Final Report on the 2011 Conference of the African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE), 21-24 September 2011, Lisbon

Fifth Annual Conference
Crossing African Borders: Migration and Mobility

Submitted by
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Summary

The African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE, http://www.aborne.org) is an interdisciplinary network of close to 200 academic researchers worldwide. Its main aims are the propagation, organization and dissemination of research on African boundaries and borderlands, the establishment of borderlands studies as a field of academic enquiry and the transfer of research results by providing expertise and advice to practitioners and politicians. Since 2009, ABORNE receives funding from the Research Networking Programme of the European Science Foundation (RNP).

From 21 to 24 September 2011, the Centre of African Studies of the ISCTE-IUL, Lisbon, Portugal hosted the Fifth Annual Meeting of ABORNE on the topic "Crossing African Borders: migration and mobility". The annual meeting was attended by 60 registered academics from 20 countries, among them 11 based in African countries. In total, a good mix of younger and senior scholars, in seven sub-thematic panels, presented 47 papers and three documentary films. Given the pertinence of African migration and mobility as one of ABORNE's core themes, the conference opened the scope of work to scholars working in this field, calling them to reflect on the role of borders while at the same time 'border focused' specialists looked deeper into matters of the circulation of people through African borders. This combination engendered a very engaged and fruitful exchange, greatly facilitated by the usual convivial atmosphere of ABORNE meetings. The meeting, whose participants unanimously agreed being a great success, will in all likelihood result in a number of joint publications and two main possibilities have been opened: the Palgrave series now formally in action and one offer from the journal African Black Diaspora (Routledge) for a special issue. Moreover, the Centre of African Studies will prepare a publication of the conference papers either at its journal *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* or in the *Africa em Perspectiva* book series. All participants had

access to the Conference book (containing all draft papers) and a copy of this will be sent to the ESF.

Also, all conference documents and papers are available for download from the ABORNE website's section Science Meetings. Because these are generally work in progress and to avoid copyright problems after publication, access to the full papers files is password-protected and only for registered ABORNE members.

Scientific Results

Migration and mobility in and out of Africa are central factors in social, political and economic dynamics of life in borderlands. It is also one of the main concerns of state authority, both African and outside the continent, and a key feature in Africans; social and economic strategies. The theme, and its relation to the control and regulation of African borders, has attracted many scholars worldwide, from several disciplines, which made this conference topic of high interest and allowed fruitful exchanges both on an empirical and theoretical level.

Border studies have provided a critical framework for investigating the nature and implications of changing patterns of migration within Africa. A large amount of literature deals with ways in which borders have affected migration in Africa, namely labour migration, seasonal migration, forced migration. Illegal migration to Europe is currently a major international concern and several papers addressed this issue while new trends in inter-African migration were highlighted, together with their major social, political and economic implications.

The conference invited a number of international specialists and actual/potential ABORNE partners, who provided important contributions in their areas. Prof. Allen Howard from Rutgers University introduced the general aspects of border analysis in Africa in his keynote address "Sierra Leone-Guinea boundary and border zone trade: historical and comparative perspectives". His presentation covered different historical periods in the region, which contributed not only to the framing of border studies in the continuous changes taking place in Africa but also fostered the discussion that followed his presentation. Prof. William Milles, co-editor of the ABORNE-Palgrave Publication Series joined ABORNE as a new member and contributed actively to panel session discussions. Two invited participants, Thenjiwe Nkosi and Manuela Zips-Mairitsch, introduced two documentaries focusing on African borders that were presented at the conference ("Border Farm" and "Kalahari Struggle: Southern Africa's San under Pressure") and conducted question and answer session that followed them.

The organizers had arranged a number of activities that allowed the participant to socialise and network. These were two dinners, an invitation to an exhibition and debate on "Doing Border: building and overcoming fences" (Fábrica Braço de Prata), as well follow-up meetings on Saturday with the participants that remained in Lisbon after their presentations. Isabel Boavida from the Centre of African Studies prepared a presentation on common issues regarding long-term established borders in Europe (such as the Portuguese one) and the relatively recent (19th century) African borders. This presentation was followed by discussions on this subject, taking into account the africanists' expertise and will be published in the *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos*. Other groups set meetings to discuss future collaborations between universities and research

centres and future Aborne activities (one group specifically focused on the forthcoming Summer School in Saint Louis and another on publications).

Associated with the conference, the SC of ABORNE had awarded two Exchange Visit Grants with funding by the European Science Foundation to researchers who participated in the organisation of the event, Dr. Paolo Gaibazzi and Mr. Hugh Lamarque. The researchers have sent separate reports to the ESF specifying their activities during their two-month stay in Lisbon beyond the conference. They took an active and vital role in the organisation of the conference call for papers and programme, the compilation of the conference book, panel organisation, chairing of the discussions following documentary film screenings and preparation of publishing proposals.

Regarding the panels, the selection of themes began in 2010, at ABORNE's Annual Conference in Basel with seven ABORNE members interested in specific topics proposing to convene panels. These seven convenors then received all paper proposals and made the selection and suggestions for paper improvement. This participative procedure resulted in more focused papers, specifically addressing the issues of the panel, with evident benefit for the scientific outputs of the conference. One example of the leading role of panel convenors had from the beginning was the possibility to produce comments from a very good knowledge of all papers (see Annex 3).

The following short review cannot do justice to the programme or the many excellent contributions, but can only mention some of the themes emerging from the panels.

The **first** panel, "Methodologies for Studying Cross-Border Movements", convened by Tara Polzer, focused on the methodological challenges from both migration studies and borderland studies. With the format of an open discussion/workshop, the panel discussed the challenges that arise from the context, including mobile research targets and the mobilization of multi- and interdisciplinary fields. The main conclusion drawn was that these conditions may open up opportunities for innovative and multi-pronged methodological approaches but on the other hand lead to confusion regarding comparisons and collaborations between researchers and communication with policy actors.

The **second** panel, more concerned with the theoretical approach to African borders ("Rethinking hierarchies of borders and border crossings?"), convened by Giorgio Miescher, focused on the theoretical aspects of conceptualising borders and therefore envisaged the discussion of the research object of ABORNE itself. Presenters moved beyond the "physical international borders" and discussed the role, pertinence and meaning of other territorial borders for the network and for the scholars involved in it. It therefore addressed academic "hierarchies" of these different types of borders. To address the specific theme of the conference, migration was approached through the questioning of where borders are actually experienced by migrant(s).

Panel **three** on "The Building of African Territories through Borders" contained presentations on a diverse range of country case studies (Cameroun, Djibouti, Eritrea, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda). The panel took a historical perspective, examining the impact of pre-colonial and colonial migration on contemporary Africa. The strength of the panel was in the synergy between the papers raising thought provoking discussions on the issues of space, sovereignty, citizenship, as well as our mode of methodologies. In their totality, the papers attempted to draw light on how colonisation and the imposition of geographical lines have changed the mobility of African people, and how this can helps us understand mobility today.

Panel **four**, for which the convenors invited papers concerning "Forced Migration and the Role of Borders" gathered presentations around two foci: while some of the papers explored movements over inner-African borders focusing on integration and identity formation, a second set of papers dealt with European bordering processes in Africa and its' effects on migration. While Anthony Asiwaju showed the relevance of cross border movements under different colonial regimes for today's border zones, Tandia and Bakewell dealt with the agency of refugees and the role of UNHCR refugee regime and informal integration. Integration, agency and identity were keywords also for Drotbohms presentation on the arrival of deportees on the Cape Verdian Island of Brava. Fornale and Lemberg-Pedersen analysed the progression of European migration and border management in Africa, which increasingly affects the conceptualisation of borders in African states.

Panel **five** approached border circulation through the economic/trade perspective ("Border crossings and economic circulation: trade, smuggling, labour") and was organised by Gregor Dobler. It started from the assumption that, although economic reasons are not the exclusive motive for migration, they have always been a powerful incentive. Papers in this panel analyzed different dimensions of the economic dynamics for migration, including its importance for livelihoods and collective strategies; the changing reasons and justifications for migration throughout time, as well as hidden purposes of border control by states. Two of the papers focused on smuggling, envisaging it as a generator of a "smuggling" culture, a substitute for state economic policy and, in certain contexts, as movements of resistance.

Panels **six** was concerned with the linkages between "Border Regimes and Migrants' Subjectivities". The common assumption of the panel was that borders are not only institutions of the state having regulatory effects on mobility and citizens; they are also discursive practices that shape people who cross or inhabit border areas into particular kinds of subjects. The panel did not therefore confine its field of enquiry to identity politics, but explore ways of being. All the papers in this panel took up the challenge of exploring border regimes and subjectivities by using an empirical approach, and hence the panel's emphasis on practice, that is, migrant practices as well as practices of government. The panel scheduled three presentations by Aidan Russell ("Rwanda, Burundi and the Negotiation of Border Regimes in a Narrow Space"), Vassilis Tsianos,

Brigitta Kuster ("Border regimes and migrants practices: citizenship, belonging and the making of migrant subjectivities"), and Knut Graw ("Of Borders and Horizons: Reflections on Migratory Expectations in Africa and beyond", co-authored with Samuli Schielke). While Franca Attoh could not travel to Lisbon due to bureaucratic reasons, she sent her contribution ("'Italo Girls': The Economic Dimensions of Illicit Migration in Nigeria"). The presentations were followed by an open discussion chaired by Paolo Gaibazzi (see Annex 3).

Panel seven, dedicated to "Partitioned Africans", was conceived to present the human factor in Africa's international boundaries. The panel investigated how borderland groups define, value and use international boundaries with varying emphasis on social, cultural, religious and economical aspects. Ten papers were sent to the panel convenors and seven of them were presented in Lisbon. The panel was divided in two sessions. Georg Klute participated actively as a discussant during both sessions. The cases were Nigeria/Cameroon, Senegal/Mauritania, Senegal/Guinea-Bissau, Eritrea/Ethiopia, Mozambique/Zimbabwe and Uganda/Sudan.

Some topics discussed were common to all panels. These were the relation between informality and formality; the negotiations (and failures) between state control of borders and migrants' agency; the translocality of migration as opposed to the established international boundaries; the sense(s) of belonging for migrants and the role of borders in relation to it. Although one of the panels was exclusively dedicated to the discussion of the methodological aspects of border analysis, the majority of the presentations stimulated the discussion on the limits and possibilities for border research in Africa. National and international policy on migration and the way migration in and out of Africa is shaped and conditioned was another cross-cutting theme raised throughout the conference.

Overall, the organizers consider the conference a great success and the direct feedback from participants and range of follow-up initiatives gives testimony to this impression. Eight scholars joined ABORNE during the conference, of which five were Africans. To the degree that can be expected from a conference, it engaged discussions and brought new results and a more focused view of cross-border migration within and from Africa. Like at the Basel Conference in 2010, one point which could be improved further is to further increase the number of African participants, whose contributions proved vital for academic exchanges. Funding restrictions and great, in some cases insurmountable difficulties in obtaining travel visas have resulted in a limited, though still significant share of African colleagues participating in the Lisbon meeting.

Lisbon, 24 October 2011
Cristina Udelsmann Rodrigues

Annexes

Annex 1 – Conference Programme

	SEPTEMBER 21			SEPTEMBER 22		SEPTEMBER 23		SEPTEMBER 24
09.00 11.00	Workshops C1.01 B1.02	Registrations Building II on the ground floor	09.00 11.00	Panel 7	Panel 4	Panel 3		
11.00 11.30	Coffee-break		11.00 11.30	Coffee-break		Coffee-break		
11.30 13.30	SC Meeting C1.01	Registrations Building II on the ground floor	11.30 13.30	Panel 7	Panel 4	Panel 5	Panel 6	
13.30 14.30	Lunch		13.30 15.00	Lunch		Lunch		
14.30 16.00	Opening Session Keynote speaker Allen M. Howard B2.04		15.00 16.00	Panel 3	Panel 1	Panel 5	Panel 2	Follow-up meetings
16.00 16.15	Coffee-break		16.00 16.15	Coffee-break		Coffee-break		
16.15 17.15	ABORNE presentation B2.04		16.15 17.15	Panel 3	Panel 1	Panel 5	Panel 2	
17.30 19.30			17.30 19.30	Documentary "Border Farm" and "Esta fronteira não existe" B2.04		Documentary "Kalahari Struggle: Southern Africa's San under Pressure " B2.04		
20.00	Dinner Adega do Tagarro		21.30	Fábrica Braço de Prata Debate Doing Border: building and overcoming fences				Dinner Pé nú beach club

Annex 2 – Panel and Paper Abstracts

PANEL 1
Methodologies for studying cross-border movements
Convenor | Tara Polzer
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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
Terhemba Nom Ambe-Uva
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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.

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.

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?
Convenor | Giorgio Miescher
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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
Marco Gardini
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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 economic possibilities opened up by smuggling and in the relatively easy exit option available for people. At the same time, the south-western region of Togo has witnessed the massive arrival of migrants from the north of the country, mainly Kabiè, who settled down in this territory with different forms of agreement with the land owners, producing increasing tensions regarding the access to land. During the rising opposition movement against the dictatorship of Eyadema in the 90's, many land conflicts between Ewe and Kabiè were described as products of ethnic tensions, re-proposing the colonial stereotypes about the "barbaric" northern "Kabiè" (now politically dominant), against a "civilized", but actually submitted, southern "Ewe".
Based on fieldwork research carried out from 2006, this paper explores the ways through which these two frontiers (an exterior and "formal" one and an internal - but no less important- economic and political one) influenced the political and social context of the region and shows how, in the local representations, both frontiers, built during the colonialism and constantly re-negotiated, reciprocally load themselves with peculiar political and economic 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 valorization of ethnic rather than international prescript boundaries by the inhabitants of Bakassi, and how their activities challenge the application of international decisions.

Keywords: Concept, Boundary, Indigenous Application, Boarder Lines, Bakassi, Cameroon, Nigeria

The border archive - Questioning meanings and hierarchies of borders in the Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area

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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.

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 political 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
Convenors | Camille Lefebvre & Jude Murison
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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.

To Zanzibar and back: Comorian mobilities in colonial and post-colonial Zanzibar
Iain Walker
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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.

What for is built a migration boundary? The case of the 'Barrage de Djibouti' (1966-1982)
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This communication presents a particular boundary, the Barrage erected between 1966 and the beginning of the 1980's around the town of Djibouti. While it should restrain

migrations, the population of the town tripled. While it should maintain the French sovereignty, the territory becomes independent in 1977. From a presentation of the making of this imposing boundary object, we will show its role in identity construction and what it can teach us about the use of a migration boundary.

Colonial migration from French Equatorial Africa to Darfur, c. 1916-1956

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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.

Colonial Migration from French Equatorial Africa to Darfur

Pahimi Patrice
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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.

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.

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.

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.

Cross-Border Protest Migrations and Settlements in Colonial West Africa: The Example of 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 la guerre du Biafra au Nigeria de 1967 à 1970, l'écartement politique des opposants au régime de Sékou Touré en Guinée, la 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 actuellement visibles. Aussi, posons-nous la question de savoir en quoi l'implantation des réfugiés tchadiens dans cette zone peut-elle être présentée comme une variable explicative des dynamiques économiques, socioculturelles et politiques dans ce département.

Mots clés : Migration forcée, Tchad, Nord Cameroun, dynamiques et mutations.

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

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This paper seeks to understand border regimes from the perspective of refugees as part of a border people which agency can reveal the close relationship between border regimes and refugee regimes. It analyses the transformative potentials and realizations of refugee practices in local integration and their effects on the nature and role of borders as well as on refugee regimes. Focussing on the experience of a refugee community based in the cross-border zone of Dagana between Senegal and Mauritania, it contends that refugees are agentless even in the context of closed boundary regime. On the contrary, refugee agency has proven effective and even theoretically useful in understanding the character and dynamic of border regimes. As authentic and legitimate actors of local integration refugees participate in the transformation of host communities and the border regions they live in. Incidentally, they impact on the boundary regime however rigid or closed it has proven to be in. The empirical study of the transformative impact of refugees' strategies within their host communities and in the borderland local system of action reveal the various ways in which successive local integration transforms both the refugee and border regimes to extent that formal assistance and the underlying border regime are relatively challenged.

The politics of deportation and its 'frontiering effect' on transnational livelihoods

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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.

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, because the dynamics of unauthorized migrations has received extensive media coverage but

little academic attention. 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 and seek to identify which restrictions these norms impose on States and the challenges transit countries are facing in order to implement these agreements. 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.

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.

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?

Profiling Ethiopian Migration: A Comparison of Ethiopian Migrant Characteristics to Africa, the Middle East and the North

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The face of Ethiopian migration has been changing, from large refugee flows in the 1980s and 1990s to different forms of labour migration in the present decade as people seek employment opportunities abroad. This paper provides an overview of the different characteristics of migrants from Ethiopia to three different migration destinations: (1) Northern countries, (2) other African countries, and (3) to the Middle-East. The paper is based on a recently conducted household survey with 1286 migrant, non-migrant and return migrant households in Ethiopia. The results show that the characteristics of the migrants and their origin households differ depending on migration destination, and the increased migration flows to Africa and the Middle-East in recent decades has played an important role in reshaping the profile of the Ethiopian migrants. Furthermore, the results show that the current Ethiopian migration flows coincide with some of the current global migration trends but at the same time contrast some of the overall migration figures representing Africa.

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.

The flow of things and news in Cape Verde transnational family relations
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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. There are significant differences in the relationships between emigrants and the society of origin which depend on gender and this cannot be ignored. For this purpose 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? The analysis of the 'fence discourse'

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In September 2003 the Zimbabwean High Commissioner to Gaborone, Phelekeza Mphoko, stated that 'Botswana is trying to create a Gaza Strip' (Daily Mail & Guardian, September 8, 2003). by putting up the fence on its border with Zimbabwe. This rather radical rhetoric can be found mainly in the Zimbabwean political discourse. Obviously, the situation on the border between Botswana and Zimbabwe can hardly be equated with the state of affairs between Israel, Egypt and Palestinian Authority in terms of their engagement in the Gaza strip. The origins of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, together with geopolitical and demographical setting in the Middle East, as well as the very involvement of the United States in the region are major dissimilarities. Whilst the Gaza blockade by the iron fence and a heavily armed Israeli forces is clearly a matter of national security, the Botswanian fence was officially erected as a result of phytosanitary concerns stemming from the risk of transmission of the Foot-and-Mouth Disease (FMD) among the local cattle. Nevertheless, it is argued that the real agenda of the government was actually to put a stop to the uncontrolled influx of Zimbabwean illegal immigrants crisscrossing the border. The objective of the paper is to shed more light on this very issue.

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

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This paper examines two opposing agendas that circumscribe migration into and from Mauritania. The first part identifies the role of capital accumulation in displacing people and promoting the mobility of unfree labour within West Africa and to Europe. The second part analyses the development of Mauritania as an EU frontier and a host to the US' Trans-Saharan Counter Terrorism Initiative, both of which focus on hardening border control. The paper argues that these regimes in sum regulate a 'labour reserve',

in which labourers, dispossessed, cross borders in order to 'earn a living', and their circulation is limited as a result of their illegal status. However, a historical approach both to the external construction of Mauritania and the Sahara, and to labour mobility in West Africa, leads to the conclusion that there is an almost-parallel political economy. Local patterns of trade and labour between Mauritania and its neighbours confront the superficial nature of capitalist transformation. Migrants' trajectories intersect with unfree mobility regimes and borders in unpredictable moments and find autonomy in unexpected stages.

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.

Between Europe and Africa: smuggling, drug trafficking and money laundering at the Spanish-Moroccan frontier

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Against claims that, with globalisation, state borders are becoming increasingly obsolete, a growing number of academics have called for a return to the consideration of borders as the symbols of the power of the state, and of the state, in turn, as the principal agent in the configuration of territorial boundaries. For them, the question at issue in the study of borderlands is the investigation of the power of the state and the ways in which it is enforced, contested or negotiated. With this question in view, cross-border smuggling and other forms of underground economic activities are inevitably construed as movements of resistance and subversion which occur at the margins of and against the state. A different set of questions, however, may yield a very different answer.

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.
Keywords: Niger; Songhay-Zarma; strategies of survival; seasonal migration; process of economic informalization.

PANEL 6
Border regimes and migrant practices: citizenship, belonging and the making of migrant subjectivities
Convenors | Paolo Gaibazzi
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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.

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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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.

Of Borders and Horizons: Reflections on Migratory Expectations in Africa and beyond
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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.

"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.

PANEL 7
Partitioned Africans
Convenors | Jordi Tomàs Guilera & Alexandra M. Dias
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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.
Discussant: Georg Klute | Georg.Klute@uni-bayreuth.de

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: refugee movements and commodity trade in the South 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.

Strategies and shifting identities in Northern Ethiopia's borderlands: perspectives of a borderland group Irob

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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 Partitioned Communities along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border

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This paper explores how partitioned borderland African communities view and use by the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border. Using participant observation among the communities straddled across the border, it analyses why commuter migration across this boundary is rampant. It observes that to the borderland communities, 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 Mozambicans prefer commuting to the better Zimbabwean schools and hospitals across the border, while most shopping and kinship rites are conducted in Mozambique. Likewise, the some divided communities recognize and use single traditional authorities. In the process, the Zimbabwe-Mozambican border has been reduced to an artificial and arbitrary boundary which does not respond to what the local 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.

"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 Strategies, Cultural Practices and Citizenship Recovery: the Mauritanian Refugees in the Valley of the Senegal River
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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.

'I am From Busia!': Making 'Place' Out of Partition at the Kenya-Uganda Border Through Everyday Practises and Activities

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Although political geographers, anthropologists, and historians have contributed to understanding how local residents derive social and economic benefits from international borders, the resulting literature is less clear on what it means to 'be at' the border. Critical geographers use the spatial turn, or the idea that space produced through practises and perceptions can structure social action, to address this limitation, especially in African border contexts where state presence is often weakened or modified by local agendas. However, the links between border activities, perceptions, and location are not as well developed. This paper argues that, by augmenting geographic theory with ethnographic methods, border scholars can conceptualise border towns as dynamic 'places' where individuals impact and construct meanings from border spaces in different ways. Fieldwork conducted in adjacent border towns along one of the busiest trade corridors in East Africa uncovered local perceptions of the border and a range of activities occurring across it. When put within the context of the recently-launched East African Common Market, this study illustrates the continued relevance of border towns to wider social and economic development.

International boundaries and divided peoples: focus on the Boki and Ejagham communities in the cross river borderlands, 1884-1990's

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The international boundaries bequeathed to the new African countries at independence by European colonialists, have until recently, been characterized by emphasis on two themes; namely, their functioning as precise lines of separation between the new states. These conclusions have arisen from the work of scholars who have imposed a State-Centric perspective on their understanding of Africa's inherited boundaries. This study of Boki and Ejagham, who were divided between Nigeria and Cameroon by international boundaries, first between the British and Germans, then British and French, now between Nigeria and Cameroon has critically examined the above theses and found them to be defective. For example, the British, unlike the Germans, desired to preserve the Boki and Ejagham as a unified culture area to be included within the Efik market sphere of Old Calabar. This study has emphasized that the Cross River borderlands between Nigeria and Cameroon have functioned more or les as "osmotic point" of contact between the divided peoples. This is manifested in the daily interactions of the Boki and Ejagham across the international boundaries separating them. Thus, despite the harsh boundary functions and divisive tendencies imposed by the colonialists and post colonial governments of Nigeria and Cameroon meant to separate the Boki and Ejagham from their kith and kin, the people have continued to carry on social and economic relations across borders. The boundary in this region has, thus, failed in its primary function as a line of separation between the divided peoples. These aspects of cross-border interactions between the peoples have often been treated as marginal in the overall interest of state-centric studies. Such attitudes have invariably deprived Nigeria and Cameroon of the needed vitality in trans-border co-operation. Thus, trans-border conflicts between the two nations can be considerably reduced and the border regions converted into frontiers of opportunities for both countries should the issues involved be approached from the grassroots rather than the state-centric levels of understanding.

Annex 3 – Panel Six Discussion

Border Regimes, in Practice: Both Russell and Tsianos and Kuster highlight the ambivalence and conflict between the intention and the practice of building a border regime. Intentions to construct borders may largely remain on paper (or databases), while the will to control might fail to become real. Tsianos and Kuster go beyond the level of planning, policy-making, and show how the ambitious, and politically contested, project of constructing a transnational digital database (EURODAC) for biometric identification runs into difficulties when national systems, technological equipment and personnel have to be integrated and coordinated. Similarly, Russell is interested in how border regimes are negotiated on the ground, the ground being the Rwanda-Burundi borderland in the post-independence period. Russell highlights different engagements between the state, local residents and cross-border movers, which yield paradoxical results and conflicting moral orders (e.g. a border guard crossing illegally to attend Mass). Rusell's suggestion of a Space of Negotiation in the making of border regimes has wider applicability, whether within state structures or between state and citizens. Some questions to the authors emerge, nonetheless, from the reading of the texts. I [the discussant] would like to encourage the presenters to further elaborate on the implications of such ambivalent border regimes for a process of migrant subjectivation.

To Tsianos and Kuster: you show that the construction of the EURODAC database, complete with its apparatuses of control of movement, excludes but also includes migrants. The EU border does not only ward off, but creates POLITICAL SUBJECTS, forms of human life that stand in a particular relation with a polity. You mention Gilles Deleuze's work "the society of control", but reference to Giorgio Agamben's work seems to be relevant here. Lest I am suspected of academic patriotism or, worse, of social-scientific populism, let me explain what I mean: If I understood you correctly, you argue that EURODAC de-territorializes and de-nationalizes migrants by substituting a system of control based on passports and travel documents issued by nation-states for a system of control based on the biometric, physical features. I was also reminded here of Agamben's definition of the Camp as a "nomos of the present", an archetype or template for constructing a socio-political order in modern society. Can we make a similar argument about the encamping of migrants' digitalized bodies?

At this point, either you or Russell, may rejoin that migratory movements exceed border regimes, thus posing a counterpoint to Agambian's view of sovereign decisionalism. This is true, but it seems to me that, paradoxically, the state's failure to abide by its own laws and policies might create even more perverse and arbitrary forms of sovereign control than intended, imposing a veritable state of exception on migrants, as in the case of the migrants unlawfully repatriated from Italy to Greece described by Tsianos and Kuster. If you find this point relevant, I would ask you to comment on that.

To Rusell: I would ask a perhaps more late-Foucauldian question: you argue that borderlanders comply with, pay lip service to, or resist the predicament of the nation state about border security and foreign threats. This surely speaks volumes about the agency of borderlanders or, in contrast, about the failure of governmental will to touch ground. However, do such predicaments constitute a point of reference for borderlanders as they try to align themselves with particular modes of ethical conduct and being? Let me clarify. In your paper, which deals with state formation in the post-independence period, some people living in a proximity to the border appear to have made themselves into informal border guards in two case studies contained in your paper: 1) those kidnapping a cattle herder crossing the border and 2) those identifying Tutsi asylum seekers trying to flee Rwanda. Does this suggest that the construction of border inflects not only the local politics of belonging, but also the making of national citizens as moral subjects endowed with a duty to guard the national border?

In this second session of the panel attention was shifted to the ways cross-border migration is built into societal values, norms and social relations, or in contrast deteriorates them. Elaborating on a set of case

studies that they have collected in a volume, Graw and Schielke propose the notion of Horizon which tries to capture the imaginative and experiential processes through which the world is brought home, and home is located within a wider world. Here, migration provides the telescope through which the far-away is brought within visual-material reach, and the horizons are broadened so as to encompass other existential possibilities.

As Graw and Schielke point out, the horizon is both limit and expanding frontier. Perhaps there is still room here to integrate previous reflections on borders, as limits blocking the horizon of migration as well as constitutive elements of the horizon. In reading your paper I was often reminded of the literature on cosmopolitanism, which is perhaps underrepresented in the text. I am not simply referring to the imagination of a seamless, cross-cultural world in which one feels at home. As Walter Mignolo pointed out, such cosmopolitan imagination must be put in relation to 'global designs' to make the world into a particular kind of place. Colonialism, and as Graw and Schielke point out, postcolonial globalization, are examples of such global designs. They expand horizons, while at the same time inscribing a geopolitical landscape in them, for example a world constituted of nation-states which are separated by hard and fast boundaries. This raises the question of how borders or border regimes as an element of these global designs inflect the global horizon of migration, and what role migration has not only in transcending boundaries but also in reproducing such a hegemonic geopolitical imagination in the everyday life of people.

In this respect, Franca Attoh offers an example of how power relations etch the social imaginary of migration. By drawing on Durkheim and Merton, Attoh shows that economic hardship drives a wedge between cultural values and actual practices, thus producing anomie or practices that override mores and norms of public conduct. As weak subjects in households, young girls are thus pushed into transnational trafficking networks to generate income through sex work. This offers a compelling example of how the expansion of horizons by way of globalization has reinforced exploitative relations and reproduced subaltern subject positions.

I would encourage Attoh, however, to pay greater heed to the issue of women's voice. First, it is not clear whether young girls accept or resist dominant categorizations. Second, and consequent, while Mertonian sociology is surely relevant here, I wonder whether a notion like Graw and Schielke's Horizon might help debunk and nuance what appear to be uncontested, monolithic and localized models of female morality and personhood. To put it differently, it is not clear whether migration, albeit exploitative in nature, has created new norms and avenues of socio-economic mobility for young women in Benin City, and whether post-return women contest dominant models of female emancipation.

Finally, I would encourage Attoh too to take into account the way borders and bordering interact with the formation of young girls as subjects of particular qualities. An obvious example in this regard is the EU discourse on undocumented migration where strict border controls are presented as being necessary in order to protect victims of human trafficking. You also mention that some actors in the business use repatriation or deportation schemes to their advantage. Does this mean that border management helps, paradoxically, the exploitation of sex workers?

Annex 4 – List of Participants

Name	Type	City, Country
Professor Cristina Udelsmann Rodrigues	**Covenor**	Lisbon, (PT)
Dr. Tandia Aboubakr	**Speaker**	Dakar, (SN)
Dr. Abdalla Ali Duh		Helsinki, (FI)
Dr. Joelma Almeida		Lisboa, (PT)
Dr. Lisa Andersson		Gothenburg, (SE)
Professor Anthony Asiwaju		Imeko, (NG)
Dr. Oliver Bakewell		Oxford, (UK)
Dr. Laia Bermant		Oxford, (UK)
Dr. Hannah Morgan Cross		Leeds, (UK)
Dr. Alexandra Dias		Lisboa, (PT)
Professor Gregor Dobler		Freiburg, (DE)
Dr. Sylvester Dombo		Durban, (ZA)
Dr. Heike Drotbohm		Freiburg, (DE)
Dr. Stephan Dünnwald		Lisboa, (PT)
Dr. Elisa Fornale		Neuchâtel, (CH)
Dr. Mark Bolak Funteh		Maroua, (CM)
Dr. Paolo Gaibazzi		Lisbon, (PT)
Dr. Marco Gardini		Milano, (IT)
Dr. Knut Graw		Leuven, (BE)
Dr. Jordi Guilera		Lisboa, (PT)
Mr. Julian Hollstegge		Essen, (DE)
Professor Allen Howard		New Brunswick, (US)
Dr. Thomas Huesken		Nuremberg, (DE)
Dr. Simon Imbert-vier		Aix-en-Provence, (FR)
Mr. Mamadou Seydou Kane		Saint-Louis, (SN)
Dr. Brigitta Kuster		Hamburg, (DE)
Mr. Martin Lemberg-Pedersen		Copenhagen, (DK)
Dr. Luregn Lenggenhager		Basel, (CH)
Dr. Cherry Leonardi		Durham, (UK)
Dr. Andreas Lobo		Brasília, (BR)
Dr. Francesca Locatelli		Edinburgh, (UK)
Dr. Giorgio Miescher		Basel, (CH)
Dr. Paula Morgado		Lisboa, (PT)
Dr. Jude Murison		Edinburgh, (UK)
Mr. Rinse Nyamuda		Polokwane, (ZA)
Dr. Patrice Pahimi		Maroua, (CM)
Dr. Marta Esteves Patrício		Lisboa, (PT)
Dr. Andrezj Polus		Wrocław, (PL)
Dr. Tara Polzer Ngwato		Johannesburg, (ZA)
Mr. Aidan Sean Russell		Bristol, (UK)
Dr. Blair Rutherford		Ottawa, (CA)
Professor Ulrich Schiefer		Lisboa, (PT)

Dr. Melissa Siegel		Maastricht, (NL)
Dr. Gabriel Tati		Bellville, (ZA)
Dr. Vassilis Tsianos		Hamburg, (DE)
Dr. Angela Udeoji		Lagos, (NG)
Dr. Chris Vaughan		Durham, (UK)
Dr. Iain Walker		Oxford, (UK)
Professor Werner Zips		Vienna, (AT)
Dr. Manuela Zips-Mairitsch		Vienna, (AT)
Mr. Matthieu Bolay	**Participant**	Neuchâtel, (CH)
Dr. David Coplan		Johannesburg, (ZA)
Professor Amanda Hammar		Copenhagen, (Dk)
Professor Franz Georg Klute		Bayreuth, (DE)
Mr. Hugh Lamarque		Edinburgh, (UK)
Professor William Miles		Boston, (US)
Professor Paul Nugent		Edinburgh, (UK)
Dr. Edward Paice		London, (UK)
Professor Jerzy Zdanowski		Warsaw, (PL)
Dr. Wolfgang Zeller		Scotland, (UK)