draws attention to the complexities of interpreting resource politics along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border but also to the complexities of studying border areas more generally. Using that review's reflection as a point of departure while exploring the multiple choices and possibilities in borderlands research, the present study examines transnational resource politics and identities of labour in the Chimanimani Mountains, which lie on the border that separates Mozambique and Zimbabwe. It focuses on contested interpretations of mineral extraction and smuggling on the Mozambique side of the border, exploring the contention that scholarly interpretation of these issues – as "cross-border issues" – may change depending on whether the study "begins in Zimbabwe" or "begins in Mozambique." The study examines the flow of migrant labour towards Mozambique, focusing on identities

of mining groups in Manica District, where growing numbers of Zimbabweans have migrated and taken up gold mining in recent years. The study draws on multiple phases of field research between 2005 and 2010 on both sides of the border, examining perspectives on reasons for migrating, the dynamics of gold mining and smuggling as an economic coping strategy and the perspectives of government officials on both sides of the border in relation to policing. In recent years, diamonds extracted in Zimbabwe have also been increasingly smuggled through this border area, raising additional sets of concerns about the role for policing and surveillance. The study compares the meanings of illegality in gold and diamond sectors in Manica, contextualizing these meanings within different processes of commoditization and resource governance.

While interrogating diverse “regionalist” perspectives, the paper ultimately argues that meanings of illegality need to be understood as produced by transnational power dynamics that extend significantly beyond the regional politics of national government interactions in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Highlighting limitations of state-centred theory, the analysis investigates the idea of “transnationalism” as a reference to “multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec 1999, p. 447) and I argue that identities of labour in Manica remain in perpetual states of uncertainty in part due to intensifying pressures from global networks. Various converging global movements to stop smuggling and conflict minerals trade, enforce conservation and protect property rights have contributed to the de-legitimization of extraction, trade and labour relations in this border region. The paper thus argues that understandings of cross-border migration and resource flows need to take into account the unevenness in how regional institutions and global networks operate, underscoring how Manica has an evolving hybrid character as a “global space” as well as “cross-border” space.

*Werner Zips and Manuela Zips-Mairitsch: Re-spatialization and Resource Management in Southern-African Transfrontier Areas*

Considerable sections of Southern African borderlands feature a high concentration of peculiar types of natural resources: game and wild plants in protected conservation zones. It has been stated that ecotourism as the predominant strategy of land use outperforms agriculture in the economic sense. Wildlife tourism has become a booming industry in South Africa, Botswana and Namibia, thus turning border zones into economically highly valuable areas. One of the most important initiatives for poverty alleviation and regional integration in these countries has been the formation and design of large ‘transfrontier areas’. Complex governance schemes and elaborate management plans have been negotiated through the SADC framework for more than a decade. However, high-flying hopes for an extensive unmaking of borders as the conceived “scars of colonization” as well as the offshoot for an “African Renaissance” under the ambitious brand of “Peace Parks” have not yet materialized. One of the key test cases for such aims may be found in the participation and inclusion of local communities, some of which claim older land rights for many areas that have come under transfrontier land use regimes. Representatives of indigenous communities have in some cases sued for access to resources and revenue share in transfrontier parks. This paper will discuss emerging forms of participatory governance of resource utilization in contrast to cases where land rights have been denied and allegations have been made that this undermines the livelihoods of borderland communities. Some of



these coined as “remote area dwellers” reproach their national governments for playing a “transborder game” of conservation in the name of wildlife protection through the free transborder movement of game. The distribution of possible benefits from transfrontier conservation areas through ecotourism will also be discussed critically.

### **Justice, Order and Rights: Remaking Law from a Legal Pluralist Perspective (I-8, II-8)**

\*Continued from session I-8, see above for details.

### **China-Africa Trade: Labour Relations, Global Value Chains, and Market Entry (II-9)**

Chair: Yoon Jung Park

Discussant: Kenneth King

*Karsten Giese: Lost in Translation? Chinese-African Employment Relations in a Small Scale Trade: An ethnographic study in Ghana and Senegal*

In this paper I analyse the reasons underlying labour conflicts arising between Chinese employers and their African employees in the Ghanaian trade sector. After briefly introducing the general situation of Chinese businesses in Ghana I discuss the perceptions of social exchange, expectations in employment relationships, and interpretations of the reciprocity norm as culturally grounded and potentially conflictive. Based on ethnographic field research I investigate recruitment processes, interpersonal relationships, concepts of authority, and sanctions and incentives. I demonstrate how and why Chinese-Ghanaian labour relations become dysfunctional under conditions of foreignness, concluding that within the informal economy context of trade in Ghana potential conflicts are not sparked by violating formal regulations but rather by culturally diverging interpretations of social norms, obligations and relevant symbolic significations with regard to concepts, roles and practices. Findings are compared to Chinese-Senegalese employment relations in a similar economic niche. Factors influencing the different configuration of labour relations are discussed with regard to customs, norms, practices and actors. The capability of the involved actors to meaningfully engage in cross-cultural communication has to be regarded as the key to transcending mutual foreignness and solving or avoiding conflicts deriving thereof.

*Alena Thiel: New Actors, New Orders? Changing norms of market entrance under the impact of Chinese migrants in Ghana and Senegal*

This paper analyses the role of Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in urban Ghana as facilitators of re-ordering and potential triggers of normative change. Looking at the social norms and orders regulating newcomers' market entry in Ghana, we analyse three distinct ways in which previously excluded actors are currently benefiting from the Chinese presence in their attempts to become market traders. In-depth ethnographic fieldwork in early 2011 revealed that, while established local merchants in Accra's urban markets express their discontent about the growing number of Chinese entrepreneurs, aspiring traders applaud the newly opened paths into gainful economic activity. Creatively appropriating the new situation, these previously excluded actors have found in the Chinese presence a means to by-pass restricted economic, social and religious networks hitherto preventing them from accessing

the anti-colonialist rhetoric through which they have very effectively polarized Zimbabwean politics and marginalized opposition political parties, NGOs and HR organisations in the last decade, and at the same demonstrate and remind Zimbabweans of their own capacities for violence. If the huge resurgence of scholarly interest in the politics of death and 'the dead' over the last decade, in Africa and elsewhere, has increasingly recognised that the transforming materialities of bodies and lives matter, then the Mt Darwin exhumations and the responses they have provoked, illustrate how human remains can exemplify the excessive potentialities of stuff - what Chris Pinney has called 'the torque of materiality' - and how the 'alterity of an en fleshed world' defies any easy reading and therefore makes possible the very politics of uncertainty and (un) becoming in which they are entwined.

*Joe Trapido: 'Mobutu made us Rich!': Human substances, personal power and the aesthetics of economic misrepresentation in Central Africa*

In Kinshasa, the capital of the DRC, the ability of 'extraordinary individuals' – be they politicians, celebrity courtesans, popstars or pentecostal pastors - to acquire and distribute material and emotional goods on retinues, is said to rely on access to capacitating human substances stored in or about the body. These forms of largesse, crucial to ideas of legitimacy, are underwritten by stable forms of appropriation, rooted in longue durée economic facts about controlling the wealth of the interior and using it to truck with powerful outsiders. Drawing particularly on the works of Wyatt MacGaffey, and, at a more abstract level on the theories of Marx and Keynes, I look at the role capacitating substances play in local (mis)representations of economic activity.

### **Smuggling in Africa (III-6, IV-6)**

Chairs: Wolfgang Zeller and Kristof Titeca

Smuggling plays an important role in the socio-economic landscape of African borderlands. As long as territorial boundaries have been enforced, traders have sought and found ways to circumvent them and profited from the differences in prices and regulatory regimes they often demarcate. Despite its innovative and vibrant nature, not only representatives of state authority but also scholars often relegate smuggling to the realms of 'illegal', 'unregulated' or at best 'informal' activity. This panel wants to go beyond the dominant normative approaches and instead link smuggling to the wider phenomena of innovation and 'productivity of the margins' observed widely in African borderlands. We also hope to draw out the ways in which smuggling in Africa might be viewed as integrated into wider phenomena of transnational trade in and out of the continent (e.g. drug trafficking, money laundering and trade in high-value minerals), which routinely by-pass state regulation.

*Kate Meagher: Lifting the Veil of Violence: Normalizing informal cross-border trade in Africa*

This paper will consider the effects of contemporary efforts to transform CBT into a source of livelihoods and economic stability in Africa. It will examine the limitations of earlier representations of CBT as violent and conflict-promoting, demonstrating their selective analysis and failure to grasp the institutional dynamics of CBT networks. The paper will go on to show how recent efforts to normalize CBT, particularly in East Africa, demonstrate a similar tendency to privilege policy objectives over institutional analysis. Focusing on a

comparison of CBT in East and West Africa, I will consider why largely peaceful West African CBT networks were represented as forces for violence, while efforts to demilitarize East African CBT networks may actually be embedding violence more deeply in local societies.

*Cynthia Howson: Smuggling as an Obstacle to Regional Integration or 'Integration from Below': The case study of women cross-border traders in Senegal*

This paper investigates the role of cross-border trade in regional integration through a case study of women's smuggling networks between Senegal and The Gambia. The cross-border mobility of capital, commodities and traders is mediated by competing institutions of national governments, ECOWAS, protected firms and international donors. The notion of regional integration as a neoliberal project emphasizes the twin vices of corruption and the price distortions that facilitate smuggling. By contrast, populist accounts of West African smuggling networks have highlighted the potential of cross-border trade to represent and facilitate indigenous forms of economic development and "integration from below." This research challenges both interpretations by illustrating the role of the state in facilitating and constraining cross-border trade. While regulatory changes in law enforcement, trade and customs impact smuggling, the role of gendered moral norms, social networks and mobility alter patterns of cross-border integration in unexpected ways.

*Hugh Lamarque: Fuelling Instability: Power and petrol in the Goma-Gisenyi borderland*

Goma and Gisenyi have grown into a single conurbation straddling the border between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). This study focuses on petroleum distribution in the two cities, with particular reference to how traders negotiate with state representatives assigned to the frontier. Thriving off the border, the Association des Petits Pétroliers du Nord Kivu (A.P.PE.NO.KI) has begun to monopolise the second-economy distribution of gasoline and kerosene in Goma, both of which are essential to the basic functioning of the city. Previous studies have shown the relationship between non-state petroleum traders and state representatives to be one of inter-reliance based on threats. The case of A.P.PE.NO.KI is somewhat different. This organization leans heavily on the provision of financial incentives, and relies on a complex internal political hierarchy. Today, A.P.PE.NO.KI increasingly mirrors the top-down political organisation of the local Congolese state authorities, forming structures that exist in parallel to them. Interaction between A.P.PE.NO.KI and the state occurs along a number of tiers that transect their respective hierarchies, and leads to a de facto institutional integration of the two. What results is a horizontal proliferation of domestic sovereignty that carries serious implications for the internal cohesion of the Congolese state.

*Kristof Titeca: 'Strategies' of Smuggling: The OPEC boys in north-western Uganda*

Whereas throughout the eighties, smuggling was most commonly seen as a means of survival for impoverished sections of society (MacGaffey 1987,1991); this viewpoint later became strongly criticized by others who emphasized the strong engagement of the state, who controlled smuggling trade (Bayart, Ellis and Hibou 1999). Agency is therefore clearly placed with elites, who control these smuggling activities. The paper wants to go beyond this distinction by relying on De Certeau's (1984) concept of 'strategies'. This will be done

through an ethnographic analysis of the OPEC boys, a group of fuel smugglers operating between Uganda and Congo. Concretely, their expanding power, and their smuggling activities ultimately made them vulnerable to state pressure and manipulation. Notwithstanding this pressure, the paper shows the continuing strength of the group, in which their marginal position played an important role. De Certeau's 'strategies' are a useful way of describing this tensions, and the 'limited' agency which they have in this 'figuration' (Elias 1987). They are still able to strongly contest the state's regulatory authority, but have to respect the state's power (Roitman 2004).

*Thomas Husken: Smugglers & Revolutionaries: Arms trade and the culture of smuggling in the borderland of Egypt and Libya*

The borderland of Egypt and Libya is a productive zone in which significant political and economical processes are at stake. Thus the image of a periphery without connection to national and global developments is inappropriate. The Aulad Ali are a trans-national tribal society that dominates the borderland between Egypt and Libya and that is directly and actively involved in national and global processes. My paper will focus on the economical productivity of the border situation and its cultural dimension. The permissive border-regime allows an uncontrolled labour migration from Egypt to Libya used by approximately 60 percent of the Bedouin households in Egypt. The most important economic pledge in the hands of the Aulad Ali is the almost unlimited toleration of trans-border trade and smuggling as a substitution for comprehensive economic policies by the Libyan and Egyptian authorities. The flow of legal and illegal commodities from Libya to Egypt are widely organized, controlled and legally regulated by Aulad Ali Bedouin. The activities comprise petty smuggling on a daily basis, the so called Tigarit Is-Shanta (trade of the bag) and the professional organized smuggling of clothes from Turkey, beauty articles from Italy, mobile phones and cameras from China, cigarettes and drugs. The latter are traded from Maghreb states via Libya and Egypt into the market in Israel. The smugglers of the Aulad Ali cooperate with Bedouin partners of other borderlands namely the Bedouin of the Sinai Peninsula and neo-tribal associations in the borderland between Libya, Tunisia and Algeria. In addition they work with partners in the ports and the free trade areas in Egypt and Libya who inform the smugglers about incoming commodities by the mobile phone. The marketing of the commodities is conducted by Bedouin salesmen in Tobruk, Marsa Matruh and Cairo. In Marsa Matruh hundred-thousands of Egyptian tourists, who spent their summer holidays in the balanced climate at the Mediterranean sea, benefit from the offers in the Suq Libya, the Libyan market. In Cairo customers can order particular products, such as chinese cameras, in certain shops. The orders are communicated to the smugglers by mobile phone and the products are usually available within one month.

The profit of the smuggling is mainly used for the economical reproduction of the neo-tribal associations but it is also channelled into the political field, for instance to finance election campaigns. Generally the Bedouin speak quite openly about Tahrib (smuggling) but they also use ironic terms like Tigarit bidun Gumruk (trade without customs). Some political entrepreneurs claim the smuggling as the Haq Al-Aulad Ali, the right of the Aulad Ali. On the one hand this assertion sets Bedouin claims over the rights of the state. On the other hand it is a pragmatic response to the painful absence of economic alternatives. The practical smuggling is usually conducted by the young men of an association at the age between 20-

40 years whereas the elder are coordinators in the background. The young men establish a subculture of smugglers that is recognizable by a certain habit and a distinctive performative practice. Bravery, readiness to assume risk, and a certain romanticism of illegality belong to this subculture as well as the demonstration of wealth by expensive clothes, several mobile phones of the latest fashion and the possession of big American four by four vehicles. Yet, another very interesting cultural aspect is represented by short movies or video clips made by the smugglers the video device of their mobile phones. The central issue of these movies (which are sometimes accompanied by Bedouin music) is the act of smuggling and the illegal crossing of borders. The video clips are exchanged (via Bluetooth) and circulated among the smugglers. The more spectacular and illegal the content the more desirable gets the clip. Here the appropriation of a new technology seems to initiate an iconographical discourse that reaches beyond the management or the organization of smuggling networks by the mobile phone. It also stands for a specific “culture of smuggling” that my paper intends to explore.

*Laia Soto Bermant: Smugglers in Melilla: Cross-border trade at the border between Europe and Africa*

Situated on the North Eastern coast of Morocco and surrounded by one of the poorest regions of Morocco, the autonomous city of Melilla is a territory of twelve square kilometres under Spanish sovereignty since 1497, and belonging to the EU since 1986. A gate to Europe in the African continent, Melilla’s border hosts a large-scale underground economy built on a large variety of cross-border activities, from the smuggling of basic commodities and certain luxury goods to drug trafficking, people smuggling and money laundering. Trade networks across the border are long standing, dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. In this sense, Melilla’s cross-border smuggling networks could be seen as a form of internally-driven, ‘bottom-up’ integration. Yet, today’s black market economy bears little resemblance with past forms of commerce. Largely generated by Spain’s incorporation into the E.U., Melilla’s black market economy is in fact a product of modern economic and political order. In particular, it is the effect of an externally-driven process of regional integration. The forthcoming incorporation of Morocco in the Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area may well signal the end of a large part of this smuggling economy. Once again, the local economy of this borderland is shaped by large-scale processes of international reach. Through an ethnographic study of the different forms of exchange across the Spanish-Moroccan border of Melilla, this paper explores the large-scale political and economic processes that have shaped Melilla’s geopolitical landscape and analyses the ways in which people have found ways to work through, with and around the system in place.

*Patricia Gomes: Building State from Below: Guinea-Bissau in the international drug trafficking*

Recent development cooperation with Guinea-Bissau focusing on good governance, state building and conflict prevention, did not contribute to democratization nor to the stabilization of volatile political, military and economic structures of this little west African country. Both the description of Guinea-Bissau as failed “narco state” as well as western aid meant to stabilize this state by multi-party elections are based on doubtful concepts and assumptions. Certainly, the impact of drug trafficking is strongly compromising

democratization and state building process. However, the most pressing need is not state-building, facilitated by external aid, yet poorly embedded in the social and political fabric of the country, but nation-building from below as a pre-condition for the creation of viable state institutions.

In the light of the last events-the assassinations of the President of the Republic Nino Vieira and the Head of the National Army Tagme Na Waye-in March 2009, and of the Security Sector Reform, the paper will try to give a comprehensive interpretation of the problem and to understand two central questions: how far the drug trafficking concern is penetrating political and military institutions in Guinea-Bissau and how the social relations are changing in this so complex sight.

### **Musical Borderlands: A Cultural Perspective of Regional Integration in Africa (III-7)**

Chairs: Jenny F. Mbaye and Leon Tsambu

Regional soundtracks of Africa have been identified through its contemporary social history, from Afro-Cuban rhythms to hip hop music (from the early days of independence to the inscription of new post-independence generations in their society), expressed by commonly shared experiences of singular urban popular music. These soundtracks provide, to a region and sometimes even to a continent, alternative referents and narratives, as well as different economic practices from those established by national States and intergovernmental institutions in the cultural fields. Indeed, deeply inscribed in the daily lives of people, African cultural productions, such as music, appear to display in their aesthetics and markets, a distinctive regional integration, which can tend towards a novel articulation of panafricanism.

Both symbolically and materially, African musical borderlands emerge and develop on the margins of national institutions in charge of the cultural fields. As such, its participants provide another meaning, knowledge and practice of culture and its productions from those understood by public officials and some of their intergovernmental projects (such as NEPAD for e.g.). From below, and on the ground, African integration arises and plays itself out into its musical borderlands, through historical trajectories of musical practices from Kinshasa to Abidjan, and through organisational affinities of dedicated festivals from Dakar to Ouagadougou. Musical borderlands in Africa have thus integrated to the traditional social function of music, both political and economic articulations, and sometimes even humanitarian actions, which resonate across and beyond national borders.

*Jenny F. Mbaye: Hip Hop Aesthetics and Practices: Redefining West African borders*

Deeply inscribed in the daily lives of people, cultural productions, such as music, appear to display in their aesthetics and practices, a distinctive and novel articulation of regional integration in Africa. Indeed, the emergence and deployment across and beyond borders of musical symbolic and material practices, offer productive images and illustrations of regional processes from a cultural vantage point. As such, this paper suggests the concept of “musical borderlands”, referring to the creation of common political and economic “ciments”, which articulate cross-border solidarities. Drawing on managerial and entrepreneurial concepts to contextualise political and economic practices in the music

field, this contribution focuses on the articulation of distinctively situated cultural practices of “ordinary” citizens that are already at play across borders. More specifically, it stresses a specific geography of African musical borderlands, namely Hip Hop in Francophone (West and Central) Africa, in which a productive community translates in practice cultural dynamics of regional integration, while articulating a ‘translocal materiality’ and developing transborder solidarities.

*Leon Tsambu: Congolese Rumba: Aesthetic interface of regional integration in Central Africa*

*Joseph Trapido: Border Crossing in Congolese Music: Patronage across borders*

This talk looks at the theme of border crossing in Congolese music. Popular musical ensembles in Congo rely on patronage networks; we examine how these networks stretch from Kinshasa, the capital of the DRC, to various else-where's, across frontiers to Angola, South Africa and Europe. Looking at how musicians negotiate this political economy, and drawing on the biographies of patrons - including a diamond dealer in Angola and a counterfeiter in South Africa - the paper will illustrate and examine a series of social imperatives connected to music which necessitate networks across borders.

### **Processing the Paradox: When the State has to Deal with Customary Law (III-8, IV-8)**

Chairs: Markus Hoehne and Olaf Zenker

*Olaf Zenker: Bush-level Bureaucrats in South African Land Restitution: Implementing state law under chiefly rule*

South African land restitution redresses past race-based land dispossessions, which went hand in hand with massive relocations of Africans to so-called “homelands” under the codified “customary rule” of state-recognised “tribal authorities”. While the current statutory provisions for restitution clearly emphasise individual rights of citizens even in communal land claims, in which the restored land must be held by a democratically constituted legal body, those state officials tasked with the actual implementation of these regulations face great problems. In many rural areas, these bush-level bureaucrats are confronted with powerful structures of “customary law” and chiefly rule that persist as complex assemblages of older apartheid-codified “customary law”, the “living customary law” and new attempts at constitutional and statutory regulations regarding “customs” and chiefs. Especially recent statutory trends towards a re-empowerment of traditional leaders further complicate the task of bush-level bureaucrats to implement seemingly straightforward court orders/settlement agreements in land restitution that get increasingly ambiguous when travelling to their target places. Based on a case study of the communal land claim on “Kafferskraal” and 16 surrounding farms in Limpopo, this paper thus investigates how the state deals with dissident versions of “customary law”, while trying to implement its own law implying quite another, domesticated version of what actually constitutes the “custom” of chiefly rule.

### **Religion and Politics in Uganda: Contesting the Public Sphere (III-3, IV-3)**

\*Continued from III-3, see above for details.

### **Heritagization of Biodiversity and Governance of Natural Resources: The case of water in the Horn of Africa (III-4, IV-4)**

\*Continued from III-4, see above for details.

### **The Vitality and Efficacy of Human Substances (III-5, IV-5, V-5)**

\*Continued from III-5, see above for details.

### **Smuggling in Africa (III-6, IV-6)**

\*Continued from III-6, see above for details.

### **Peace & War Making in Borderlands (IV-7, V-7)**

Chair: Ian Taylor

*Noah Echa Attah: Terrorism and Nigerian Trans-Borders: Examination of Boko Haram's activities*

Beginning from the 1980 Maitatsine, Nigeria has been plagued by ethno-religious conflicts with devastating human and material losses. However, Boko Haram uprising is significant in that it has taken terrorist dimension in the characteristic of Al-Qaeda. Boko Haram is a militant Islamist group that is fighting to impose on Nigeria a variant of Islamic religious ideology that is opposed to Western ideology. While there is media hype on the terrorist activities of this group, attention has not been given to the nexus between their activities and Nigerian trans-borders. Security officials claimed that some of the militants, including bomb makers have been training alongside Al Shabaab and Al-Qaeda operatives in Somalia. Some of the arms used by the sect are imported through Chad and Niger, Nigeria's immediate northern neighbours. There are also pockets of mobile Al-Qaeda affiliates in Chad and Niger, suspected to be providing the training and materials, for bombings and guerrilla attacks. STRATFOR also said some Boko Haram recruits were seen in Al-Qaeda training camps near the Niger-Mauritania border as well as in Burkina Faso and Niger. This paper examines how Nigerian trans-borders, especially the northern borders have been providing the groundswell for Boko Haram's terrorism. This will be done by analysing data collected from the field study.

*Karen Buscher: Micro-level Impacts of Managing, Controlling and Securing the Congo-Rwandan border: The case of transborder mobility in the Goma-Gisenyi borderland*

Since 2009, reinforced diplomatic ties between the DR Congo and Rwanda have resulted in changing political and economic transborder relations. The rapprochement between the presidents Kabila and Kagame aimed at regional security, the restoration of political trust and the reactivation of economic cooperation. Despite the recent turmoil in the region, this



peace-deal seems to hold until present. The most discussed outcome of this deal were the several joint military operations to eliminate the Rwandan armed rebel group operating on Congolese territory. But also on a more local level, this deal impacted on transborder dynamics, as it was translated into a new bilateral effort to install a better 'border management. On the one hand, the changing border regime supported a further 'opening' of the border, on the other hand it resulted in a more severe control and regulation of transborder mobility and trade. Several initiatives were undertaken to reinstall order and security in this urban borderland. In this paper, the author investigates the spatial, political and economic impact of these measures on local, every-day practices of border crossing. The paper is based on extensive ethnographic research on social and economic transborder mobility between the cities of Goma (RD Congo) and Gisenyi (Rwanda). The central focus will thus be on local agency and popular responses to a changing border management.

*Osarhieme Benson Osadolor: Trans-border Security Dilemma in West Africa: The proliferating trade in arms and emerging terrorist networks*

Across West Africa's international boundaries, the regional efforts in controlling arms deal and illegal trafficking in weapons has yielded little or no results. One consequence of this dilemma is that the proliferating trade in arms had provoked and prolonged armed conflicts and civil wars, and undermined to a great extent, peace initiatives in resolving such conflicts. The trans-border smuggling of illegal arms had raised the issue of regulation and shipment of arms to West Africa. This paper provides a critical appraisal of the contentious issues in the negotiation of a legally binding international instrument to combat illicit trafficking in firearms, which had aided groups to fight regional and local terrorist struggles. In complex relations, this problem connects trans-border security issues in West Africa with the search for peace, stability and security in the region, not least of which is the concern for post-conflict peace-building and the processes of disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR). While this in itself illustrates the security challenges, of greater concern is the emerging terrorist networks, their training bases and cross-border nature of conflicts. Exploiting the porous borders of West Africa, Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb has spread its operations to the Sahelian belt, including Nigeria where fears have been heightened by the high impact terrorist attacks of Boko Haram.

*Aidan Russel: Integration through Conflict in the Borderlands of the Great Lakes*

The former Belgian territories in Africa parted ways suddenly and fractiously in the 1960s. Burundi and Rwanda, both in popular sentiment and national politics, rejected the federation intended for them at the highest levels of international governance, and Congo swiftly saw its own independent unity disintegrate, all while the rhetoric of regional integration, "la grand famille belge" and the promises of a united East Africa flowed as strongly as ever. But as state relations were driven further apart in the ensuing conflicts in the region, those involved in violence in the borderlands found practical and political motivations to invest in cooperation, both in the pursuit of violent goals and in escape from them. The mixed experience of refuge and rejection felt by those who crossed borders seeking asylum is contrasted remarkably with the functioning cooperation between individuals and groups who crossed as combatants, whether Rwandan inyenzi and Congolese simbas or those local people in Burundi who aided and joined their activities as

common is that they forcefully challenge any simplistic notions of technological diffusion and economic development. As Timothy Mitchell writes, "the practices that form the economy operate, in part, to establish equivalences, contain circulations, identify social actors or agents, make quantities and performances measurable, and designate relations of control and command". This panel will use Mitchell's approach as a building block on which to understand how technological change reshapes our understandings about how the economy operates, the way in which the economy is measured and the way in which economic space is territorialised, both socially and spatially. It will therefore look critically at how contemporary ICT diffusions compare with earlier technological and economic 'revolutions'. It will analyse past and current aspects of control over/use of these new technologies and will interrogate connections between patterns of communication/interaction and imagined social, economic and political identities - within, between and beyond African borders. How do we conceive of technology interacting with theories of economic development? How do new technologies of measurement and visibility change economic theory and practice? How do different kinds of technologies come to 'perform' the economy? How have these technologies territorialized or de-territorialized economic space?

Roundtable Participants: Laura Mann, Nathan Dobson, Jim Murphy, Pádraig Carmody, Gina Porter, Carol Summers, Evelyn Owen, Lawrence Dritsas, Mark Graham and Casper Andersen

### **The Vitality and Efficacy of Human Substances (III-5, IV-5, V-5)**

\*Continued from III-5, see above for details.

### **Border Visualities: Mediating Border Regimes (V-6)**

Chair: Lorena Rizzo and Giorgio Miescher

This panel constitutes itself around the question of the place of visibility in processes of regional integration in African borderlands. It anticipates the hypothesis that borders, both in the past and in the present, need to be materialized, mediated, translated and represented in order to become effective, visible and meaningful within society. The genesis of borders is typically linked to the production of a wide range of images and visual representations. Maps figure most prominently in this context and they probably constitute the par excellence visual technology in the imposition of spatial regimes by colonial and post-colonial states. Yet, as critical work on cartography in Africa has shown, the production of maps was a complicated project involving colonial as much as African agents and synthesizing various sources of geographical expertise and knowledge production. Maps circulated widely: in books, atlases and in large formats on walls; but the ways in which maps transcended their intended arenas of circulation, how they moved into unexpected and less visible spaces of vision and consumption, how they have alternatively been interpreted and used remains to be explored in scholarly work. There are further elements of the visual imagination of space this panel would like to engage with. Photography was another medium that became crucial and aerial photography in particular emerged as a means which enabled colonial administrations and postcolonial states to ascertain control and surveillance over borderlands, both within processes of state constitution as much as in the context of counter-insurgency, forced submission and war. Yet there were other, less

spectacular forms of photographic integration of borders and border regimes. We might think e.g. of the abundance of photographs in colonial archives showing border posts, border signs, border fences, etc. These images constitute specific visual narratives about borders and the constitution of organized space, and they mediate the presence of borders throughout society and far beyond the limitation of the border's actual existence on the ground. Indeed, the replication of the material presence of the border as a way of imposing its meaning, in geographical, socio-political as well as symbolic realms, is a general question this panel wants to address. Beyond the photographic representation, further visual strategies emerge in this context. Border architectures e.g. bureaucratic spaces associated with border regimes become of concern here. Immigration offices, customs, police institutions regulating the movement of goods and people across borders were important sites, where the presence of border regimes became visible, perceivable and meaningful to citizens and subject long before they would actually move into the border areas.

*Lorena Rizzo: Passports and the Imposition of Individualization Border Regimes in Southern Africa*

This paper is concerned with citizenship, nationality and belonging in early 20<sup>th</sup> century southern Africa. It approaches these issues through the lens of visibility and looks at applications for passports, permits and identity certificates issued in the 1920s and 30s. Trans-regional migration informed and precipitated a particular articulation of South African nation and nationality. Indeed, South African Union in 1910 was grounded in an idea of a 'white man's land', which throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century determined the racial hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion into the political body of the nation-state, and led to the relegation of aliens, undesirables and those classified as 'natives' to a status of political minority. Strategically the politics of nationality entailed a structural bifurcation into an internal system of passes and permits, primarily directed at the control of African mobility throughout the southern African region, and an external system of passports and identity certificates. Against the logics of these racialised bureaucratic regimes, men and women continued to move between both systems, and once they applied for documents of transit and identity they used photography as a space and medium for the articulation of alternative narratives of personhood, citizenship and belonging.

*Giorgio Miescher: Visual Empire: Making and unmaking borders, constituting common space in Southern Africa*

The paper analyses a set of visual representations of the South African military campaign into German South West Africa in 1915. This campaign is analysed in terms of an imperial expansion and approached through the lens of visibility. Elaborating on an album produced by the Kimberley based photographer Alfred Duggan-Cronin, cartoons, photographs, and maps kept in the Transnet Heritage Library in Johannesburg, the paper traces the ways in which the visual representation of the war favoured a distinct articulation of an imagined imperial space. The analysis of visualised imaginaries is firmly anchored in an inquiry of materiality, and hence considers the importance of the railway system as the technology, vehicle and medium for a dramatic South African expansion in the region.

*Luregn Lenggenhager: Creating Nature Space: Visual practices and demarcations in the region of the Kaza Peace Park*

The establishment of the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area or Kaza Peace Park, a vast transnational conservation area, not only has conservational impacts but also shapes the already complex border structures of the region. In this paper I will elaborate on visual practices used to promote new and diminish already existing borders in the name of nature conservation. The paper focuses on the practice of mapping while also addressing other visual practices such as photography. By doing so I will trace back earlier attempts of creating “visual conservation areas” in the Namibian Caprivi and discuss the interdependences between the visual promotion of borders and spaces and other practices used to create conservation areas.

### **Peace & War Making (IV-7, V-7)**

\*Continued from IV-7, see above for details.

### **Roundtable: Malawi and Scotland: Current Developments and Future Prospects (V-8)**

Chair: Gerhard Anders

A debate on current developments and future prospects in Malawi and Scotland with academics, politicians, community-leaders and activists from Malawi and Scotland.

Roundtable Participants: Edge Kanyongolo, Ken Ross, Thandika Mkandawire, Watipaso Mkandawire and John Lwanda

### **African Architecture, Art and Culture; Identity, Assimilation, Synthesis (V-9)**

Chair: Ola Uduku

This panel seeks to provide a session for researchers involved in African cultural discourses, particularly in Architecture and the allied creative professions, to reflect on the relationship of creativity and culture to the African historical narrative in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Drawing from the pre-colonial imagery of the ‘dark, savage’ cultures, to the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century ‘golden’ period of Modernity and progress, as symbolised in the architecture, and culture of the time, panel contributions will also focus on contemporary African ‘cultures’ of assimilation, synthesis and association with the local as well as the wider global connectedness of cultures, physical and digital.

*Zachary Kingdon: Krio/Saro (Euro-African) Material Culture: The Aku Queen Victoria*

A number of museums in Europe and America hold carved wooden portrait figures of Queen Victoria within their African ethnography collections. Most of these are classified as Yoruba and they all appear to date from the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was a period of political upheaval and British colonial intervention during which an inclusive ‘Yoruba’ identity had not yet been fully established. Many of the historical and art historical issues raised by the existence of these figures have not been adequately recognised or addressed in the existing literature, including their technical and stylistic qualities, the disparate places

*Lahra Smith and Leonardo Arriola: The Political Economy of Localized Communal Conflicts in Ethiopia*

Under what conditions does violence erupt in multiethnic communities? We examine this question in the context of Ethiopia. Using an original database of communal conflicts from across the country, we explore competing hypotheses that attribute such conflicts to institutional, cultural, and resource factors. We suggest that an improved understanding of communal conflicts in countries like Ethiopia requires theoretical and empirical clarification on how demographic and resource pressures interact with institutional changes. While the Ethiopian districts we examine vary considerably in levels of ethnic diversity and land productivity, decentralizing reforms adopted in the past two decades years have empowered all districts to make decisions over budget expenditures, land use, and agricultural inputs. And we suggest that a district's authority over land and water becomes a critical issue during the prolonged periods of scarcity often confronted in a country that depends on rain-fed agriculture. Whether local groups monopolize or share control of district administration may therefore be driving the outbreak of violence between them.

**Religion, Borders and Transnationalism in Western Senegambia (VI-3)**

Chair: Amy Niang

This panel focuses on religion as a crucial factor that has received scant attention in comparison to other socio-cultural patterns such as for example kinship and ethnicity in borderland studies. In particular, it examines how borders enable peoples, authorities, and believers in particular, to construct new forms of social bonds within large networks that determine their use of the border, hence their mobility and resulting connections beyond and across borders. In doing so, it takes into account multidimensionality and non-conformity as markers of the transformative capacity of religion when deployed across borders. Focussing on the African context and the peculiar space of Senegambia, the approach of this panel is inter-disciplinary and comparative with a strong historical focus though that enables to take into account the way in which the relationship between religion and bordering traversed the course of state formation in Senegambia.

Religion as it relates to the material world is one of the most powerful symbolic and identity (re)sources mobilised in the legitimisation of social action. In the form of boundaries or demarcating lines borders are used to delineate a specific national identity in opposition to others as well as in the legitimisation of political order making and action or non action. In the form of social spaces, borders as borderlands are very important symbolic and identity landscapes in which specific communities and claims are constructed and opposed to remote and adjacent territories. In this case, they can be identity zones or basins, loci of symbolic articulations and practices that challenge or reinforces political order making and / or several social individual and collective activities such as migration, trade, worship, crime, conflict, war, agriculture, cooperation, etc.

Religion, or faith in general, is considered here as a transborder and transnational process that challenges or suspends physical borders as well as shakes cultural and faith boundaries. Just as other cultural and symbolic phenomena, religion or faith is interrogated as a repertoire of ideas, actions, beliefs and discourses, and as a legitimating base for border and

transborder practices such as pilgrimage, weddings, funerals, and other religious celebrations such as the ziarra well-known in the Saharan and Sahelian Sufi spaces. Particular attention is given to the role of local and remote actors as well (believers, religious authorities and leaders, administrative authorities, traditional legitimacies, traders, diplomats, tourists, researchers, etc) and the hierarchies that organise and connect them in the transborder religious dynamics. How these hierarchies are affected by religious or faith based actions is also of importance. How are these hierarchies created and changed? What are their effect and that of religion and religiosity on the (trans)boundary, transnational, social-cultural and political configurations? To what extent and how does religion and religiosity and their various effects impact on borders and border regimes? To what extent this effect relates to or influences regional integration or regionalist processes?

From a historical standpoint it would be important to consider the potential or actual contribution of religious movements and dynamics on the construction and / or deconstruction of physical borders or Senegambian polities as well as on the political and social projects around them such as regional integration top-down and bottom-up. The acceptance or rejection of such borders as well as the formation of cultural boundaries in these polities is also of concern throughout pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial eras. Today, concern is much more specifically on the effect of transboundary or transnational religious movements and practices on regionalism and even trans-regionalism in Africa and the world (kinbanguism, Pentecostal churches, Sufi brotherhoods, etc).

*Amy Niang: Belief, Belonging and the Ballot: Religious identity and political positioning under the Alternance regime*

Mobility and adaptation have been dynamic aspects of religious movements in West Africa. Believers construct systems of meaning through realignments of socio-cultural orders to the changing imperatives of religious practices on the one hand, and the possibilities for new forms of realisation, subjectification and projection enabled by the integration of religious movements in cross-border economies. This paper examines the complex social experience of transnational, transborder believers in West Africa as they cross boundaries, physical, cultural, conceptual and imaginary, institutional structures and normative models. More specifically, the paper seeks to explore how belonging and affiliation are embedded in a multiplicity of spaces and frames that are transcended by a commitment to a discourse of life and redemption. How does religion, as a transnational and transborder phenomenon, challenge, destabilise, transform and restructure traditional notions of border (physical, conceptual, spiritual)? How does religious mobility affect the political economy of cross-border proselytising activities, the recruiting and the adhesion of new members into large networks? How do religious movements fit, and transform 'informal' modes of integration? Examples will be drawn from the Senegambian Basin and the Voltaic regions, particularly looking at the network of Ibrahima Niass (Sufi order) disciples across the region.

*Mamadou Seydou Kane: Religion and De-Bordering Practices in the Senegal River Valley: Local populations and refugees in the cross-border area of the Thillé Boubacar District*

The Senegal-Mauritania borderland is mainly peopled by local and refugee populations belonging to the transboundary Halpulaaren community. This area, known as the Senegal

River Valley, has historically been the theatre of enduring border processes, and also a buffer zone since the earliest times of Islamic expansion. Religion is therefore a significant dimension of the border life of these communities. It affects the ways in which the Senegal Valley populations relate to, and use the border, even when other factors such as political power and social processes are at work. This paper seeks to examine how and to what extent references to, and practices inspired by, religion are mobilized in debordering discourse and practices such as land claims, crossing, trading, smuggling, etc., and in regulating cross-border interactions and frictions.

*Aboubakr Tandia: Religion and the (De)legitimation of Cross-Border Integration in Western Senegambia*

Micro-regionalism as a popularly made and oriented trend in post Cold War regionalism is characterised by its de facto consistence and formation that draws from both material and identity resources. Within border studies, borders are seen as being themselves part of those resources, if they do not constitute the objects of other resources used to legitimise the various functions they are given as barriers, bridges, and symbols of identity. As institutions and social processes, borders are used by state and non-state actors with various and sometimes competing goals of (de)legitimation of sociopolitical practices such as regional integration at different scales. In this vein, among other social and cultural resources and practices, religion, or faith as a whole, has been an important (re)source in the (de)legitimation of regional integration initiatives, through the building of integrated or alienated borderlands for instance. Inter-state organizations often surf on faith-based arguments to enlarge or enclose. Local governments and collectivities in border regions also use symbolic resources in their daily and so-called “informal” bursts of transborder integration. This paper focuses on religion as one of those symbolic resources that seldom received attention in comparison to kinship or ethnicity for instance.

#### **Religion and Development in Africa (VI-4)**

Chair: Caroline Valois

*Carolina Rosis: Social Exclusion and Social Ties among Women living with HIV? The involvement of local self-help religious associations in the struggle against HIV/AIDS in the Ethiopian city of Gondar (the case of senbäties)*

The paper discusses the involvement of Christian Orthodox self-help associations in the fight against HIV/AIDS at Gondar, North West Ethiopia. It situates this case study in a broader analysis of the ways in which Ethiopian religious Orthodox institutions, in continuity with their history of action in addressing socio-economic problems, have taken part in the management of the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Ethnographic surveys, conducted in Gondar around three types of self-help associations: Christian Orthodox (*sənbəte*), Muslim (*zəməṛiya*), and non-religious (*iddir*), analyse the gradual involvement of nine *sənbəte* and four *iddir* in the management of HIV mass treatment and support programmes. These associations, whose social dynamics mirror types of social exclusion found in Gondar society, foster forms of solidarity between members around life events ranging from baptisms to funerals.

attempt to entangle the different interests at stake in order to shed light on the difficulties that African actors, however committed they may be to the international norm of justice, encounter in trying to implement it. It will also show that the lines of division, in this affair, have been moving and cut across the too-often expected West vs. Africa opposition.

*Sabine Höhn: Justice and Sovereignty in the ICC's Kenya Case*

This paper looks at the significance of the ICC Kenya case. It argues that the criminal investigation of postelection violence indicates that law is becoming an important way to think about political violence generally. The paper shows that the Kenya case came out of a combination of interests of Kenyan nonstate actors, international donors and the ICC. Kenyans saw in international justice a chance to circumvent the biased domestic judiciary and it provided international donors with the opportunity to coordinate their responses to fraudulent elections. The ICC could address previous criticisms of biased investigations by using the evidence collected domestically to indict the same number of suspects on both sides. The paper suggests that there is another factor contributing to the decision to open investigations. International criminal justice is increasingly seen as instrument to promote the rule of law and liberal democracy more broadly. In this context prosecuting violence in a state where political alliance is organised through patrimonial networks is significant. It indicates that it is the particular way of doing politics that rendered the violence prosecutable and that is therefore implicitly tried in court.

*Nigel Eltringham: Victor's Justice: The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*

Over 2,000, predominantly Rwandan, witnesses have given testimony at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (located in Arusha, Tanzania) since 1996. Judges and lawyers comment that witnesses are unable to answer questions clearly; cannot comment on maps or photographs; recall dates or times; or estimate distances or quantities. This paper seeks to explore (drawing on trial observation and interviews), how lawyers and judges explain these difficulties. On one hand, 'Rwandan culture' is evoked: 'It's their culture not to reveal everything' or 'Rwandans are not used to narrative storytelling'. Such assertions support the position that international criminal justice is an imposition on Africa. On the other hand, the lawyer who says Rwandans are not used to narrative storytelling will also note that simultaneous translation prevents her from eliciting the (truncated) narrative she requires. The actual impediment ('culture' or 'translation') becomes unclear. Likewise, other lawyers and judges eschew the cultural explanation altogether, blaming, for example, a lack of clarity in questions asked by lawyers. Finally, African judges and lawyers, while acknowledging a degree of particularity, believe that non-African colleagues exaggerate 'cultural' differences. By attending to the views of judges and lawyers the paper simultaneously explores why 'culture' is evoked as a convenient explanation, but also why there can be no certainty that difficulties are due to Rwandan 'culture'.

**Roundtable: Uganda's Borderlands (VI-6)**

Chair: Mareike Schomerus

This roundtable introduces the special issue of the Journal of Eastern African Studies on Uganda's borderlands. A brief introduction will give insights into how viewing a country



from its borders delivers different insights and perspectives into internal processes. The roundtable will then in detail three particular issues taken: the activities of large-scale smugglers (with a particular focus on the regulatory dynamics of this trade), the history of the rebel Allied Democratic Forces (which had bases across the border in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and the history of military intervention of Uganda's forces in Sudan in pursuit of Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army, with a particular emphasis on the experience of Sudanese civilians.

Roundtable Participants: Koen Vlassenroot and Kristof Titeca

### **Chiefs & Colonial Regional Integration (VI-7)**

Chair: Zoe Groves

*Zoe Groves: Transnational Migration and Pan-African Movements: The case of the Central African Federation, 1953-1963*

The Federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was declared in 1953, linking the three central African territories politically and economically. The decision went against the wishes of the African majority, particularly in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, where Federation was viewed as an opportunity to extend white settler domination north of the Zambezi. The three territories had a history of close association prior to 1953, linked by flows of migrant labour to the urban and industrial economies of the south. Anti-federation sentiment served to unite African political interests in the 1950s, bringing about a moment of pan-African solidarity between the African Congress parties that has remained largely unexplored by historians. This paper inquires into transnational political networks across colonial borders. By highlighting the influence of 'northern' nationalists on African politics during the Federation period, this study complicates the nationalist histories of central Africa and contributes to research on pan-African movements, African diasporas, and the impact of regional migration.

*Michael Kehinde: Traditional Chieftaincy and Regional Integration in West Africa: The case of Yoruba obas*

The Yoruba geo-cultural space was partitioned by European colonial adventurism in West Africa into three distinct spheres of influence: British (Nigeria), French (Benin) and German (Togo, which later came under French control). Colonial consolidation enforced a 'pulling apart' of each of these fractions, which was further aggravated by colonial socialization processes. Each of these partitioned fractions became significantly influenced by foreign, but distinct influences engendering the development of different colonial (national) identities. Postcolonial interstate politics retained the colonial geopolitical ordering of space, which informed the formation of the Organization of African States (OAU) and several regional economic commissions (RECs) across the continent to ameliorate the divisive tendencies of the ex-colonial boundaries.

However, for almost 50 years of the OAU and several years for the RECs, regional integration remains elusive in the continent. This paper argues that traditional institutions, hitherto ignored in the integration agenda, hold significant potentials for integration. The

traditional Yoruba chieftaincy system, with its unifying character fits this mold and possesses great potentials that could be exploited in regional integration.

*Christine Porsel: Chiefs and Cross-Border Governance: Past and present*

The remarkable resilience of chiefs and their role in the legal and institutional pluralism challenges the Southern African state in various contexts – reaching from the local up to the national level and even straddling existing borders in the region. This paper forms part of a PhD project about the historical and contemporary integration and role of chiefs in Botswana and South Africa who have experienced marginalisation and instrumentalisation while at the same time exerting influence both on the formal and informal level of governance and jurisdiction.

The project's focus on the situation of chiefs of a single Tswana chiefdom situated in the borderland of Botswana and South Africa enables to outline possible forms of cooperation and interchange concerning the legal framework for the role of chiefs and additionally to identify cooperation between chiefs and members of the chiefdom in both states as an approach of regional integration from below.

Since pre-colonial times, various forms of cross-border governance have evolved offering new potentials but also requiring continuing adaptation of chiefs in the region. Examples of cross-border governance with regard to the partitioned chiefdom of the Bakgatla-Ba-Kgafela as well as individual and trans-national initiatives of chiefs will be presented in this paper.

### **Formality/Informality: Money and Popular Economies (VI-8, VII-8)**

Chair: Deborah James

*Deborah James: 'The Camel will Kick You': Borrowing and lending in South Africa*

Unamêla kamêla (the camel will kick you) is a seSotho proverb. Debt is like a camel, goes the explanation, once you are riding on its back, it is easy to fall off and be kicked. The proverb draws attention to the sense of runaway danger coupled with violence experienced by those who have entered into unsustainable credit arrangements.

South African householders' indebtedness involves both detachment from dependents in one register, and intensified obligations and embeddedness in another. Financial formality is both novel and longstanding. Some of its aspects have grown exponentially while others have 'always been there'. Conversely, the informal financial arrangements which parallel it have intensified while also fundamentally altering. The composite result is a beast perhaps less recognizable, and more terrifying, than a camel, with a more deadly kick.

This paper gives an account of banking, borrowing and lending. It explores the way that earlier patterns of social exclusion, laid down in the apartheid era, have laid the basis for later forms of 'credit apartheid'. It discusses the readiness – or otherwise – of householders in the contemporary period to bank their money, set against a longer background of bank use. It then explores 'credit apartheid' and its contemporary manifestations, paying particular attention to one of the few ways that Africans were formerly able to borrow

money: by buying furniture on hire purchase. The practices and arrangements of this pervasive and ubiquitous business have set the tone for the subject of the paper's third section: the less formal, and recently proliferating, moneylending.

*Maxim Bolt: The Currencies of Development: Juggling cash, bank accounts and 'forex' in urban Malawi*

What are different forms of money used for, and how do they relate to one another? The question is a pressing one for businesspeople in Malawi. This paper shows that, for even very small traders, recent cuts in donor funding have meant not only national budgetary problems, but also a chronic shortage of foreign exchange – 'forex'. Imports are crucial to virtually every enterprise, from brush makers' brush bristles, made from South Korean polyethylene, to hair salon-owners' South African hair conditioner, to virtually all inputs at the central beer- and soft drink-bottling plant. The paper focuses on businesspeople and traders in Malawi's commercial hub, Blantyre. They use a range of strategies to secure foreign exchange, both responding to and mediating Malawi's dependence and shortages. Such strategies require moving between 'formal' and 'informal' activities, cash and bank accounts, and remittances and currency trading. What emerges is a highly variegated landscape of forex shortages, a patchwork of currencies. Different currencies are scarce in different ways; are acquired through different relationships; enable trade in different countries; and are therefore useful for different kinds of imports. Appreciating this illuminates how Malawian businesspeople themselves make sense of their place in regional and global monetary systems.

*Daivi Rodima-Taylor: At the Interface of the Formal and Informal: Money and Mutual Help in Tanzania*

The paper inquires into the practices of sharing and cooperation as well as broader moralities and freedoms that are reproduced in contemporary mutual help groups of Tanzania. Diverse collective credit and debt mechanisms are proliferating in globalizing African communities. The hybrid and haphazard elements of formalization are examined that occur in the groups with regularizing work reciprocities and increasing use of monetary loans and savings. Through attention on the routinization of activity repertoires and increasing use of written by-laws and documents, the emerging plural formalities are highlighted. The contradictory intermingling of diverse organizational templates and features originating from different policy eras has enabled the groups to integrate novel types of resources and categories of participants with the spread of money economy. The hybrid character of the associations has encouraged local innovation, providing a venue for communal learning and experimentation. Kuria mutual help groups have emerged as institutions for facilitating exchange through spatialized and relationally oriented expansion that enables the rise of new economic niches, social identities, and novel value conversions in the local popular economy.

*Detlev Krige: 'Letting Money Work for Us': Self-organization and financialization from below in an all-male savings club in Soweto*

Several recent financial crises have turned the eyes of academics, activists and citizens all over the world to the hitherto obscured role of global finance - outside of the well-documented role of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank - in shaping national currency fluctuations, the dynamics of national economics especially in the Global South, the prices of oil and other globally sourced products, and surging inflation. Anthropologists too have turned their attention to the social organisation and culture of finance (Ho 2009, Zaloom 2006) while a growing body of literature on financialisation points to the phenomenal growth of finance-related trade and speculation in financial markets (Epstein 2005, Martin 2002). In this paper, I want to contribute to this debate by demonstrating how, through the case study of a small savings club in contemporary Soweto formed by male working class men from the same neighbourhood, citizens appropriate the world of finance for their own social and economic ends – how through finance they make their economy human. Rather than portraying them as without agency and their actions and subjectivities as determined by neoliberalism and global financial markets running amok, I argue that despite their dependency on the world of money and markets, finance itself opens up spaces of self-organization and experimentation with old and new forms of solidarity that could best be described as a form of financialisation from below.

*Fraser McNeill: From Gogos to Gravediggers: Selling and paying for funerals in Venda*

The recent proliferation of the funeral industry in rural South Africa has given rise to profound changes in the dynamics of micro-economic activity, and prompted a wide variety of socio-cultural responses. Predominant among these are the rumours through which funeral parlours, and those who generate wealth from them, are constructed as immoral spreaders of death. An ethnographic analysis of these rumours reveals the centrality of ethnicity and social mobility in their construction, reflecting the wider concerns of those who are excluded from the conspicuous accumulation of wealth through death. But the funeral industry is also essential for the removal and safe disposal of corpses, and as such encapsulates the contradictions of a perceived crisis of social reproduction in the region more widely. The paper traces the origins of two such rumours which are currently in circulation in the former homeland of Venda. Analysis of the rumours gives us a glimpse into an often hidden cultural context through which people make sense of the recent increase in deaths, and construct categories for those who reap substantial economic gain from it. In this way, the paper aims to read the human economy of death through the circulation of rumour.

## **Contemporary Politics of Culture in Western Africa: New Forms, Norms and Networks (VI-9)**

Chair: Lizelle Bisschoff

Since the independences in West Africa, culture is an affair of State par excellence, which carries a strong political burden. In the 1960s, it was a question of setting up, then promoting, the national identity of the new States by creating a common culture to all citizens. Today's political culture are mainly organized in partnership with international

stark contrast with the fact that “Khoisan” groups actually display an enormous amount of diversity in all relevant population features. This talk will sketch this diversity from a linguistic perspective. While most of the earlier research started out from the assumption about a family of genealogically related languages, any linguistic-classificatory hypothesis was until recently actually premature, because linguistics as a scientific discipline has achieved a sufficient amount of data about the languages at issue only recently. The talk will present the current knowledge on the languages subsumed under “Khoisan” in terms of the three major types of language classification, viz. language typology (establishing linguistic types), areal linguistics (establishing “Sprachbünde” or linguistic areas), and historical-comparative linguistics (establishing genealogical language families). It will be shown that “Khoisan” languages show a great amount of linguistic diversity in all respects. This important conclusion contradicts the still well established “Khoisan” stereotype and alone calls inevitably for a serious re-assessment of the past and present of these peoples.

*Brigitte Pakendorf: Molecular Perspectives on Social Interactions in Southern Africa*

A knowledge of prehistoric social interactions, such as intimate contact between groups, can be of importance for historical reconstructions of linguistic and culture areas. While such information is usually limited, some insights can be derived from molecular anthropological studies. These can provide information on prehistoric social practises such as the amount and kind of intermarriage undergone by different groups.

This paper will review the molecular anthropological literature involving Khoisan populations and present preliminary results from ongoing analyses of Khoisan-speaking groups of Botswana and Namibia with the aim of illuminating as far as possible the social interactions between different Khoisan groups as well as between Khoisan groups and their Bantu-speaking neighbours.

### **Money on Borders (VII-7)**

Chair: Jane Guyer

This panel examines cross-border integration in Africa through a focus on the flow of money. Monetary circulation both transcends and reinforces borders. On the one hand, currencies are means of transacting that often cross national boundaries, underlining their porosity. But, on the other hand, currencies are symbols of national/imperial authorities; their use can buttress official ideas of territory. This contradiction is especially pronounced in many African settings, where limited state capacity has meant only very selective enforcement of borders. The movement of cash offers a fresh and underexplored way to understand how borderlands work. This focus connects local networks to the goals of colonial and national governments. It juxtaposes the *use* of money in regional trade with its *storage* and *conveyance*, in marginal areas with mobile populations. And it sheds light on recurring themes, from the early days of colonialism to the present.

*Maxim Bolt: Conundrums of Cash: Wages, money rhythms and wealth circulation on the Zimbabwean-South African border*

How does cash circulate in a remote border area? Based on 17 months of ethnographic fieldwork in a border-farm workforce, this paper moves beyond conventional ethnographic scale to address this systemic question. During Zimbabwe's recent hyperinflation, the white-settler estates of the Zimbabwean-South African border were important hubs of the border economy. Black Zimbabweans migrated, not only to earn South African Rand, but also acquire basic commodities not available at home. Understanding the circulation and use of cash on the border requires consideration of workers' reliance on monthly wages, how they remitted to kin in Zimbabwe, and their problems actually storing their money. The farms shaped the temporality –the rhythm– of circulation. Cash entered the area in huge quantities, as wages. But it left just as abruptly, returning to town with travelling traders. Some workers sought goods as stable, remittable forms of wealth. Meanwhile the risk of theft in shared accommodation pushed many to live on credit, until cash once again flew through the compound. This paper shows cash to be easy to steal and hard to remit. It thereby reveals the relationships between cash circulation and the trade and movement of other kinds of wealth, along and across the border.

*Leigh Gardner: Money, Banking and Sovereignty in West Africa: The West African Currency Board in Liberia*

Colonial boundaries established the foundation not only for the national boundaries of the former colonies after independence, but also for the national currencies. Then, as now, the boundaries of optimum currency areas did not necessarily follow political borders. This paper provides one example of such a disjuncture, examining the adoption of British and British West African currency by independent Liberia. The financial struggles of the Liberian government during the inter-war period made British currency and institutions seem appealingly stable, and by the inter-war period British colonial currency could legally circulate in Liberia and the Bank of British West Africa served as state bank both to British colonial administrations and the Liberian government. This paper uses the debates surrounding these changes to explore the link between economic and political sovereignty in colonial West Africa.

*Djanabou Bakary: Nigeria-Cameroon Underground Protection Policy for the Joint use of the Naira and the CFA Franc on Border Markets*

About 1700 km of frontier separate the western flank of Cameroon from the east coast of Nigeria. Passing through lake and land spaces, the border was drawn at the early twentieth century by various Franco-British treaties. Since then, many measures have been taken aimed at controlling the flow of persons and goods. But the devaluation of the CFA franc and the unexpected depreciation of the Naira (respective currencies of Cameroon and Nigeria) in the early 1990s led to a boom of the market activities, especially those conducted by the local traders. This was followed by the uncontrolled use of the two currencies in transaction in the Cameroon and Nigeria border area. Both States seemed helpless and barriers proved porous. However, this monetary situation was presented as a short-term opportunity for both governments to fight against the growing smuggling activities. This was because in normal