PANEL 1: Methodologies for studying cross-border movements

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Research on migration and border areas in Africa brings together methodological challenges from both migration studies and borderland studies. On the one hand, these challenges arise from the context, including mobile research targets; multiple bureaucratic institutions with their respective actors, processes and archives; oftentimes uncertain legal or security conditions; a lack of reliable and comparable official data sources, etc. On the other hand, both migration and borderland studies are multi- and interdisciplinary fields, which may open up opportunities for innovative and multi-pronged methodological approaches, but which may also lead to confusion regarding comparisons and collaborations between researchers and communication with policy actors. This panel will bring together papers from different disciplinary backgrounds to present examples of interesting methodological approaches to studying mobility in and across borderlands, and to engage with broader disciplinary, strategic and ethical issues.

Researching African Transmigrants and Border Crossers using Biographical Analysis

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Biographic research has emerged as an interdisciplinary perspective in analyzing cross border and transmigration processes in Africa. This paper interrogates the methodological assumptions of this perspective, as a method of investigating processes of change and the mingling of individual and societal positioning and identity construction in migration processes in Africa. Cross-border interactions and movements in transmigration processes do not just function as links between two national societies, but are genuinely transformed into a kind of 'new cross–border social texture'. Empirical migration research needs to conceptualise more clearly different types of transmigration phenomena subsumed under the heading of transnational social spaces and transmigration, and especially pay attention to the gender-specific aspects. 'Transnational social spaces' have primarily been investigated through 'multi-sited ethnography' approaches, which calls for research in the receiving and originating countries of migrants, in order to connect social changes in both countries and to decode transnational networks. Biographical narrative interviews, however, provide the necessary tools for researching 'transnationalism from below'. This perspective offers a promising way of responding to the methodological challenge that the notion of transnationalism brings into the field of qualitative empirical migration research. The utility of this perspective is demonstrated with examples from the migration literature and five years of ethnographic fieldwork among Nigerian migrants.

Different conversations, different outcomes? Comparing methodologies in the study of 'transnational' identity formation on the SA-Mozambican border

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Although a critical engagement with methodology is in many ways the hallmark of professional social science, there are surprisingly few instances of comparative methodological analysis, e.g. the comparison of how methodological differences and similarities among researchers studying in the same area and/or similar questions affects the conclusions they reach. This paper will look at five studies, including my own, conducted among and with Mozambican refugees on the South African side of the SA-Mozambique border between the early 1990s and today. All five to some extent come to conclusions about the presence or absence of a 'transnational' identity among the refugees, and therefore have different views about the relevance of the proximity of the border to their present lives. Elements of the comparison will include: disciplinary methods choices, single or multi-sited research, depth of engagement (language, length of time, use of intermediaries, etc.), researcher identity effects, and research/intervention interactions. The aim of the comparison is to illustrate what is a core maxim of any methodological seminar, but which is nonetheless often under-emphasised in academic peer review: that the choice of methodology, and certain elements of researcher-subject engagement to do with the researcher's identity which are therefore not a question of choice but of management, affect the research findings.

Researching in the margins of the state: methodological and ethical challenges for borderland researchers

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This paper explores some of the distinctive difficulties of undertaking research in borderlands. It first considers the challenges arise from the peculiar nature of the space of interest: a geographically contiguous territory which is sharply divided by a socio-political line. While this line may be very easy for local people cross, for foreign observers it may present a formidable obstacle. They need to obtain visas, report to authorities and follow the letter of the law to avoid the potentially dangerous prospect of being found on the wrong side of a border without the right papers. This leaves the external researcher with somewhat lopsided access to the borderlands. Second, there is the peculiar significance of the borderlands for states. Researchers who are concerned with exploring the boundaries of state power, ideas of belonging, citizenship and similar themes which are typical of the field of border studies may be seen as dabbling their fingers in the stuff of a state's soul. This sensitivity raises particular logistical, methodological and ethical challenges for researchers. The paper critically reflects on the author's experience on the Zambia-Angola border and the wider literature to show how

these challenges are made manifest in different contexts and to consider possible responses for the researcher.

In Still Motion: what travel practices of researchers can tell (and not) about travel practices of Zimbabweans in northern South Africa

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Studying those living in border-zones and involved in clandestine movement across state borders provides a number of methodological challenges in and of itself for ethnographic research. More robust interpretation of the social practices and forms of meaning informing the everyday lives of the transnational migrants rests in part on building up relations of rapport and spending time in quotidian contexts. Those whose citizenship status and/or livelihood practices may not be fully legitimate or legal may be wary about researchers and their questions. In turn, the travel practices of researchers, particularly expatriate, can compound the methodological challenges of carrying out such research, as the movement of the researcher(s) in and out of the border-zone and their duration in the area of research shapes both the possibilities of co-presence and the types of research conducted. Critically reflecting on research conducted on Zimbabweans living in the border-zone of northern South Africa for short periods of time annually since 2004, we will focus on the methodological limitations and insights coming from the different set of travel practices used by a researcher and his research assistant in their periodic research trips to northern South Africa. We suggest that the cultural politics of travel of us as researchers sheds light into some of the ethical dimensions and analytical framings – and occlusions – of our research on Zimbabweans in the borderzone of northern South Africa.

PANEL 2: Rethinking hierarchies of borders and border crossings?

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International borders and the respective borderlands stand in the centre of ABORNE's conceptual understanding or focus on borders. There are very good arguments to constrain oneself to this specific type of physical borders, as it certainly prevents the dilution of the terminology. But such a self-restraint can cause its own problems. Therefore, the panel wants to engage with a reflection and critical assessment of border hierarchies. What is the role and meaning of other territorial borders than international ones? Are there historical or recent case-studies showing that an internal border was/is potentially more relevant than an international border, i.e. with regard to migration or trade? And if so, what would such an hierarchical shift mean for the definition of borderlands? With regard to migration, we might not only question where the most relevant border was/is but also where such a border was experienced by the migrant(s), i.e. where the actual border experience took place. This panel welcomes both contributions which have a strong empirical focus as well as contributions concerned with theoretical debates regarding typologies and hierarchies of borders in Africa.

Multiple Borders: Migration, Land and Conflicts in Togo

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The creation of the borders between Ghana and Togo and the Togolese migrations had important consequences in the Ewe political ethno-genesis, in the economical possibilities opened by smuggling and in the relatively easy exit option opened for people. At the same time the south-western region of Togo has assisted to the massive incoming of migrants from the north of the country, mainly Kabié, who settled down in this territory with different forms of agreement with the owners of the land, producing increasing tensions for the access to land. During the rising opposition movement of the Ewe against the dictatorship of Eyademà in the '90, many land conflicts between ewe and kabié were described as product of ethnic tensions, re-proposing the colonial stereotypes of a "barbaric", but now politically dominant, north "kabiè" against a "civilized", but actually submitted, south "ewe". Based on a fieldwork research carried out from 2006, this paper explores the modalities through which these two frontiers (an exterior and "formal" one and an internal -but not less important- economical and political one) has influenced the political and social context of the region and shows how, in the local representations, both frontiers, build during the colonialism and constantly re-negotiated, reciprocally charge themselves of peculiar politic and economical values.

The Concept of Boundary and Indigenous Application in Africa: The Case of the Bakassi Border Lines of Cameroon and Nigeria

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The notion and function of boundary differed fundamentally in the European and African contexts. In traditional Africa, the concept of an ethnic boundary was expressed in terms of neighbours with whom the particular polity shared a territory and such a boundary was conceived of in terms of a region or a narrow zone fronting the two neighbours marked off by it. Thus, the boundary was the zone where two States were joined together. In other words, African boundaries were usually rooted in ethnic and social contact. But European partition of Africa conceived boundaries as physical separation points. Africans who had become frontiersmen had no immediate knowledge that their lands and kin divided by the boundary were now 'foreign'. They did not know that the new boundaries functioned differently from the traditionally familiar ones. They thought the former were only for the white men until they were checked at crossing points. Its impact on their relations with their kin and neighbours made them to create secret routes across the frontiers. But these new borders soon faded in their minds. This paper, therefore, attempts a theoretical approach to the valorisation of ethnic rather than international prescript boundaries by the inhabitants of Bakassi, and how their activities challenge the application of international decisions.

From a Namibian Internal Border to the External Border of an International Nature Park: Questioning Meanings and Hierarchies of Borders in the Planned Kavango-Zambezi Transfontier Area (KAZA)

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There are many links between (border-)politics and nature conservation in the history of southern Africa. European colonizers and later apartheid South Africa created nature conservation areas as buffer zones in border regions or as areas of military retreat. Nature parks have often been used as a pretext for resettlements or tightened weapon laws. In this paper I will elaborate on how this led to the emergence of internal borders that are still today perceived as physical and mental barriers and are in many aspects even more relevant then international borders.

I intend to show this on the example of the Caprivi Strip in Namibia. The region has been seen cited as an example for the randomness of colonial borders. The Caprivi Strip is separated from the rest of Namibia by the Bwabwata National Park, which was used as a South African army base and later as a location for refugee camps. The entire Caprivi Strip will soon be included into a jointly planned Transfrontier Conservation Area between Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola. An envisioned goal of the park is the facilitation of mobility within the park boundaries. The paper will show in which ways this new developments influence the meanings, hierarchies and perceptions of borders in the region, focusing on the already strongly controlled Bwabwata National Park borders which separate the Caprivi from the rest of Namibia.

African Refugee Camps: Political Spaces Inside Sovereign States

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Since the independence process, violent conflicts are a recurring phenomenon in central and eastern African regions, and particularly in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. The intensity and duration of the violent conflicts assumed its greatest expression during the period of the multi-party system, however. Political conflicts resorting to extreme violence caused fleeing of large masses of individuals to neighboring countries. As conflicts prolonged the range of hosting states widened. Mobility increased. And often a different combination of borders was sequentially crossed.

The higher volume of refugees substantially accounts for the shifting from a spontaneous settlement-based humanitarian model into a containment structure-based humanitarian model (i.e. refugee camps). Temporarily designed, these political devices became the norm. In this paper, we will explore the ruling of refugee camps like autonomous political spaces. They reproduce two of the most basic tenets of statehood: delimited territory, equipped with control mechanisms, and people. As under an autocracy, where a ruler or a small political group governs the lives of their citizens, their inhabitants are deprived of most of the basic rights, including that of freedom of movement.

Importance of Somali Social Formation in Kenya-Somalia Border Crossing

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Ethnic Somalis inhabit much of north eastern Kenya, Djibouti, former Somali Democratic Republic and eastern Ethiopia. After the overthrow of Dictator Siad Barre in Somalia in 1991, continuous sporadic outbursts of fighting have caused people in southern Somalia to flee to neighboring north eastern Kenya. While crossing different tribal and international border, these refugees face abuse, deprivation or even death. Based on my recent field work in three Somali refugees' camps in Dadaab, north eastern Kenya, this paper examines delimitation of internationally recognized Kenya-Somalia border and important roles played by Somali clan social formation during the process of crossing internal clan borders. The paper will explore Somali refugees various motivations, implications, different types of settlement and strategies.

PANEL 3: The building of African territorial borders: the impact of pre-colonial and colonial migration on contemporary Africa

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The creation of colonial borders impacted upon existing African social formations and identities, and the ability of people to move across physical space. While in many ways existing networks of trade and movement of people realigned themselves within the new framework of territorially defined rules, others continued to transcend them freely and without much change. From a governance perspective, the imposition of rigid geographical lines delineated the rights of people within the state where they were located. The displacement of those involved in liberation struggles created new networks in exile, whilst strengthening or impacting upon political networks of the host states. These evolutions of the ways people can move created different characteristics: The use of colonial and postcolonial borders as freedom opportunities, the encounter between new borders/new rules and old habits/old networks, the construction and prolongation of protracted refugee situations with second and third generations being born in exile; and the politicization of refugees within the politics of the host state. Colonization and the imposition of rigid geographical lines have changed the mobility of African people and helps us understand the motilities of today. This panel will examine the impact of the historical roots of migration, and its long *durée* on (i) governance and politics within the host state (state formation, elections, security), and (ii) on the exiled refugee population themselves (rights, integration, circular migration).

1st Session
Perspective of Migrants and Refugees

Dhimba in northwestern Namibia: Identities and belongings through migrations and (hi)stories

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Dhimba are an ethnic group living in southwestern Angola and northwestern Namibia. Namibian Dhimba today situate their roots and origins in southwestern Angola by means of oral histories, praise songs, dances etc. However, the 'arbitrary' borderline between Namibia and Angola was not always present and before the barbed wire fence and police posts were pulled up in the 1920s, the Kunene was a river to cross but never a boundary an sich. Home to Dhimba was to be situated in places in southern Angola, but the whole region stretching from the Caculuvar beyond the Kunene felt as a closely related dwelling place. Migration to Namibia mainly boomed during colonial times and implied a change of colonial regimes (from direct Portuguese rule to indirect English/Afrikaner rule). Nowadays a new elite of Dhimba in Namibia is deeply involved in a struggle to gain

recognition as an ethnic group of the Namibian state and to be allowed to install their own traditional authority. Through an historical anthropological exploration of the histories of migration, warfare, and different colonial regimes, this paper then aims to carve out the influences of these past events on contemporary identities and belongings of Dhimba in northwestern Namibia.

What for is built a migration boundary? The case of the 'Barrage de Djibouti' (1966-1982)

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This communication is about a physical boundary built for fifteen years around the Djibouti's town : the "Barrage de Djibouti". It is a paradoxical barrier: it doesn't exist legally, its crossing cannot be prosecuted, but you can die of it. Made of barbed wire network and watchtowers, over 14 kilometers, it is kept permanently by military forces in charge of prohibiting crossing. It is officially justified by the need to control migrations and the town "ethnical" set-up to maintain the colonial situation. Instead, during its existence the Djibouti's population near triples. In spite of this visible failure, the study of this particular "migration boundary" brings to the idea that its scope was truly to participate to a social making of, creating heterogeneousness in an homogeneous space, based on identitary criteria made up and evolving at the same time. Separating those from the "outside" from those of the "inside", "regular residents" from "illegals", it justifies also an administrative and military system for control and repression. This hypothesis is reinforced by the maintain of the "barrage" some years after the independence, in 1977, after a last redefinition of the discriminating criterions. This example helps to understand utility and impact of migrations walls in the contemporary society. This study is based on unpublished archives from civil and military French administrations.

Ethiopian cross-border migration and the making of a "culture of the enemy" in Eritrea

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In 1998-2000 Eritrea and Ethiopia fought a border war that caused between 70,000 and 100,000 casualties and generated hundreds of thousands displaced people on both sides of the borders. Indeed, the border war resulted in the deportation of Eritreans from Ethiopia and vice-versa, human rights abuses and the deployment of appalling methods in separating families and expelling people from both countries (Human Rights Watch, 2003). Far from being 'absurd', 'senseless' and 'useless', as often reported in the media, the border war between Ethiopia and Eritrea mobilised old mechanisms, cultural patterns and issues of identity whose roots go back to historical events of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: when borders were defined and new political entities in the Horn came into existence (Eritrea, Somalia) or changed their shape (Ethiopia), transforming people's lives, their freedom to move and their relationship vis-à-vis political powers and the state. The proposed paper aims to reconstruct some major historical trajectories of security and state building processes in Eritrea, and will use cross-border migration

(Ethiopia-Eritrea) as one of the main key-readings for examining processes of identity-formation and citizenship in a context in which borders became the paradigm for the definition of all policies. It will look at the policies implemented to control the borders and create a 'culture of the enemy' (for example, police and army patrolling of borderlands, activities of espionage etc); the effect of border demarcation on cross-border movement of people; the creation of new social and political hierarchies and forms of exclusion and inclusion aimed at consolidating Eritrean society; and the effects of these policies in the relationship between different communities within Eritrea and between Eritrea and Ethiopia. The historical period analysed in the paper is 1890-1950s.

To Zanzibar and back: Comorian mobilities in colonial and post-colonial Zanzibar
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In the pre-colonial period there were no restrictions on movements of individuals into Zanzibar; strong and enduring social, cultural and economic links with the Comoro Islands underpinned a high degree of mobility between the two places and the constitution of a significant Comorian community in Zanzibar. Following the establishment of the British protectorate, controls on the movements of Comorians were gradually imposed, both by the French and by the British, but Comorian strategies to circumvent these controls (including simply ignoring them) allowed them to continue to move between the islands with relative ease and to maintain a distinct identity. Perhaps ironically, therefore, significant constraints on the circulation of Comorians were not felt until the post-colonial revolutionary rupture. Pro-"African" policies discriminated against Zanzibaris of "Arab" origin, including Comorians; dual citizenship was banned and socialist controls on citizens' bodies radically transformed expressions of identity and patterns of mobility. This paper explores how the trauma of the revolutionary experience prompted new expressions of identities; how pre-revolutionary mobilities are being reconstituted; how contemporary economic and political realities allow for the forging of new ones; and how the two networks—old and new—intersect both with each other and with others.

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2ⁿᵈ Session
Perspective of States and Governments

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Colonial Migration from French Equatorial Africa to Darfur
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The large scale migration of refugees from Chad's post-colonial conflicts into Darfur, has been seen as one of the factors behind the violence of recent years of Darfur, placing pressure on scarce land resources. Yet such migration is not a completely new phenomenon. During the colonial period, migration (sometimes on a large scale) from French Equatorial Africa into Darfur was continuous, and despite attempts by French

officials to stem the tide, this remained largely uncontrolled. British officials took a largely permissive stance towards this flow of people, and chiefs in Darfur actively encouraged inward migration, in order to build their followings. Imposing territorial sovereignty was an impossible pipe-dream for a colonial state with such a limited institutional presence on the ground. Moreover, southwards migration *within* Darfur under the pressure of drought, also seen as a key factor behind recent violence, was another recurrent phenomenon under colonial rule. Patterns of movement which have often been assumed to be new developments in the region responding to the impact of violence or 'desertification', therefore have a deeper history. This history has not been characterised by large-scale conflict, but rather by local accommodations, accommodations which this paper also aims to shed some light upon.

Pratiques fiscales et dynamique des migrations transfrontalières entre le Nord-Cameroun, le Nord-Nigéria et le Sud tchadien 1916-1960

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La fiscalité est dans l'Histoire de l'humanité un important facteur de révoltes et de bouleversements sociopolitiques. Les populations du Nord-Cameroun pourtant accoutumées à la pratique fiscale, eurent du mal à intégrer dans leur univers des impôts dits modernes, en oppositions à ceux coutumiers. L'impôt colonial est dès lors perçu comme un facteur d'asservissement, mieux de paupérisation. Pour l'administration coloniale cependant, l'acceptation de l'impôt était le baromètre de la soumission des populations locales à son autorité. Tout refus était assimilé à un défi, une insubordination ou encore une rébellion ouverte. C'est en partie à l'effet d'éviter ce choc et surtout échapper à l'humiliation du fait des impositions, que nombre de personnes optaient temporairement ou définitivement pour la migration. L'administration coloniale qualifiait cela d'évasion fiscale, donc de délinquance. Pour les populations, il était question de rechercher un paradis fiscal, une localité où les taux d'imposition sont moins lourds. Les frontières camerouno-nigériane et tchado-camerounaise furent en ce temps de véritables passoires du fait de leur porosité. Ce qui avait pour incident le dépeuplement de certaines régions au profit d'autres, et par ricochet la fragilité économique des zones de départ. Notre ambition dans cette étude est de montrer en quoi les pratiques fiscales ont été un facteur de migrations humaines, ainsi que de statuer sur leur impact socio-économique et politique.

Native Aliens: Somali Migrations in Colonial and Post-Colonial Kenya

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Pastoralists posed a problem for British colonial officials seeking to settle and bound African communities in East Africa. The British colonial epithet of "frontier" came to signify areas of mobile subjects and ill-defined boundaries. In Kenya, British officials mapped the Northern Frontier to provide a buffer zone against Italian and Ethiopian interests and to allow some measure of flexibility for Somali traditional migrations across this frontier. Many of the Somali inhabitants demarcated within this frontier had only

recently migrated to the region, and others continued to arrive during the first decades of colonial rule. Somali traders who moved further into the towns were known by the contradictory status of "native aliens." This term embodied the isolation and "in-between" position of Somali populations in Kenya. As the dream of a Greater Somalia became a territorial project in the 1960s, the circular movements of Somalis in East Africa transformed into networks of communication, arms trafficking and political activism across now independent African borders. This paper will examine Somali histories of migration and land use and how they conflicted with and challenged conceptions of race, indigeneity, cultural nationalism and multi-ethnic citizenship in Kenya. Throughout Kenya, Somalis remained an unsettled and essentially foreign population that defied both colonial and postcolonial boundaries and practices of territorial governance.

When did you cross the border? The differing rights of Rwandan refugees and migrants in Uganda, 1940-2000
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The violence and hostility experienced by the Rwandese in the 1979 liberation war, 1982 expulsions and the 1981-1986 bush war in Uganda forced thousands of refugees to seek refuge in Tanzania. Following Museveni's victory, he called upon the Ugandan diaspora to return home. Rwandan refugees, who considered themselves Ugandan, and who had left during the insecurities returned to Uganda. However, under domestic legislation only those Rwandese (Banyarwanda) living in Uganda prior to the drawing of the colonial borders, and immigrant labourers who came in the 1940s and 1950s had rights as citizens and nationals. Although these refugees had come to consider themselves Ugandans, under Ugandan legislation they did not legally have this right. This paper focuses on two specific examples to highlight the problem. The first considers the screening of returning Ugandan citizen/Rwandan refugee returnees from Tanzania in 1988. The second example considers the 1988 Ad-hoc Committee on Displacement caused by the 1982 Banyarwanda expulsions. The reluctance of successive regimes to give citizenship enabled the curtailment of the rights of the refugees, who were always considered a temporary phenomena (even after thirty years) and the threat of forced repatriation or expulsion hung over their heads as a potential consequence should they create internal problems in Uganda. This paper concludes that citizenship of refugees was used as a political tool by the Ugandan government to control the Rwandan refugees.

PANEL 4: Forced migration and the role of borders

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A vast number of people in Africa have been or are on the move as a consequence of displacement, eviction, deportation and trafficking, phenomena which usually go under the (problematic) label of 'forced migration'. As institutions and sites, international borders are of crucial importance for forced migration, whether for refugees seeking protection in the adjacent state's territory or for states to expel aliens. Borderlands themselves are transformed by forced migration. For instance, large and semi-permanent refugee camps are often constructed near international borders. As governments and international aid organizations build infrastructures and conduct aid programmes new interactions with local population may occur. Involving complex forms of governance and transnational relations (e.g. transcontinental relocation programs in refugee camps), forced migrations also tend to add a layer of legal, political and social complexity to borderlands hosting forced migrants. This panel calls for contribution that explore the interplay between forced migration and borderland areas, drawing particular attention to the dynamics and transformations occurring on the ground.

1st Session
Discussant: Anthony Asiwaju

Cross-Border Protest Migrations and Settlement in Colonial West Africa: the enduring impact on the western Yoruba astride the Nigeria-Dahomey (Benin) border

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One erroneous image emanating from earlier periods of thinking by outsider about Africa was that the peoples were stationery: tightly bound to local politics and regarding their neighbours with parochial suspicion. Later reconsideration, apparently inspired by decolonized African historical scholarship and revisionist anthropology, has reversed this trend of thought and more correctly asserted, in the words of Igor Kopytoff, a leading protagonist of the new school, that 'contrary to the previously widespread stereotype of Africa as continent mired in timeless immobility, its history has emerged to be one of ceaseless flux among (its) population…" and that "population movements, now in the past, have been brought about by famine, civil wars, ethnic rivalries, despotic regimes, and conflicts between the politics". Mobility has been especially emphasized in demographic literature as heart of strategies for responding to drought. It has, for example, been argued rather convincingly that such ecological disasters have resulted is less losses of life and stock in the pre-colonial than the colonial and post-colonial periods precisely because of the enormous potentials for mobility in the earlier than later phases

of history when human and stock movements became restricted by modern state territories and boundaries. This presentation, on the colonial antecedents of the refugee category of short-distance migrations and close-bye settlements in West Africa, is focused on the durable and still subsisting impacts of the protest migrations of the Ketu-Yoruba from the south-eastern border area of French Dahomey (present-day Republic of Benin) into the adjacent southwest borderlands of the then British Nigeria in present-day Ogun State. Based on the presenter's older published case study of the Western Yorubaland, corroborated by his follow-up works on the borderlands of colonial Ivory Coast and Upper Volta (today's Burkina Faso) vis-à-vis the interconnected border areas of the then Gold Coast (modern Ghana) and enriched by regular research updates, the essay explores the empirical data of the forced emigrations from the area of present-day Commune de Ketou, Plateau Department of the Republic of Benin and the insertion of the ever growing border settlements among Ketu kits and kins in the Imeko Sector of present-day Imeko-Afon Local Government Area of Ogun State of Nigeria.

Don't fence me in… Crossing borders into refugee camps
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A century of multiple external interventions has produced the conditions for the assisted self-destruction of African agrarian societies. Spatial-political borders have differentiated external interventions and influenced the construction of different power dynamics in defined territories, producing diverse interpretation patterns (nations). This paper argues that the continental borders (between countries) gain their significance in the constitution of a differential – real or artificial – in relation to intercontinental borders. These borders have also segmented the encompassing frontier zone where agrarian societies are confronted by the expansion paradigm of industrialized societies. The failing to transform these target societies (including the hunter-gatherers and nomads societies), according to their own mould has not stopped the assaults, however. The downward spiral of agrarian and central societies generates conflict and violence, which often lead to forced migration (often accompanied by or as a functional equivalent of genocide). The crossing of borders can trigger a specific intervention format, which goes by the name of refugee camp. The penetration of agrarian societies in this format constitutes, together with a few industrially produced artefacts, one of the most successful exports of the industrial paradigm. This trigger-mechanism does not work, however, if national borders are not crossed. Therefore, societies' own mechanisms of dealing with people forced to leave their homes and their livelihood sources are often not activated – nor properly studied.
This most blatant form of modern bio-politics, the refugee camp, reproduces some of the most basic tenets of industrialized societies: universality, scarce regard for specific societies, standardisation, and reduction to scientifically established minimum of needs, near absolute control, concentration in a confined space.

Negotiating local protection and emplacement: the silent integration of refugees on the Zambia-Angolan borderlands

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Over many years, the formal policy of Zambian government has a) required refugees to live in officially recognised settlements and b) offered no route to citizenship for those who enter the country as refugees. For long term refugees such as those from Angola, this appears to be a recipe for keeping people in a precarious position over generations. Nonetheless, many thousands of those who fled the civil war in Angola remained living in Zambian villages in the borderlands far from the settlements and they have effectively acquired citizenship. Drawing on fieldwork over the last 14 years, this paper will explore how the distinctive socio-political conditions in these borderlands have facilitated this 'silent integration' of Angolans, which is only now being belatedly recognised by the state. This can be contrasted with the formal settlements where Angolans have continued to be seen as refugees and the 'solution' of repatriation has been imposed.

Migration forcée des Tchadiens dans le département du Faro au Nord Cameroun (1980-2010)

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Depuis les indépendances, les tensions se succèdent en Afrique, notamment : guerre du Biafra au Nigeria de 1967 à 1970, écartement politique des opposants au régime de Sékou Touré en Guinée, lutte de libération en Guinée Bissau de 1963 à 1973. Le Tchad ne déroge pas à la règle. En effet, l'histoire politique tchadienne de 1980 à 1990 est marquée par la violence, la répression et les coups d'Etat à répétition. Depuis la fin de la décennie soixante dix jusqu'au l'aube du XXI ème siècle, le Tchad a connu et connait toujours une instabilité récurrente. Les différents conflits ont engendré de pertes humaines énormes et provoqué le déplacement de centaines de milliers de réfugiés. Le Cameroun, pays voisins du Tchad caractérisé par sa stabilité politique représente pour les réfugiés tchadiens une terre d'accueil. L'introduction ou alors l'acceptation d'un élément nouveau dans une société a toujours été problématique. C'est ainsi que l'arrivée des réfugiés tchadiens dans le département du Faro au Nord Cameroun va entrainer un certain nombre de mutations aux conséquences visibles actuellement. Aussi, posons-nous la question de savoir en quoi l'implantation des réfugiés tchadiens dans cette zone peut-elle être présentée comme variable explicative des dynamiques économiques, socioculturelles et politiques dans ce département.

"Beyond the 'Genius of Suffering'": The paradox of an alienated border regime. Refugee practices and social complexity and transformation in cross-border Dagana (Senegal-Mauritania).

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Border regimes are closely related to the nature and role of borders, especially when refugees are considered as (forced) migrants which status is precisely bound to those border categories. Building on that I want to analyse the transformative potentials and realizations of refugee practices and their effects on the nature and role of borders. I will present the experience of a refugee community based in the cross-border zone of Dagana where a now more policed river epitomizes the legally, politically and economically alienated border regime. The low level of integration between Senegalese and Mauritanian peoples on river banks has grown contrasting with the emergence of a startlingly challenging integration of Mauritanian refugees in Dagana-Senegal discretely animating a cross-border circular migration with diverse symbolic and practical patterns and functions. Basically instead of explaining by arguing, I want to understand by asking why has a deportation project, which has been a vector of nationalism and racism towards some ethnic groups, resulted in a greater desire of national recognition from the latter. Interestingly, what are the implications on the nature and role of borders, not per se, but on how they have been so far conceived from 'alienation' to 'integration'?

Keywords: Border regime – Refugee – Refugee practice – Social complexity – Social transformation

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2nd Session
Discussant: Stephan Duennwald

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For an Anthropology of the Frontier: the Walls of Ceuta and Melilla.

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The propose of this paper is to analyse, in anthropological terms, some material cases that shape the frontiers between E.U and Africa. More precisely, I will consider some theoretical approaches to the walls that are being built in the territorial boundaries between Ceuta and Melilla's enclaves, distancing the European fortress from the rest of Moroccan territory. This tendency to separate nation-states with walls can be observed in every continent. Despite commercial liberalization and an increasing flow of political speeches that prioritize the freedom of circulation, developed countries are also engaged in this movement of barrier proliferation that checks and controls the circulation of social agents. To better understand the Ceuta and Melilla's walls, I seek to compare it with other vigilance centers, such as those that separate the USA from Mexico. I will then ask in what way are these walls the symptom of a particular political transformation.

Border-induced Displacement: The case of EU JHA Externalisation to the Maghreb Region

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This paper critically examines EU externalisation of asylum and migration control to the Maghreb region. The structural development of the EU´s external dimension of Justice and Home Affairs as it pertains to the Maghreb region is tracked through central EU documents, such as Presidency Conclusions, Council Regulations and bilateral agreements between Member States and Maghreb countries establishing the rationale and mechanisms of externalized border practices. These include the Frontex agency, Immigration Liaison Officers and financial programmes building third countries´ capacity for detention and patrol of migrants. The paper then conceptualises these multifaceted externalization processes as the EU regulation of material, corporeal and financial flows which together create a decentralised system of control elements in both European and African countries. Grave humanitarian concerns exist concerning the effects of this border-system as ngos report of abusive, exploitative and hazardous migrant conditions in the Mediterranean region. This paper argues that these effects of the EU´s externalization system necessitate an expansion of the category of forced migration to include what is here termed border-induced displacement.

European Migration Border Control in North Africa: The Challenge of Migrants' Human Rights Protection

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This paper highlights some of the key issues relative to the intersectionality between the migrants' human rights protection and the EU border control policies in time of mixed migratory flows, using the impact on Morocco as an example. This research proposal will try to highlight some of the human rights violations perpetrated against irregular migrants in the transit countries, beginning on the examination of the pattern and dynamics of transit migration towards North African-European countries.

The first part provides a brief introduction of the applicable legal framework addressing the issue of the externalization of migration control between EU and Morocco as illustrative case study of how border management is directly influencing the way EU define its borders. In particular this part outlines the definition of basic principles of a European approach of Migration and Borders to take contextual complexity into account and a more specific analysis offers a review of signed agreements (international and bilateral), their effectiveness, and the applicable standards in case of rejection to and from North Africa. This part starts to explain the characteristics of these instruments and, on this basis, it takes as starting point that these instruments must comply with those international human rights standards that are binding upon EU Member States In the

second part the research will focus on the national legal practice of Morocco in the context of identifying the exact scope of States' obligation in case of mixed migratory flows and on the examination of the implied influence exercised by legal measures adopted by European Union linked to the control of external borders.

State border control, forced return migration and its social implications in Cape Verde

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In migration cultures such as Cape Verde, border-crossing is perceived as a life-making process and particularly for young people it can be compared to a rite de passage, which they are supposed to undergo in order to become respected members of their society.

While current changes in migration theory manage to capture the diversity of mobile livelihoods, the fact that our times at the same time are characterized by increasing rates of forced return migration and involuntary spatial immobility is widely neglected. Drawing on multi-sited anthropological fieldwork, this paper deals with deportation from the USA back to the country of origin.

Firstly, I will elaborate on the changing historical meaning of border crossing in the shaping of social and the interaction between mobile and non-mobile parts of Cape Verdean society. Next, I will elaborate on the current situation of those who did not make their lives abroad successfully, but are brought back 'home' by state force. While their alleged 'home communities' receive them with a melange of hostilities and rejections on the one hand as well as idealizations and envy on the other hand, they are identified as Cape Verdean citizens per passport but belong culturally as well as socially to the United States or to Portugal. The paper aims at examining and theorizing the ways in which these Cape Verdean "deportados" navigate their fragmented ways of belonging at a foreign place and concentrates on social impact of state border control a place, where mobility is the central feature of social recognition.

PANEL 5: Border crossings and economic circulation: trade, smuggling, labour

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Economic reasons are certainly not the exclusive motive for migration, but they have always been a powerful incentive for temporary or permanent movement of people across borders. People move across borders in order to bridge different contexts in legitimate or illegitimate trade; they seek employment in a different country; or they might just flee a situation in the search for greener pastures elsewhere. In line with these different aims in migrating, economic migrants have variously been described as entrepreneurial pioneers, as *bricoleurs* making the best out of a difficult situation or as victims of economic globalization. The panel looks for case studies on specific groups of migrants, which are open to a comparative discussion. How is economically induced migration shaped by structural conditions, how much is it characterized by individual initiative? How are the two interlinked? And how do changing global economic conditions affect the reasons for, and the ways of economic migration, both within as well as in and out of Africa?

1st Session
Distance and proximity: Long-distance movements, securitisation and belonging

The Changing Face of Migration in Ethiopia: From Forced Migration to Economic Driven South-South Migration
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The face of migration in and from Ethiopia has been changing, from large refugee flows in the 1980s and 1990s to different forms of gendered labour migration in the present decade as people seek employment opportunities abroad. Highly skilled emigration remains a challenge as doctors increasingly migrate to better off African countries such as Botswana and South Africa, but the majority of flows are now characterized by low skilled migration. This paper will examine the current forms of international migration occurring in and from Ethiopia. The paper is based on 1,500 household surveys conducted with migrant, non-migrant and return migrant households in Ethiopia. The data will be collected from February to April 2011 and will be the first large-scale migration survey ever conducted in Ethiopia. Preliminary results and pilot evidence suggest that there is an increasing prevalence of South-south migration occurring in Ethiopia to the Middle East, and other African countries such as South Africa, Sudan, and Botswana. In addition, there is an increasing feminization of migration from Ethiopia as

low-skilled women migrate to the Middle East to work as domestic workers. The flows, routes, and characteristics of migration from Ethiopia will be assessed in this paper.

Territory and border crossing for livelihoods among (voluntary and forced) migrants from DRC to Swaziland: the re-imagining of a borderless spatial system

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The paper examines ways in which, through the spatial trajectories of migrants from Democratic Republic of Congo, different meanings are assigned to bordered territories. It interrogates the extent to which (voluntary and forced) migrants create a borderless spatial system that circumvents the geographically defined state. I make use of an interpretive approach to cross-border migration to trace migrants' experiences with border crossing as a livelihood and asset accumulation strategy. My core argument is that the absence of intense policy apparatus along the inter-state borders make it easy for migrants to create their own rules for free movement to fit their social aspirations and in this process meanings to cross-border mobility are socially shaped and values are developed over time across geographical boundaries. To empirically substantiate this argument, life stories of migrants living in Swaziland were obtained from in-depth interviews. Thus, each migrant is followed from the place of origin (in the Democratic Republic of Congo) to places of destination (in the sequence reflected in the successive moves to Swaziland). The narratives collected from migrants inform on the changes affecting their socio-spatial strategies (motives, social networks of reference, labour use) as they cross one border after another to Swaziland. Each place of transit from the borderland to more distant destinations displays a set of intersecting social relations within a borderless spatial system into which the migrants is embedded. It comes out that the trajectories are not linear but rather illustrate a step-wise or back and forth sequence in the temporal generation of movements across different borders. A set of values around which collected narratives concur or intersect is the significance of professional achievement or betterment that come with the crossing of border. Through this, mobility is used a means of advancing materially or moving closer to that stage within a spatial system that is not geographically confined to the officially-bordered territory. The space of mobility expands as new aspirations arise. The differing trajectory patterns reveal that the border creates the conditions of social contacts and attainability of those aspirations.

Making a life. Female migration from Boa Vista Island, Cape Verde.

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The aim of this paper is to highlight one aspect of Cape Verdean emigration that is still relatively unexplored in the literature on the subject: the departure of the women. The objective was not to compare between male and female emigration, and identify similarities and differences. Rather, through my analysis of the influence of the departure of women on the Boa Vista family context, we can point out the differences, as well as the fact that the Cape Verdean migratory phenomenon cannot be treated as a homogeneous process. There are significant differences in the relationships between

emigrants and the society of origin which depend on gender and this cannot be ignored. A crucial point, which I pointed out in the introduction and to which I would like to return, is matrifocality. After all, how can one speak of matrifocality when the woman-mother is not present? The paper will explore the circulation of money, presents and rumours between Italy and Boa Vista as a strategy to maintain proximity in a situation of distance. To make up for the distance, a space that needs to be filled with symbols of proximity, mothers and children practice giving and receiving, reciprocal cognitive and emotional exchanges of material things. It is through reciprocity and the mutual feeling of sacrifice and longing that they are united. This prevents the strength of the relationship from fading. This occurs because the family bonds are maintained through showings of solidarity, sharing, and mutual assistance. Having something in common is the basis for a strong bond.

Does Botswana create a new Gaza Strip? Zimbabwean migrants influence on Botswana's economy and politics

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Due to the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, a lot of Zimbabweans choose to emigrate to neighbouring countries, mostly to Botswana, South Africa and Mozambique. The authors perceive the phenomenon of Zimbabwean migration as a specific case of economically induced migration. Botswana, whose economy is amongst strongest in the region, seems to be one of the prime destination for Zimbabweans seeking for a job and better tomorrow. According to official sources there are 2500 illegal Zimbabwean migrants a month trying to cross the border. As a result of these circumstances Botswana's government decided to construct an electric fence along the borders to stop the migrants' influx (official line being stopping the foot-and-mouth disease among livestock). Although Zimbabwe has overcome hyperinflation, its situation is deteriorating in both economic and political terms which results in an increasing number of potential emigrants. Production is declining, so is the number of tourists. The unity government does not seem to be an answer to the country's ills. While in 2009 Morgan Tsvangirai was sworn in as the prime minister this is in fact president Robert Mugabe who wields the real power. There are three main groups of Zimbabwean migrants: people searching for job, white farmers who were expelled by Robert Mugabe's regime and students. The paper will present the results of research findings concerning the scale of the problem of Zimbabwean immigrants in Botswana and its ramification for the local economy and political scene. The empirical material will be gathered during the field research in Botswana which is a part of the research project "Botswana and Zambia as the examples of the resource curse" financed by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education.

Migrants, borders and labour regimes in Mauritania: between militarisation and mobility

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This paper explores the interactions between sub-Saharan migrants, patterns of capital accumulation, and borders in Mauritania. A trend for militarisation is driven by the converging interests of the US's Trans-Saharan Counter Terrorism Initiative and the EU's migration regime, both preoccupied *inter alia* with preventing people from crossing intra-African and then continental borders. At the same time, global development institutions, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, promote global labour mobility. This paper argues that these external interests in sum regulate a 'labour reserve', in which labourers, dispossessed, cross borders in order to 'earn a living', and then experience unpredictable and turbulent trajectories as a result of their 'illegal' status. Mauritania is an important gateway to Europe by way of its proximity to the Spanish Canary Islands. However, beyond the positioning of a 'buffer zone', Mauritania's marine and mineral resources, in a largely informal economy, present opportunities to labourers and refugees that are unmatched in Senegal or Mali. Furthermore, its southern borders underpin an important livelihood for traders by virtue of currency exchange and price differences in food and fuel. This paper identifies various migrations of sub-Saharans into Mauritania, beyond to the EU, and also from the EU on 'removal' flights. It analyses their significance to the continuing importance of 'unfree' labour in Europe.

2nd Session
Living in the borderlands: smuggling, moving, marketing

Borderland Entrepreneurs: The dynamics of cotton production and smuggling by farmers along the Mkumbura border post between Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

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The Zimbabwe-Mozambique borderland, which stretches for thousands of kilometers, is one of the longest and poorly managed in the region. Cotton is the major crop grown along the border. As the borderland communities are full of related people, the production seasons see Mozambican farmers coming to Zimbabwe to buy planting seeds and other inputs whilst Zimbabwean farmers would cross the border in search for fertile soils. The marketing period, depending on the strength of the country's producer prices is marked by cotton smuggling to both sides in search of higher prices. This paper seeks to explore the dynamics of cotton production and marketing (smuggling) as the farmers take advantage of the porous border to obtain better rewards for their crops. It examines the role of the cotton buyers who are willing accomplices in the smuggling of this bulky commodity. While not taking the initiative away from the farmers, this paper also looks

at the role of corrupt border officials in aiding this smuggling. Though there are several entry points, this paper will focus on the smuggling at the Mkumbura border post. This paper is premised on oral interviews with farmers on both sides of the border as well as various cotton buyers and border officials.

The Culture of Smuggling in the Borderland of Egypt and Libya

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The borderland of Egypt and Libya is a productive zone in which significant political and economic 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 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 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.

The moral economy of underground cross-border transactions at the border between Europe and Africa.

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Situated on the north-eastern coast of Morocco, Melilla is a territory of twelve-square kilometres under Spanish sovereignty since 1497. Part of the European Union since 1986, the border of Melilla is, in fact, the border between Europe and Africa.

Melilla's singular tax regime and its open-border policy towards Moroccans residing in the neighbouring province of Nador have contributed to the development of an underground economy built on a large variety of cross-border transactions, most commonly the smuggling of commodities, but also drug trafficking and people smuggling. In a region with a 20% unemployment rate, cross-border smuggling provides a livelihood for large numbers of people on both sides of the border. This underground economic system, however, is set to come to an end as Morocco enters the European Free Trade Zone.

Based on a year of ethnographic fieldwork, this paper analyses the borderland as a space where commerce, traffic, and high-volume circulation take place on a daily basis, but where territoriality and sovereignty remain. A gate to Europe in the African continent, the border of Melilla can be seen as paradigmatic of an eminently modern phenomenon; as the free movement of capital and goods across international frontiers increases, the movement of people becomes restricted.

Strategies for Survival in Adverse Context: Migration and Rural Societies Songhay-Zarma [Niger]

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The progressive desertification of the Sahel associated with an inversely proportional population growth has become increasingly difficult physical survival and reproduction of the rural communities of Niger. Together, these contingencies ecological [and demographic] with the current political and economic Niger have contributed significantly to the growing of the rural exodus, both internal and outside the country.

In the case of the inhabitants of the country Songhay-Zarma, which corresponds roughly to the westernmost region of Niger, stretching, however, slightly beyond the Mali-Niger border, migration tends to be mostly circular and / or seasonal and contributes in no small way to the setting of urban economies [in their own country or in the host country]. For the Songhay-Zarma migration is a collective strategy: when the stored grain can no longer ensure the survival of the entire family, some elements depart temporarily to urban areas of influence. Its main goal is to ensure their own survival until the next harvest, so their margin for risk is minimal. This risk margin reduction allows them to engage in a variety of unique economic activities, thus contributing to a complexity of local informal economies.

PANEL 6: Border regimes and migrant practices: citizenship, belonging and the making of migrant subjectivities

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Border regimes and their effects on migration vary significantly across the African continent, ranging from the complete absence of border controls to tightly securitized border zones. However, border regimes do not solely consist of policies aimed at controlling cross-border mobility. Border regimes are linked to ideas and practices of citizenship, belonging, legality and ultimately to the nature of the border itself. Furthermore, such ideas and practices are often mediated by different actors other than the state – migrants, borderland inhabitants, private security companies or vigilantes, NGOs and others. Complex, and often contradictory as they are, border regimes affect migrants and their lives, in Africa, and increasingly so in the African diaspora, contributing to the making, unmaking or remaking of migrant subjectivities. Whether they are locally mobile people, or transcontinental migrants, they might have to: adapt their mobility patterns; develop or resist categorizations by developing or rediscovering different identities; create new lifestyles and re-imagine their life projects. This panel welcomes contributions that help shedding light on the nexus between border regimes, mobility and migrant subjectivities.

1st Session
Discussant: Mattia Fumanti

Rwanda, Burundi and the Negotiation of Border Regimes in a Narrow Space

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In the early years of Independence the border between Rwanda and Burundi saw a wide variety of migrants moving within a tense paradox of competing border regimes across a very small area. Long-term residents from the colonial era and earlier were joined by forced migrants and militant exiles in both countries, while traders crossed the border frequently with ease, all moving within overlapping and paradoxical regimes created by states and citizens. Military incursions from both state and non-state actors punctuated the border, while the various subjectivities of exceptionally similar cultures recognised ethnic continuity as well as a sharp national divide along an ancient, yet newly re-created boundary. State presence varied from heavy military control to complete absence within the space of kilometres; within single communities, some civilians took it as their role to police the border, preventing immigration, invasion and escape equally, while others

openly engaged with and welcomed the movement of neighbours from across the frontier. Developed from nine months of oral and archival doctoral research (to be completed in June 2011) and taking an historical approach to a contemporary issue, this paper will examine how apparently conflictual border regimes can exist within a narrow space, competing and coalescing, and how different types of migrants negotiate their position within and between them, shaping their subjectivities and the regimes themselves through their actions and relations with people and states.

An ethnographic regime analysis approach to articulate the "data bodies" of Eurodac

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Based on the fact that private and government sectors are operating hand in hand for biometric identity assurance solutions to meet security requirements at borders, for elections or in commercial fields, our paper will explore the concept of "digital deportability" to account for the knowledge-based shift of the politics of border: the deterritorialization of border control, with the double function of politics at a distance and virtual data collection to cast a net of control, which denaturalizes and virtualizes not only the form of surveillance but also the form of punishment by extending the risk of deportability of migrants. To avoid the reiteration of the perspective of control policies, our contribution claims for a situated analysis from the perspective of migration, that is a movement contained in the power relations of border zones and operating its own information exchange channels, sensemakings, understandings, and rules to access mobility and to cross borders. Drawing on interviews with sub-Saharan migrants and on the findings of our research on the mode of operation of the European database system Eurodac, where the fingerprints of asylum seekers and apprehended illegal immigrants are stored, we look into the emergence of new subjectivities related to the bodily and mobility patterns in liquifying and de-materializing of border control technologies.

Transborder Citizenship and the Assabiyya of Nigerian Migrants in Lome and Cotonou

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Nigerian migrants to Togo and Benin, especially of the Yoruba extraction have developed a set of "multiple allegiances" that they experience through living "their lives across the border of two or more nation-states" and participating in the normative regimes, socio-cultural networks and political practices of these diverse states. The proposed paper will explore the various practices of transborder citizenship that are progressively generating a new consciousness or a new discursive disposition among Nigerian diasporans in Lome and Cotonou. In doing so, the social, political and cultural performances of these diaspora will be situated respectively within each national context, in order to determine how each national space in its particular way affects not only the experience of exclusion or inclusion but also the process of diaspora formation and the practice of transborder citizenship among the population under study. Specifically, the study will identify the solidarity networks of assabiyya, as the structure and institution offering for instance useful information; providing help to traffickers and smugglers, financial help and of course work opportunities once the newcomers have settled down in the new country. We demonstrate with relevant examples how assabiyya, is able to influence Nigerian-State decisions towards Lome and Cotonou and vice versa.

Public and Traditional efforts in Cameroon Border Patrols: The Soh and Official Law enforcement Officers at the Cameroon-Nigeria border Town of Nwa

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The permeability of the Cameroon–Nigeria border of Abonshe has been experiencing an increase in the actual quantity of cross-border flows, as well as a deepening of the penetration of cross-border operations into the heart of the national territories. This implies that cross-border operations have undergone some structural reorganization. The socio-economic interactions as well as immigration of Nigerian populations into Cameroon are carried on with little regard for the colonial demarcation despite the establishment of state border control mechanism, namely gendarmes, police and custom officers. Indigenes in both countries are able to evade gendarmes from Cameroon and police and customs and immigration officers from Nigeria given that they are very familiar with the terrain. But due to the difficulties in tracking and controlling the situation, the Soh society (a traditional vigilante group) has came into the scene. This

paper analyses the strategy employed by the Soh in tracking down illegal immigrants, surveying and controlling foreign traders. It also shows that the complacency of the Soh and the law enforcing officers in the process of establishing legality, has often led to a systematic abuse, extortion and maltreatment of foreigners in the area.

The political economy of cattle raiding across the Ethio-Sudanese border
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Cultural and economic explanations of cattle raiding are dominant in the field of pastoral studies. Cultural explanations explain cattle raiding as an enactment of masculine ideologies. Accordingly, cattle raiding or rustling present the youth with opportunities to prove their courage as well as their skill in the handling of arms. Economic explanations view cattle raiding as a form of redistributive mechanism between pastoral groups, essentially to restock herds, expand rangelands and improve social status. A more recent transformation of livestock raiding is the predatory type the purpose of which is the sale of raided livestock for monetary gain and procurement of weaponry, instead of the restocking and accumulation of animals by the herders. The paper discusses the new political economy of cattle raiding across the Ethio-Sudanese border in reference to two registers, i.e., how pastoral border-crossing and the escalation of cattle raiding were intimately connected to the conduct of the civil war in Southern Sudan by the various political actors, and the discourse of second class citizenship in the peripheral areas of Ethiopia, with a special focus on the Gambella region.

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2nd Session
Discussant: Paolo Gaibazzi

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Borders and Horizons: Theoretical Reflections on Migratory Expectations in Africa and the Middle East
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Based on ethnographic research in Senegal, Spain, and other places along the routes of contemporary African migration, the paper engages with the interplay of border regimes and migratory subjectivities. Drawing on conceptual work for an edited volume (co-edited by Samuli Schielke) as well as ongoing ethnographic work on migratory expectations, the paper develops and makes use of the notion of horizon in the context of migration as a means to understand and analyze the increasing attraction of the idea of migration in Africa and the Middle East. In terms of sociocultural theoretization, the notion of horizon allows for and necessitates a linking up different realms of analysis ranging from anthropology and phenomenology to geography and hermeneutic philosophy. In this regard, the paper aims at an inter- or transdisciplinary approach, not

so much in its empirical method but in terms of the combining of different perspectives and modes of analysis.

"Italo Girls": The Economic Dimensions of Illicit Migration in Nigeria.

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The movement of peoples across national and international boundaries is an enduring component of human history. Selective male migration and increasing female autonomous migration are manifestations of migration as survival strategies (Adepoju, 2000). A significant number of young women migrate independently to fulfill their economic needs. The dwindling economic fortunes in the country have impacted negatively on the family. The corollary is the erosion of family values resulting in many young women embarking on desperate ventures to seek better fortune in Europe. Using data collected from a field survey in Benin City Nigeria, the paper argues that young women embark and/or lured into illicit migration for the purposes of economic benefits. Anchoring the analysis on Caldwell's wealth flow theory and Merton's theory of Anomie, the paper concludes that the desire to achieve material success albeit illicitly impels young Nigerian women into embarking on illicit migration. The implication is that this category of migrants becomes vulnerable to numerous abuse, violence and even discriminatory policies from their destination governments.

Songs of Mobility and Belonging: Gender, Spatiality and the Local in a Southern African Borderland

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Western Maputaland is located in the borderlands of South Africa, Mozambique and Swaziland. The combination of poverty, rural remoteness and exceptional ecological diversity has long made the region a target of conservationists, locating it centrally within the Usuthu-Tembe-Futi Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA). While driven by the rhetoric of 'participatory biodiversity management', which links environmental conservation with economic development, the fulfilment of the transboundary project is dependent upon exogenous resources and authority, and conservation agencies remain ambivalent towards local demands for selfdetermined development. This paper examines the politics of land and citizenship in Western Maputaland, its position in local memories, and its foundation in spatial practices and cultural identities. More specifically, as conservation developments have affected women differently to men, the analysis focuses on the ways in which mobilities and gender intersect in a changing landscape, and how meanings given to varying mobilities through sound, song and performance inflect local experiences of land, spatiality and belonging. Building on narratives inspired by the revival of the Jews harp, once performed by young Nguni women as walking songs, but

remembered how by elderly women only, the paper discusses how memories invoked through sounding in place and motion rehearse and revitalize senses of place, extending a sensual and social exposition of the consequences of new transboundary conservation border regimes on local migrant subjectivities.

Identity and diaspora: Reflections on the construction of contemporary Cape Verdean diasporic society

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After more than a century of emigration, the establishment and entrenchment of Cape Verdean communities in different countries is a fact that stands out in the description of the diasporized Cape Verdean nation that includes the archipelago in its constitution. The consolidation of these communities creates new collective realities, introduces changes in the processes of mobility of Cape Verdeans, and recasts the forms of connection and relation with the place of origin. Above all, it centers the debate around the traditional views about the processes of adaptation of immigrants to places of destination and questions the classic emigrant/immigrant dichotomy, since diasporic transnational practices result in the intensification of closeness and connection between people living in different places and not just between the destination of the emigrant and Cape Verde. This work is an effort at theorizing and understanding the forms of identity construction in the diasporized Cape Verdean nation that will break with, interrogate, and subvert traditional descriptors of Cape Verdean identity like that of caboverdianidade (Capeverdean-ness), morabeza and the commitment and desire to return to the homeland.

PANEL 7: Partitioned Africans

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While colonial borders partitioned African communities, the new boundaries generated a vast variety of personal and collective strategies, many of them based on ethnic and family relationships of people living on both sides of state boundaries. This panel examines how borderland residents define, value and use international boundaries; how new and old identities are mobilised and reshaped; and what role does the border and border circulation control plays. Through several concrete case studies, this panel will try to analyze the creative permeability of Africa's international boundaries in the present day – mainly through migration and trade, but also in other fields, including kinship, traditional authorities, religious ceremonies, health practices, educational institutions and development initiatives – and how this affects "partitioned" Africans nowadays.

1st Session
Discussant:

Narrating and practising the state border between Uganda and Southern Sudan
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For the last decades the Sudan/Uganda borderland has been the arena of several interrelated violent conflicts in which successive governments and army forces supported rebel groups on the respective other side of the border. The border has been extensively studied with reference to these conflicts, the refugee movements they have created and related 'informal' cross-border flows. Following the 2005 Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the subsequent (semi)autonomy of Southern Sudan and the demise of rebel activity in Northern Uganda, cross-border flows have taken on a new quantitative and qualitative dimension. This paper looks at current geopolitical, economical and social dynamics in the borderland based on fieldwork on both sides of a North-Western Uganda/Southern Sudan border crossing. It asks in detail how those who live at, work at and deal with the border 'story their border experience, and their relations with the other side. By examining border people's everyday narratives, practices and border management performances, this paper lays bare competing meanings and the symbolic functions of the border. It finally relates them to actual processes of state building, regional integration and identity formation.

Partitioned Africans, poisoned water and the production of national identities: experiences of conflict, refuge and commodity trade in the Sudan-Uganda borderlands

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One of the cases examined in Asiwaju's classic *Partitioned Africans* was that of the Kakwa, split by the colonial Sudan-Uganda border (Adefuye 1985). The rest of the border west of the Nile was defined *by* 'the southern boundary of the Kuku tribe' – this international border thus bisects one ethnic group and is defined by the supposed limits of another. Adefuye focused on Kakwa resistance to the border and preservation of cross-border social and spiritual communities. But this paper will explore the complex interplay of national with ethnic and local identities, arguing that Kuku and Kakwa have indeed maintained a range of cross-border relations, but that nationality has nevertheless gained increasing salience in the borderlands since the late colonial period. The paper explores perceptions of nationality in the Sudanese border counties through the recent sense of threat and crisis over deaths from poisoning and witchcraft. These phenomena have long been associated with this border region, and the paper will focus on ideas about poisoning produced through Sudanese experiences of refuge, trade and employment in Uganda. It will suggest firstly that the commonly-ascribed Ugandan origin of poison is connected to the historical and present context of Uganda as a source and controller of commodity trade, and secondly that the reported erosion of the protection provided by land and rain priests against such occult threats is connected to changing values of land and territory and escalating tension over borders, both internal and international.

From porous border to wall: Shifting strategies and identities at the borderlands, Insights from Northern Ethiopia since the closure of the border with Eritrea (2000-2010)

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The border between Eritrea and Ethiopia changed status frequently since the 19th century up to Eritrea's independence (Triulzi 2006:7). With the creation of Eritrea as an Italian colony and prior to the incorporation of Ethiopia into the Italian East African Empire, the border defined according to the colonial treaties had crystallized by 1936. However, the border waxed and waned over the decades of their political coexistence. Indeed, the border status shifted from mere internal-administrative marker, to a colonial border, to dissolution, to inter-state border during the one-decade Federation, becoming an internal border again, going through a phase of contested no-man's-land during the civil war and, finally, acquiring the status of a national border between two sovereign states. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities in May 1998 the border had never been delimited or demarcated. For all practical purposes the ethnic groups straddling the border continued with usual daily business regardless of the borderline. For borderland groups Eritrea's independence

was of secondary importance in the face of the general sense of security generated by the end of the civil war against the *Derg*. In the aftermath of the 1998-2000 interstate war between Eritrea and Ethiopia the porous border was transformed into a wall leading to its closure and to the hampering of established movements of people and goods across the border. The ethnic groups straddling the borders particularly affected were those of Northern Ethiopia from Tigray and Afar Regions. This paper draws on original empirical research among a partitioned group, the Saho on the Ethiopian side of the border, the ethnic group referred to as the Irob. The paper will shed light on the strategies and shifting identities that a borderland group created in order to adapt to the closure of a previously porous border.

Ndau identity in the Mozambique-Zimbabwe borderland
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The international boundary separating Zimbabwe and Mozambique is a border that runs through the Ndau-speaking area. Ndau belongs to language group Shona-Caranga, which originated in today's Zimbabwe. In Mozambique, Ndau are located in a horizontal central strip of the country, between Save and Buzi rivers. When Zimbabwe-Mozambique international border was settled, did it have significant impact in Ndau borderland communities? And what is their current perception about it? Are ethnic ties stronger than nationality? Bonds of marriage, language and culture tie Ndau to one another across the border, but despite sharing common interests and a common identity, they do make distinctions among themselves (McGonagle, 2007). According to Asiwaju (1985), former "partitioned" Africans now deal with national boundaries in several different ways, mobilizing ancient identities and building new ones. This case-study aims to understand the identity/identities of "partitioned" Ndau, analysing their sense of belonging, and the uses and meanings of that international border to them. This paper also relates Ndau identity evolution with the historical and political evolution of Zimbabwe and Mozambique, which had faced different colonial experiences and fluctuating political conditions.

Commuter migration across artificial and arbitrary borders: The story of the Manyika people along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border
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This paper explores how partitioned borderland African communities view, use and are affected by the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border, which is demarcated by mountain ranges and wartime landmines. Using participant observation among the Manyika people straddled across the border, it analyses why commuter migration across this boundary is rampant. It observes that to the Manyika, the border is non-existent. They have traditionally viewed it as an imagined boundary or a transnational environment without borders where social interconnections, movements and trade can be made without restrictions. Thus, they daily practice commuter migration on foot using illegal crossing

points scattered across the mountain chain. Most Manyikas in Mozambique prefer commuting to the better Zimbabwean schools and hospitals across the border, while most kinship and religious rites, especially circumcision ceremonies, are conducted in Mozambique. Likewise, the divided Manyikas recognize and use one chief who is based in Mozambique as their traditional authority. In the process, the Zimbabwe-Mozambican border has been reduced to an artificial and arbitrary boundary which does not respond to what the Manyika people believe to be rational boundaries. Consequently, the border has become highly fluid and elastic as it constantly shifts according to the dictates of the partitioned communities.

2nd Session
Discussant:

"The Bakassi Peninsula Zone in Nigeria-Cameroun Border Relations: Reflections on the Dynamics of 'Boundaries' and Co-existence for Partitioned Africans"

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Boundaries or border zones in Africa and the interstate and inter-community relations generated across them have been major sites for the interplay of various social, economic and political dynamics. This paper reflects on the dialectics of the state-society relations within the socio-economic prism in the context of the Nigeria/anglo-Cameroon border. Situating the analysis in the post-independence period, the paper examines critically the socio-economic challenges and paradoxes confronting the two independent states of Nigeria and Cameroon Republic in regard to the legitimacy of the Bakassi Peninsula border zone that divides an area despite its extremely high level of cultural homogeneity. The paper shows that, as a fluid cultural zone informed by strong historical ties, the Nigeria/anglo-Cameroon borderland area has not only been a site of intense inter-state relations, but also an *arena of possibilities* for the local communities. As the paper makes clear, Africans, in many ways, turn the boundaries of their modern states from rigid barriers between countries to flexible frontiers of mutual contact and cooperation. The implication of this for the need to establish local mechanisms to promote trans-border cooperation and ensure that "the partitioned Africans" of the affected border communities do not suffer unduly, becomes obvious.

An international border or just a territorial limit? Joola dynamics between Senegal and Guinea Bissau

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The Joola ajamaat and the Joola huluf populations live near the Guinea-Bissau/Senegal border. This paper aims to analyze how the Joola define this international border and how they have dealt with this "territorial limit" during the last century. Were their kinship, political, religious, ritual and economical practices deeply modified by this situation during the colonial period? How the separatist conflict between the MFDC and the Senegalese government have influenced these practices during the last decades? We would like to answer these questions paying attention to the daily Joola practices. Our ultimate aim, finally, is to see if local people define this frontier as an impassable international border (controlled by "their own" governments or even by the MFDC rebel forces) or just as a simple territorial limit (like other Joola limits).

Identity and Restored Citizenship: Mauritanian refugees and the Cultural Bridging Strategies on the Valley of the Senegal River – a case study

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In 1989 a conflict arose between Senegal and Mauritania, resulting in violence by populations, on either side, against those suspected of "foreign" origins. This situation, higher in scale in Mauritania, caused mass slaughters against people of Senegalese descent and expulsion for the luckier. Their assimilation in the Senegalese part of the borderland has been made partly easier by the language they share with the host communities, which enabled them, on arrival, to undertake lucrative cultural activities that would also ensure their integration. Following the resolution of the crisis and the restoration of their rights, Mauritanian refugees have now the possibility to move freely between their former sites and their new environment. Yet this process of losing and regaining their status is paralleled by a more complex process of identity quest/reconquest, breeding also an identity crisis even within the family circle: a recurring pattern is the diverging biases of members as regards their sense of belonging.
This paper aims at shedding a light on these complex identity issues by focusing on the experience of the refugee community of "Diolly Senegal", but also on the cultural bridging strategies that have been developed recently along the border in a will to preserve a transcending transnational community.

'We Just Cross!': Making 'Place' Out of Partition at the Kenya-Uganda Border through Everyday Practises and Activities

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Although political geographers have contributed to understandings of international borders, the resulting literature risks minimising local residents' ability to contest notions of 'the border'. Yet anthropologists and historians, emphasising ways by which communities construct and transcend intangible social boundaries, can similarly overlook the physical reality of borders. Critical geographers introduced the 'spatial turn', or the idea that space produced through practises and perceptions can structure social action, to address these limitations. Such an approach is being usefully applied to African border regions where state presence is weakened or modified by local agendas. This paper suggests that, by augmenting geographic research with ethnographic insights from anthropology, border scholars can extend the spatial turn to conceptualise border towns as particular 'places' where individuals impact and interact with border 'spaces' in different ways. Fieldwork conducted in Busia, Kenya and Busia, Uganda, adjacent border towns along the busiest trade corridor in East Africa, used ethnographic interviewing and participant observation methods among residents to uncover local perceptions of the border and economic activities surrounding it. When put within the context of the recently-launched East African Common Market, this study illustrates the continued relevance of border towns and their residents to wider social and economic development.

Migrations across Africa's International Boundaries and the Nationality and Citizenship Question in South-west Cameroon.

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The focus of this paper is on the Nigeria-Cameroon boundary, one of the several prospective African regions (or "Afrigios"), created in consequence of the European partition and the subsequent independent states of Nigeria and Cameroon. The paper is aimed at a reflection on migrations into German "Kamarun" during the colonial and the Nigerian civil war period. The Nigerian migrants to Cameroon, particularly South-West Cameroon, constitutes, by far the largest number of foreign residents in that country. These migrations vary in size, character, motivation, destination and pre-occupation. These have been influenced by the changing political, economic, security and demographic impact on both countries across their common borders. Their host communities refer to them as "Cam-Gerians" – a term which implies that they are both Nigerians and Cameroonians in spite of the conflict over the ownership of Bakassi peninsula between the two nations. It is indicated that the International Court of Justice (ICJ) judgement over the Bakassi peninsula in favour of Cameroon, in spite of its acceptance as a model for the resolution of African border conflicts, has occasioned forced migrations from Cameroon into Nigeria, and these migrants have been settled at

Akpabuyo in Cross River State, proximate to the peninsula. It is concluded that trans-border conflict which had hitherto led to war and litigation could have been reduced had the issues involved been approached from the grassroots rather than the state-centric perspective as the history of contemporary boundary management in Europe reveal.