Rebordering Africa, but not for Africans: Transfrontier Conservancy Areas, Tourism, and the Land

David B. Coplan

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Abstract

In countries where imperialism took the form of settler colonialism, one justification commonly advanced by the colonists for appropriating the land of indigenous people was that they were not making efficient use of it or maximizing its economic potential. Even after the first waves of massive dispossession had occurred, 'modernizing' legal measures to transform communal to individual title were often manipulated to deprive indigenous communities of most of what was left of their land. In the current century, transfrontier parks and conservation areas, heralded as vectors of economic development, employment, and cross-border reconciliation and integration, revive a 'progressive', 'eco-tourism and conservation' oriented version of the old 'efficient use' argument to appropriate land and its resources along border areas. The consequences of these internationally popular projects often create conflict, alienation, and resistance amidst and between local populations on both sides of the borders enclosed within such conservancies.

The Transnational Governmentality of Landscape Planning and the "Bondage" of the Baka people in South-East Cameroon

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Abstract

The Western Congo Basin Moist Forest Ecoregion constitutes a large part of the tropical wilderness of the Central African Region, the world's second largest expanse of rainforest. As well as the globally important biodiversity of the Ecoregion faces severe threats from large-scale commercial hunting, logging and mining, so does the indigenous population of the concerned region. While the protection of the biodiversity is of great international concern, the safeguard of indigenous rights still emerges as a stepchild in international conservation practices. Although there have been granted some facilities on the discursive level, the reality of live of indigenous people in Central Africa is still hallmarked by poverty, marginalization and discrimination on various levels.

Using the example of the Baka of South-East Cameroon I want to analyze the tension on the governance level caused by the quest for sustainable development on the one hand and the obligation of the state to safeguard indigenous rights on the other hand. The concept of Governmentality traced back to Michael Foucault and extended by James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta in the form of "Transnational Governmentality" shall hereby serve as analytical framework.

It is accordingly the aim of this paper to analyze the current situation of the indigenous Baka people of South-East Cameroon within the framework of "Transnational Governmentality" in the so-called TRIDOM project area that currently connects 9 protected areas within Cameroon, Gabon and the Republic of Congo. The focus of the article lies on the government practices, which are deployed by the Cameroonian state to ensure conservation and sustainable development on the one hand and the integration/assimilation of indigenous peoples on the other.

By using the instrument of Landscape Planning, the creation of new Transboundary Conservation Areas in Central Africa most notably leads to the emergence of new (social) boundaries within nation states. It is therefore argued that the conservation strategy in South East Cameroon in combination with the non-recognition of the legal concept of Indigeneity by the Cameroonian state and the pejorative connotation of the term "Pygmies", not only brings about various kinds of discrimination against the Baka communities but even the hardening of a social practice termed "Bondage" by the *African Commission's Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities:* „[A] practice [...] in a format comparable to slavery", in which „[t]he servants have almost no rights and are not regarded as human beings on the same footing as their masters" (ACHPR/IWGIA 2007: 27, 33)[1].

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[1] ACHPR/IWGIA (2007). *Report of the African Commission's Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities. Research and Information Visit to the Republic of Burundi. 27 March - 9 April 2005.* African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

Africa's future environment: concepts of appropriation and conservation of "nature"

Georg Klute

The paper relates first findings of an ongoing comparative and interdisciplinary research in some national parks in Africa. We assume the African national park to be an export from the West, imposed upon colonial Africa. It is based on the epistemic division of the world into the spheres of "nature" and "culture", and represents one of the most concrete manifestations of the dichotomist divide characterising "modern" thinking since the time of enlightenment. We further assume that the particular epistemic division of the world into the spheres "nature" and "culture" meets other epistemologies, articulating with them in specific ways. Here, we take Philippe Descola's proposition as a starting point. Descola suggests the classification of epistemologies into four ideal-types, which can be represented according to the criteria of internality vs. externality and the criteria of continuity vs. discontinuity.

The nature-culture distinction is traditionally used as a spatial delineation: culture on one side, nature on the other. Hence management issues predominantly deal with mutual dependencies in space. In order to preserve nature, for example, national parks are separated from the realm of human culture. In our research, we are concerned with temporal relationships between humans and their (natural) environments. Nature is conceptualized as an interface at which some events can be actively repeated, or they appear as series of unique historical events. We study how different stakeholders in national parks conceptualize their respective notions of 'nature' as historical narratives relative to their own competences of participating in this history.

The paper will mostly refer to findings in a wildlife reserve in Ethiopia (Afar) and a natural reserve in Northern Niger.

Prof. Dr. phil., Dr. habil. Georg Klute

Academic Career

Since 2005	Tutor of Masters' Course of *Ecole Nationale d'Administration* (ENA) at Strasbourg / Paris
Since 2003	Tenured Professor; Anthropology of Africa, Bayreuth University
2002 - 2003	Visiting Professor at the Institute of Anthropology, Free University Berlin, substituting the institute's director, (late) Georg Elwert
2002	Senior Researcher at the Centre of Modern Orient (Zentrum Moderner Orient), Berlin; director of Africa related research projects
2000 - 2002	Independent occupation as evaluator; lecturer at the German Foundation for International Development (Deutsche Stiftung für internationale Entwicklung), Bonn
1998 - 2000	Assistant Professor; chair of Sociology at Siegen University (Prof. v. Trotha)
1995 - 1998	Research Assistant within a DFG-funded research project; chair of Sociology at Siegen University (Prof. v. Trotha); research on ethnicity, the state and violence in Africa
1993 - 1994	Scientific advisor and unit manager for the cine film "Middle of the Moment", CineNomad Film
1987 - 1993	Research Assistant; research project "Work of nomads" and "Pre-industrial work" at Freiburg University and within the Collaborative Research Centre (SFB) 214 "Identity in Africa", Bayreuth University
1985 - 1987	Research Assistant; DFG-funded research project "Crises of qualification in academic careers"; Pedagogic Department at Göttingen University
1975 - 1990	Degree course in Anthropology, Arabic studies and Anthropo-Geography at Göttingen University, Masters' Degree (M.A.) in Anthropology (1980), Doctoral Degree (Dr. phil.) at Bayreuth University (1990), habilitation in Ethno-Sociology and Sociology of Development at Siegen University (2002)
1973 - 1975	Voluntary service worker in Northern Niger, NGO "EIRENE e. V."

Research and Field Stays

Since 1973 more than 20 research stays with a total duration of 67 months in the Southern Central Sahara and in neighbouring areas of the Northern Sahel (Algeria, Mali, Niger), as well as in various other African countries.

1987-1988	Research on: Everyday action and the concept of work among nomads in Northern Mali
1991-1998	Research on: The Tuareg rebellions in Niger and Mali

2001-today	Research on: The emergence of new forms of political domination beyond the state / para-sovereignty
2006-today	Research in legal anthropology in Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, Ethiopia
2011-today	Research on Political Culture in five African countries
2012-today	Research on visions of nature in two national parks (Niger & Ethiopia)

Current Posts and Functions

- Chairman of the German African Studies Association (since June 2012)
- Member of the extended executive board of the German African Studies Association [Mitglied des Hauptausschusses der VAD]
- Member of the German Anthropological Association [Mitglied der DGV (Deutschen Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde)]
- Member of the Executive Board of ABORNE (Africa Borderlands Research Network)
- Principal Investigator of BIGSAS (Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies), member of the Academic Committee of BIGSAS, speaker of Research area A within BIGSAS

Main geographic and thematic areas of research interest:

Southern and Central Sahara, bordering West African Sahel; Algeria, Mali and Niger as well as Guinea-Bissau and Ethiopia

The state in Africa, nomadism, nomads and the state, Islam in Africa, NGO's and the state, work in pre-industrial societies, ethnicity, Anthropology of the state, of violence and of war; ethnic conflicts; new forms of political domination (para-sovereignty), Sociology and Anthropology of development, anthropological research of monetarization

Publications

Monographs and edited volumes:

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Gregor Dobler, Freiburg:
Why do peace parks fail to bring peace? Some lessons from previous cases of conservation and cross-boundary resource use.

Transfrontier parks seem a laudable idea in theory, but have often turned out to come at the detriment of local populations. Sometimes this fact is presented in scholarly accounts or NGO literature as a biopolitical design to subject marginalised populations. Having done no primary research on transfrontier parks myself, I would like to offer an alternative explanation by analysing two more conventional cases of conservation on the one hand, transboundary resource use on the other: Etosha park and the Kunene waters scheme, both situated in Northern Namibia. I want to show that fist, huge projects can only be implemented using an administration – or, in the case of transfrontier projects, several administrations – whose workings might fundamentally affect the idea. Secondly, the administration's approach is shaped by previous experiences that remain in the institutional memory. Ways of implementation which seem natural to a given administration can fundamentally affect the outcome. My preliminary list of problems: 'selective lobbyism' by outsiders with good intentions (and connections); 'project implementation from above' – no difference here between a power plant, a dam and a park –; 'expertocraty coupled with departementalisation' – every department has its own competences and interests, leaving many blind spots; 'problem of levels of decision-making', especially hard for topics involving international cooperation, and 'the inflexibility of international treaties', affecting every cross-boundary project.

Water That Flows, Things That Grow and the People That Go: Senegambian Borderlands in Historical Perspective

Paul Nugent

The starting point for this paper is Boubacar Barry's observation about the historical integrity of the greater Senegambian region based on the connective qualities of the Senegal and Gambia river systems that moved people, goods and ideas across time and through space. The paper itself deals with a more narrowly-defined space, namely the region between what is now the Gambia, the Casamance region of Senegal and Guinea-Bissau that has, in its own particular ways, been connected by flows of water, people, cattle and goods. The paper is especially concerned with how access to land, water resources and forests has been mediated by the creation of colonial borders and their reinforcement after independence. It argues that while governments have generally regarded the resources in question as zero-sum, and have tended to impose barriers to shared resource use, border populations have found ways and means of doing so. Over the past hundred years, the region has been characterized by high levels of mobility which is partly related to histories of violence, but is also rooted in the way livelihoods have been pieced together by borderlanders seeking to creatively exploit different niches. It is only very belatedly that governments are catching up with this reality of 'regional integration from below'.

Peace Parks?
Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas and Conflict in Africa

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Pierre Englebert, *Pomona College*

Abstract: In this paper, we research the relationship between Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) and conflict in Africa. Using a large conflict data set covering the period 1997-2012, we find that conflicts produce fewer combat fatalities in TFCAs than elsewhere, possibly because of remoteness but also somewhat idiosyncratically as a function of the geographical displacement of some conflicts over time. Yet, we find more civilian fatalities from conflict in TFCA areas, an effect which correlates with even greater civilian deaths in border areas in general. In both instances of battle and civilian deaths, the so called "peace parks" of Southern Africa perform better. Looking at the relationship between TFCAs and border arbitrariness, we observe that the creation of TFCAs is more likely in areas of lower partition of ethnic groups across borders. Looking only at borders with conflicts, however, we find a greater proportion of partitioned people among TFCAs but fewer casualties altogether. By and large, a theme that emerges from our still very preliminary findings is that the more peaceful the context, the more likely CFTAs are to develop, as opposed to CFTA themselves leading to peaceful environments.

Introduction

Africa south of the Sahara counts 46 "trans-frontier conservation areas" (TFCAs), that is, wildlife parks, forests, or reserves which either straddle or are adjacent to international borders (on one or both sides).[1] There is relatively little research on these parks beyond the study of specific cases from the point of view of biodiversity conservation. Some sources make tentative claims as to their potential benefits for the political relations among member countries (see literature review below), but there is no evidence for such claims. Nor is there any significant evidence on the effects of TFCAs on local populations, their security, and the role of the international borders in their lives. In this paper, we attempt to address some of these shortcomings and to offer new aggregate analysis and evidence on several dimensions of TFCAs. We focus first on providing broad descriptive information on these parks and suggesting some variables that correlate with their creation, location and characteristics. We then move on to their relationship with conflict and security: are parks in more conflict-prone areas? How do they compare to non-park border zones? Are there geo-spatial variations with respect to TFCAs and conflict? Finally, we look specifically at the issue of people belonging to ethnic groups partitioned by post-colonial boundaries and who now live in or near TFCAs. Are TFCAs more or less likely in such areas? Do they mitigate the impact of borders? Does the presence of partitioned population affect the degree of conflict in these TFCAs? We conclude by suggesting areas for further research.

Definitions and Methods

It is important to first clarify the concept of Trans-Frontier Conservation Area, also known as Trans-Boundary Protected Area (TBPA), as these come in many shapes.   A TBPA or TFCA is "an area of land and/or sea that straddles one or more borders between states, sub-national units such as provinces and regions, autonomous areas and/or areas beyond the limit of national sovereignty or jurisdiction, whose constituent parts are especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed co-operatively through legal or other effective means."[2] The broadness of this definition lead to the inclusion of rather different zones among TFCAs. Some TFCAs are known

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[1] www.tbpa.net, accessed August 2013.
[2] www.tbpa.net/page.php?ndx=83, accessed August 2013.

as "peace parks" (sponsored by the Peace Park Foundation, a Non-Governmental Organization based in South Africa). They are established by treaty and dedicated to wildlife protection, and typically have genuine transnational management. The peace parks are largely a Southern African affair, with 18 of them in the region and no fewer than 6 in South Africa itself (Darnell 2008:7). There are then multiple categories of "protected areas" with different degrees of protection, which might be continuous to international frontiers with different degrees of collaboration and not necessarily a clear date of establishment. Some of them are entirely on one side of the border, some straddle it, others yet are at some distance from it but form a homogeneous or integrated zone. They include what tbpa.net calls "Transboundary Conservation and Development Areas" (that form a "matrix" of parks across boundaries) and "Transboundary Migratory Corridors" whose parts do not have to be contiguous but are both necessary to migratory patterns and subject to cross-country collaboration.

Not only do parks have different goals and legal status, but they do also differ in their degrees of effective implementation. Some are fully fledged parks with integrated management and institutional existence (mostly the peace parks). Others are largely at a conceptual stage. Most are somewhere in between, existing first and foremost as national parks with some collaboration with parks across the border, or at least some understanding that they form together a homogeneous whole from the point of view of nature preservation. Sometimes, their classification as TFCA seems to be more the work of outsiders than of local authorities. For example, the Sine Saloum, Delta du Saloum region of Gambia and Senegal is listed as a TFCA by www.tbpa.net but is actually constituted of two distinct national parks (the Delta du Saloum National park in Senegal and Niumi National Park in Gambia) with their own specific administrations. It is true, however, that they together constitute one large "protected" area on both sides of a border.

In this paper, we include all 46 TFCAs identified in Africa by www.tbpa.net. Two advantages of doing so are the maximization of observations and the delegation to other neutral observers of their selection. One possible drawback, however, is that the different degrees of effectiveness of these parks prevent us from testing theories on the effects of TFCAs on conflict to the extent that little can be expected from structures that are still largely hypothetical. Roberts (n.d.), for example, ranks the Tri-National Sangha Park (Cameroon, Central African Republic and republic of Congo) a 4 and the "W" Park (Benin, Burkina, Niger and Togo) a 1 in terms of

cross-country collaboration. We do, however, run part of our analysis distinguishing bona fide peace parks—which are usually more effective—from other parks.

In order to observe conflict patterns in border areas and TFCAs, we used the Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED) for Africa, which contains information on the dates and locations of political violence from 1997-2012, as separated into eight categories. Each instance of conflict includes the actors involved and their allies, the type of event, the number of fatalities, and the exact location. In our study we used all instances of conflict from 1997, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009 and 2012. We proceeded to map the latitude and longitude coordinates of each event, identifying if the location was within five miles of a TFCA, as classified by www.tbpa.net, or within five miles of a border. If it was within 20 miles of a border or a TFCA, we categorized it as "near" a border of TFCA. In our data analysis, however, we only considered events within five miles for more accurate and fitting results.

We also included a data set consisting only of the 46 parks as observations and of all the characteristics we could compile on them, which we mostly used for descriptive purposes, and a data set with all 104 bilateral African borders (Englebert, Tarango and Carter 2003), coding them for the presence of TFCAs in order to note how the characteristics of border areas with and without TFCAs might differ. This data set has information on the length and nature of the border, the proportion of ethnic groups partitioned by the border, the degree of state capacity of states on both sides, estimates of population density at the border, etc.[3]

Literature Review and Research Questions

The establishment of TFCAs can have multiple objectives. The main ones deal of course with nature and biodiversity conservation. Related is the goal of "promotion of local and regional economic development through ecotourism" (Schoon 2008: 8). There is also the goal of promoting "international goodwill and peace" (Schoon 2008:8). The assumption is that collaboration on TFCAs signals friendliness and facilitates broader cooperation among countries. The "line of reasoning" is 'functionalist,' writes Schoon (2008:21). Officials from the countries concerned "resolve differences on an issue of relatively low political importance" which should then facilitate further collaboration, as they become "friends and colleagues." Budowski (2003) makes a similar argument. Schoon (2008:22) cites Odegaards (1990), who makes a distinction

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[3] Once the paper is finalized, the data sets will be available at www.politics.pomona.edu/penglebert.
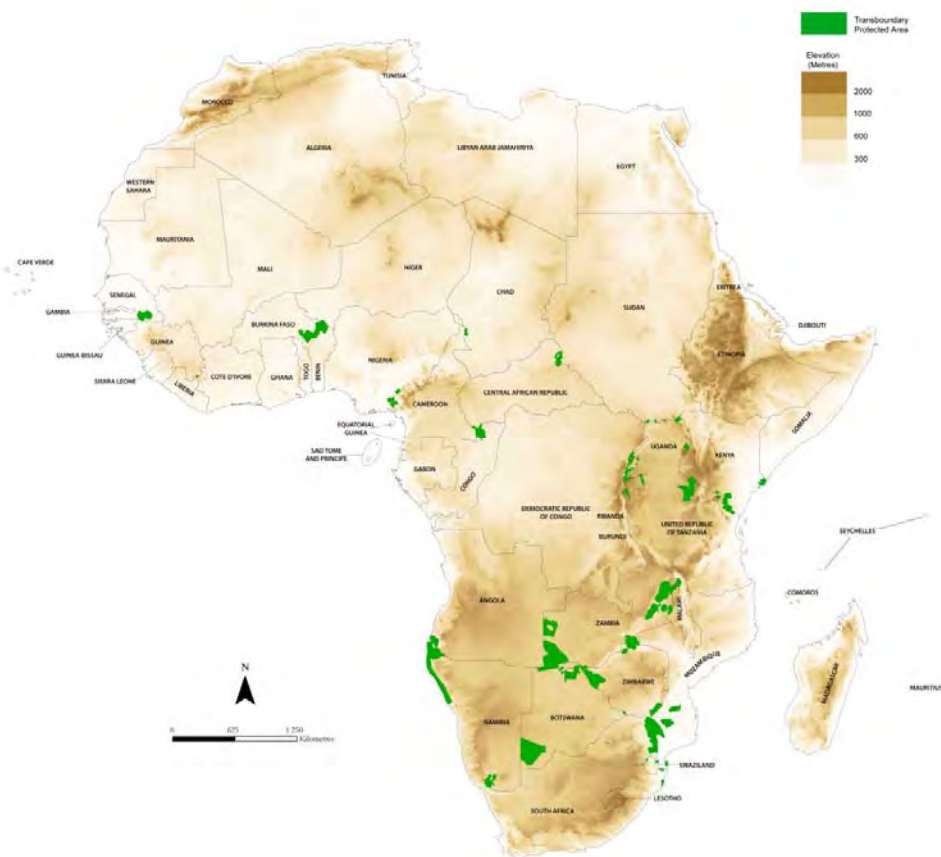
between "peace parks" that celebrate existing peace; those that help by and large already friendly countries with strained relations; those that ease border disputes after a war or that generally help out build trust after a war; and those that can foster peace in a warlike situation (e.g., DMZ between the Koreas).

Furthermore, organizers and contributors of TFCAs, such as the Peace Parks foundation, argue that transboundary conservation initiatives will reunite communities split by colonial demarcations. However, "in some TFCAs in the region borders demarcation is still required" (Tamar 2007:26) and "most TFCAs in the SADC region have been established through a top-down approach, with communities being the 'recipients'" (Tamar 2007:21). Thus, TFCAs may instead result in the marginalization of local communities. Ramutsindela (2003:113) writes that the organization of TFCAs "weakens the position of local residents who are central to the discourse of TFCAs while, at the same time, allowing the local elite, governments and NGOs to participate in the scaling process." Another concern among local communities is that weaker border security puts the area at risk for higher crime and violence (Tamar 2007:21). These concerns led Muchapondwa and Ngwaru (2010) to ask what conditions may lead local communities to be involved with and cooperate with transfrontier park management. With a conservation focus, they concluded, "local communities will cooperate with transfrontier conservation efforts only if they derive greater benefit flows from transfrontier park-based wildlife conservation than from anti-conservation activities such as wildlife poaching" (3).

In this paper, we do not focus on conservation, nor do we investigate the broad effects of peace parks on bilateral relations, as there are too few fully-fledged parks to test such hypotheses and too many intervening variables in bilateral relations to sort things out in the relatively small population of 46 TFCAs. Instead, our interest lies in local security. We seek to investigate the relationship between TFCAs, border politics, and human security. We wonder whether TFCAs might help bring together communities torn by artificial boundaries and thus reduce conflict between and within countries. To some extent, therefore, the questions we ask deal with whether local populations derive any security benefit from parks, whether parks themselves tend to develop in regions of conflict or away from them, whether the transformation of border areas into TFCAs limits or exacerbates their potential for insecurity, and whether TFCAs limit or mitigate the arbitrariness of postcolonial borders for populations living astride these borders.

Characteristics of African TFCAs

Not surprisingly, given the region's comparative advantage in wildlife tourism, TFCAs are disproportionately located in Southern Africa. There are also a significant amount of them in the DRC-Rwanda-Burundi and Kenya-Uganda-Tanzania clusters, and a few scattered throughout the West Africa and Sahel regions, from Senegal all the way to the Central African Republic. There are none in North Africa, in the Horn or on the Atlantic Coast of Central Africa (see Map 1).

Map 1[4]

Their average size is 20,027 square kilometers (about a quarter the size of Austria), with a minimum of 122 km^2 (Mafuga Hills in Malawi, adjacent to Zambia) and a maximum of 244,567 km^2 (the combined area of Victoria Falls, Kazuma, Caprivi and adjacent parks in

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[4] Source: http://www.zonu.com/images/0X0/2009-11-07-10916/Protected-natural-areas-in-Africa.jpg

Zambia, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Botswana). This latter TFCA is an outlier, however. More than 70% of parks are smaller than 25,000 square kilometers, as illustrated in Figure 1..
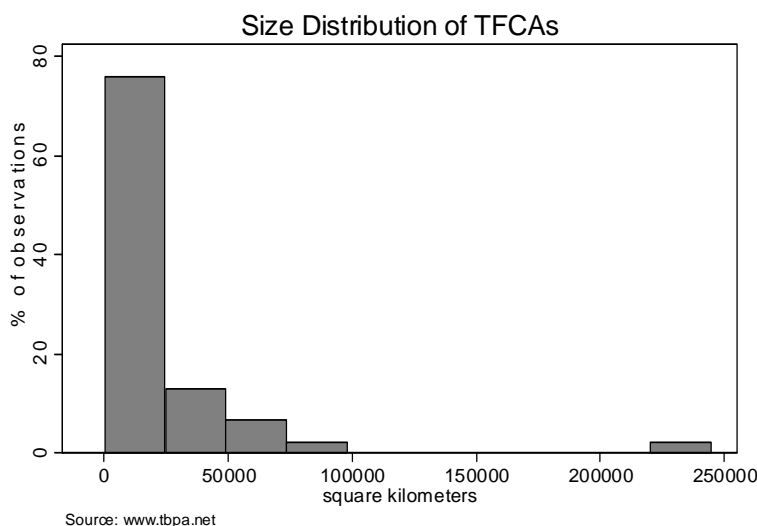

Figure 1.

Thirteen of these TFCAs are peace parks, almost all of which are located in Southern Africa. Peace parks tend to have a more developed trans-frontier institutional set ups than other parks.[5] Although few people live in parks, there are human communities in and around them. We loosely estimate the average population density in the vicinity of TFCAs to be about 23 inhabitants per km^2, with a range of 0 to 100. In comparison, the average population density for the continent, south of the Sahara, is about 36. It is not surprising that wildlife areas would get lower density than countries on average. As a matter of fact, if we exclude the two TFCAs in Burundi, Eastern DRC and Rwanda (regions of high density), the average for the remaining TFCAs is 19.8, thus a little more than half the continent's average population density (as we will see later, these TFCAs are outlier in other ways too).

Excluding borders within North Africa and the border between Sudan and South Sudan, which did not exist during most of the time period included in our data, there are 98 bilateral borders in Africa. Of these, 52 host at least one TFCA (there are more borders with TFCAs than TFCAs because several straddle more than one border). In terms of state capacity, the countries that collaborate on TFCAs are broadly similar to the rest of the continent. Their average "state failure" index (from 0—non-failed—to 120—completely failed) is 90, while it is 93 for other

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[5] Need data on TFCA effectiveness scores.

pairs of countries, 88 for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, and 66 for the entire world (Englebert and Dunn 2013). This is a statistically significant difference but not a substantial one. The proportion of countries collaborating on TFCA that were colonized by the same country (30%) is about the same as it is for the continent as a whole (33%). Thus the establishment of such parks is not particularly a matter of historical affinity. There are, however, some more pronounced differences between the two groups. As Table 1 indicates, TFCA borders are somewhat less likely to be the object of disputes among neighboring countries, fewer of them contain straight lines (a sign of arbitrariness), they are less likely to have at least one side having been colonized by the French (which probably proxies for the fact that a plurality are in Southern Africa where there were no French colonies), and their demarcation are usually of better quality (which might also relate to the Southern African bias). All in all, these patterns suggest that the borders that host TFCAs are generally less controversial than the others, which probably facilitates collaboration on the creation of parks.

Table 1. Characteristics of Bilateral Borders with and without TFCAs

	Non-TFCA	TFCAs	P-value (1 tail)
Average state failure (0-120)	93	89.5	0.05*
Same colonizer (%)	32	31	0.42
Dispute (mean intensity, scale 1-4)	1.1	0.8	0.16
Contains straight line (%)	41	21	0.02*
At least one side colonized by France (%)	63	44	0.03*
Quality of demarcation (scale 1-5)	2.5	3.2	0.00*

Note: Observations are 46 for non-TFCAs and 52 for TFCAs, except for state failure (38 TFCAs) and demarcation (45). Source: Authors' data set; Englebert, Tarango and Carter (2003).

What is the Relationship between TFCAs and Conflict?

Before analyzing patterns, it is important to stress the difficulties of causal analysis on the effects of TFCAs on conflict because (1) the creation of most TFCAs is rather recent; (2) there are multiple TFCAs that are little more than conceptual categorization or attempted unified parks with little or no realization on the ground, (3) many parks are created in areas of conflict and thus one cannot extricate their specific effects on those.

It is, however, possible to identify patterns of political violence in TFCAs, and compare them to similar patterns in border areas in general or in non border areas. The point is to see whether there is any relationship between TFCAs and their features, and several types of

violence, and to derive insights from this on the challenges ahead for TFCAs. This is tentative and preliminary work, however, but we hope it might lead to more workable hypotheses.

In order to address these questions, we focus principally on two dependent variables: the number of fatalities from conflicts involving battles between government and rebels or between rebels, militias, etc.; and the number of fatalities resulting from violence against civilians (whoever the perpetrators are). Starting with the former, Table 2 shows for Africa in general, a steep decline after 1997. By 2012, the continent-wide number of battle fatalities was about one quarter of what it was in 1997. This trend corresponds to occasional claims that Africa has moved since the turn of the century towards a post-conflict situation. While this decline stabilizes for Africa in general after 2000, it is more pronounced in TFCAs than elsewhere. There, 2012 fatalities averaged one tenth of those in 1997. This decline parallels the emergence of most TFCAs and "Peace Parks" around 2000. No causality should be inferred from this observation, but it is quite possible that areas that become more peaceful lend themselves better to the creation of parks in general.

Table 2. Average number of fatalities in battles (# of observations in parentheses)

	All Africa	**Border areas**	**TFCAs**
1997	13.4 (1098)	11.5 (218)	17.2 (72)
2000	7.1 (1831)	4.0 (241)	6.6 (141)
2003	6.4 (1396)	7.7 (73)	5.7 (80)
2006	4.2 (1036)	7.8 (104)	1.4 (125)
2009	6.9 (1386)	6.7 (57)	3.2 (139)
2012	3.3 (2848)	2.5 (146)	1.8 (214)
Total	6.3 (9595)	6.7 (839)	4.7 (771)

Note: in this table, border areas include TFCAs that are right on the border, and TFCA areas include parts of parks not coded as right on the border.

On average, TFCAs end up significantly less violent than Africa in general. A t test comparing the mean number of fatalities for non-TFCAs (6.3) to the number for TFCAs (4.7) indicates a statistically meaningful difference at the 10% level in one tail. This is not true of border areas in general whose average is very similar to the whole continent, so this is not a "border effect." What might explain the fewer fatalities in TFCAs? As Map 2 illustrates, the main areas of combat in Africa since 1997 have been (West to East) Sierra Leone-Liberia-Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Angola, the Great Lakes cluster, Sudan, and the Horn. Looking at the areas of conflict over time can help us make sense of the trends in Table 2. The year 1997 had high

levels of violence mainly because of the conflict in Angola, Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Sudan. The fact that a big part of Eastern Congo and Rwanda is on TFCAs (mostly the Virunga National Park and the Parc des Volcans) accounts for the higher value for TFCAs in 1997. After that, battle fatalities in TFCAs are significantly lower than for Africa as a whole. Variations in the Great Lakes cluster account to a large extent for this. The period 2003-2006 sees a considerable drop in combat because of Congo's democratic transition. Things pick up again a bit in 2009 as the CNDP rebel group operates in the region. For non-TFCA regions, there is also a decline in battle-related violence but it stays higher because of regions of Nigeria, Uganda, Sudan (Darfur), Somalia and the Horn, Mali, where considerable violence continued to fester through these years. Of course, the occurrence of conflicts and their violent development in specific locations is unlikely to be much of a function of the existence of TFCAs. The relationship between TFCA and battle fatalities is thus probably at least in part accidental.

Map 2: Instances of Battles, 1997-2012

= TFCA; = Non-TFCA

These findings suggest that there may not be anything specifically related to the nature of TFCAs here, although their development might indeed be facilitated by relative peace. This does not constitute the test of a hypothesis but it hints that the relation might be more from peace to park than from park to peace. The number of battles in TFCAs seems to diminish because conflicts that overlapped with these areas have come to an end or temporarily abated. It is also possible that TFCAs being typically in remote areas see fewer military engagements than more central regions or than regions that are known to harbor natural resources that can be appropriated by the parties to a conflict.

Turning to civilian deaths (see Table 3 & Map 3), the general declining trend is similar, yet we observe some nuances. Compared to battle deaths, the overall average is higher for Africa as well as for border regions and TFCAs, indicating that conflict in Africa is more often a matter of attacking civilians than battling it out among armed actors. TFCAs are above the means of other regions in 2000 and 2003, but otherwise below.

Table 3. Average number of fatalities in violence against civilians (# of observations in parentheses)

	All Africa	Border Areas	TFCAs
1997	51.3 (748)	27.2 (91)	28.9 (71)
2000	6.0 (1382)	8.0 (149)	6.9 (134)
2003	4.8 (1496)	5.2 (58)	9.9 (56)
2006	2.4 (875)	1.3 (52)	1.6 (76)
2009	4.3 (1298)	2.5 (69)	3.1 (81)
2012	1.8 (2799)	1.4 (135)	1.2 (211)
Total	7.73 (8598)	7.9 (554)	6.62 (629)

If we look specifically at all non-TFCA observations, near borders or not, of which there are 7,963, versus all 629 TFCA observations, and remove one non-TFCA observation for the DRC which had a widely outlying value of 25,000 (probably the pursuit and murder of Rwandan Hutus in the DRC by the RPF), we observe mean fatalities of 4.7 for non-TFCAs and 6.6 for TFCAs, a significant difference (P=0.04). This suggests, therefore, that TFCAs witness greater amounts of civilian deaths than arise from conflicts in other parts of Africa, the opposite trend from battle deaths. If we do the same exercise looking at border areas compared to non-border areas, irrespective of TFCA status, we also see significantly higher number of fatalities in border areas (7.9 v. 4.6). one way to interpret this finding is that th TFCA effect is really a border

effect, as most TFCA fatalities occur in border areas. Apparently, even more such fatalities occur in border areas that are *not* TFCAs. It is possible that more remote border areas see more violence against civilians because there is less state presence there and people are therefore more vulnerable. The low population density might contribute to that; yet that more fatalities occur where there are fewer people suggest that the violence differential might be even more pronounced than hinted by the data. However, the relatively lower number of fatalities for TFCAs, the vast majority of which are on borders, indicates that parks might somewhat mitigate this border effect, maybe because of the presence of rangers or the difficulty for rebels and militias to operate in parks, and maybe because park borders have lower population density than regular borders (a supposition for which we do not currently have data) .

Map 3: Violence against civilians

= TFCA; = Non-TFCA

Looking now jointly at battle-related and civilian deaths confirms the sharp decline across TFCAs as across Africa in general. However, there are two distinct groups of TFCAs in this respect. Those that are peace parks, mostly in Southern Africa, typically suffer from significantly lower levels of violence (Figure 2). This is true of Southern Africa in general too, compared to the rest of the continent, and it correlates probably with levels of democracy, state capacity and economic development. Here again, then, it is probably the region that is more conducive to peace than any particular quality of these parks.
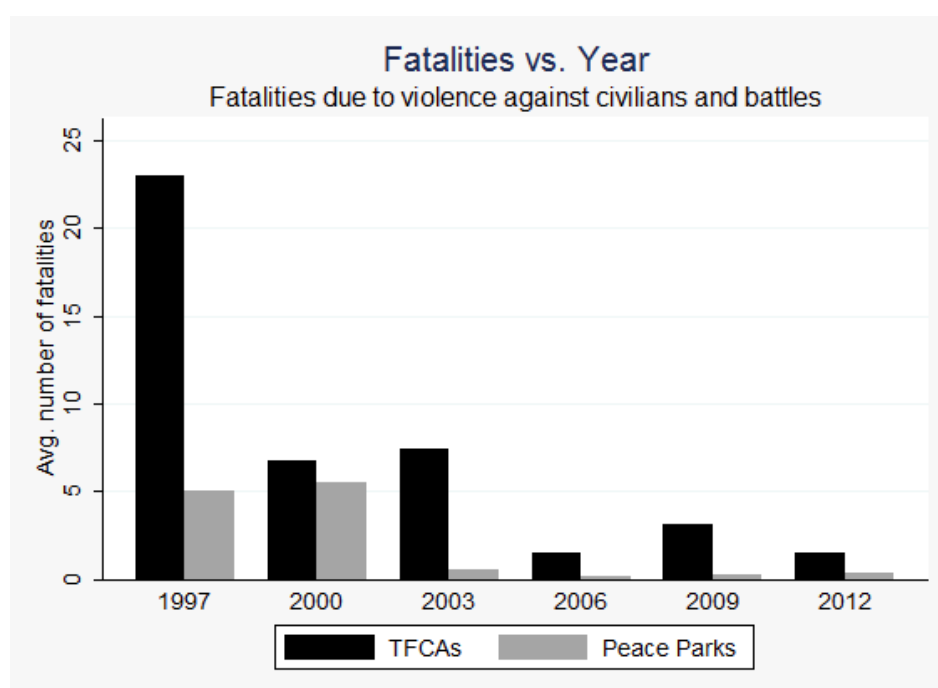

Figure 2

To conclude this section, we attempt a very basic regression analysis using the data set on all 46 parks. We do not have enough variables in the large conflict data set at this point to carry this exercise at a larger scale with the complete data set. Thus we are limited to observations that are TFCAs and cannot compare them to non-TFCA observations. Nevertheless, looking at total fatalities as the dependent variable in Model 1 and instances of conflict in Model 2 (Table 4), we see that population density and the size of the TFCA are the only two significant explanatory variables. We do not find any significant decline in violence from being a peace park, nor a significant increase from the degree of state failure of participating countries. These limited results highlight the need for further research and data development.

Table 4. Basic Regression Analysis on Conflicts in TFCAs

Model	(1)	(2)
Dependent variable	Total Fatalities	Instances of Conflict
Average state failure	5.99	1.82
	(9.77)	(1.65)
Peace park	-101	-5.13
	(149)	(23.8)
Population density	38.7*	6.1*
	(11.8)	(2.4)
Total area (km^2)	0.006*	0.001*
	(0.002)	0.0005
N	46	46
R^2	0.59	0.53

* Denotes significance at 5%, two tails; constant omitted.

Do TFCAs Mitigate the Effects of Ethnic Partition?

In general, African borders suffer from a problem of arbitrariness, as they largely derive from colonial rather than fully endogenous and local decisions. There is evidence that the degree of arbitrariness of these borders is associated with international disputes and domestic conflicts (Englebert et al 2003; Alesina et al 2011). One way of measuring this arbitrariness is by quantifying the degree to which borders partition existing ethnic communities (Asiwaju 1985). It is tempting to wonder whether TFCAs, by essentially removing the border from the park, might reduce problems associated with partitioned people and mitigate the conflict propensity of the border. Schoon (2008) suggests that there is no evidence so far that any TFCA has brought divided communities back together or that they have fostered peace at the local level. In this section, we attempt to assess empirical patterns in this respect.

We begin with a visual display of the relationship between partitioned population and TFCAs. We measure the arbitrariness of each border by using the average percentage of each country's population (on each side of the border) that belong to ethnic groups partitioned by the border. The list of partitioned Africans is derived from Asiwaju (1986). The resulting index was designed by Englebert, Tarango and Carter (2003). The observations are the 98 bilateral borders of sub-Saharan Africa. We treat Sudan as unified country since most of our data predates 2011.

We can see from Figure 3 that there is a negative relationship between partitioned populations and the existence and number of TFCAs across the same borders. *The more a*

border breaks up existing communities, the less likely it is to have a TFCA. This relationship continues among borders that have TFCAs. In other words, the more the border "dismembers" the fewer the TFCAs. The outlier is the Malawi-Zambia border that is listed as having 4 parks. However, it can also be thought of as one large area (which is how www.peacepark.org lists it) and thus is a bit of an artificial outlier that does not invalidate the trend.

Partitioned Africans and Number of TFCAs by border

Source: Asiwaju (1986); www.tbpa.net; authors' dataset. Not including North Africa.
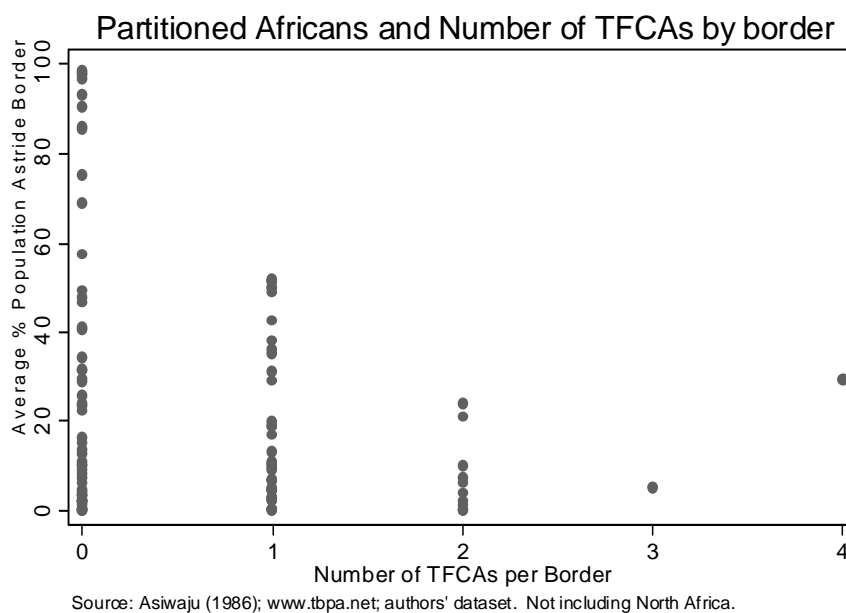
Figure 3

This finding suggests that TFCAs are not necessarily the right mechanism to address postcolonial boundary arbitrariness, as they seem harder to achieve when there is high arbitrariness. Of course, we still need to look at the relationship between partitioned people and local insecurity in and outside of TFCAs to fully assess their impact, something we return to below. But it bears noting that TFCAs are not developed in regions of greater postcolonial partitioning, that is, where they would be most needed if they were to alleviate the effects of postcolonial territorial arbitrariness. The average proportion of partitioned peoples is 22% for borders without TFCAs and 16% for borders with them, a difference significant at the 10% level (one tail).

In all likelihood, the more arbitrary the border, the more difficult it might be for countries to work together on the border area and "remove" it from their monopolistic sovereign oversight. Recall from Table 1 that TFCAs are more likely to be established along borders that are not the

object of a dispute (thus already peaceful borders). The average proportion of disputes is 41%
for borders without TFCA and 36% for borders with them (not statistically significant). Because
border dispute in Africa is a positive function of partitioned people (Englebert et al. 2003), the
selection of low-partition borders for TFCAs might reflect this impact. Recall too that straight
lines, which are also a factor of border dispute as they are more likely to reflect arbitrariness, had
a 21% chance of happening on the borders that host TFCAs, as against 41% on other borders. (a
difference statistically significant at 5% level, two tails), suggesting again that TFCAs typically
get established in easier borders rather than as a means to solve the problems associated with
difficult ones. Straight lines also correlate with partitioned people at r=0.18 (significant at 10%).
The impact of partitioned populations on conflict is also hard to assess, as is the effect that
TFCAs might have on this relationship. If we look at the entire data set of conflict observations,
but excluding North African borders, we get an average proportion of partitioned people of
18.9% in non-TFCA border conflicts and 19.8% in TFCAs. Due to the large sample size, this is a
statistically significant finding. As stated, TFCAs are less likely to be established on arbitrary
borders containing partitioned ethnic groups, but the TFCA borders that are conflict prone host a
slightly larger proportion of partitioned people than non-TFCA borders. In other words, the
establishment of a TFCA may act as a catalyst for conflict among partitioned groups, but not by
a significant amount. This could be due to the nature of protected areas, which generally have
lower levels of management and border demarcation than other border areas. In turn, this may
encourage conflict due to the ease of movement and lack of state intervention. Most of these
conflicts are not occurring in southern Africa, so it is not to dispute the effectiveness of Peace
Parks in promoting peace, but rather to examine the effects of transboundary conservation
initiatives on partitioned populations.

Interestingly, this increased level of conflict among partitioned people in TFCAs
corresponds to a lower level of fatalities in TFCAs ($\mu=5.29$) compared to non-TFCA border
areas ($\mu=6.59$). Thus, border conflict containing partitioned people tends to be less violent on
average in areas containing a TFCA despite a higher proportion. This reinforces somewhat our
earlier finding that civilian deaths in TFCAs was lower than in border areas in general. If we
break the data in two (Table 5), with one group representing observations with population astride
below the overall mean ($\mu=19.9$), and the other group with observations above the mean, we find
that for observations below the mean, non-TFCAs are significantly more violent than TFCAs.

For observations above the mean, the relationship is the opposite (violence is greater in TFCAs) but not significantly so and on average below what it was for the first group. It is very difficult to infer too much from these numbers. We suspect that the second group is largely affected by data from the DRC-Rwanda border (about 660 observations, two thirds of which are in parks).

Table 5. People Astride, TFCAs and Fatalities

Proportion astride	Non-TFCA mean fatalities	TFCA mean fatalities	P value
Less than the mean	8.1 (1,938)	4.9 (849)	0.01
Above the mean	4.7 (1,589)	5.8 (623)	0.14

Note: does not include North Africa, fatalities from non-combat non-violence against civilians activities and fatalities of 25,000 or more. The mean proportion astride is 19.9%.

Conclusions

While our findings do not demonstrate a causal effect of the creation of TFCAs on conflict and local populations, they help understand the trends of violence and partitioning among transfrontier parks, taking into account extraneous variables, such as political unrest, regional population differences, and border effects. With many case studies making claims about the preservation of peace and engagement of local communities in African TFCAs, using statistical methods help us interpret the significance of these claims on a larger scale. We found that many TFCAs are established on borders with more peaceful relations to begin with, resulting in fewer instances of combats in transfrontier parks. Thus, the existence of TFCAs have done little to improve dyadic relations, as those that have experienced greater instances of conflict are either consistent over time or are primarily determined by the political instability occurring in the state. Battles are also unlikely to occur in unpopulated wilderness areas, resulting in significantly fewer fatalities in TFCAs. Violence against civilians, however, have higher fatalities on average in TFCAs, but that is largely affected by the violence on borders between Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, and Uganda due to political unrest and higher population density. African borders see even more civilian casualties than TFCAs, so this may lead to the notion that transfrontier parks might help mitigate this violence in some respect, a hypothesis worth investigating further.

Our findings among partitioned ethnic groups support the idea that TFCAs are more likely to be established along peaceful borders. With fewer partitioned people among TFCAs than non-TFCA borders, TFCAs are generally not being created along arbitrary borders. Thus, most of these individuals are unaffected by the existence of a transfrontier park, leading us to believe that TFCAs do not have a considerable effect on reuniting torn communities from colonial demarcation. However, among those that do live in or around transfrontier parks, there are higher instances of conflict than other areas involving partitioned people, but they are on average less violent.

While it is difficult to make a causal argument about the effects of TFCAs due to their diversity in management and organization, several conclusions can be made. These are that (1) TFCAs are more likely to *maintain* peaceful relations than to *create* peace in border areas, (2) peaceful relations in TFCAs are more affected by the region's political state, geography, and population density than by transnational initiatives, and (3) most partitioned people are unaffected by the creation of TFCAs as they are less often created on arbitrary borders.

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Tamar, Ron. "SADC Proposed Framework for TFCAs – Issues and Options Report." *Global Transboundary Conservation Network*. (2007): 1-41. Web.

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Working title:
Borders within States; Differentiation in the name of non-discrimination

When San in remote parts of Botswana talk about going to Gaborone, the capital, they sometimes refer to it as going to 'another country', a place far away with different customs. The spatial borders of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve demonstrate some of this conceptual distance. The delimitations were established by the colonial system in 1961 intended to protect a population within the boundaries, but were reinforced after a High Court decision in 2006 to provide a way to keep people out of the territory.

This paper will consider the changing nature of the border in in view of two or three different perspectives:
The power of the Botswana government to define the territory as a Protected Area solely for wildlife in terms of various environmental legislations.
The emerging market for mining prospecting licenses and tourism concessions. Also raising the question if this can be seen as developments distinct from government policies, given that any enterprise is condoned by the government.
A community perspective that draws on various representations and interpretations of Indigenous rights, and what the international indigenous movement has come to mean for people on the ground.

The paper will take the 2006 verdict as a point of departure and examine the implementation and initiatives that have taken place in the subsequent period. Questions to address will include how environmental protection suit this particular case; how the concept of ecotourism suits the (largely foreign dominated) tourism industry and local interests, respectively; and what is the possibilities for initiatives benefitting local (resettled) residents.

Nature conservation may serve as a concept that link modern thinking about community based initiatives with traditional rights of the San within a new system of measurements and allocations of rights and obligations. However, a main achievement after the case has been permission, grudgingly, to open one good borehole for drinking water in 2011, a borehole that repeatedly is out of function. More recently, a Management Plan for one Community Use Zone within the reserve has been submitted for consideration of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the Ministry. Initial feedback on the plan suggests that this may end up as a feeble and unsustainable attempt at local involvement, as a main premise is that any material gains must be reinvested outside of the reserve. A further concern is that no management plans for a particular zone is likely to be approved before a new Management plan for the entire CKGR is adopted (which will be the fourth of such documents accessible to the public) and the government may not be interested in speeding up this process which has been ongoing since the 2006 Court Case.

The case demonstrates the creation of new boundaries between groups, identities and affiliations. The physical boundaries serve both for inclusion and exclusion. Some policy impacts may have been intended, many seem to be unintended, overlooked or simply considered of no interest. The paper will contribute to the debate on the ambiguity of trans-border collaborations, demonstrating the different impact on different class of actors.

Saugestad 2013

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Degrees

Magister Artium in Social Anthropology, with Sociology and English, 1973,
University of Oslo.
Doctor Philosophia 1999, University of Tromsø.

Previous Positions

Associate Professor, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Tromsø, 1998
Associate Professor, Department of Planning and Community Studies, UiT, 1983-1997
Research Facilitator, The Remote Area Development Programme (Expert seconded by NORAD
 to the Ministry of Local Government, based at the University of Botswana) 1992-1993
Visiting Scholar, University of Auckland, New Zealand, 1986.
Research fellow with the Norwegian Research Council, 1979-82.
Visiting Scholar, University of California, Berkeley, 1982.
Assistant Lecturer, University of Tromsø 1975-1978
Assistant Lecturer. University of Oslo, 1973-1975

Teaching Topics

Ethnic groups and boundaries, indigenous peoples, human rights,
Interaction theory, cross-cultural communication, cultural change.
Development studies, household-based production systems.

Research and Related Activities

2004-2006 Observation (periodically and after the case) of proceeding and social context of a
High Court case concerning San rights to residence in the Central Kalahari Game
Reserve, Botswana.
1999-2002 *Botswana/South Africa/Namibia*; Project, "Options and
Dilemmas for Indigenous Organisations in Southern Africa", following the
development of San (Bushman) interest organisations in the region and relation to
global networks. Research Council funding under the programme Globalisation and
Marginalisation,
1992-93 Research coordination and evaluation of policy implementation and impact of
"The Remote Area Development Programme", and an analysis of the situation of the
San (Basarwa, Bushmen) of Botswana. Follow up visits from 1994 to present.

Main Appointments and Assignments

National Convenor , Erasmus Mundus funded Master programme *Human Rights Practice*

Collaboration with Roehampton University and University of Gothenburg. 2010 - present.

Lectures on 'Equal rights and the right to be different', in a masters series on *Minorities in Law and Politics*, delivered by the Norwegian Centre for Human Rights, at Yunnan University, China, November 2012.

Forum for Development Cooperation with Indigenous Peoples, University of Tromsø Chair 2002-2004 and 2011-2012. http://sami.uit.no/forum/indexen.html

External Advisor to the *San Research Centre*, University of Botswana, from 2010 - present.

Chair of the Board for the International Master Programme in *Indigenous Studies* 2009-2011

Coordinator (North) for a *San Youth Capacity Building Programme* based at the University of Botswana. Funding from the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2006-2010

Member, Promotion committee for professorships in social anthropology, under the Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions (UHR) 2007-2009

Head of Department 2006 - August 2009. Member of Programme Boards BA and BA Social Anthropology, Master in Indigenous Studies

Coordinator *for University of Botswana and University of Tromsø Collaborative Programme for San/Basarwa Research and Capacity Building*. (NUFU PRO 46/02), 1996-2008

Centre for Environment and Development (SEMUT) University of Tromso, Chair 1989-199, Board Member, 2004-2006

Head of Department January 2002 - June 2004, Member of the Faculty Board, member of Committee working out new financial model, Member of Programme Board MA and BA Social Anthropology, MA in Visual Cultural Studies, MA in Conflict, Security and Multicultural understanding (KOSIFF)

Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous People/Galdu. Board member, 2002-2005. (appointed by Ministry of Municipal Affairs). http://www.galdu.org/english/

Professional Memberships

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA).
Norwegian Association of Social Anthropologists.
Norwegian Association for Development Research (NFU).

PhD supervision

Velina Ninkova" Subsistence, employment and the role of education for the San in the Omaheke Region, Namibia and Ghanzi District, Botswana." Ongoing.

Trine Eide " Paths to Peace: civic nationalism, transitional justice and economic development in Rwanda." Currently on leave.

Siv Øvernes "'Surviving the Cold.' Khoe San Identity Management among Street People in Cape Town." 2008

Jean Kolandi "Rural Resettlement, cotton cultivation and coping strategies in the Benue River basin, Northern Cameroon." 2006

Agnete Wiborg "En ambivalent reise i et flertydig landskap. Unge fra distriktene i høyere utdanning." 2003

Publication list, English titles

"Regional and indigenous identities in the high north: enacting social boundaries." *Polar Record* 2012 no.1

Saugestad 2013

"Indigenous Peoples Rights " entry in *International Encyclopedia of Political Sciences*.
  Los Angeles: Sage. 2011 pp1170-1173

--with Maitseo Bolaane: "The University of Botswana and University of Tromsø Collaborative
  Programme and its Relevance to Minority Education and San Youth Capacity
  Building." *Diaspora, Indigenous and Minority Education*. 2011, no 5, pp. 119-125

"Impact of international mechanisms on indigenous rights in Botswana"
  The International Journal of Human Righst. Vol 15 (1) 2011

"Preface" to Kuela Kiemas's book *Tears for My Land. A Social History of the Central
  Kalahari Game Reserve, Tc'amnqoo*. Gaborone: Mmegi Publishing House 2010.

 "Beyond the 'Columbus Context'. New Challenges as the Indigenous Discourse is Applied
  to Africa" in H. Minde (ed) 2008: *Indigenous Peoples: Self-determination, Knowledge,
  Indigeneity*. Delft: Eburon. pp 157-173. 2008

With Maitseo Bolaane: "Mother Tongue. Old debates and New Initiatives in San Education"
  Indigenous Affairs 1/06, pp 47-54, 2006

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"San Development and Challenges in Development Cooperation"
  in R. Hitchcock, K. Ikeya, M. Biesele and R.B. Lee (eds) *Updating the San. Image
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  Studies, pp 171-180, 2006

 "'Improving their lives'. State policies and San Resistance in Botswana"
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--with Kgosi Motshabi: *Research for Khoe and San Development. Proceedings from
  an International Conference.*   Gaborone: Univ. of Botswana, Univ. of Tromsø.
  ISBN 99912-560-8-3, 2004

"The Indigenous Peoples in Southern Africa: An Overview. " pp 22-41 & "Khoe-San
   Languages" pp 250-251. in Diana Vinding and Robert Hitchcock, eds: *Indigenous Peoples'
  Rights in Southern Africa*. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs/IWGIA.

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  Current Anthropology Vol. 45(2), pp. 263-264 , 2004

---with Shelagh Willet, Stella Monageng and Janet Hermans, editors: *The Khoe and San.
  An Annotated Bibliography,* Vol.1. Gaborone: Lentswe La Lesedi 2002, 2002
  ISBN 999121-71-26-0

---with Onalenna Doo Selolwane, guest editors: San/Basarwa Special Issue. *Pula.
  Botswana Journal of African Studies*, no. 2, vol. 16, 2002. ISSN 0256-2316

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  Vol.13, nr.1-2, 2002, pp. 22-33

"San/Basarwa Studies at the University of Botswana." *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, pp.53-54,
  Spring 2002

*The Inconvenient Indigenous: remote Area Development in Botswana, Donor Assistance and
  The First people of the Kalahari*. Uppsala: Nordic Institute of African Studies.
  ISBN 91-7106-475-3. 2001

"Contested Images: 'First peoples' or 'Marginalised Minorities' in Africa?" in A. Barnard
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  Minorities'?* University of Edinburgh: Centre for African Studies. ISBN 0 95279175
  7. 2001

"Dette besværlige urfolksbegrepet" *Norsk Antropologisk Tidsskrift*, Nr. 1-2, 2001, pp.34-41

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Organisations and Encounters in Southern Africa." in A. Bank (ed) *The Khoisan
Identities and Cultural Heritage Conference*. Cape Town; University of Western Cape.
1998

A Regional Assessment of the Situation of the San People in Southern Africa.
An Inception Report prepared for the European Commission, Brussels. August 1998.

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Abstract

Primitive Accumulation through Nature Conservation: A historical perspective on the establishment of the Virunga National Park (Parc National Albert)

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One of the scientifically most often discussed consequences of (transboundary) nature conservation might be its impact on so called *neighbouring communities*. What seems to be very crucial in this regard is the consideration of processes accompanying the enclosure of the conservation area's land previous to its proclamation. These enclosures very often happened during colonial rule, thus, following logics of colonial governance. Additionally, the enclosed land had very often previously been used as commons by communities, which's social systems were often strongly connected to certain modes of organising access to land. These circumstances appear to qualify the process as *primitive accumulation* (PA), as understood in marxist terminology – yet, seen under a critical perspective.

The proposed paper aims at examining the genesis of the Virunga National Park (formerly Parc National Albert), situated in the borderlands of DR Congo's eastern North-Kivu province, under the perspective of PA. On basis of archival research on Belgian colonial documents, individual archives and existing literature, conducted in July 2013, we will retrace the establishment of the Parc National Albert (PNA) and argue, that its establishment can be qualified as primitive accumulation. Subsequently, we will discuss the implications of PA - as indicated by theory on that matter - and their role in the historical genesis of today's protracted conflict(s) in the regions adjacent to the park. Among those implications, the *proletarisation* of the communities, forcibly displaced for reasons of nature conservation alongside the colonial dichotomy of nature vs. culture, appears, as we will argue, to be among the most crucial. We will conclude, that the establishment of the PNA served - intentionally or unintentionally - the same purpose as other measures of colonial governance, like the introduction of taxes, which had to be paid in money, to systematically deprive the local population and instrumentalise them in the accumulation of capital.

ABORNE Workshop on

"Bewildering Borders": Transnational Conservation and Resource Governance in Africa

To be held in conjunction with Department for Social and Cultural Anthropology,
University of Vienna, Austria
Friday September 27th – Saturday 28th 2013

Paper proposal

Topic: **Transfrontier Green governance in a context of border regime ambivalence: the Transfrontier Biosphere Reserve (TBR) of *Jawling* and *Djoudj* in the Senegal River Valley**

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Abstract
The 'cross-border cooperation/governance' or 'local integration' approach to regional integration in Africa is often presented as a discourse and a practice of postcolonial counter-hegemony or decolonization of African borders and border regimes. Part of which, among other policy sectors and approaches, are the discourse and ensuing initiatives related to the promotion and 'protection of wildlife and biodiversity as a political strategy for 'healing the 'scars of colonial history' exemplified in national borders. To the extent that it is challenged by governance issues and political economic stakes inscribed in power structures and social interactions shaped by / inherited from colonial governance and / or reproduce them, green governance in border areas matches with neocolonialism rather than decolonization. In the river Valley of Senegal, this ambivalence of postcolonial or de-colonial political experiences, (i.e. Peace parks), is reflected in the way green governance is undertaken in a context of continual border regime instability. The setting of the institutional architecture of the TBR owes much to the involvement and pressure of national government elites, and local government elites to some extent, and the calculations around global and local opportunities (UNESCO heritage protection policy, global agribusiness inflows, market opportunities and bilateral geopolitics of 'rival-association', unequal political economic opportunities and decentralization / local governance systems across the border, etc.). Postcolonial ambivalence of 'change in continuity' implicates the opportune and contextual use of some structural patterns of the border regime in the Valley. These include government control, geopolitical defiance /gap, class divides, elite grab on governance and resources, securitized border crossing and migration, resilient humanitarian liabilities, and non inclusive and unequal decentralization / local governance policies. If the institutional design and discourse of green governance through the transfrontier biosphere park has been inclusive in the earlier phases to civil society, and its process multi-actor and multi-sphere, it has not been effectively open to local communities and their much localized challenges of daily livelihoods making in its operational aspect. It is clear that the mechanism of the TBR is quite perfectly inspired from 'transitional modes of governance' blossoming quite everywhere in Africa and Europe. However, it does not work in the way it was narrated and legitimated, all the more since the patterns of border regime ambivalence are accompanied by underlying 'divergences in local histories', notably at the level of local politics (i.e. class divides, elite formation) and national governments. Questioning the operational affectivity of the TBR leaves interesting issues including 'benefits' and 'ownership' for / from local communities, though the merging of the two national parks was done with the image of local communality which is 'twining'.

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University Training

2008 M Litt. (DEA) Political Science, Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, B Honors

2005 MA Political Science, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, C Honors

2004 BA Political Science, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, C Honors

2003 Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales (Undergraduate degree) Political Science, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, B Honors

2001 MA Certificate English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, A Honors.

2000 BA English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, B Honors

1999 Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales (Undergraduate degree), English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, B Honors.

Professional Membership

2012 African Borderland Studies Association (ABSA)

2011 African Young Researchers Network (AYRN)

2009 African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE)

Conference papers

2012 *Religion and the (de)construction of Cross-border Regional Integration in Western Senegambia*. 6th ABORNE Conference on **African Borderlands – Regional Integration from Above and Below**. Centre of African Studies at 50 (Cutting Edges and Retrospectives). University of Edinburgh, 5-9 June 2012.

2011 Développement démocratique ou Etat développemental en Afrique ? Le verdict populaire contre le nouvel interventionnisme global. Conférence de la Société des Africanistes sur **Quels regards scientifiques sur l'Afrique depuis les indépendances ?** Paris: Musée du Quai Branly, 17-18 November 2011.

2011 'The genius of Suffering': The Paradox of an Alienated Border Regime: Refugee Integration and Social transformation in Cross-border Dagana. 5th African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) Conference, **Crossing African Borders: Migration and Mobility**, Lisbon, 21-25 September.

2011 *Environmental Change, Migration and Conflict on the Border regions of High Casamance: Dynamics and challenges for Community Peace. Workshop of the* Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Migrations et Faits de Sociétés, **Climate Change, Gender and Adapatation Strategies**. Gaston Berger University, Saint-Louis, Senegal, 23 July 2011.

2010 *Une approche historique du rôle de l'institution religieuse dans la gestion des conflits politiques au Sénégal (1962-2010)*. West African Research Association / West African Research Center Second Regional Conference: **Faith communities in West Africa and their role in Conflict**, Freetown, Sierra Leone, December 11-15.

2010 *Cross-Border Trade and Cross-border Cooperation on the militarized borders of Western Senegambia: Comparing configurations on the Borderlands of Senegal, the Gambia and Guinea Bissau*. African Borderlands Research Network Conference: **Cross-border trade in Africa: The local politics of a global economy**, Basel, Switzerland, September 8-11.

2010 *Refugees/Displaced, Cross-border Governance, and the making of political order in borderlands: A comparative perspective of refugee contexts in northern and southern borderlands of Senegal (Senegal-Mauritania, Senegal-Guinea Bissau)*. African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) Summer-school: **Politics and the making of order in borderlands**. Institute of African Studies, University of Bayreuth. Thurnau, Germany, July 25-31.

2010 The *Transnational Actors and Dimensions of the Casamance conflict*. Africa-Europe Group of Interdisciplinary Studies (AEGIS) Summer School, **Transnational Africa**, Cortona Tuscany, Italy, June 7-13.

2010 *Problématique de l'autonomie dans la gestion des conflits en Afrique de l'Ouest. La CEDEAO entre souverainisme des Etats et interventionnisme libéral des partenaires extérieurs*. Commission préparatoire du cinquantenaire de l'indépendance de la Cote d'Ivoire, Premier Pré-colloque **Conflits et Indépendance en Afrique : la situation en Afrique de l'Ouest**, Abengourou, Cote d'Ivoire, 10-14 mars.

2010 *How African Civil Wars Hibernate in Borderlands: The Warring communities of the Senegal / Guinea-Bissau Borderlands in the face of the Casamance forgotten civil war and the Bissau-Guinean State failure*. Colloque International, **Territorial Origins of The African Civil Conflicts**, Université du KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, January 29-30.

2009 *State Crisis and the Politics of Religious revisionism in Senegal*. Afrobarometer Anglophone Summer School, University of Cape Town, Center for Social Science Research, Cape Town, South Africa, 16 November – 12 December.

2009 *Migration, mondialisation et sécurité : les enjeux et les facteurs de la sécuritisation de la politique émigratoire du Sénégal*. International Symposium, **Migration and Globalisation**, Dakar IPDSR, 18-20 November.

2009 *Etats faibles et migrations internationales. Les facteurs et les enjeux de la sécuritisation de la politique migratoire du Sénégal*, Pré-symposium of the Institut de la Population, de la Démographie et de la Santé de la Reproduction (IPDSR), **Migration et Mondialisation**, Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, 3 June.

2009 *Borders and Borderland identity in Senegambia: a Comparative Perspective of Cross-border Governance in the neighbourhoods of Senegal, the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau*, African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) Conference, **How is Africa Transforming Border Studies?***,* School of Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, September 10-17.

Research Valuing and Networks

2011   *Conception, rédaction et présentation de communication scientifique.* Course for MA Research students at the annual Seminary of the Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Migrations et Faits de Sociétés (GERM). Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, 23-28 June 2011.
Reference: Dr. Aly Tandian, GERM Coordinator.

2011   Laureate of the *Governance Residential School* of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London and the Institute de Estudios Sociales et Economicos of the University of Maputo (Mozambique) on the theme "Governance and Development in Africa", 04 au 08 April 2011, Maputo Mozambique.
Reference: Prof. Dr. Christopher Cramer, University of London

2011   *La protection sociale des femmes migrantes sénégalaises dans les activités agricoles et les services particuliers en Espagne*. Report of Research project conducted in the Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Migrations (GERM) of the Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, funded and ordered by the international Development Research Center (IDRC).
Reference: Dr. Aly Tandian, Department of Sociology, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis.

2010   Participation at the European Union-Africa Research Collaboration Workshop on the Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH), organized by the Network for the Coordination and Advancement of Sub-Saharan Africa-EU Science and Technology Cooperation (CAAST-Net), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, March, 3-5.
Reference: Melissa Ann Plath, Planning Officer, UniPID – University of Jyväskylä (Finland).

2009   *Les droits culturels au Sénégal et en Gambie*. Report for the UNESCO-Dakar within the Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches Constitutionnelles et Politiques (GERCOP), Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis. [URL: http://www.unesco.gm/Archives/rapport%20final%20gercop.pdf].
Reference: Prof. Dr. Babaly Sall, Faculty of Law and Political Science – Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis.

2009   Co-author of the Research Report, Annotated bibliography, and Literature review on the theme of 'Migration and Globalization' for the International Symposium of IPDSR of Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, November 2009.
Reference: Dr. Aly Tandian, Department of Sociology, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis.

2008   Participant at the Colloquium of the Gabriel Péri Foundation, co-organised by the Parti de l'Indépendance et du Travail of Senegal and the Laboratoire d'Etudes et de Recherches Philosophiques et Sociales of Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar on the theme 'Africa and Europe in the new global geopolitics' January 24-26, Dakar. Observer status.
Reference: Chrystel Lemoing, Fondation Gabriel Peri, Paris.

2007   *Gestion des problèmes transfrontaliers entre le Sénégal et la Gambie : la « diplomatie locale » transfrontalière à Nioro-Farafegni*, Paper presented at the CODESRIA Governance Institute on Security Sector Governance in Africa, Dakar : August 6-31.
Reference: Prof. Dr. Etannibi E. O. Alemika, University of Jos, Nigeria.

Publications:
Journal articles

2013   Dynamique du rôle de l'institution religieuse dans la gestion des conflits politiques au Sénégal.
Forthcoming: *Africa Conflict and Peace Building Review*, No 6 April, Indiana University Press, Indiana: Minneapolis.
Reference: Abdoulaye Niang, West African Research Center Dakar, Senegal.
Reference: Adama Sadio, Coordinator of the African Young Researchers Network (AYRN).

2012   How African Civil Wars Hibernate in Borderlands: The Warring communities of the Senegal / Guinea Bissau Borderlands in the face of the Casamance forgotten civil war and the Bissau-

Guinean State failure. **UBUNTU: Journal of Conflict Transformation,** Vol. 1 / Nos 1-2, pp. 36-75.

2010 Borders and Borderland identity in Senegambia: a Comparative Perspective of Cross-border Governance in the neighbourhoods of Senegal, the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau, *African Nebula*, Issue 2, September, pp. 18-42. [URL:http://www.nobleworld.biz/africannebula/about.html].

Book chapters

2013 Développement démocratique et Etat développemental à l'épreuve du MSA : Les révoltes populaires contre l'interventionnisme global. In *Afrique et Développement : points de vue des jeunes chercheurs.* Paris : L'Harmattan. Hilaire Prince Pokam, Alain Laurent Aboa, Aboubakr Tandia (Eds). **Forthcoming:**

2013 *When civil wars hibernate in borderlands: The Challenges of the Casamance "forgotten civil war" to cross-border peace and security*. **Forthcoming: Violence in the Margins: States and Violence in the Borderlands.** Eds. Benedikt Korf and Timothy Raeymaekers, Palgrave MacMillan.
Reference: Timothy Raeymaekers, University of Zurich, Switzerland.

2012 *Beyond the 'Genius of Suffering': The paradox of an alienated border regime: Refugee Integration in cross-border Dagana (Senegal-Mauritania)*. In *Crossing African Borders: Migration and Mobility.* Cristina Udelsmann Rodrigues (Ed.) Center of African Studies (CEA)/ISCTE-IUL, University Institute of Lisbon. Lisbon. ISBN: 978-972-8335-22-9 [Digital Edition]. **Reference:** Christina Udelsmann Rodriguez, ISCTE, University of Lisbon.

2011 Problématique de l'autonomie dans la gestion des conflits en Afrique de l'Ouest. In Pierre Kipré et Aké J-M. Ngbo (sous la direction), *Conflits régionaux et indépendances nationales en Afrique de l'Ouest*, Paris : L'Harmattan, pp. 135-151.

Edited books

2013 *Afrique et Développement : points de vue des jeunes chercheurs (eds)*. **Forthcoming:** in two volumes at *L'Harmattan*, co-authored with Hilaire Prince Pokam and Alain Laurent Aboa.

Organized Conferences

2013 African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) regional Workshop on the theme "Cross-border Governance and Regional Integration in Africa". Saint-Louis, 14-15 January 2013.
References: Dr. Moussa Diaw, Department of Political Science, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis; Prof. Dr. Paul Nugent, ABORNE Chairman, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh.

2013 African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) Winter School held in Saint-Louis. 09-12 January 2013
References: Dr. Moussa Diaw, Department of Political Science, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis; Prof. Dr. Paul Nugent, ABORNE Chairman, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh.

Volunteering and Public Engagement

2011 From African Renaissance to African Decadence: The Twilight of a Senegalese Patriarch. *Perspectivesonafrica*, 22 Décembre 2011,
[URL: http://perspectivesonafrica.wordpress.com/2011/12/22/from-african-renaissance-to-african-decadence-the-twilight-of-a-senegalese-patriarch/].

2011   Pambazuka ou la possibilité d'un dialogue entre générations panafricaines. *Pambazuka News*, No 203, 22 August 2011, [URL: http://pambazuka.org/fr/category/features/75901].

2011   *La Problématique du développement d'un Etat cinquantenaire : le Sénégal*. Conférence donnée au débat sur *Cadre de Réflexion et d'initiative*. University Civil Society Conference Paper for the Cercle de Réflexion et d'Initiative, Gaston Berger University, Saint-Louis, 11 June 2011.
Reference : Nancy Goudiaby, Chairperson of the Cercle de Réflexion et d'Initiative (CRI).

2011   Quand la danse du « fou » interroge les maux du corps. Co-authored with Dr. Amy Niang (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa). *Pambazuka News*, No 198, 19 July 2011. [URL: http://www.pambazuka.org/fr/category/features/75009].

2009   L'Afrique et l'Europe dans la Nouvelle géopolitique mondiale. *Le Campus*, No 07 Mai 2009, p. 11 et 13.

Previous Employment and other responsibilities

2008 – 2012   Assistant Researcher in the Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches sur les Migrations (GERM) in the Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis.
Reference: Dr. Aly Tandian, Department of sociology, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis.

2008 – 2011 Assistant Researcher in the Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherches Constitutionnelles et Politiques (GERCOP).
Reference: Prof. Dr. Babaly Sall, Faculty of Law and Political Science – Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis.

2002 – 2004 Teacher of English as a Second Language in the high school, Cours Privés Sankore, Saint-Louis – Senegal.
Reference: Inspection d'Académie of Saint-Louis

Distinctions

2011   Laureate of the *Governance Residential School* of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London and the Instituto de Estudios Sociales et Economicos de l'Université de Maputo (Mozambique) on the theme « Governance and Development in Africa », 4-8 April 2011, Maputo Mozambique.
Reference: Prof. Dr. Christopher Cramer, University of London

2007   Laureate of the CODESRIA Governance Institute, 6-31 August 2007, Dakar, Senegal.
Reference: Prof. Dr. Etannibi ALEMIKA**,** University of Jos, Jos State, Nigeria.

References

Pr Mame Penda Bâ Sarr, PhD thesis Dupervisor, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, Sénégal.
Pr Saidou Nourou TALL, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, Senegal
Pr Alioune Badara Diop, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, Senegal
Pr Etannibi ALEMIKA, Jos University, Jos State, Nigeria
Dr Aly TANDIAN, Department of Sociology, GERM Coordinator, Gaston Berger University of Saint-Louis, Sénégal.
Dr Funmi OLONISAKIN, Kings College, London, Great Britain
Pr Robert, B. Mattes, Co-Director d'Afrobarometer, Director of the Democracy in Africa Research Unit (DARU), Council for Social Science Research. Department of Political Studies, Cape Town University, Cape Town, South Africa

Abstract

"STOP THE SAHARA!"

COMBATTING CLIMATE CHANGE AND DESERTIFICATION IN THE NIGER-NIGERIA BORDERLANDS

Prof. William Miles
Department of Political Science
Northeastern University
Boston, USA

Proposed for presentation at ABORNE Workshop on:

"Bewildering Borders": Transnational Conservation and Resource Governance in Africa

Department for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna, Austria
Friday 27th September– Sunday 29th September 2013

Sustainability of life in Africa, wild as well as human, becomes increasingly precarious as changes in weather patterns turn more volatile and less predictable. This is particularly true in chronically fragile ecological zones, such as the Sahelian drylands, where farmers and pastoralists have long vied for access to land and water at various levels of symbiosis. Where ecological drylands are, in addition, crosscut by international boundaries, environmental pressures take on a particular set of political implications.

Such is the case of the borderland that spans the northern border of Nigeria with the southern border of Niger Republic. Here, northern Savannah meets southern Sahel in a shared preoccupation with desertification that encompasses both human micro- and topographical macro-level problems. Micro-level problems include conflicts/clashes between (usually) Nigerian farmers with (usually) Nigérien pastoralists. Macro problems encompass the "spread of the Sahara" and a growing consciousness of immutable degradation of land productivity as a result of climate change.

The governments of Nigeria and Niger have acknowledged the mutual ecological challenge and have mounted collaborative efforts to confront it. Most significant among these are the Nigeria-Niger Trans-boundary Ecosystem Management Project, whose aim is to promote an integrated and sustainable ecosystem that will thereby enhance livelihoods within the shared borderlands. Implementation of this Trans-boundary Ecosystem Management Project is problematic, however: following Medugu et. al. (2008), the problems facing this (and other) eco-

aspirational projects, at least from the Nigerian side, include top-down management, inconsistency of government policies, neglect of indigenous knowledge, use of inappropriate technology, and inadequate raising of environmental consciousness among the rural poor. It is impoverished villagers and herders, especially in the borderlands, who both bear the brunt of lack of natural resource conservation and contribute the most to it.

This presentation will focus on the legal and institutional (i.e, resource governance) side of this project. It will pay particular attention to its findings and recommendations with respect to conservation of wildlife and biodiversity.

Unlike Parc W, the transfrontier wildlife reserve that overlaps territory of Nigeria, Benin, and Burkina Faso, the Nigerian-Nigérien borderlands are not yet at a stage where a comparable kind of "peace park" is being envisioned. By first securing this ecologically fragile borderland for enhanced human and wildlife habitation, however, the future establishment of a "small game" reserve, park, or zoo opens up new possibilities for local income generation while raising consciousness of the value of natural resource and biodiversity protection.

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AREA SPECIALIZATIONS: Francophone West Africa (Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Niger, Senegal); Nigeria

THEMATIC SPECIALIZATIONS: Borders and Borderlands; International Development; Religion and Politics

POSITION

Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts. Professor of Political Science, from July 1, 1996; Chair, International Development Concentration (Masters of Public Administration Program), 1984-2003.

COURSES OFFERED

Contemporary Issues in Third World Development; Development Planning and Administration; Politics of Developing Nations; Democratization and Governance in Developing Countries; Government and Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa; Comparative Politics; Religion and Politics

EDUCATION

Ph.D. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1983 Dissertation title: "Paradox in Paradise: Martinique and the 1981 French National Elections." Passed Ph.D. comprehensive oral examinations with "Distinction," 1982. Offered fields: Developmental Economics; Comparative and Developmental Political Analysis; Law and Development; and Civilization and Foreign Affairs.

M.A.L.D. (Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy), The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1982.

A.B. Vassar College, 1977. Phi Beta Kappa. Major in Science, Technology and Society.

National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency. "A Geo-spatial Perspective on Nigeria." St. Louis, June 27, 2011.

 United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Programming evaluation for Mali (including 2 week in-country field study; contracted through EnCompass), February-March, 2011.

Counterpart International. Chad PEACE Proposal Writing, April-May, 2010.

USAID. "Burkina Faso Field Study," February-March, 2010.

USAID.   Programming evaluation and risk assessment for Chad (including 3 week in-country field study; contracted through Management Information Systems [MSI]). July-August, 2009.

Applied Physics Laboratory, Workshop on Borders Regions, March 10, 2009.

ARD, Inc. West Africa - Peace Through Development, Workshop and Proposal Writing, December 2007-January 2008.

U.S. Department of Labor (International Child Labor Program, Bureau of International Labor Affairs), Child Labor Education Initiative Proposal Reviewer, August-September, 2004.

 Center for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN)-EBR. "Impact of Environmental Change on Regional Dynamics – Nigeria," 1999.

PUBLICATIONS
Books

Hausaland Divided: Colonialism and Independence in Nigeria and Niger. Cornell University Press, 1994. Selected by Choice Magazine as an "Outstanding Academic Book." Cited in Encyclopedia Brittanica Book of the Year for having made a "significant contribution to learning" in the History of Mankind field. Accorded "Honorable Mention" in the French Colonial Historical Society Alf Heggoy Book Prize Competition.

Political Islam in West Africa. State-Society Relations Transformed. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007. As volume editor, solicited and edited 6 chapters; compiled research Bibliography; and contributed Preface, Introduction ("West African Islam: Emerging Political Dynamics") and Conclusion ("West Africa Transformed: The New Mosque-State Relationship").

Elections in Nigeria: A Grassroots Perspective. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1988.

My African Horse Problem. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.

Articles in Scholarly and Refereed Journals

"Deploying Development to Counter Terrorism: Post-9/11 Transformation of U.S. Foreign Aid to Africa" African Studies Review 55:3 (2012), pp. 27-60.

"An Africanist Analysis [of] Israel's Religious Vote." Israel Affairs 16:1 (2010), pp. 179-200. London: Routledge.

"Bulls, Goats, and Pedagogy: Engaging Students in Overseas Development Aid [in Africa]." PS: Political Science and Politics 42:181-7 (2009).

"Islamism in West Africa: Internal Dynamics and U.S. Responses." The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs 32:2 (2008), pp. 9-13.

"Legacies of Anglo-French Colonial Borders: A West African and Southeast Asian Comparison." Journal of Borderlands Studies 23:2 (2008), pp. 83-102.

"The Rabbi's Well: A Case Study in the Micropolitics of Foreign Aid in Muslim West Africa [Niger]". African Studies Review 51:1 (2008), pp. 41-57.

"Labeling 'Genocide' in Sudan: A Constructionist Analysis of Darfur." Genocide Studies and Prevention 1:3 (2006), pp. 251-263.

"Development, Not Division: Local versus External Perceptions of the Niger-Nigeria boundary." Journal of Modern African Studies 43:2 (2005), pp. 297-320.

"Islamism in West Africa: Introduction" and "Conclusions" (Guest editor of special issue). African Studies Review (2004), pp. 55-59 and 109-116.

"Shari'a as De-Africanization: Evidence from Hausaland." Africa Today 50:1 (2003), pp. 50-75.

"Post-Genocide Survivorship in Rwanda. Bridges: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Theology, Philosophy, History, and Science 9 (2002), pp. 171-193.

"Muslim Ethnopolitics and Presidential Elections in Nigeria." Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs 20 (2000), pp. 229-241

"Decolonization as Disintegration: the Disestablishment of the State in Chad." Journal of Asian and African Studies 30 (1995), pp. 41-52.

"Tragic Tradeoffs: Democracy and Security in Chad." Journal of Modern African Studies 33 (1995), pp. 53-65.

"Traditional Rulers and Development Administration: Chieftaincy in Niger, Nigeria and Vanuatu." Studies in Comparative International Development 28:3 (1993), pp. 31-50.

"Colonial Hausa Idioms: Towards a West African Ethno-ethnohistory." African Studies Review 36:2 (1993), pp. 11-30.

"Hausa Dreams." Anthropologica 35 (1993), pp. 105-116.

"Nationalism Versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa." American Political Science Review 85:2 (June 1991), pp. 393-403 [co-authored]. Reprinted in Nikolaos Zahariadis, ed., Theory, Case, and Method in Comparative Politics. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1997.

"Comparative Decolonization: French West Africa, French Caribbean, French India." Contemporary French Civilization 14:2 (Summer/Fall, 1990), pp. 212-226

"The Rally as Ritual: Dramaturgical Politics in Nigerian Hausaland." Comparative Politics 21:3 (April, 1989), pp. 323-338.

"Partitioned Royalty: The Evolution of Hausa Chiefs in Nigeria and Niger." <u>The Journal of odern African Studies</u> 25:2 (1987), pp. 233-258.

"Self-Identity, Ethnic Affinity, and National Consciousness: An Example from Rural Hausaland." <u>Ethnic and Racial Studies</u> 9:4 (October, 1986), pp. 427-444.

"Islam and Development in the Western Sahel: Engine or Brake?" <u>Journal. Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs</u> 7:2 (July, 1986), pp. 439-463.

Chapters in Edited Volumes

"A Horse, a Chief and a Political Anthropologist. Indigenous Politics, Conflict Resolution and Globalization in Niger." In <u>Indigenous Political Structures and Governance in Africa</u>. Edited by Olufemi Vaughan. Ibadan, Nigeria: Sefer Books, 2003.

"Religious Pluralisms in Northern Nigeria." <u>History of Islam in Africa</u>. Edited by Nehemia Levtzion and Randall Pouwels. Ohio University Press, 2000.

"Niger." <u>Worldmark Chronology of the Nations</u>. The Gale Group, 1999.

"The Reality and Promise of Partition in Hausaland." <u>The Nigeria-Niger Transborder Cooperation</u>. Edited by A.I. Asiwaju and B.M. Barkindo. Lagos: National Boundary Commission (1993), pp. 111-121.

"Islam and Development in West Africa." In Julius Okolo and Stephen Wright, eds., <u>West African Regional Cooperation and Development</u>. Boulder: Westview Press, 1990, pp. 215-240.

Literary Review, Magazine, and Newspaper Essays

"Peace Corps Reproduction." <u>WorldView</u>. Summer 2011, pp. 37-8.

"Justice in the Saddle." <u>WorldView</u>. Winter, 2008, pp. 41-3.

"Letter from Ouagadougou." <u>The Antioch Review</u> 64:1 (Winter 2006), pp. 99-116.

"The Niger We Should Know." <u>The Boston Globe</u>. August 23, 2005, p. A-15.

"Descartes by Firelight – Niger." <u>WorldView</u>. Fall 2005, p. 66.

"Islamism in Africa." <u>The World & I</u>. December 2003, pp. 257-265.

"Letter from Kigali: After-Life." <u>WorldView</u> 16:4 (Fall 2003), pp. 23-26.

"A Lie." <u>Commonweal</u> 126:10 (May 21, 1999), p. 31.

"Gracious Hosts, Superpower Guests." <u>The Humanist. A Magazine of Critical Inquiry and Social Concern</u> 58:4 (July/August 1998).

<u>HONORS, GRANTS, AND FELLOWSHIPS</u>

Earhart Foundation Fellowship for book research support on comparative colonialism, 2006.
American Philosophical Society research grant for Niger and Nigeria, 2001-3.
Fulbright Senior Scholar Research Fellowship for Mauritius, 1996-7.
Academic Specialist Program, United States Information Agency, February, 1992. Was featured speaker
        at American Studies Association of Nigeria conference on "Democracy, Nationalism, and
        National Integration."
National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar on Africa for College Teachers, 1989.
Fulbright Research Fellowship for Nigeria, 1986, 1983-4.
Fletcher School Fellowship, 1981-2.
Fulbright-Hays French Government Teaching Assistantship, 1980-1.
Phi Beta Kappa, elected 1977.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND WORK EXPERIENCE AND ACADEMIC AFFILIATIONS

Québec, 1977. Update of Professor Horace Miner's (University of Michigan) 1938 sociological study of a
        Québecois parish.
Republic of Niger, Ministry of National Education. Assigned to College of General Studies of Magaria
        as Peace Corps Volunteer, 1977-9.
Nigeria, 1980. Research assistant for Professor Horace Miner's (University of Michigan) study of
        colonial-era environmental health resettlement scheme.
Department of State, American Consulate in Kaduna, Nigeria. Awarded personal services contract,
        summer, 1980.
Ministry of Education, France. Worked as teaching assistant in French lycée, Martinique, 1980-1.
Central Prison of Fort-de-France (Martinique). Taught English to inmates in Adult Education
        Program,1980-81.
Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria. Appointed research associate with department of sociology, 1983-4.
The Harry S Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
        Visiting research scholar in Africa Unit, 1994.
Northeastern University. Held appointment as associate professor in department of political science,
        1991-1996; as assistant professor, 1984-91.

INVITED CONFERENCE APPEARANCES (Travel Provided by Organizers)

African Borderland Research Network, Workshop on Transboundary Governance Systems and
        Regional Integration in Africa. "African Borderland Development Projects as Policy
        Instruments and Instructional Device." Université Gaston Berger, St. Louis, Senegal,
        January 14-15, 2013.
U.S. Embassy-Dakar, West African Research Center and Université Cheikh Anta Diop
        (Senegal). Invited talk at colloquium *Césaire et Senghor à Cent Ans: Perspectives Trans-
        Atlantiques et Pluri-Disciplinaires*. Spoke (in French) on "Political Legacies of
        Negritude: African Sovereignty, West Indian Assimilation, and the Frontiers of Identity in
        Martinique." December 20-21, 2012.
Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, Scotland. Participation in African
        borderlands and studies conference, June 5-8, 2012.
Center for African Studies, University Institute of Lisbon (Portugal). Participation in African
        borderlands conference, September 21-4, 2011.
Washington State University, Foley Institute for Public Policy and Public Service, and
        Department of English. Presentations on Political Islam, borderlands, and African
        memoir, October 6-8, 2010.
 "Islam and Africa in Jerusalem." University of Florida (Gainesville), Centers of African Studies (Baraza
        Seminar) and Jewish Studies, January 24, 2003.

Conference on Indigenous Political Structures and Governance in Africa. University of Ibadan (Nigeria) and Ford Foundation. Ibadan, Nigeria, July 18-22, 2001. Presentation on Niger.

"Muslim Political Discourse and the elections in Nigeria." Conference on Islam and the Electoral Process, International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World, Leiden, The Netherlands, December 10-12, 1999.

"Une expérience étrangère de gestion des institutions démocratiques: les débuts du système américain." Seminar on Democratic Institutions of Burkina Faso. Université de Ouagadougou (Faculty of Law and Political Science) and United States Information Agency, March 5-8, 1997.

"American Democracy in the Post-Cold War Era." American Studies Association of Nigeria and United States Information Agency, Port Harcourt, Nigeria, February 26-7, 1992. Keynote speaker.

"The Reality and Promise of Partition in Hausaland." Boundary Commission of The Presidency of Nigeria - Nigeria-Niger Transborder Cooperation Workshop, Kano, Nigeria, July 2-8, 1989.

OTHER CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR ACTIVITIES

"Borderlands in Historical Perspective" (Roundtable convener and presenter). African Studies Association annual meeting, Philadelphia, November 29-December 1, 2012.

"Rethinking Counter-Terrorism in the Trans-Sahel: Development, Decentralization, and Capacity Building" (Roundtable convener and presenter). African Studies Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., November 17-19, 2011.

"Genocide or Terrorism? The 'Greater Evil' Dilemma for U.S. Policy in the Sahel." African Studies Association annual meeting, San Francisco, November 18-21, 2010.

"Teaching African Politics" (roundtable presenter). African Studies Association annual meeting, New Orleans, November 19-22, 2009.

"Genocide and Its Prevention in the Sahel" (Panel convener and presenter of paper on "Dangers of Darfurization: Chad's Vulnerability and Prospects for Prevention.") International Association of Genocide Scholars, June 7-10, 2009, George Mason University.

"Religion and Politics in Muslim West Africa and the Middle East: A Comparative Perspective." Roger Williams University Conference on Religion and the State in Islam and the West, April 23-26, 2009.

"My African Horse Problem." Walter Rodney Seminar, African Studies Center, Boston University, April 6, 2009.

"Counter-Terrorism in West Africa" (Roundtable convenor, chair and presenter). African Studies Association annual meeting, Chicago, November 13-16, 2008.

"Teaching about Darfur: Genocide Before our Eyes and the Ongoing Challenges of Humanitarianism" (panelist). American Sociological Association annual meeting, August 4, 2008.

"When Ph.D. Meets G.I.:The Format and Ethics of Africanist Consulting for the U.S. Military." Walter Rodney Seminar, African Studies Center, Boston University, February 4, 2008.

"Border Spaces and Borderlands: Actors, Research, Prospects" (Roundtable convenor, chair and presenter). African Studies Association annual meeting, New York, October 19, 2007.

"Warlords, Civil War and Genocide: The Rhetoric of Hate and Dissemblance in African Conflicts" (discussant). African Studies Association annual meeting, New Orleans, November 11-14, 2004.

"When is a Massacre/Atrocity/War Crime a 'Genocide'? A Constructionist Analysis of Sudan." Brown University, Watson Institute of International Studies, October 12, 2004.

"Anatomy of An African Boundary." Harvard University, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, March 16, 2004.

"Islamism in West Africa" (roundtable convenor, chair and discussant). African Studies Association annual meeting, Boston, October 30-November 2, 2003.

"Islamic Fundamentalism in Hausaland." African Studies Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., December 5-8, 2002.

"Third World Views of the Holocaust." *Life After Death* International Conference, Kigali, Rwanda, November 25-30, 2001.

"African Genocides in Comparative Perspective" (discussant). African Studies Association annual meeting, Nashville, November 16-19, 2000.

"Offshore Francophonie." Boston University, African Studies Center, Francophone Africa Research Group, October 9, 1997.

"Structured Comparisons of Ethnic Groups Bifurcated by National Boundaries." Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, April 21-22, 1995.

"Tragic Tradeoffs: Democracy and Security in Chad." African Studies Association annual meeting, Toronto, November 3-6, 1994.

"Decolonization as Disintegration: The Disestablishment of the State in Chad." Boston University, African Studies Center, Francophone Africa Research Group, October 71994.

"Political Para-theology: Towards a Religious Definition of the State." American Political Science Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., September 2-5, 1993.

"The Politicization of Religion in Nigeria." Harvard University, Center for International Affairs, Seminar Series on African Identities in a Time of Change." February 5, 1993.

"Islam, Africa, and 'National' Identity." The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, International Security Studies Program, Lecture Series on Ethnicity, Religion and

"Africa and the New Political Order" panel (chair and discussant). New England Political Science Association, Providence, Rhode Island, April 3-4, 1992.

"Comparative Decolonization: French Africa, French Caribbean, French India." African Studies Association annual meeting, Chicago, October 28, 1988.

"Partitioned Africans: The Evolution of Hausa Chiefs in Nigeria and Niger." African Studies Association annual meeting, Madison, October 31, 1986.

"The Informal Economy and Dependency Relations in Hausaland." Workshop on Informal Economy and Economic Development in Africa, Harvard University, May 6, 1986.

"Elections in Nigeria: A View From the Bush." Africa Research Program, Harvard University, December 12, 1984.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

African Studies Association
African Borders Research Network (ABORNE)
International Association of Genocide Scholars

LANGUAGES: Fluency in French and Hausa

TRAVEL

Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Mauritius*, Niger*, Nigeria*, Rwanda, Senegal, Tanzania, South Africa, Togo; Algeria, Egypt, Jordan; Martinique*; France; Québec
_____

* Denotes sojourn of one year or more.

State Formation and Boundary Making in Africa - From a Poorly Tailored Suit to Transnational Spaces

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Scholars of Africa's postcolonial predicament have identified a broad range of underlying causes for the apparent weaknesses and failure of states in Africa to successfully claim a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence in their territory. The genesis of the continent's political geography has been consistently regarded as one of them. Europeans, so the widely held view, partitioned Africa in a hasty manner and without knowledge or concern for existing realities on the ground, resulting in arbitrarily drawn borders which artificially divided indigenous populations and their existing polities. Having largely survived the transition to independence, the territorial outlines of the African postcolony are now like a poorly tailored suit which does not fit in many places, but which African leaders have by and large accepted they and their societies must somehow try to wear. My paper will critically examine this idea by presenting a review of empirical evidence and conceptual frameworks employed by scholars of state and boundary formation in general and Africa in particular. I will highlight the state of current scholarship on the historical and present agency of Africans in the establishment and daily life realities of boundaries on their continent. This "from below" perspective will be complimented by a review of literature arguing that new transnational spaces which are both physical infrastructure and integrated channels of privatised governance extending across the boundaries of sovereign states are being created on the African continent. Part of emerging worldwide networks of 'transnational governmentality', James Ferguson argues, these increasingly link 'economically valued spaces' – resource-rich and secured enclaves that are 'dispersed around the world – in a point-to-point fashion'whilst their 'less useful' hinterlands are largely neglected.