

### **Proposal for a Panel**

A panel should consist of **four** presentations. Panels with five presentations can also be proposed with the understanding that this will not alter the time allotted to the panel. A presentation in the panel may have one or two presenters/speakers.

#### **Title of Panel:**

**ABORNE Roundtable: Smuggling**

**Name and e-mail address of the contact person:**

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**Panel description (max 250 words)**

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

**Title of presentation 1**

***Introduction***

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

Introduction to the panel and the contribution of the presenters

**Title of presentation 2**

Cross-border Poaching in the Kavango-Zambezi (KAZA) Trans Frontier Conservation Area

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

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In March 2012 the Kavango-Zambezi (KAZA) Trans Frontier Conservation Area (TFCA) was launched. Roughly the size of France, KAZA is situated in the Okavango and Zambezi river basins and encompasses parts of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Approximately two million people and a rich diversity of wildlife live inside its boundaries. KAZA is meant to facilitate annual wildlife migration and predator/prey cycles across international borders. Its launch was hailed as a milestone that would benefit all people of the region, and the mantra ‘socio-economic development through tourism’ was repeatedly invoked. KAZA enjoys international support from organisations such as the SADC, World Bank, German government and WWF.<sup>1</sup> While international borders were opened to wildlife, they remained resolutely closed to humans. Four months after the launch ceremony two men from the Caprivi in Namibia crossed the Chobe river to Botswana, where they were shot and killed by members of the Botswana Defence Force (BDF). According to Botswana officials the men were poachers who opened fire first. Namibian officials announced an investigation into the incident. Both sides emphasized ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, and their wish to settle the matter peaceably.<sup>2</sup> Seemingly, such avowals of neighbourly love were not shared by people of the region. According to local press reports the two Caprivians were merely checking their fishing nets, and the BDF was accused of random shootings and killing over thirty Namibians without an attempt at arrest.<sup>3</sup> Reports further stated that Botswana ignores well-known traditions by which people cross the river to fish and cut reeds. Mutual acrimony accelerated when Botswana readers defended the BDF shootings and accused Namibians of poaching and destroying Botswana’s resources. Namibians in turn accused Botswanas of valuing animals more than human life.<sup>4</sup> KAZA host states purportedly ascribe to the program in the economic interest of their borderland populations. However, more immediate benefits may be offered by poaching. In an

Title of presentation 3

**Porous Borders, Smuggling of Small arms across the Nigerian-Niger border and Terrorism in Nigeria.**

Author 1



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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

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The Nigeria – Niger border which was earlier demarcated by the Anglo – French delimitation treaty in 1906 and re demarcated by both countries. The boundary has a common stretch of about 1500km of land boundary and existing trans border management and co operation between both states to sustain border development and mutual relationship.

Among the illegal issues of the border economies of both nations is the smuggling of small arms into Nigeria in recent years which has immensely threatened the peace and security of the nation. This is against the existing trans border agreements and peaceful co existence between both nations. The smuggling of small arms across the Nigeria – Niger border is a reflection of the porosity of the border. The illegal importation of small arms has facilitated, enhanced and sustained the insurgency and terrorism of the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria.

The paper attempts to identify the sources and paths as well as exchange points of smuggled small arms into Nigeria and how it has contributed to terrorism in the North Eastern States.. Specifically, the paper seeks to answer the following questions. Where are the sources of these small arms into Nigeria, Who are the barons behind this trade? What is the existing network of this small arms trade? What is the role of the border police in small arms trade? What are their challenges? How has the porosity of this border enhanced smuggling activities? To what extent has the smuggling of small arms contributed to the border economy as well as terrorism in Northern Nigeria.

Information will be solicited from the national archives, secondary data such as news papers magazines and interviews with border police and immigration officers. Results will provide a basis for comparison with other terrorist groups in Africa and how they get access to small arms. It will also proffer solution as well as policy recommendations to emerging terrorism and insurgency as well as border trade in small arms in Africa.

#### **Title of presentation 4**

Guinea-Bissau between narcotraffick and new forms of resistance. The case of the *rap* musicians of Bissau city

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

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Since its independence achieved in 1973-74, Guinea-Bissau, a former Portuguese colony, has been profoundly spanned by deep transformations. The leading class, without take in account internal diversities and standards as inclusion and equity was the main responsible of the rise of internal cleavages and governative interruptions, taking the country to an institutional precariety and to its first political-military conflict as independent State, known as the “war of 7<sup>th</sup> June”. Since than, the country has been living a permanent political and governative instability, which has hastened the poverty and insecurity levels of the local communities. The ineffectiveness of the legal system before the threats against State security and narcotraffic is a growing problem, which is transforming Guinea-Bissau in a new hub of the drug trafficking. The presentation will discuss the results of a field research recently published, focused on the analysis of the narcotrafficking networks and their impact in Guinean society. In particular, it examine the emergence of new forms of resistance in Bissau city- *rap* musicians and the use they make of the local radios as social alternative to give visibility to the Civil Society denounces of the narcotraffick networks and their impact in the local communities, particularly in young people.

**Title of presentation 5 (if applicable)**

**Smuggling, Border Policing and Corruption: An insight in to the Nature of *Tokunbo* Vehicles Trade across Nigeria’s North-west international Border**

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

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Nigeria's North-west international border is an important hub for cross-border trade in West Africa. This border area connects the countries of Nigeria, Niger and Benin Republics. One dominant commodity in contemporary cross-border trade in the area is second-hand vehicles, popularly known in the local parlance as *Tokunbo* vehicles. Cross-border trade in *Tokunbo* vehicles is a thriving business in Nigeria and in spite of government effort to control it, the trade continued to expand. Nigeria is the major market for *Tokunbo* vehicles in the entire sub-region. Between 2004 and 2007, over 921 billion CFAF *Tokunbo* vehicles were imported into Nigeria from Benin Republic alone. On the average, Nigeria's yearly *Tokunbo* vehicles import stands at 285,000 units. However, there is clear indication that substantial part of this figure must have been smuggled across the country's land borders. The trade is conducted largely through informal means as a result of the porous nature of the border area. It follow an elaborate and well-organized circuit and in most cases with the connivance of border officials. Government officials and private individuals are also involved in the importation of the *Tokunbo* vehicles through illegal means. The data gathered during the two year field work conducted by the author suggest that, the corrupt nature of the custom service coupled with the inability of the Nigerian state to find an alternative option to the demand for *Tokunbo* vehicles, as well as its pressure on customs to marshal out revenue than arresting smugglers, has made all efforts in controlling smuggling of this vehicles ineffective. Consequently, the more prohibition measures on *Tokunbo* vehicles importation into the country, the more profitable and desire of the smugglers to bring such vehicles. The main object of this paper is to analyze the complex interplay between Smuggling, Border Policing and Corruption in *Tokunbo* vehicles trade across Nigeria's North-west international border.

Key words: Smuggling, Cross-border trade, Corruption, *Tokunbo* vehicles.

**Discussant**

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Surname

Position

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**Moderator (if not the same person as the discussant)**

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Country  
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**Other information (presentation format, special requirements, etc.):**

Data projector for power point needed

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[abs2014.secretariat@uef.fi](mailto:abs2014.secretariat@uef.fi) by **October 31, 2013**

Patrícia Godinho Gomes, Miguel de Barros, Domingos Correia, "Les conséquences du narcotrafic sur un État fragile: le cas de la Guinée-Bissau, *Alternatives Sud*, vol.20-2013. p.145-158.

**ABS First World Conference  
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### Title of Panel:

Book Session (Roundtable) on William Miles' *Scars of Partition: Postcolonial Legacies in French and British Borderlands*

### Name and e-mail address of the contact person:

William Miles [b.miles@neu.edu](mailto:b.miles@neu.edu)

### Panel description (max 250 words)

This Roundtable is intended as a multi-disciplinary and trans-regional response to *Scars of Partition: Postcolonial Legacies in French and British Borderlands*, which is being published by the University of Nebraska Press in time for the 2014 ABS First World Conference. Based on three decades of fieldwork throughout the developing world, *Scars of Partition* is the first book-length treatment of the long-term, contemporary implications of French and British styles of colonialism and decolonization for borderlanders throughout the so-called "Third World." It pays particular attention to the contemporary legacies of artificial boundaries superimposed by Britain and France that continue to divide indigenous peoples into separate postcolonial states. In so doing, it uniquely illustrates how the distinctive stamps of France and Britain continue to mark daily life along and behind these inherited borders in Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Caribbean.

*Scars of Partition* draws on anthropology, geography, history and political science to examine six cases of indigenous, indentured, and enslaved peoples partitioned by colonialism: in West Africa, the West Indies, the South Pacific, Southeast Asia, South India, and the Indian Ocean. The book argues that sovereign nations throughout the developing world, despite basic differences in culture, geography and politics, still bear the underlying imprint of their colonial pasts. Disentangling and appreciating these embedded colonial legacies is critical to achieving full decolonization – particularly in the borderlands. After brief overview of the book by author, the respondents – who will have already read it – will critique from their respective regional and disciplinary areas of expertise.

### Respondent 1

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**Respondent 3**

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**Respondent 4**

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**Moderator (if not the same person as the discussant)**

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POWERPOINT PROJECTION EQUIPMENT



Association for  
**BorderlandsStudies**

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### Title of Panel:

Borderland Cultures and the Performance of Statehood

### Name and e-mail address of the contact person:

David B. Coplan david.coplan@wits.ac.za

### Panel description (max 250 words)

This roundtable is concerned with the many modes and media through which state agencies in Africa perform and so instantiate statehood and sovereignty both at international borders and elsewhere within borderlands. Such constitutive performances are firmly embedded within both international legal and symbolic scripts of border maintenance and the dialogic, hybrid cultures of specific borderlands. At the crucial level, that of personal agency, border encounters and their staging and consequences are always interactional and subject to negotiation and improvisation. Where international and national policy and legal regimes prescribe and propose, authoritative, political, and social actors dispose. It is also a theatre in which neighboring states represent and play out, often enough in hyper-dramatic fashion, their bilateral relations. Ultimately, performing borders is an essential vehicle for adapting the old 'national' model of sovereignty to the de-bordering forces of globalization. Papers will be grounded in empirical research, but also emphasize theoretical abstraction and stimulate comparative debate, ideally also beyond the African experience.

### Title of presentation 1

**The Rule of Law in African Borderlands: Mapping the Culture of Impunity and Normative Orders in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo**

### Author 1

First name (s)	Patrick
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**Author 2 (if applicable)**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

Using the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo as a case study, the paper will discuss how the rule of law and particularly the state monopoly on legitimate use of force have become contested notions in the borderlands. How does social contract theory apply to conditions of instability where governance is provided alternately by state and non-state actors, some with links to neighboring states and cross-border communities? What are the competing demands on legitimacy and how does legal pluralism serve to reconcile diverging ideas about the law in the borderlands? Second, the paper will provide empirical data on the role played by state and non-state actors in creating and implementing rule systems and a culture of law in areas of limited statehood. The paper will ask how the rule of law is anchored in the everyday experience of people negotiating borders, markets and identities. In case the data supports an understanding of rule-making that is not axiomatically tied to the state the prevailing logic of associating peace and rule of law with eradication of spaces of limited statehood will have to be tested against the specific protection needs of people living in zones of mixed authority. Third, starting from the paradox that in the eastern borderlands of the Congo campaigns of sustained violence by armed groups are shrouded in proclamations of Congolese sovereignty, the paper strives to explain how shifting notions of peace, justice and just peace translate into rule-making in spaces of limited statehood.

**Title of presentation 2**

**Beyond Westphalia: Africa's place in Borderland Culture Theory**

**Author 1**

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**Author 2 (if applicable)**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

The Westphalian narrative had guided the partition of the African continent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century creating barriers among established ethnic nationalities. However, cross border relations in the twentieth century have stimulated spatial growth of settlements around the colonial borders creating new opportunities. This phenomenon witnessed the evolution of informal socioeconomic and political regimes across state boundaries - posing a major challenge to the State-centric outlook. The study of African borderlands has gained momentum since the last decade of the twentieth century; these studies have concentrated on the historiography of the peculiarity of border settlements as manifested in language, gender, race, belief, sexuality, religion, class, ethnic identities, and cultural hybridity. While, cultural diversity is often defined by these vivid categories, evaluating a common cultural pattern intertwined within these complexities has been the bane of African Studies. This paper takes a departure from the traditional approach of African Area studies which lays emphasis on the exotic nature and the uniqueness of African borderland cultures. It examines the cultural pattern and diffusion synonymous to many African border settlements within a global similarity. This is done by building bridges symbolized by new cultural practices in African borderlands thereby reconstructing a framework for commonality while recognizing the multicultural diversity of border settlements. Thus, using case study analysis, this work argues that the existing state-centric paradigms lacks the understanding of the institution of 'African borderland culture', and concluded by examining alternative pathways that can promote global understanding.

**Title of presentation 3**

Questions of Sovereignty: Invention and Intervention on the Kenya-Somali Border

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

On 16 October 2011, the Kenyan army launched an invasion into southern Somalia across their northeastern border. The ongoing occupation, named Operation Linda Nchi, "Protect the Nation," now under AU mandate, and the dramatic attack by al-Shabaab on a Kenya mall in September 2013 mark another chapter in a long history of contestation and conflict, of invention and intervention, across this colonial frontier. The border between Kenya and Somalia has long acted as a flashpoint for broader debates over sovereignty, citizenship and territoriality. Throughout the twentieth century, Somali partisans transformed non-governance into an art form, a strategy of political and cultural refusal, and in so doing provided the alien "strangers" to colonial and postcolonial sovereignties in Kenya. In the era of decolonization, Kenyan nationalists sought to secure their colonial inheritance and suppress the claims of Somali partisans through the monopoly of violence, territorial constructions of citizenship and performances of statehood along this notoriously ill-defined colonial frontier. The ambiguity of practices of authority and identity have left this borderland a "suspended space" of uncertain sovereignty and a site of often violent performances of state power. The proposed establishment of a semi-autonomous "buffer zone" in Jubaland reflects a longer history of the territorialization and diffusion of sovereignty in Somali lands, the recasting of historical narratives of belonging and the alternative and strategic remappings of sovereignty in local, national and international discourses.

**Title of presentation 4**

**Double-Crossed: A dyadic view of border performance in Africa**

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

Like money, borders are cultural. The necessity is less to have money or effective control of borders, but more to create the impression that one has them; to leverage resources into power. Too big – too disciplined, too dangerous, too formidable, too well-informed – to fail. So is it necessary for every sovereign entity to perform its border and its effective control – the more so the less effective control it has. Here I review instances, histories, principles and dynamics of border performance. Like its on-going performance, the process of bordering is never stable, never complete. What is performed goes beyond geo-political delimitation to enactments of identity, community, relations of self and other, and narratives of inclusion and exclusion. Performing borders is always most essentially a dyadic encounter between gate keeper and entrance seeker. These fraught encounters between travellers and border officials are more often than supposed a matter of prestidigitation. In this dialogic magic show, with its illusions created through signs, symbols and portents, it is often unclear who is fooling who; who is the magician and who the (sometimes willing, even knowing) 'dupe'. Of course, border performance is more than a matter of enactments involving travellers, state officials and other no less important mediators, 'service' providers, and assorted hangers-on. Ultimately, performing borders is an essential vehicle for adapting the old 'national' model of sovereignty to the debordering forces of globalization. Having said all that, performing borders is always most essentially a dyadic encounter between gate keeper and entrance seeker.

**Title of presentation 5 (if applicable)**

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**Author 1**

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**Author 2 (if applicable)**

First name (s)	
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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

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**Discussant**

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**Other information (presentation format, special requirements, etc.):**

Round-table
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### Title of Panel:

**Border Towns and Transport Corridors in Africa: Small traders against large ones?**

### Name and e-mail address of the contact person:

Gregor Dobler, [gregor.dobler@ethno.uni-freiburg.de](mailto:gregor.dobler@ethno.uni-freiburg.de)

Olivier Walther, [olivier.walther@rutgers.edu](mailto:olivier.walther@rutgers.edu)

### Panel description (max 250 words)

Borders create economic opportunities for different groups of people, and border regimes can influence their respective chances of success. In many parts of the world, border towns emerge where small and medium scale trade relies on personal presence, local networks and social capital in the borderlands. Transport corridors, on the other hand, aim at eliminating the points of friction on which such localised dynamics rely. The panel analyses the relations between towns and corridors in Africa, concentrating on the power dynamics and social relations stimulated by both. It looks for conceptual, comparative papers with a strong analytical perspective rather than for empirical case studies.

### Title of presentation 1

**Borderland actors: a typology and a conceptual framework**

### Author 1

First name (s)	Gregor
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### Abstract (max 250 words):

Building on ABORNE's discussions over the last five years, the papers presents a typology of economic cross-boundary actors, analyses the kind of resources they typically rely on, and draws conclusions as to the impact changing boundary regimes have on them. It differentiates small-scale traders acting on the green border outside of state control from medium-level entrepreneurs relying on local embeddedness and often with strong political networks and large-scale actors organising cross-border flows from the capitals, who typically see border towns as creating inefficient friction. Each of the groups favours a specific set of state-society relations and works towards its implementation. Their distinct economic niches often lead to strategic



alliances between them, alliances that rarely do away with their overall competition. By presenting the typology, the paper sets the scene for the panel and gives an introductory background to its discussions.

**Title of presentation 2**

**Beneath the Rhetoric of Transport Corridors: The Trans-Gambian and the Lomé-Aflao Crossings and the Sediments of History**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Paul
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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

At the current time, there is a great deal of emphasis on the potentially transformative effects of transport corridors in Africa buttressed by new institutional arrangements designed to facilitate the passage of commodities and, to some extent, people. In the context of emerging public-private partnerships, there are evidently certain vested interests bound up with the more ambitious claims that are advanced. In this paper, I aim to do two things. The first is to point to the fact that while the language and the modalities may be new, there is a history of talking about the connective properties of infrastructure and its importance for economic integration in West Africa that goes back more than half a century. It remains important to understand why earlier initiatives stalled. Secondly, the paper evaluates the barriers that currently exists to trans-boundary flows and raises the question of how far improved infrastructure and a harmonization of border controls is likely to have the kinds of effects that have been posited. The paper specifically compares the trans-Gambian highway in the Senegambia with the Lomé-Aflao crossing that connects major cities along the coastline (Lagos, Cotonou, Lome, Accra and Abidjan) as well as linking the coastal ports to the landlocked countries of the Sahel.

**Title of presentation 3**

**Centre and Periphery Policing: A case study of policing strategies in Gisenyi, Rusizi and Kigali, Rwanda**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Hugh
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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

This paper concerns how the practice of policing in Rwanda's western border towns differs from policing practices in the state's capital, Kigali. The borderland conurbations of Goma-Gisenyi and Bukavu-Rusizi straddle the DR.Congo-Rwanda border. Despite extensive cross-border interaction, violent criminality is confined predominantly to urban districts on the Congolese side of the international boundary. The case is unique and perplexing, since (I) the Rwandan state sustains an atypically strong capacity to enforce security in its border towns and (II) conventional explanations involving the militarisation of the border are not supported in recent accounts from the sites. I argue that physical security in Gisenyi and Rusizi is the product of a nuanced state-society relationship. At the heart of this relationship is the institution of the Rwandan National Police (RNP) and its local non-state partners. This paper maps the interaction between these groups, highlighting the strategies and compromises of state police that are unique to the border town environment.

**Title of presentation 4**

**The Angola-Namibia-South Africa route goes through Santa Clara**

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

The paper analyses the transformations along the last decades of the flows – of population, merchandises, influences – between Angola and its southern neighbours, identifying the main causes and consequences of such transformations. It draws a particular emphasis to the importance of Santa Clara border town within this circuit and its role linking not only the three countries but also a significant network of towns and locations within them. The paper seeks discussing the spatial materialization of such importance as the town has grown as the circulation increased (and stagnated when the circulation reduced). Simultaneously, it addresses local initiatives and dynamics that combine with the vitality of the flows and further stimulate urbanization, urban growth and settlement.



**Title of presentation 5 (if applicable)**

**West African border markets: Functional dynamics and policy implications**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Olivier
Surname	Walther
Position	Visiting Assistant Professor
Affiliation	Rutgers University
Country	USA
E-mail	olivier.walther@rutgers.edu

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

The first objective of this concluding paper is to analyze the functional role of border markets in the spatial organization of trade in West Africa. Using a harmonized database, we start by analyzing the demographic evolution of cities located at various ranges of national borders, before identifying those who can actually be defined as border markets. From Senegal to Chad, these border markets form 19 potential functional regions that stretch across national borders. The second aim of the paper is to explore what policies have been implemented in border regions to promote the development of border markets and border-related activities, including transport corridors. Our analysis shows that very few space-based policies have specifically targeted border markets so far, despite their crucial importance in the local and regional development of West Africa.

**Discussant**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	
Country	
E-mail	

**Other information (presentation format, special requirements, etc.):**

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## Proposal for a Panel

A panel should consist of **four** presentations. Panels with five presentations can also be proposed with the understanding that this will not alter the time allotted to the panel. A presentation in the panel may have one or two presenters/speakers.

### Title of Panel:

**ABORNE Roundtable: Migration and Bordering in and around Africa**

### Name and e-mail address of the contact person:

**Paolo Gaibazzi, Research Fellow, Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin**  
[paolo.gaibazzi@zmo.de](mailto:paolo.gaibazzi@zmo.de)

### Panel description (max 250 words)

This roundtable focuses attention on the interplay between migration and borders or bordering processes in and around Africa. Though certainly not new, the relationship between movement and the control/facilitation of movement across national boundaries has undergone significant transformation in recent decades. New regulatory agents at and of borders, as well as changing morphologies of national territory, population and sovereignty, have probed Africanist scholars to going beyond received understandings of borders as barriers or conduits, filters or facilitators, of human mobility. In many ways, borders themselves have become complex techniques and processes seeking to control, discipline and fashion subjects on the move. Reflecting on a 5 year long debate in ABORNE, this roundtable attempts to draw empirical and conceptual conclusions on the migration-border nexus in and around Africa. Its objective is both to highlight trends in Africa and around it (such as the Euro-Africa border zone) and to offer inputs for new directions of research. In this respect, both African migration and borders will be considered as not only objects of research but also as conceptual spaces in which specific questions, inquiries and theoretical positions have emerged. Although neither geographical nor analytical closure is advocated, the aim of the roundtable is to identify which specific problematics have emerged from the study of borders and migration in and around Africa, and how this study has shaped and been shaped by recent developments in border studies more generally.

### Title of presentation 1

**The ABORNE conference on borders and migration: from themes to future research**

### Author 1

First name (s)	Cristina
Surname	Udelsmann Rodrigues
Position	Researcher
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Country	Portugal
E-mail	<a href="mailto:cristina.rodrigues@iscte.pt">cristina.rodrigues@iscte.pt</a>



**Author 2 (if applicable)**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	
Country	
E-mail	

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

The fifth ABORNE annual conference – Crossing African Borders: migration and mobility – was dedicated to the circulation of people, goods and immaterialities across African borders. While the conference was organized around a specific set of topics and sub-themes, it also led to the publication of a book focusing on specific themes. A revision and point of the situation regarding the dominant, emerging or ‘forgotten’ themes of both the conference and publication will contribute to the systematization of the ABORNE network key sub-themes within the broader theme of migration as well as to the identification of expertise created and gaps still to be filled in.

**Title of presentation 2**

**African Borders research – shaping scholarship, policy and public understanding?**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Oliver
Surname	Bakewell
Position	Co-Director
Affiliation	International Migration Institute, University of Oxford
Country	UK
E-mail	oliver.bakewell@qeh.ox.ac.uk

**Author 2 (if applicable)**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	
Country	
E-mail	



**Abstract (max 250 words):**

Over the last fifteen years research into African borders and borderlands has expanded rapidly and contributed to a noticeable shift in perceptions. The popular perception of borders in Africa being artificial and irrelevant – a colonial construct with little meaning or legitimacy in the eyes of ordinary people living near the border – remains strong. However, it is being increasingly challenged by research from many disciplines including history, anthropology and political science (much of it by ABORNE members) that has shown the different ways in which borders have been inscribed in people’s everyday lives and incorporated into institutions at all levels. This contribution will reflect on the extent to which this rich understanding of the local construction of borders in Africa has shaped scholarship, policy and public understanding of borders and migration within the continent and beyond.

**Title of presentation 3**

**European Migration Management’s Global Approach. Doing border in Mali and Mauritania**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Stephan
Surname	Duennwald
Position	Postdoctoral Fellow
Affiliation	Centro de Estudos Africanos, ISCTE-IUL, University of Lisbon
Country	Portugal
E-mail	<a href="mailto:Stephan.dunnwald@iscte.pt">Stephan.dunnwald@iscte.pt</a>

**Author 2 (if applicable)**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	
Country	
E-mail	

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

European Migration management has been extended from the control of the own territory to countries of origin and transit, thus creating new spaces of border surveillance and disciplining of migrants and migration in Africa. This has also remodeled the relations between Europe and the states concerned, and left traces in the social, political and economic life of these countries, as well as the ways mobility is conceived and organized. Bargaining over bordering practices increasingly conditions development assistance, for soft tools like visa facilitation and circular migration schemes are used both as incentives and to keep targeted groups in their place. Though with the Global Approach on Migration Europe brought forward a comprehensive framework, the practical outcomes in terms of agreements, inter-state cooperation and consequences on the societal level show remarkable differences. Taking the cases of Mauritania and Mali as examples, these



differences will be discussed by first drawing on the development of what is called externalization of European migration policy, then sketching out the process how this externalization evolved both in Mauritania and Mali and contributes to the transformation of bordering processes.

**Title of presentation 4**

**Exploring the Migration-Border Nexus In and Around Africa Through the Borderscapes Lens**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Chiara
Surname	Brambilla
Position	Researcher
Affiliation	University of Bergamo
Country	Italy
E-mail	chiara.brambilla@unibg.it

**Author 2 (if applicable)**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	
Country	
E-mail	

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

My intervention reflects on the critical potential of the borderscapes concept to (re)think the interplay between migration and b/ordering processes in and around Africa and considering the Euro/Africa border nexus in particular.

The borderscapes concept expresses the (geo)political and epistemic multidimensionality of the border, enabling a productive understanding of the processual, de-territorialized and dispersed nature of borders and their ensuing regimes in the era of globalization and transnational flows. This helps investigate the multiplication as well as the persistence of borders in and around Africa, thereby contributing to the analysis of the diffusion and stratification of borders moving away from the limits of nation-states through their dis-locations and re-locations that originate a complex interaction between processes and practices of border externalization and internalization. Through the borderscape, it is possible to grasp the 'variations' of borders in and across Africa in space and time, transversally to many socio-cultural, political, economic, legal, and historical settings criss-crossed by negotiations between different actors, and not only the State. Hence, the borderscape offers the opportunity for questioning the 'normative dimension' of borders at the interface of EUrope/Africa relational geographies while considering that borders also involve struggles that consist of strategies of adaptation, contestation and resistance, challenging the top-down geopolitical control of



borders and opening new political subjectivities.

Gazing into the migration-border nexus through the borderscapes lens, I will provide examples from my research in the Libyan and the Namibian context, thereby diving into the Euro/African border nexus from colonial times to its post-colonial configurations.

**Title of presentation 5 (if applicable)**

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**Author 1**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	
Country	
E-mail	

**Author 2 (if applicable)**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	
Country	
E-mail	

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

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**Discussant**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	



Country	
E-mail	

**Moderator (if not the same person as the discussant)**

First name (s)	
Surname	
Position	
Affiliation	
Country	
E-mail	

**Other information (presentation format, special requirements, etc.):**

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## Proposal for a Panel

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### Title of Panel:

Regional Integration and Policy from “Above” and “Below” [ABORNE -SPONSORED PANEL]

### Name and e-mail address of the contact person:

William F.S. Miles [b.miles@neu.edu](mailto:b.miles@neu.edu)

### Panel description (max 250 words)

Aspirations for greater regional integration within the African context continuously run up against the reality of centralistic governments that are reluctant or institutionally incapable of ceding prerogatives to local level authorities, particularly in their respective borderlands. This panel explores these “above” versus “below” tensions as well as reactions to them, particularly at the grassroots levels. Economics, migration, chieftaincy, and criminality are all factors that determine the reality of regionalism. Contrasts with the experience of European integration will also be presented.

### Title of presentation 1

Knowledge-driven Promotion of Regional Integration “From Below”: An African Experience in Transfrontier Cooperation Policy Advocacy Since 1984

### Author 1

First name (s)	Anthony Ijaola
Surname	Asiwaju
Position	Professor Emeritus, University of Lagos
Affiliation	African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) & African Regional Institute, Imeko
Country	Nigeria
E-mail	ABORNE African Regional Institute, Imeko

### Abstract (max 250 words):

Regional integration demands the effective devaluation of barrier functions and effects of frontiers between participating States. Whether the reference is to a whole continent or its sub-division, depending on the level or unit of the analysis, the elimination of the border as **barrier** and its systematic promotion as **bridge** between concerned limitrophe States constitutes a critical condition of success.



A commonly expressed criticism of the approach in Africa, now being significantly reversed by the recently adopted African Union Border Programme (AUBP) is that, for too long, relevant policy making has been so much more an affair of government “above”; that policy initiatives and practice have been predominantly activities of the sovereign States and their ultra-nationalist bureaucracies holding on tenaciously to contrary and neutralizing doctrines of territorial sovereignty and inviolability or ‘intangibility’ of the international boundaries; that particularly ill-ignored have been such critical stakeholder constituencies as local territorial authorities and communities in the overlapping border areas.

The upshot has been a grievous disconnect that has robbed the prevailing initiatives “from above” of the imperative of secure foundations in realities of cross-border flows and wider regional dynamics of trans-border cultures and histories that operate all the time “from below”, often under the desks of nationalist policy operators !

This presentation is essentially an autobiographical reflection of the author who has uniquely combined comparative African borderlands research career, spanning more than three decades, with a highly sustained policy advocacy for trans-frontier regionalism, with widely acknowledged impacts on the current pro-active policy architecture in the continent.

### **Title of presentation 2**

The Reality of Regionalism in Africa: Top-Down Constraints versus Bottom-Up Processes

### **Author**

First name (s)	Daniel
Surname	Bach
Position	Directeur of research and professor of political science
Affiliation	CNRS-Emile Durkheim Center and University of Bordeaux
Country	France
E-mail	d.bach@sciencespobordeaux.fr

**Abstract (max 250 words):** The contrast between the turmoils of the European construction and the dynamism of regionalism/regionalisation in Asia and the Pacific highlights how Europe’s trajectory is not longer a global prototype for region-building. The 'emerging Africa ' (or resurgent Africa) narratives, assume that Africa is steadily evolving towards a single market and a 'bloc'. Yet, Region-building in Africa, still remains heavily constrained by the top-down institutional blueprints formally adopted by regional organisations that pretend to emulate the experience of the European Union (EU). Region-building in Africa is certainly far more dynamic that it was a decade ago but this is not really due to the implementation of the economic agendas of the Regional Economic Communities. Synergies between regionalism as a project and regionalisation as a process are building up -- as illustrated by the East African Community or ECOWAS. In many parts of the continent, it is the inflow of new investment and the diversification of strategies of accumulation away from the ‘state’ that generate ‘bottom up’ pressure towards 'defragmentation'. Elsewhere, it is the dividends of violence and the criminalisation of politics that act an incentive towards the recomposition of interactions that, in their own way, equally elude state control.





**Title of presentation 3**

Diffusing failure? Regional integration in West Africa and the EU model

**Author**

First name (s)	Giulia
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Position	Postdoctoral research fellow
Affiliation	University of Pretoria
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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

Regional integration is an appealing strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa. Ensuring the free movement of people and goods has been seen as a way to overcome the challenge posed by the artificial nature of African postcolonial borders. However, regional integration in Sub-Saharan Africa has drawn heavily from the European Union model of “integration from above”, especially in terms of institutional framework and of expectations about the evolution and gains of the integration process. The EU itself has encouraged the adoption of its model, both by providing material resources and by influencing regional organizations through political dialogue. Yet, the transfer of norms and institutions to a very different social and economic context poses a series of problems that have been insufficiently acknowledged. The literature on the “transformative power of Europe” has explored the issue through an Eurocentric perspective and its predominantly constructivist approach seems inadequate to account for a context where the integration process faces huge material and structural constraints. Based on field research conducted at the respective headquarters in Abuja and Ouagadougou, this paper retraces in a comparative perspective the impact of the EU model on the two major West African institutions, the Economic Community of the West African States (ECOWAS) and the Union Economique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA). Drawing from development and organizational theory, I use the concepts of “institutional mimicry” and of “pre-mature load bearing” to understand why EU promotion of regional integration may have exacerbated the “capability trap” that these organizations are facing.

**Title of presentation 4**

The ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, Residence and the Right of Establishment: Theory and Practice

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Ebele
Surname	Udeoji
Position	Lecturer-French & International Relations Department
Affiliation	National Open University
Country	Nigeria
E-mail	ebeleudeoji@yahoo.com



**Abstract (max 250 words):**

Long distance movement among West Africans in general has been described as a way of life, which dates to the pre-colonial era. This paper traces the antecedents of the Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS) Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right to Establish and discusses issues surrounding its implementation among the member countries. This ECOWAS protocol, which derives its constitutional strength and legitimacy from Article 27 in the ECOWAS Treaty, relates to free movement of persons, goods, capital, Rights of Residence and Establishments and was approved by the ECOWAS Heads of States and government in Dakar on May 29, 1979. In this study, the strengths and weaknesses of the protocol as it relates to the general movement of persons, goods and capital is examined but greater emphasis is on the issues of the rights of Residence and Establishment to determine why ECOWAS still struggles to guarantee entrepreneurs the right of Establishment or give migrant workers their socio-economic rights. The paper concludes that although the existing efforts to enhance free movement of persons in West Africa are quite commendable, a lot more can be done to make the system more effective. Also better and more international measures can be put in place that would enable the enforcement of the rights of migrant workers.

**Title of presentation 5**

Authority and unity below and above the state: Notions of the local and the regional for South Sudan's 'new' Azande Kingdom

**Author**

First name (s)	Mareike
Surname	Schomerus
Position	Consortium Director, Justice and Security Research Programme
Affiliation	London School of Economics and Political Science
Country	United Kingdom
E-mail	M.schomerus@lse.ac.uk

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

**Discussant**

First name (s)	Martin
Surname	Guillermo
Position	Secretary General
Affiliation	Association of European Border Regions (AEBR)
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E-mail	M.Guillermo@aebr.eu



**Moderator (if not the same person as the discussant)**

First name (s)	William
Surname	Miles
Position	Professor of Political Science
Affiliation	Northeastern University, Boston
Country	USA
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**Other information (presentation format, special requirements, etc.):**

<b>PowerPoint set-up</b>
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### Proposal for a Panel

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#### Title of Panel:

**ABORNE Roundtable: Conflict and Secessionism in Africa**

#### Name and e-mail address of the contact person:

Wolfgang Zeller, [wolfgang.zeller@ed.ac.uk](mailto:wolfgang.zeller@ed.ac.uk)  
Timothy Raeymaekers, [timothy.raeymaekers@geo.uzh.ch](mailto:timothy.raeymaekers@geo.uzh.ch)

#### Panel description (max 250 words)

This roundtable will present and discuss the results of two thematically related publication projects emerging from the work of ABORNE: A recent volume edited by Korf & Raeymaekers on “Violence in the Margins – State, Conflict and Borderlands”, and a forthcoming volume edited by Zeller & Tomas on “Secessionism in Africa”.

The editors of both volumes do not consider secession and organised violence as mere elements of state failure, but investigate the creative and innovative element of political disputes in general, and with a particular focus on the relevance of (post-) colonial state boundaries. Borderlands are not just depicted as the objects of globalized state-driven processes, but as actual political units that generate a variety of outcomes. These may be secessionist movements (or even their “successful” result: new sovereign states), protracted civil and guerrilla wars sometimes resulting in the overthrow of governments, or complex worldwide commercial networks of resource extraction and re-distribution.

Following an introduction by two of the editors (Raeymaekers and Zeller), some of the contributing authors (Larmer and Höhne) as well as other scholars working on the same topics in a comparative fashion (Scorgie and Boonen & Seymour) will present their individual contributions before a final round of discussion.

#### Title of presentation 1

***Introducing the books and panel topic***

#### Author 1

First name (s)

Wolfgang

Surname

Zeller

Position

Coordinator, African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE)

Affiliation

University of Edinburgh

Country

Scotland

E-mail

[wolfgang.zeller@ed.ac.uk](mailto:wolfgang.zeller@ed.ac.uk)



**Author 2 (if applicable)**

First name (s)	Timothy
Surname	Raeymaekers
Position	Lecturer
Affiliation	University of Zurich
Country	Switzerland
E-mail	<a href="mailto:timothy.raeymaekers@geo.uzh.ch">timothy.raeymaekers@geo.uzh.ch</a>

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

The presenters will give a brief introduction to the two volumes published in the Palgrave Series in African Borderlands Studies:

Wolfgang Zeller and Jordi Tomas (eds.), *Secessionism in Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Forthcoming 2014.

Benedikt Korf and Timothy Raeymaekers (eds.), *Violence on the Margins. States, Conflict, and Borderlands*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2013

**Title of presentation 2**

**After the secession: Katanga in exile, 1963-1973**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Miles
Surname	Larmer
Position	Lecturer in African History
Affiliation	University of Oxford
Country	UK
E-mail	<a href="mailto:miles.larmer@history.ox.ac.uk">miles.larmer@history.ox.ac.uk</a>

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

Following the defeat of the Katangese secession in January 1963, thousands of former Katangese soldiers crossed into Portuguese-ruled Angola. Initially designated as 'refugees' by Portuguese authorities, these ex-gendarmes sought to return to Congo to continue their war against the central state. Over the next decade, amidst periodic returns and further periods of exile, Katangese leaders, both political (e.g. the family of Moïse Tshombe family) and 'ethnic' (particularly the Lunda King, the Mwaant Yav) leaders sought to keep alive the Katangese independent project by sending supplies and young men, mainly ethnic Lunda, across the Angola-Congo/Zaire border to train for conflict with the Congolese armed forces. In so doing, Katangese political and military leaders in Angola struggled to avoid being subsumed into Portugal's war against Angolan nationalist forces (themselves operating from Congo/Zaire) as a



mercenary force, and to assert their underlying goal of returning ‘home’ to reclaim Katangese autonomy or independence.

In considering these events, this paper will analyse the importance of cross-border Lunda ethnicity in maintaining the conflictual relationship between Mobutu’s Zaire and Portuguese Angola; the ways in which both these powers mobilised politico-military movements from the other country in their own armed forces; and the ways in which the Katangese independence project was reimagined from Angolan exile during the period under analysis. The paper will frame these specific events in a consideration of the longer history of Angola-Zairian political relations and border tensions and suggest comparisons with other politico-military movements that have imagined their idea of nationhood from exile.

### **Title of presentation 3**

**Beyond cost and benefit calculations: The secession of Somaliland from collapsing Somalia and the long way to security and development**

#### **Author 1**

First name (s)	Markus Virgil
Surname	Höhne
Position	Post-Doctoral researcher
Affiliation	Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology and Conflict
Country	Germany
E-mail	<a href="mailto:mhoehne@eth.mpg.de">mhoehne@eth.mpg.de</a>

#### **Abstract (max 250 words):**

Very often, secessionist endeavors are understood as following some form of cost-benefit calculations. The question is who profits and who loses from secession – on the side of the secessionist movement and on the side of the parent state – and what happens if under certain circumstances costs or benefits for one side or the other increase or decrease. Very often, particularly the economic logic behind secessionist dynamics (‘do we gain by remaining placed in an existing state, or do we better fend on our own?’) is stressed in the literature as important determinant of secessions.

The secession of Somaliland (in northwestern Somalia) from Somalia is presented here as a case that in several regards contradicts the dominant perspectives on secession. I argue that Somaliland’s unilateral declaration of independence in 1991 did not follow careful cost-benefit calculations. Rather, it was the unforeseen result of certain civil-war dynamics and of state collapse. Once independence had been declared, it took many years before Somaliland would become stable. It would even take longer until some kind of improvement of the devastated economy took place. Initially, the secessionist republic had almost no external friends. The international community did not recognize it and in the 1990s, the UN even shunned it and accused it of ‘spoiling’ endeavors to reestablish a stable Somalia. Only from around 2002 onward



did Somaliland yield some moderate ‘peace dividend’ from the international community. Up until today, the greatest benefit secession brought about was a fragile peace. This peace, however, is questioned again by the attention the newly formed government in Mogadishu (in southern Somalia) receives lately as the ‘legitimate’ representative of Somalia (while Somaliland’s status remains unclear).

This presentation outlines the factors that – beyond cost-benefit calculations – informed the secession of Somaliland and contributed to its continued existence as not recognized de facto state.

#### Title of presentation 4

**What if Pandora’s Box is Empty? Rethinking Borders, Conflict and Separatism in Postcolonial Africa**

#### Author 1

First name (s)	Cris
Surname	Boonen
Position	PhD candidate
Affiliation	University of Leiden
Country	Netherlands
E-mail	c.a.boonen@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

#### Author 2 (if applicable)

First name (s)	Lee J. M.
Surname	Seymour
Position	Lecturer
Affiliation	University of Amsterdam
Country	Netherlands
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#### Abstract (max 250 words):

Is altering existing borders dangerous? The consensus in postcolonial Africa in favor of maintaining colonial-era borders was premised on the dangers of border revisionism. Decolonization unfolded on the basis of the principle of uti possidetis in the belief that altering boundaries risked a cascade of wars fueled by irredentism, separatism and territorial aggrandizement. The same principle has been applied in determining the boundaries of Eritrea and South Sudan.

Drawing on an original dataset of global territorial changes, we examine the historical basis of



the assumptions upon which Africa's postcolonial boundary regime was premised, and the causal mechanisms that connect boundary making to conflict. We test hypotheses examining how the nature of boundary change, specifically whether according to existing borders or not, affects the probability of international conflict, civil war, and separatist contagion, both in Africa and globally. We find evidence questioning the benefits of adhering to existing boundaries as a means to affect territorial change; if anything, demarcating statehood on the basis of existing borders has increased the risk of conflict when compared to drawing new borders, both in postcolonial Africa and globally throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One explanation for this anomaly is that the putative differences between adherence to uti possidetis and redrawing new borders is overstated. Given colonial map-making technologies and shifts in administrative boundaries, demarcating territory according to 'existing borders' often entails negotiation over their precise location. Differences between adhering to uti possidetis and violating it are overdrawn, as we demonstrate in case studies of boundary making in Eritrea and South Sudan. While uti possidetis provides a focal point reducing the bargaining range between affected states, it also forecloses outside options that might better serve both the interests of affected states and regional peace more generally.

**Title of presentation 5 (if applicable)**

**Rebel Resources in Eastern Congo's Borderlands**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Lindsay
Surname	Scorgie Porter
Position	Post-doctoral researcher
Affiliation	University of Western Ontario
Country	Canada
E-mail	<a href="mailto:lindsay.scorgie@cantab.net">lindsay.scorgie@cantab.net</a>

**Abstract (max 250 words):**

My conference paper will be a comparative analysis and typology of the primary foreign armed forces in eastern Congo's most volatile provinces – Oriental, North Kivu, and South Kivu – that have demonstrated exceptional resiliency over the course of the conflict and 'post-conflict' period. More specifically, I will be looking at their interaction with the border and surrounding borderland, and exploring the various borderland resources they have relied upon.

My previous research on one of the armed groups in this area, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), revealed how skilled the group was at extrapolating socio-political and military-economic





resources from the borderland at a translocal level. I suspect that my further research will reveal that other armed groups have used the border and surrounding borderland in quite different ways. While the ADF largely extrapolated from the borderland at a translocal level, undoubtedly others have done so at more of a transnational level. The M23 and its predecessors such as the National Congress for the Defence of the People (CNDP), for example, have used the border in terms of seeking sanctuary on the Rwandan side. Nevertheless, even the M23 and CNDP have an important translocal dimension, be it their ties with Banyarwanda borderland communities or their involvement in cross-border economic networks. Thus, while these groups greatly differ in origin, development, motives, and structure, I hypothesize that my further research will reveal that they all nevertheless share a translocal dynamic – a feature of these groups that is understudied and misunderstood.

**Title of presentation 6 (if applicable)**

**The protest movement of Sidi Ifni (2005-2009) in the Southern Moroccan borderland: a demand for state involvement or against the political order?**

**Author 1**

First name (s)	Karine
Surname	Bennafla
Position	
Affiliation	Sciences Po Lyon/ CAS Edinburgh
Country	UK
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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

This paper emerges from fieldwork in South Morocco (2007- 2010) and depicts a social and political movement occurring in a small town located in a peripheral and marginalized area: Sidi Ifni. The protest movement demanded public intervention in order to stimulate local development and to guarantee the population's well-being. The former capital of Spanish Western Africa, Sidi Ifni was a Spanish enclave inside the French Protectorate of Morocco and returned to the Moroccan State in 1969, a retrocession that initiated its political and economic decline. The fishing harbour is today located on the border of contested Western Sahara and opposite the Canary islands, a European territory that an increasing number of Ifni's inhabitants try to reach by boats. The Sidi Ifni movement is representative of the increasing social protest movements in the country's small and mid-size cities over the course of the last decade. However, this particular city became a national symbol of the State's violence for Moroccan activists after an incident of fierce military repression the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 2008. My talk aims to show that this exceptional degree of violence is connected to the borderland situation of Sidi Ifni, especially the proximity with Western Sahara, and the instrumentalization of nationalist belonging by militants. The activists have direct links with Spain, and their ambiguous narrative blends a myth of tribal rebellion against the central power with a discourse of resistance



based on nationalism. The coalition leading the protests reinvents and puts on display a locally specific identity and formulates demands in moral terms, depoliticizing the protest. Against a background of a 'strong State' confronted with tribal dissidence over many centuries, this case-study invites us to investigate social upheaval in territorial margins and the relationship between peripheral areas and a central State accustomed to managing social turbulence.

**Title of presentation 7 (if applicable)**

**Making Bakassi: legal narratives re-fashioned on the Nigeria-Cameroon border**

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

In August 2002, the International Court of Justice ruled the Bakassi peninsula, which lies at the southernmost tip of the Nigeria-Cameroon border, part of Cameroon. Among Cameroonians and Nigerians, the case elicited debates over the role of the pre-colonial and colonial past in post-colonial African borders, the effectiveness of archival versus oral data as evidence, the significance of emotion and politics in attachment to place, and the effects of international intervention in issues of sovereignty. On the whole, however, in such debates African states are presented as 'weak' and Bakassi inhabitants are victims of international interference in the past and present.

Based on 15 months ethnographic fieldwork in the mobile fishing villages of Bakassi on both sides of the disputed border, this paper examines how similar debates circulate and change among those principally affected by the judgement. I argue that, on the ground, the Cameroonian state's "Cameroonize Bakassi" campaign and Nigerian's development of "The New Bakassi" for refugees increase the political weight of national identity affiliations on the border in ways that both encourage and restrict the use of ICJ-elicited narratives. As Bakassi inhabitants go about deciding whether to 'become Cameroonian' or 'stay Nigerian', they refashion the dominant ICJ narrative in light of future aspirations and in ways that have real, material effects on border demarcation. As such, the case of Bakassi challenges Africanist scholarship in which states are considered 'weak', national identity a shadow affiliation compared to ethnicity, and borders as solely colonial impositions.



**Title of presentation 8 (if applicable)**

Policies, politics, and pastoral livestock marketing on the Ethiopia/Kenya borderlands

**Author 1**

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

This paper examines the consequences of changing pastoral livestock marketing policies in Kenya and Ethiopia. The paper uses the current intensification of livestock marketing activities on the borderlands of the two countries and the proliferation of animal feedlots in Adama, Ethiopia to explain how policy change can lead to phenomenal increase in livestock sales across formerly heavily controlled and rigid border crossing areas between these countries and positive prospects for increased livestock exports.

Livestock marketing in pastoral areas of the Horn of Africa and more generally in the border areas has been a localized economic activity with little economic effect beyond border towns in which they take place. In some extreme cases, Ethiopian and Kenyan states have always controlled cross border livestock movements and considered the trade as clandestine activity and often banned it for extended period of time. However, the recent opening up of export markets in Gulf countries has encouraged Ethiopia to relax entry restrictions for livestock in its southern border areas. The increasing state interest in livestock exports in Ethiopia appears a positive step in the right direction, especially for pastoral livelihood improvements and more broadly for enhanced regional integration. The data were collected in Nairobi and Addis Ababa in late 2012 and early 2013.

**Title of presentation 9 (if applicable)**

The Right to Secede: Exploring Aspects of International Recognition of Separatist Struggles in Africa

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**Abstract (max 250 words):**

The paper explores the controversial topic of secession and its international recognition by drawing from preparatory research for a project dealing with effects of secessions in the Horn of Africa. First, it sets out to identify frequent normative criteria used to evaluate the legitimacy of secessionist struggles and their potential for international recognition. These are then aggregated into broader categories that have been used to determine responses to the claims for international recognition. Second, the paper analyzes how the constructed categories apply to a selection of separatist conflicts in Africa by comparing two cases that led to international recognition and two cases of non-recognition. It shows evidence that although granting independence for new state entities appears not to have followed consistently identifiable criteria in Africa international recognition has tended to conform to some. Yet, major determining factors have been the actor-specific interests and the cases in question. Finally, the paper concludes that favoring a certain criterion over another may provide incentives for further separatist armed violence and therefore undermine the internal order and unity of states in Africa and beyond.

**Discussant**

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Surname

Position

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Country

E-mail

**Moderator (if not the same person as the discussant)**

First name (s)

Surname

Position

Affiliation

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**Other information (presentation format, special requirements, etc.):**

Data projector for power point needed

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