

# **ABORNE Workshop 2016**

**April 14.-16. 2016**

**Beuggen (Germany)**



## Workshop Programme

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### Thursday, 14.4.

11.30h Welcome, Introduction

12h Lunch

13.30h-15.30h Panel 1: **Theoretical Issues**

**Paolo Gaibazzi:** Afro-Europeanist Reflections from the EurAfrican Frontier

**Andrea Behrends:** Crossing categorical boundaries in the Chad-Sudan borderlands

**Mohamadou Abdoul:** Cross-Border Cooperation in West Africa: towards a new Paradigm of Development Policy?

**David Newman:** Re-Fencing and Re-Bordering in an Era of Securitization

16.00h Coffee

16.30-18h Panel 2: **Trade**

**Wilma S. Nchito:** Blurred Lines: When a border is culturally and socially meaningless

**Nedson Pophiwa:** The dynamics and impact of cross-border shopping by Zimbabweans in South Africa's border town of Musina since the post-2000 crisis era

### Friday, 15.4.

9.30-11.30h Panel 3: **Migration**

**Gabriel Tati:** Congolese migrants in border towns between the DRC and its neighbours

**Bill Schroeder:** Chitsitu Mountain home

**Nir Gazit:** Juggling Logics on the Egyptian-Israeli Borderland: Securitization, Humanitarianism, and Criminalization

**Anusa Daimon:** Commuter Migration across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border

12h Lunch

13h-15h Panel 4: **State, Conflict, Order**

**Thomas Huesken/ Georg Klute:** Political Orders in the Making: a comparative study of emerging forms of political organisation from Libya to Northern Mali

**Lotje de Vries/ Mareike Schomerus:** Ambition, power, rumours and death: The Arrow Boys attack on Obo and the many faces of cross-border armed conflict

**Max Gallien:** Negotiating the State: The Tunisian-Libyan Borderland and the 2011 Revolution

**Patrick Hoenig:** "What is here for us to fight when home is on the other side?" Rational Choice Theory and Foreign Armed Groups in the Borderlands

15.30h Coffee

16-18h Panel 5: **Border governance**

**Nathalie Raunet:** Chiefs, borderlands and mobility in Africa

**Tilmann Scherf:** Promoting Humanitarian, Policed or Smart Borders in Côte d'Ivoire? - Nodal Governance in the Global Security Assemblage of Border Management

**Katharina Heitz Tokpa:** Bringing the state to the border? A border settlement in Côte d'Ivoire in search of its ideal governance arrangement

### Saturday, 16.4.

9.30-11.00h Panel 6: **Research perspectives**

**Wolfgang Zeller:** AFRIGOS

**Gregor Dobler:** Borders as constraints and chances

...and room to discuss other new projects that could interest participants.

11.-11.30h: Coffee

11.30-13h Final discussion and future planning

13h Lunch

14h Departure

## Abstracts

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### Panel 1: Theoretical Issues

#### **Afro-Europeanist Reflections from the EurAfrican Frontier** **Paolo Gaibazzi, Berlin**

The border zone between Africa and Europe constitutes not only a compelling case study for thinking about what and where a border(land) is, but also an opportunity for establishing a meaningful conversation between European and African traditions of border studies. This paper draws on a number of case studies from the EurAfrican border zone, reflecting in particular on the regulatory function of borders vis-à-vis mobility. Research on the externalization of the EU's border and migration management has stimulated remarkable conceptual innovation, devising frameworks to capture the shifting political nature and mobile geography of European frontiers. The paper shows how engaging these debates might help us rethink narrow definitions of borderland centring on territorial fixity, a notion against which discussions within ABORNE have often come up and halted. A more flexible geo- and biopolitical view of borderlands is then discussed. Far from simply importing theory to African Studies, however, the paper also shows how recent scholarship on African borderlands speaks to, albeit indirectly, debates on EurAfrican borders, particularly on questions of postcolonial sovereignty, scales of integration and borders as sites of social interaction. Harnessing its potential for conceptual and comparative work might help decentring the Eurocentrism of much scholarship on EurAfrican borders, gesturing towards a more balanced take on borders – what I call a Afro-Europeanist view. Indeed the paper suggests ways in which classic scholarship, such as Igor Kopytoff's seminal essay on the 'internal frontier', can be redeployed to analyze border formations in the EurAfrican zone and beyond, as well as to rediscover existing, yet often forgotten, threads of a Afro-Europeanist dialogue.

#### **Crossing categorical boundaries in the Chad-Sudan borderlands** **Andrea Behrends, Halle**

Referring back to the reflections of Gustav Nachtigal (1889) about "in-between-zones" in the Sahara, and, later, Fredrik Barth (1969) about "ethnic groups and boundaries" this study deals with how the borderland population between Chad and Sudan has dealt with the past Darfur War (2003 to roughly 2008) in very different ways according to factors such as historical backgrounds, international connections, eligibility to humanitarian aid. The focus is on the production of knowledge about "the other", which could be the country on the "other side" of the international border, the "other" people's ways of dealing with war and crisis or the different international aid agencies intervening in the process. The paper starts from the assumption that this form of knowledge is based on processes of classification, but that the capacity to continue living throughout prolonged violence and conflict depends on the ability to know categorical boundaries – and to know how to cross or make use of them. Contributing to a theory of borderlands, this paper would want to discuss the accumulation of borderlanders' knowledge about classifications and these classifications' fluid or stable constitution – and the corresponding adaptive practices of being able to switch categories as one characteristic trait of borderlands.

#### **Cross-Border Cooperation in West Africa: towards a new Paradigm of Development Policy?** **Mohamadou Abdoul, Dakar**

West Africa has shown these last 15 years a growing interest in Cross-Border Cooperation both in practice and in academia. This trend highlights the functional character of borders through

shedding light on their effects and impacts in term of Development. Borders are nodes of contacts, of conflicts and of cooperation. As renewed focus, borders are characterised in West Africa by openness or closure. Bordering and Border management processes are progressively becoming new sites of intervention by decision makers. Accordingly, they are closely related to the Development Agenda.

The underway Cross-Border perspective seems to militate for the openness option. Nevertheless, this trend is hampered by the slow process of institutionalization and incorporation of Cross-Border cooperation in West African Development Policies at National level? But at the African Union and ECOWAS levels, efforts are made to put Borderlands at the heart of the construction of the Public policies that lean on the territorial approach of Development. Cross-Border Cooperation is, in this vein, considered as a strategic pillar that combines local Development and Regional Integration.

This paper attempts to put the emphasis on the interactions between Borders, territory and the scale of implementation of policies. We will explore the Cross-Border Cooperation perspective to finally heighten its relevance for elaborating a new paradigm. Our aim is to try to answer to these questions: are we witnessing the beginning of a shift in territorial policies? Are West African borderlands laboratories of social change? To what extent the West African Cross-Border experience can lead to theorizing a new developmental policy? The paper will address these questions by analyzing the knowledge production and the implementation of Cross-Border Cooperation initiatives in West Africa.

### **Re-Fencing and Re-Bordering in an Era of Securitization: The Return of Borders**

**David Newman, Be'er Sheva**

The dominant narrative in border studies during the 1980's and the 1990's was the concept of the "borderless world". In an era of globalization, along with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the parallel expansion of the European Union, it was assumed, by many scholars, that borders were disappearing and were no longer of any significance in the changing dynamics of global geopolitics. Notions of deterritorialization and reterritorialization were a prominent part of this discourse which underlied the renaissance of border studies as a multi-disciplinary (cross border) focus on the changing territorial dynamics of world politics.

Since the events of 9/11 (USA) and 7/7 (UK), the parallel securitization discourse has brought the physical border back into focus. Governments and their respective Departments of Homeland Security have argued for a reconstruction of borders, fences and walls, aimed at enhancing the safety and security of the "home" citizens against "alien" influences from elsewhere, through the recreation of physical barriers and strict management and control of border entry and exist points. The recreation of new borders has been accompanied by the development of highly sophisticated surveillance techniques, not always located at the point of the border itself, as an effective means of border policing, control and management.

In the most recent period, the mass flow of refugees fleeing the instabilities of Africa and the Middle East, has served to question the notion of "open" borders even further. Governments now react to a second version of the securitization discourse, aimed at preventing the free flow of migrants into their countries, for a combination of economic (now defined by the semantics of security) and security (preventing the inflow of violence, fundamentalism and "terror"). Questions are being raised about the efficacy of the open border policy, while right wing and anti-immigrant groups have taken hold of the national discourse concerning borders and walls.

Counter narratives, which partially explain the renaissance of border studies, also focus on the irony of the borderless world discourse in Africa, where, following almost one hundred years of superimposed borders on a landscape which operated according to different territorial criterion – nomadic, tribal, flexible as contrasted with Westphalian territorial fixation – and in whose name civil wars, mass refugee movement and genocide took place, the world was now prepared to move beyond the fixed borders of the territorial State, just when some African states were finally coming to grips with this new territorial order.-

This paper will survey the changing border discourses, from the “opening” to the “reclosing”, while focussing on the changing border practices which accompany the reconstruction of fences and walls and which necessitate different forms of management and control. The paper will also touch upon the ethics of rebordering, the human rights dimension of refugees seeking to cross the closed borders, and the extent to which such border policies are incompatible with contemporary notions of safety and freedom from persecution.

The processes of rebordering will be seen through the eyes of political caricatures which have appeared throughout the past two decades, and which reflect popular images of the significance and functions of borders in the contemporary world. Many of these caricatures highlight the hypocrisy of countries which espouse a public narrative of open borders while pursuing policies aimed at the reconstruction of borders and the resealing of the national space. Specific case studies will focus on the security barrier in Israel / Palestine, the fortification of the border between the USA/Mexico, and the more recent attempts to recreate borders in Central and Eastern Europe – Austria, Hungary and Serbia. Finally, the paper will raise questions (many unanswered) concerning the changing dynamics of borders in world politics.

## **Panel 2: Trade**

### **Blurred Lines: When a border is culturally and socially meaningless**

**Wilma S. Nchito, Lusaka**

The towns of Nakonde and Tunduma are at the international border between Zambia and Tanzania in the North. The Nakonde border is along the main transport corridor joining Zambia and Tanzania. This border land presents an example of the sometimes meaningless nature of manmade border. The border is known to be one of the most porous in the country as both people and goods easily crisscross back and forth between the two countries. The fact that the extent of chieftainess Nawaitwika of the Namwanga people straddles both countries adds to the confusion. In this case the beacons depicting the boundary and national identity come second to people’s connections to their traditional allegiance. The border land has evolved from sleepy back water to sprawling unplanned conurbation. This paper seeks to outline the current state of the Nakonde-Tunduma border light of the changing nature of goods passing through it. The border has changed greatly in the past 10 years due to several factors and its diversity remained greatly aided by the traditional porosity. The paper will also analyse a typology of goods passing through the border which has seen a transformation over the past ten years. From the initial agricultural products the border now deals with vehicles and a multiplicity of goods originating from China.

### **The dynamics and impact of cross-border shopping by Zimbabweans in South Africa’s border town of Musina since the post-2000 crisis era**

**Nedson Pophiwa, Johannesburg**

This study investigates cross-border shopping by Zimbabweans from 2000 to the present in the South African border town of Musina. While Zimbabweans doing business in Musina is nothing new, since 2000 the conditions under which the cross-border shopping took place underwent drastic changes. Economic problems in Zimbabwe meant that South Africa – as neighbour to Zimbabwe and the economic hub of the sub- continent – became the major focal point for Zimbabwean jobseekers and shoppers. Musina, as the first of dozens of economic nodes stretching to Gauteng, Durban and Cape Town that attract Zimbabwe’s so-called economic refugees, began to receive higher than usual numbers of Zimbabwean shoppers. While the border town’s proximity and nearness made it the natural first port of call for shoppers, little else is known about the significance of Musina to Zimbabwean shoppers and of Zimbabwean shoppers to Musina. Furthermore, despite the magnitude of border-shopping there have been no studies of an in-depth or systematic nature to establish exactly what goes on there, how it goes

on, or what multiplier effects it has. The study will apply the theories of cross-border shopping to unpack the shopping ebbs and flows, and the multiplier effects including how shoppers negotiate the border and use it as a “resource”. The possibility of a ‘border economy’, in which borderland residents literally ‘hustle’ a living off shoppers, will be explored. Blurring the lines will be border crossings, irregular migration, border jumping, excise duty-busting, customs and state revenue collection. The paper presents the convergence and implications of all these factors.

### **Panel 3: Migration**

#### **(Un) Settled Congolese migrants in the border towns between the Democratic Republic of Congo and its neighbours (Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi)**

**Gabriel Tati, Johannesburg**

Taking the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as a case study for the generation of cross-border migration, this paper examines ways in which, through the spatial trajectories of migrants from Democratic Republic of Congo, different meanings are assigned to bordered territories. In this paper bordered territories refer to the localities (towns and other similar human settlements) within the borderlands. The towns along the border between the DRC and three of its neighbours-Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi- are places where thousands of migrants have settled at differing length of stay. These cross-border migrants are mostly trading in goods and services. Through their activities, this study of migrant traders provides way of capturing the social and economic dynamics of borderlands, especially in such volatile environment as the Great Lakes Region. It is theorized that borderlands can be apprehended as a result of social constructions migrant people produce in assigning specificity to borders and the space they appropriate. The study therefore explores the extent to which migrants create a borderless spatial system that circumvents the geographically defined state. The overall objective of the paper is demonstrate that through their knowledge of the opportunity structure and agency, migrants have come to establish a migrant community within which members display multiple identities that define them as individuals with roots in several places and a borderless socially constructed space.

The data collection was conducted in the course of 2010 in the following sites (border crossing points): *Gagitumba, Ishasha, Bunagana, Ntoroko, Ruzizi I, Ruzizi II, Corniche and Poids lourds*. It also covered some migrants in Bujumbura, Kigali and Kampala with experience in cross-border trading.

The results in this paper show that Congolese migrants are capable of transcending the cultural boundaries through their perfect knowledge of various local languages and multiple citizenship at such a point it becomes difficult to know to which ethnic group they belong. They make use of a combination of instituted documents, including multiple citizenries, to deal with the barriers imposed by demarcated borderlines (political boundaries). In some way, borderland confer to migrants overlapping citizenship. From the results, borderlands appear as well as places of transnational households. Multiple residencies in different localities across the four countries above mentioned are a dominant feature in the trajectories of these migrants. Displayed mixed residential stability, migrants frequently move around for varying motives, of which cross-border informal trading occupies a prominent place. Thus cross-border migration becomes an asset-accumulation strategy within a borderless spatial system. They have different residential status and, though they frequently go back to DRC to source in goods, the intention to resettle there is imprecise for most of them. This finding was taken as an indication that borderlands are sites where migrants feel that they belong to. While the desire to return to DRC is set low, the migrants interviewed however manifested a strong willingness to re-migrate elsewhere in a variable future. Coupled with their experience with multiple residencies, this diversity of possible places of relocation strongly suggests a dominant cosmopolitan trait of their lives as border crossing migrants. An interesting aspect of life in these sites is the feeling among migrants that they belong to a state-free territory and that the freedom which comes with it entitles them to residency in different parts of the world.

**Chitsitu Mountain home**  
**Bill Schroeder, Barry's Bay**

*Chitsitu Mountain home* is a longitudinal case study tracing the experience of one family living in a border region in southern Africa over three generations. The maternal side of the Ferro family has lived in the traditional territory of the Manyika, in current Zimbabwe, for many generations while the patriarch moved into the area from Sena, Mozambique, in the 1920's. The couple were married near Penhalonga, Rhodesia where the father worked, and eventually had eight children. They stayed in accommodation provided by the employer and, after much thought, gradually began to establish their own homestead near the village of Munene, less than twenty kilometres away but on the Mozambican side of the border.

Like so many areas of Africa, the international border was an arbitrary European construct that did not take into account local ethnic realities and had little impact on the day to day lives of the residents. As late as the 1960's, when Quippa and Faith built their first dwelling, the family routinely travelled between Munene and Penhalonga and the existence of a border between the two loci did not factor greatly in their decision to establish a homestead on the lower slopes of Chitsitu.

Their situation changed dramatically in subsequent decades when the area was of strategic importance in both the Zimbabwean independence struggle and the Mozambique civil war. The study traces the family's adaption to the many challenges they faced during and after these times.

The author first met the family while teaching in the region in the 1980's and he has maintained contact with them, both at a distance and through regular visits to the region, most recently in July 2015.

**Juggling Logics on the Egyptian-Israeli Borderland:  
Securitization, Humanitarianism, and Criminalization**  
**Efrat Ben Zeev and Nir Gazit, Tel Aviv**

In the past decade, the Egyptian-Israeli border – Africa's north-eastern external border and the only land border between Africa and Asia/Europe – has witnessed significant changes. These changes include growing waves of irregular migrants crossing from south to north, increased securitization, and as an outcome, a series of humanitarian catastrophes. Consequently, this borderland provides an apt opportunity for empirical and theoretical exploration of the social and political dynamics on the edges of Africa.

The following paper is part of larger collaborative project, funded by the German Research Foundation, on the social construction of three of Africa's northern borderlands: in Egypt/Israel, and in Ceuta and Melilla. The paper investigates three governing border logics—securitization, humanitarianism, and criminalization—as they are experienced by the Israeli border's security personnel. Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted between 2012 and 2014 along a section of the Israeli-Egyptian border, as well as off-site interviews with soldiers who were stationed along this border, media reports, and court affidavits, we show the ongoing slippage from one type of logic to the other and argue that this is an inevitable characteristic of the borderland. Dedicating special attention to the interaction between soldiers and the irregular migrants, we show how the borderland invites for what we call a “situational humanitarianism”—a short-lived type of humanism, easily overrun by other border logics.

**Commuter Migration across Artificial Frontiers: The Case of Partitioned Communities  
along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Border**  
**Anusa Daimon, Bloemfontein**

This article engages the border perceptions and experiences/uses of partitioned African borderland communities along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border so as to understand and

explain the prevalence of cross-border commuter migration. Using ethnographic data gathered from the ethnic Shona communities straddled across the border, it observes that commuting is rampant due to subtle ethno-nationalist beliefs that have flouted official norms of sovereign nation-statism and control. Despite the fact that these trans-border communities are quite conscious of the border's existence, they have chosen not to recognize its juridical functions, claiming that it is artificial. Hence, they have viewed it as an imaginary boundary; a transnational environment or frontier where socio-economic-cultural inter-connections can be made without restrictions. Thus, many commute daily on foot using illegal crossing points scattered along the mountainous boundary. Those in Mozambique prefer shuttling to the better Zimbabwean schools and hospitals across the border, while those in Zimbabwe conduct kinship rites, shopping/trade and engage traditional authorities in Mozambique. 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.

#### **Panel 4: State, Conflict, Order**

##### **Political Orders in the Making: a comparative study of emerging forms of political organisation from Libya to Northern Mali**

**Thomas Hüsken, Luzern, and Georg Klute, Bayreuth**

The current political developments in Libya and northern Mali represent nothing less than the renegotiation of the post-colonial political order. The toppling of authoritarian regimes in Libya and the subsequent disintegration of Libya in post-revolutionary camps and regions, the continuing Tuareg rebellion in northern Mali, accompanied by the rise of transnational Islamist and Jihadist forces have led, among other things, to the fragmentation of state structures, to more heterogeneity in politics, and to the emergence of non-state power groups. In order to understand these processes the paper proposes three theoretical concepts: *heterarchy* (historical and present), *connectivities* in northwest Africa, and the importance of *local actors/locality*. The first concept of *heterarchy* is a recent one, responding to the rapid development of political orders on the African continent and elsewhere within the last twenty years. The concept points at central traits of current political (state and non-state) orders, namely the mutable as well as unstable intertwining of state and non-state orders and the plurality of competing power groups. The second concept of *connectivity* (across states and borders) in northwest Africa is a newly re-discovered topic, perceiving state borders (and the Sahara desert) not as barriers, but as transitional spaces. It allows a better understanding of recent political developments and their historical roots. The concept *local actors/locality* is well rooted in political anthropology and has lately also been discovered by political science. It underlines the importance of the local in negotiation processes and struggles over what political order to establish. The paper argues that a great deal of order is produced by local and regional political actors and power groups in northern Mali and Libya leading to heterarchical figurations with connectivities that transgress the territories of states.

##### ***"It is something hidden there..."* Ambition, power, rumours and death: The Arrow Boys attack on Obo and the many faces of cross-border armed conflict**

**Lotje de Vries, Nijmegen, and Mareike Schomerus, London**

In May 2013, Obo —the eastern-most town of the Central African Republic (CAR)— was attacked by a group of young men from Tambura, a town about 110 kilometres east across the border in South Sudan. The South Sudanese attackers were part of a group of local defence forces known as Arrow Boys; it seems their attack deep in CAR territory was aimed primarily at military forces stationed in Obo. Rumours continue to run wild. The most-widely accepted



reason for the attack is that the Arrow Boys were manipulated to disrupt violent rebellion in CAR. Also unclear are the circumstances that lead to the death of seven of the Arrow Boys while in custody in Obo.

Using empirical interview-based research conducted in 2014/15 in Tambura (Mareike) and Obo (Lotje)—which uniquely allows us to compare differing interpretations of the event—this paper reconstructs how the attack of the arrow boys reflects, but also questions, some of our ideas about borderlands. Do borderland really mirror the sovereign states? In this border, statehood is a void, which presents a contrast to many other borderlands explored in ABORNE, which present highly-observed border security sensitivities. Using the categories of ambition, power and rumours, we raise questions about the experience of borderland residents in using the borderland to fulfil ambition, display power and spread rumours. This allows a unique lens on the nature of armed life in borderlands, including on how international military and intelligence developments shape it, and on the sovereign states that hosts this life driven by ambition and rumours.

### **Negotiating the State: The Tunisian-Libyan Borderland and the 2011 Revolution** **Max Gallien, London**

This paper discusses and questions the stability of the Tunisian-Libyan borderland throughout the Tunisian revolution and the Libyan civil war, and is interested in the mechanisms and institutions that sustained the local political and economic environment.

Based on extensive interviews with illegal traders and local officials, municipality documents and observation of local markets, the paper analyses the developments in Ben Gardane, a border town in Southern Tunisia that specialises in illegal trade, in the years following 2011.

The paper traces in detail how the initial decrease of the capacities of the Tunisian state changed the local enforcement environment and eased the conditions for illegal traders following the Tunisian revolution. More importantly, it discusses the readjustment of this environment in the following years, and describes how this was negotiated through a process of bargaining between state institutions and local committees of traders.

It claims that Tunisia's borderlands provide a prime example of the informal pacts and bargaining structures that have been an important and commonly neglected element of the Tunisian state since its independence, and describes the high levels of routinisation and formalisation of these structures. It concludes that bargaining structures along with the relative independence of local trade networks from the political elite have helped Tunisia's eastern borderlands escape some of the violence that has erupted on the Tunisian-Algerian borders, where illegal trade networks disintegrated after 2011. The paper ventures a look forward at the future relationship between the Tunisian state and its borderlands.

### **“What is here for us to fight when home is on the other side?” Rational Choice Theory and Foreign Armed Groups in the Borderlands** **Patrick Hoenig, Berlin**

Research from anthropology and political science has shown that thinly populated, inhospitable hill tracts and remote, porous borders attract drop-outs of all stripes, almost inadvertently creating pockets of resistance to the state striving to extend its authority to the geographical limits of its body politic. Where the borderlands are rich and fertile, on the other hand, we hear from analysts that political violence is due to what has been dubbed the 'resource curse'.

Alliances of AK-47 wielding bandits conquer, occupy and exploit mines, markets and crossing points. What all explanations of sustained low-key intra-state conflict seem to have in common is an understanding that armed groups are composed of autonomous individuals taking decisions based on cost-benefit calculations.

However, there is only patchy research on what the coping strategies are of people who are engaged, for years and years, in warfare 'on the other side' of the border, how they negotiate shifting notions of 'home' and how they are opposed, or accommodated, by the local population.

If diasporic despots become the subject of human interest stories in international tabloids or the target of global campaigns little is known about who supports and what sustains cross-border armed conflict, how rebels are a feature of everyday life in the borderlands. Weaving together insights from borderlands and diaspora studies and latching onto findings of my own fieldwork and that undertaken by others in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, I will question the discursive paradigm of 'greed vs. grievance' and try to show that group dynamics and borderland specifics create a social and psychological environment that demands more of national amnesty schemes and international disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programs than to appeal to the individual to come over to the other side.

## **Panel 5: Border governance**

### **Chiefs, borderlands and mobility in Africa Nathalie Raunet, Birmingham**

Borderlands in Africa are areas fostering mobility and cross-border trade despite state borders. Along with State officials, traditional chiefs and their community participate in the regulation of borderlands. Building on the papers published by ABORNE, I will present a comparative study on chiefly power on borders revealing their role in the control of mobility.

Although the strength and relevance of chieftaincies vary across regions, what makes the position of the borderland chief distinctive is that borderland villages are located at the gates of the country, turning borderland villages into gatekeepers of the nation. Their geographical location at the threshold of two states enables them to assert their authority over a territory that escapes the state. In this position of power and according to their interests, borderland chiefs and their community are both a competing authority to the state, and indispensable allies acting as gatekeepers.

There have been studies (Cantwell 2015, Nugent 2002, Scorgie 2013) presenting diverse forms of borderland chiefly authority in different regions of Africa in situations of conflict or peace. The comparative analysis that I aim to present will underline the similarities that appear across regions with chiefs and mobility as explicit focus.

This analysis will show that chiefs are important actors in the characterisation of borderlands and mobility in Africa. If borders in Africa are largely similar to any other border in the world, there may be a distinctive feature that sets them apart: the influence of borderland traditional authorities on the flow of goods and persons.

### **Promoting Humanitarian, Policed or Smart Borders in Côte d'Ivoire? - Nodal Governance in the Global Security Assemblage of Border Management in Areas of Limited Statehood Tilman Scherf, Berlin**

The transnationalized management of borders in contexts of limited statehood has turned into a crowded field of intervention involving a myriad of actors from both public and private sectors. Especially in West Africa, the fight against illicit cross-border flows and the outbreak of Ebola has spurred an increasing interventionism of transnational security organizations in the domain of border management.

My paper departs from the notion that transnational security organizations have forged a variegated 'global security assemblage' of border management that is actively diffused into non-Western contexts of limited statehood in order to address postcolonial challenges to border security. Promoting a 'nodal governance' perspective, I aim to examine how transnational security organizations construct and advocate various governance nodes within the global debate on border management to legitimize their interventionism into a traditionally salient realm of sovereign statehood. Providing indicative insights from Côte d'Ivoire, my paper analyzes the processes through which different governance nodes materialize and integrate into concrete transnational border management initiatives implemented at various border sites

(land, sea, air) in a specific context of limited statehood. The analysis is conducted on the basis of three dominant 'nodes' that are identified within the security assemblage: the soft 'Humanitarian' Border, the securitized 'Policed' Border and the neoliberal 'Smart' Border. Drawing on empirical findings from multi-sited field research at the policy-level, the paper aims to deepen our understanding of the current normative and political logics espoused by transnational security organizations in the governance of borders in areas of limited statehood and provides insights into respective transformation effects on border sites in Côte d'Ivoire.

**Bringing the state to the border? A border settlement in Côte d'Ivoire in search of its ideal governance arrangement**  
**Katharina Heitz Tokpa, Freiburg**

Tango-tango is a young settlement at an unmonitored crossing-point at the border of Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. On official maps, the area is a forest reserve. In actual fact, it is covered with fields, market spots and farmsteads. Up to date, Tango-tango seems to be too insignificant to be of interest to the state. On a daily basis, this frontier area is governed by chiefs and the hunter association. For around 70 pupils (coming from both sides of the border), Tango-tango has opened its first school by employing a voluntary teacher from Burkina Faso. The heart of Tango-tango, however, is its weekly market that attracts people (and trucks) from across the border.

Tango-tango seems to benefit from the economic differences between the two countries without being subjected to taxation by the state. Consequently, the settlement has all the advantages borderlands may offer for trade. Despite that, the *logofietigi* (the owner of the market) and current chief of Tango-tango pulls out all the stops to bring the state to Tango-tango. Charmed by the promise of development, the chief has gathered papers to register the settlement. This contribution will try to shed more light on this seemingly counter-intuitive move of the chief and explore the consequences for transborder trade.