



Abstracts

NVAS Conference 'Africa without borders'

Poortgebouw, Leiden

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Session 1:

Resources in public places: The interlocking uses of power, religion and ethnicity

Convenor: Jan Abbink

De openbare sfeer - politiek, wetgeving, media, de straat - in Afrikaanse landen is een omstreden ruimte die inzet is van machtsvorming, op grond van civiele, etnische en religieuze identiteitsclaims. Hoe kan de publieke sfeer een gedeelde sfeer zijn in etno-cultureel diverse landen en hoe verhoudt de, meestal zwakke, staatsorde zich tot de verschillende soorten achterban? Op welke rechten van materiële en immateriële aard wordt een beroep gedaan, welke conflicten ontstaan hierbij en hoe worden deze beheerst (of juist niet)? Waarom blijven religieuze en etno-culturele loyaliteiten belangrijk in de Afrikaanse postkoloniale orde en hoe verhoudt zich dit verschijnsel tot het 'democratiseringsproces' sinds de jaren 90? In de papers wordt gekeken naar factoren die de publieke sfeer in Afrika herdefiniëren: landelijke politiek als instabiele arena, de vermenging van culturele en politieke motieven in collectieve sociale bewegingen, en de politieke en sociale rol van partijen, civiele en religieuze organisaties.

Discomfiture of democracy? Tension and controversy in Ethiopia's 2005 elections

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In this paper I analyse the nature and impact of the May 2005 Ethiopian parliamentary elections which, despite their controversial nature and flaws, have been hailed as another "significant step towards democracy". I intend to revisit Ethiopian political culture in the light of neo-patrimonial theory and ask why the political system has stagnated and seems to be sliding towards autocracy. There is a need to reconceptualize the analysis of politics in Ethiopia in more cultural and historical terms, away from the formal political science approaches predominating so far. Most analyses of Ethiopian politics since 1991 - the year of regime change - present the formal aspects of the political system, the reforms, the constitution, the new federal system, etc. These are all important background factors defining the formal political order but they do not deal sufficiently with power politics in an historical perspective. Ethiopian political-judicial institutions are still precarious and their operation is dependent on forceful personal action by the current political elite and the prime minister, and the politics of the dominant (ruling) party. Based on a description of the process of election campaigning, voting, post-election maneuvering, and the response of opposition forces, the paper addresses the Ethiopian 'democratization process' in the light of governance theory and the resurrected system of personalized, neo-patrimonial rule that, in effect, blocks further democratization.

The Mungiki movement in Kenya: from political protest to political participation

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In this paper I seek to outline the political transformation of the radical youth movement Mungiki, often portrayed as Kenya's "dread-locked gangsters". Since its upsurge during the 1990s in Kenya's multi-party era, the movement has evolved into one of the most controversial phenomena in Kenya, arousing reactions from all classes and ethnic groups in Kenya. Mungiki made itself infamous for its radical and violent performances, its self-styled ideology and its religious and traditional practices, based on the Kikuyu culture and the Mau Mau revolt – like circumcision of both men and women, and oath-taking. Today its leaders claim the Mungiki movement is dead. In one of Kenya's national newspapers Maina Njenga – once the 'spiritual' leader of the movement – stated that *'Mungiki has shed off its religious cloak and replaced it with a well-structured political party, whose membership was the youth and the unemployed. We are now brothers working for a common purpose. We do not fight. We have joined forces to form the Kenya National Youth Alliance which is not a domain of one ethnic group.'* He said he was the patron of the party, while a former Kiambu politician was the party leader, and the leaders of the movement have converted to Christianity. This development from a neo-ethnic and religious protest movement to being a political player eagerly wanting to have a share of Kenya's political cake and trying to access its resources is remarkable, but indeed very African – showing the dynamics of African informal, transitional and postcolonial politics in the domain of democratisation. Based on descriptions of this transformative story of the Mungiki, I will address the process of democratisation and transition politics in the postcolonial African state and the 'lure of power' in its informal and neo-patrimonial ways.

Het conflict Hutu-Tutsi

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Zoals de Amerikaanse politicoloog René Lemarchand heeft betoogd het conflict Tutsi/Hutu woedt niet alleen ter plaatse in Rwanda en Burundi maar al evenzeer op papier, in de wetenschap. Ook hijzelf heeft aan die strijd deelgenomen o.a. in een artikel waarin hij de "école historique burundo-française..." onder aanvoering van de Franse historicus Jean-Pierre Chrétien verwijt zich in de interpretaties van dit conflict te zeer de argumenten van de toenmalige Tutsi-regering te hebben gevolgd en te hebben geprofiteerd van de steun van die regering. De discussie woedt voort. Nog onlangs betoogde de Franse agronoom Hubert Cochet in zijn overigens schitterende boek *Crises et révolutions agricoles au Burundi* dat de tegenstelling Tutsi-Hutu een creatie van westerse koloniale overheden, missionarissen en wetenschappers (ook antropologen krijgen een veeg uit de pan) is en op 'fausses certitudes' berustte en dat hij het in zijn analyse van de Burundese landbouw niet van van belang achtte de tegenstelling T/H te betrekken. In mijn referaat wil ik de tegengestelde argumenten over ontstaan en aard van de tegenstelling T/H nog eens op een rijtje zetten en bekijken of een verzoening tot stand gebracht kan worden.

Maintaining an elite position. How Franco-Mauritians sustain their role in post-colonial Mauritius

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This paper deals with the elite position of the Franco-Mauritians, the white minority community of Mauritius, and their changing world. More than thirty-five years of independence (since 1968) and important global, regional and local changes have influenced the leading position of the Franco-Mauritians. They were the elite during the colonial days of Mauritius and, although they have been able to maintain this position, their feelings of security are being challenged by social and political changes and the emergence of new elite groups. It is worthwhile studying the processes of change as they affect the position of the Franco-Mauritians, especially, the interaction of political-economic elements defining elite status with the ethnic nature of their community.

The construction and decomposition of 'violence' of peace: The Anyuaa experience, Ethiopia

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This paper investigates a tradition of the Anyuaa, a Nilo-Saharan society of Western Ethiopia through which they maintain peace, namely *agem* – a culturally instituted way of controlling traditional political organizations and normalizing social crises either peacefully or violently. What are the logical principles of the tradition? Data from the field show that the tradition is now at risk. Can't it be preserved and conserved for peace-making and traditionalizing 'modernity' based on an African experience? As in other African countries, multi-ethnic Ethiopia exemplifies the paradoxical nature of tradition and modernity. According to theories, 'modernity' needs first to create interest in, and be appealing to, the traditions of local people. It demands appreciation, acceptance, adoption and absorption by a target group (Hobsbawm 1983, Bauman 2001, Nyanga 2005). Demonstrating the peculiar nature of conflict between tradition and 'modernism' in Ethiopia is the main issue of this paper. The interpretation rests in analyzing text in context or, conversely, context in text as strongly emphasized by Dundes (1980) and Bauman & Briggs (1991). In this paper, narrative is taken both as method and embodiment of theory.

Creating and dissolving borders: cultural tourism and its bubble in Africa

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Tourism, as the world's largest collective enterprise, for a large part bypasses Africa; at least in terms of the number of arrivals and money spent. Africa is the world's stepchild, once again. But the industry, even with a small fraction geared to Africa, does have a considerable impact on African countries and on local populations, and is a major force on the continent. Most of African tourism is geared at game parks and East Africa and

Southern Africa therefore rake in most of the benefits. However roughly 30% of the tourist flow is not aimed at animals but at people, and also the game-oriented tourist flow creates cultural encounters on the side. The steady encounter with foreigners has led to the creation of local tourist bubbles, as they are called in the literature, of diverse and varied kinds. This contribution looks at the ways in which the interaction between local populations and tourists generates a complex and contradictory process: that of creating borders while at the same time trying to dissolve them. The construction of a discourse on authenticity, the exchange of images between 'hosts and guests' and the role of the middleman are important factors in this process. Gradually, local tourist operations are being created and dependency on foreign operators is changing. I address the paradox of increasing 'othering' in a situation of enhanced and intensified personal contact, with examples from Mali, Cameroon, South Africa and Namibia.

Session 2: Land problems, environment and ecology

Convenor: Els Baerends

This workshop considers the varying entitlements connected to the different and often conflicting interests of individuals and groups in the exploitation or conservation of Africa's natural environment. Everywhere in Africa the land tenure situation is complicated by the co-existence and interaction of different legal orders, state law and local laws. The institution of nature conservation areas transgresses not only national boundaries but also infringes the territorial rights of local populations. Rights to land have to be understood as an intrinsic part of the social and political relations between individuals and groups expressed in mutual rights and obligations. Access to land for individuals is defined to a large extent by their membership of groups or networks that exercise control over land and therefore also over people.

Transboundary co-operation as cure for boundary conflicts? Creating the Namibian-South African Ai-Ais/Richtersveld Park along the contested Orange River boundary

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Advocates of Transboundary Protected Areas (TBPAs), which can be defined as conservation areas straddling the boundaries of two or more countries and are jointly managed by the states concerned, can work as vehicles for peace. In addition to environmental and economic arguments, the notion that TBPAs will work as Peace Parks has become an important justification for their creation. Southern Africa, a region characterized by fierce competition for land, is no exception. The notion that TBPAs can promote peace rests on the notion that TBPAs can help solve boundary conflicts between states participating. This assumption has two premises. Firstly, by creating joint economic interests in the borderland in question and by stimulating the removal of boundary fences to allow for the migration of wildlife and impeded tourism traffic, the creation of TBPAs is claimed to make the precise location of the boundary less important to states. Secondly, the increased social and economic cross-border contacts that TBPAs provide for would allegedly foster increased international friendship and understanding between countries. The notion that TBPAs can contribute to a resolution of boundary conflicts is little substantiated. This article considers the creation of the South African-Namibian Ai-Ais/Richtersveld Park along the Orange River. The location of the Namibian-South African boundary is heavily contested by Namibia, which has been demanding that the boundary line be re-drawn and be located at the middle of the river. The case-study indicates that the creation of TBPAs may not only not solve boundary conflicts but can indeed aggravate these. This is because the co-operation in TBPAs explicitly draws attention to the boundary through discussions about boundary management and allows for the possibility that negotiations on the TBPA will be (ab)used by the country in question demanding adjustments in the location of the boundary. The partner country in the TBPA is likely to be inclined to refuse such demands, making it likely that renewed conflict over the location of the boundary will break out, hampering the co-operation in TBPAs. At the grassroots level, cross-border contacts may well result in increased cross-border friendship and understanding.

However, because of the top-down nature of decision-making processes in TBPA's, their peace-building potential remains limited. Once running, joint economic interests in the TBPA may reduce resistance over the location of the boundary on the Namibian side, but only if tourism benefits are satisfactory and are equal to the profits made on the South African side.

Eigendom en andere rechten op (woon)kavels): een onderzoek naar rechtszekerheid in Senegal

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Geïnspireerd door een publicatie van de Peruaanse econoom Hernando de Soto: "The Mystery of Capital. Why Capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere else" (New York: Basic Books, 2000), heeft een aantal onderzoekers een gezamenlijk onderzoeksprogramma opgezet onder de titel "The Mystery of Legal Failure? A critical, comparative examination of the potential of legalisation of land assets in developing countries for achieving real legal certainty". In dat kader zullen verschillende vergelijkende onderzoeken plaatsvinden in de volgende landen:

- in Afrika: Ghana, Senegal, Ethiopië en Tanzania.
- in Latijns Amerika: Bolivia en Mexico
- in Azië: China, Indonesië.

Mijn eigen onderzoek gaat over Senegal. In de jaren 80 heb ik in Ziguinchor in Zuid-Senegal een onderzoek gedaan naar de gevolgen van de herverkaveling van een wijk. Het is de bedoeling dat ik daar nu een vervolgonderzoek ga doen om te kijken hoeveel mensen in die wijk inmiddels eigendom op hun woonkavel hebben verworven en of zich in die wijk ook alternatieve vormen van rechten op grond en huis hebben ontwikkeld. In hoeverre hebben de bewoners het gevoel dat zij rechtszekerheid hebben? Hebben zij – met huis of grond als onderpand – een banklening of hypotheek kunnen afsluiten en zoja, wat hebben zij daar dan mee gedaan? Tenslotte zal er gekeken worden naar de mate van transparantie in de bureaucratische procedures met betrekking tot eigendomsverwerving. Daarnaast zal onderzoek worden gedaan naar de ontwikkeling van de *conseils ruraux* in de regio, die in 1983 zijn opgericht. Deze rurale raden hebben grote bevoegdheden met betrekking tot grondtoewijzing. De belangrijkste onderzoeksvraag is hier: hebben zich op het platteland inmiddels alternatieve vormen van grondenrechten ontwikkeld? En ook hier zal gekeken worden naar het functioneren van de raadsleden en het al dan niet transparant zijn van de procedures.

Het veldwerk zal pas in 2006 plaatsvinden.

Land and embedded rights. An analysis of land conflicts in Luoland, Western Kenya

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This article critically examines a number of cases of conflicts relating to land. To explore this, different theoretical perspectives are combined that allows a social analysis of land disputes as embedded rights. A useful school of thought is that such conflicts are the outcome of the encounter between different but co-existing legal repertoires of

customary and state law. Land disputes evolve around conflicting and competing interpretations of rights to land. The case material shows that those involved in disputes over land strategically choose which repertoire best fits their interests. 'Forum shopping' but also using custom as a weapon against others is common. The case material also shows the need to understand rights to land in relation to other social relations. A second line of thought is that property rights are, in fact, social relationships that build upon the view that African land tenure is not about ownership per se, but rights and social obligations. Rights to land are embedded rights; embedded in complex social relationships and shifting alliances between family members. Rights are not fixed but are often temporal and negotiable. This requires mapping out both how social relations and embedded obligations, and how customary and state law mediate the way the Luo of Western Kenya socially regard land and rights.

Conservation of nature and rural development in South-Eastern Senegal

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With the breakthrough in the concept of sustainable development in the international discourse on development and the environment, there is now widespread awareness that efforts concerning nature conservation and those aimed at rural development have to be integrated and must reinforce each other. This paper explores the extent to which this idea of synergy is recognizable within the rural municipality of Dialokoto, both at an ideological level and at one of perceived reality. This makes good sense because this particular rural municipality borders the largest national park in West Africa and a large state forest reserve where several rural development projects are taking place.

Conservation and land issues in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The case of the Hluhluwe-Umfolozzi game reserve

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In South Africa, as elsewhere in Africa, conservation practices are inevitably political, as they are caught up in often controversial questions of land use, land occupation and ownership. While the history of game reserves and national parks has broadly been one of exclusion of local people from land resources, such practices are being challenged in South Africa's post-apartheid present. In particular, the country's land reform programme with its emphasis on land restitution has led to many claims being made on conservation areas. Perhaps in an effort to ward off such threats, conservation authorities are entering into pre-emptive partnerships with impoverished rural communities that tend to neighbour game reserves and national parks. This paper briefly examines the forced removals that took place in the 1940s from the Corridor area between the Hluhluwe and Umfolozzi game reserves in KwaZulu-Natal, and considers the implications of new partnership initiatives in and around the park for the resolution of this still-burning land issue.

Session 3:

Multidisciplinary approaches to African Verbal Arts

Convenor: Daniela Merolla

African verbal arts have been investigated by multiple disciplines, such as literature, anthropology, history and archaeology, often separated by profound divides in questions and approaches. In the last decades, the interconnectedness of a broad range of African verbal genres and modes of production has contributed to the theoretical re-construction of a multifarious but organic field of study. This panel will offer multidisciplinary discussions and perspectives on exemplary questions in the field of African orality, literacy and new media, such as the relation between oral narratives and history, the interaction of different (oral, written, visual) modes of production, the socio-political implication of popular cultural production, and the effects of globalization and displacement in/on written narratives.

Afrikaanse schrijvers in de globale wereld. Een lezing van Tierno Monénembo

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Het begrip “migrantenliteratuur” heeft sinds de jaren 1990 een belangrijke plaats ingenomen in besprekingen en analyses van Francofone Afrikaanse teksten. Veel Francofone Afrikaanse schrijvers wonen en werken buiten hun land van herkomst, vaak in Frankrijk of in een ander Westers land. Tot de jaren 1980 sprak men van schrijvers uit de diaspora, of van ballingen. Vandaag wordt vooral hun aandeel aan de “migrantenliteratuur” benadrukt, een categorie die sterk verbonden is aan de actuele context van globalisering. Steeds meer kijken critici en onderzoekers naar de manier(en) waarop deze context in Francofone Afrikaanse teksten verwerkt wordt. In deze paper bespreek ik het werk van de Guineese schrijver Tierno Monénembo (1947). Mijn doel hierbij is tweedelig: ten eerste gebruik ik de theorie van de migrantenliteratuur om bepaalde ontwikkelingen in het werk van Monénembo aan het licht te brengen. Tegelijkertijd illustreer ik met zijn werk de veelzijdigheid waarmee de context van globalisering in Afrikaanse teksten wordt verwerkt.

Mocking the state. Cartoons and comic strips in the Zimbabwean press

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Until recently, newspaper editors in Zimbabwe often used syndicated comic strips from outside the country such as ‘Hagar the Horrible’ for publication in their newspapers. However, with the launch of the private newspaper *The Daily News* in March 1999, a fresh generation of cartoonists has received the opportunity to publish their work in a new paper that has rapidly gained in popularity among Zimbabweans. At a time when people’s everyday lives have dramatically changed as a result of the economic and political crisis in the country, comic strips give expression to the various ways in which these changes are being worked out by Zimbabweans. Drawing upon Mbembe’s ideas

on ridicule and mockery in the postcolony, this paper discusses how comic strip narratives have sought to rework and subvert state discourses. It will also explore the relation of these strips to oral culture or ‘pavement radio’ in Zimbabwe as articulated in rumour, jokes and gossip.

Arts, media and new definitions of orality in African Studies

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The ‘shift to literacy’ still remains a central goal for cultural makers in Africa but current African artistic production is increasingly linked to genres and media that bridge the gap between writers and the public and avoid the mounting economic difficulties of publications on paper. Looking at examples of the artistic/literary market in Africa, I intend to review and question approaches and attempts in African studies to ‘name’ the new dimensions that orality is taking up in contexts marked by the diffusion of radio, cinema, television and, more recently, the Internet. What do we mean – and what field of research are we constructing – when we speak of an “intermediate zone”, “intertextuality”, “oral literacy”, “mediated orality” or “mediated literacy”? And how far and under what aspects do contemporary dimensions of African literary production differ or converge with long-term interactions between oral, written and visual arts? My communication will build upon recent studies of new African mediated literary productions and my own work on artistic productions in African ‘migrant’ websites.

The Mbona Cult revisited. Archaeological perspectives on the making of an oral tradition

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Southern Malawi is known for its territorial cult devoted to Mbona. This cult has been thoroughly researched by Matthew Schoffeleers and a few before him using historical and ethnographic data. On the basis of last year’s archaeological fieldwork, I tentatively argue in this paper, contra Schoffeleers as well as Wrigley, that the guardian spirit Mbona is a deified chief, whose dynasty ruled the Southernmost Lower Shire Valley from the 13th to 17th century. I concomitantly argue that this chief was part of the Maravi group that presumably, after Luba example, initiated the northern Zambezia state formation process. If this proposition can be upheld, I provide the first archaeological evidence of the beginnings of Maravi expansion at a far earlier date than most historians would have it. The case study is an example of how archaeology as a discipline has moved beyond a simple verificationist approach to oral tradition and aims to show how the synergy between the two data sets can lead to new historical insights.

Session 4:

Perceiving economic and technological changes in Africa

Convenors: Sabine Luning & Jan-Bart Gewald

The papers in this session focus on specific socio-historical processes of economic and technological change in Africa. Several of them present case histories of changes in the field of transport and gold mining. How these processes of change can be interpreted and what futures they may hold in store are questions addressed by local people involved, by policy makers and by academics. The panel addresses the models and assumptions used by different groups in discussing predicaments of poverty and in their quest for a better future.

Flows of people, goods and mone: The dominant informal sector in the Tanzanian economy

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The paper presents an assessment of the role of urban areas in poverty alleviation in Tanzania. The country has witnessed fairly good overall economic performance recently but its impact on poverty has been limited. Only in Dar es Salaam has there been a clear observable reduction in poverty. The issue is why poverty alleviation has occurred in Dar es Salaam but hardly at all in the rest of the country. What are the sub-regional foundations of economic take-off and development in Tanzania? What are the mechanisms of transmission? How does economic growth affect the poor? I focus in particular on the dynamics of two urban centres, the capital Dar es Salaam and Arusha city, the capital of the Arusha region, and compare the latter with a stagnating urban centre, Moshi, the capital of the Kilimanjaro region. An important explanation of what is happening can be found in an analysis of the flows of people, goods and money, and transactions in the informal sector of the Tanzanian economy.

Transport in Zambia 1890-1930. Towards a new analysis of rural depopulation and the intellectual foundations of the Rhodes-Livingstone school

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This paper presents an overview of the state of current research regarding the history of motor-cars in Africa. Currently next to nothing has been written on the relationship between people and automobiles in African history, a relationship which, as examples from the fields of economics, politics, and society and culture indicate, has been of crucial importance in African history. Taking this broad overview of the relationship between people and automobiles in Africa as a starting point, the paper goes on to concentrate on the historical development of the relationship between people and transport in the central African state of Zambia. In dealing with the social history of transport in Zambia, it presents an overview of the way in which transport was organized in Zambia prior to as well as following the introduction of the motor-vehicle. The paper concentrates on the social, cultural, economic and political aspects of

transport and comes to conclusions that question the intellectual foundations of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

Geld, goud en geesten. Een verhaal over Guinée

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In mijn paper bespreek ik het verhaal van ‘Mamadi Bitiki’ (letterlijk: Mohammed Winkel) dat de introductie van winkels en kleine neringdoenden in de Mande wereld bespreekt. Het is voor het eerst dat dit verhaal opduikt in de publicaties over Mande orale traditie. De verteller ervan, de oude smid Bala Kanté (geb. 1926), maakt er niet alleen een hilarisch verhaal van; hij geeft ook duidelijk aan waarom allerlei ondernemingen niet succesvol zijn. Daarbij geven het niet eerbiedigen van lokale normen en relaties de doorslag. De relaties van de ondernemers met vrouwen zijn hierbij van groot belang. Zo is het verhaal te lezen als een Mandé commentaar op de economie van Guinée.

Artisanal gold-mining in Burkina Faso. Permits, poverty and perceptions of the poor in Sanmatenga, the “Land of Gold”

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Gold is to many people and organizations in Burkina Faso a crucial asset in their hopes for a better future. This research looks into the formal discourses on the gold sector, as expressed, for example, in World Bank policies, as well as into different local discourses of people trying to get money from the pits. How does gold constitute a form of wealth, and how does it allow people to bank on a future? One of the contrasts that is highlighted shows that, in the development discourse, it is assumed that gold may lead to sustainable forms of prosperity, whereas in the perception of local people it is often seen as a form of wealth that could be rapidly lost. A case study shows that, for the purposes of policing a mining site, local power holders can strategically refer to gold as perilous wealth as well as to different regimes of appropriation.

‘The Lord is my shock absorber’. Omgang met, opvattingen over en percepties van technologie met betrekking tot de trotro in het Kwahu South district, Ghana

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Dit paper laat zien dat technologische opvattingen en keuzes die gemaakt worden met betrekking tot de *trotro* (voor personenvervoer geschikt gemaakte bestelbussen) passen binnen de lokale economische, geografische en religieuze omstandigheden van het Kwahu South district en voortkomen uit de sociale omgeving en cultuur van de betrokkenen. Vanuit ditzelfde kader heeft de *trotro* gestalte gekregen. Met andere woorden: technologie is zowel een product als een producent van cultuur. Over wanneer

een *trotro* geschikt wordt bevonden voor de Ghanese wegen, hoe hij gerepareerd en onderhouden wordt, welke risico's verbonden zijn aan de omgang met de technologie van de *trotro*, hoe chauffeurs en passagiers zich daar tegen beschermen en algemeen geldende verklaringen voor mysterieuze verkeersongelukken. Het paper beoogt de keuze tussen veiligheid en functionaliteit inzichtelijk te maken.

Dangerous gold and bitter money in Burkina Faso

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Non-industrial gold mining that involves tens of thousands of people is a recent phenomenon in southwestern Burkina Faso. Gold mining is considered as dangerous in several senses: on the one hand there are the physical risks of mine accidents, land slides and violence in the mining camps. Moreover, rural communities are having to find ways of dealing with the sudden, and sometimes violent, influx of a large number of strangers who threaten their livelihoods. On the other hand, in many communities gold itself is believed to be dangerous. Both by the local populations in the southwest of Burkina Faso and by immigrant gold diggers, gold is not merely seen as a material substance but as a supernatural entity. According to popular conceptions, gold is a living being that belongs to the realm of the earth deity, the bush spirits and the ancestors. It appears and disappears spontaneously and is both attracted and killed by blood. These dangerous properties contaminate money obtained from the sale of gold, which is therefore excluded from certain uses. One solution to dealing with the proceeds of gold-mining is the emergence of permissible – or even compulsory – forms of excessive consumption in gold-mining camps.

Session 5: Encounters between Africa and Europe

Convenor: Marijke Steegstra

This panel proposes to investigate the complexity of issues and power relations that are related to or caught up in intercultural encounters, in particular, those between Europe and Africa. The paradox seems to be that in a time of globalization (involving global travel and worldwide communication possibilities), the world is becoming compressed, but at the same time distances are widening in some areas. How are particular encounters shaped by local circumstances? What happens to the African imagination in the face of globalization? What are European perceptions of Africa about? What kind of relationships and transactions are the outcome of intercultural encounters such as , for example, tourist-native interactions? On the basis of detailed ethnographic and/or historical investigations, panel contributors are invited to explore matters related to these questions. The papers deal with topics such as tourist encounters, bicultural relationships, stereotyping, and expectations of aid and development.

Zoeken naar toubabs: de ontmoeting tussen côtelman en toeristen in Cap Skirring, Senegal

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Was reizen voorheen alleen weggelegd voor avonturiers, ambassadeurs en antropologen, tegenwoordig is het voor een groot deel van de westerse bevolking mogelijk om de meest exotische plaatsen op de wereld te bezoeken. Toerisme verkleint de fysieke afstand tussen mensen maar wordt daarmee de culturele kloof ook kleiner? In 1973 bouwde de Franse hotelgigant Club Méditerranée een luxueus vakantiecomplex aan de kust in het zuiden van Senegal. Sinds die tijd hebben zich ook andere hotels en kampementen aan het paradijselijke strand van Cap Skirring, zoals de plek genoemd wordt, gevestigd. Naast de Club ontstond een kleine nederzetting toen Senegalezen, die afkwamen op het toerisme, er huizen gingen bouwen en vormde zich langzaam een klein dorp. De bewoners van het dorp proberen tijdens het toeristenseizoen op verschillende manieren wat geld te verdienen. Zo zijn er de *côtelman*, de jongens die zich bij de poorten van de hotels, bij het kleine vliegveld, en op het strand ophouden om toeristen aan te kunnen spreken en hen excursies en andere diensten aan te bieden. Deze jongens worden *côtelman* genoemd omdat, zo is de veelgehoorde uitleg, ze zich altijd aan de zijde, aan de *côté*, van blanken ('*toubabs*') bevinden. In deze paper ga ik in op de ontmoeting tussen de *côtelman* en de toeristen. Wat gebeurt er in die ontmoeting? Wat wordt er uitgewisseld? Hoe zien de contacten eruit? Ik betoog dat de toeristen en de *côtelman* zich naar elkaar presenteren volgens een vaststaand script binnen het toeristisch discours. Dit discours geeft beide partijen een geruststellend kader waarbinnen 'de ander' ontmoet kan worden.

Oboruni how do you see Ghana? De constructie van de ontmoeting met 'een andere cultuur' in Ashanti region, Ghana

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Toerisme in Ghana kent verschillende vormen. Aan het ene eind van uitersten zijn er de luxe beach resorts langs de kust, waar mensen een week of twee kunnen genieten van zon zee en strand en excursies maken naar de 'hoogtepunten van Ghana'. Aan het andere uiterste is er het vrijwilligerswerk, waarbij men voor een aantal maanden bij een Ghanees gastgezin verblijft en intensief kennis maakt met de Ghanese leefwijze. Daartussen zijn er de groepsreizen en individuele reizen van backpackers. Eén ding hebben deze verschillende reizigers echter gemeen; ze gaan naar Ghana om een 'andere cultuur' te bezoeken. Ik ga in mijn paper in op de vraag hoe deze "ontmoeting met een andere cultuur" gestalte krijgt in de verschillende reiservaringen van westerlingen in Ashanti Region, Ghana. Ik laat daarbij zien welke elementen deze ervaring construeren en hoe het soort reis dat ondernomen wordt de visie op wat 'de andere cultuur' inhoudt, beïnvloedt. Een belangrijk aspect hierbij is de ontmoeting met 'de ander', de Ghanese bevolking. In welke mate wordt deze geregisseerd en wat is de betekenis van deze ontmoeting voor beide groepen? De vraag in welke mate en op welke manier er culturele uitwisseling plaatsvindt staat hierin centraal.

Talking rights, talking custom. Donor ambivalence and the creation of the customary in contemporary Africa

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This contribution focuses on the particular twist that the transnational human-rights discourse has taken within the African context, and its effects. It argues that donor involvement in propagating rights in various African settings is characterized by a profound ambivalence. While donors enthusiastically underline the universality of human rights in their encounters with national and local actors on the one hand, they are also increasingly flirting with notions of "African" "customary" justice on the other. The latter discourse draws on the all-too-familiar imagery of harmonious, pre-colonial African forms of dispute resolution. In this contribution I seek to trace the origins of this relatively recent dual, disconnected emphasis on rights and custom by NGOs, bilateral donors and international organizations alike. How does this relate to the recognition of customary law in bygone days? What attempts are being made to reconcile the two foci? Next, I look at the way in which this dual emphasis is being played out in a variety of local settings. Drawing on case material from Rwanda and South Africa, as well as comparative evidence from Sierra Leone, Malawi and Burundi, I argue how the "harmony ideology" that underpins donor discourse often leads to an increase in inequality and exclusion.

Access to aid

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Many studies have been done to explain why it is difficult for nomads to receive aid from humanitarian organizations. Most stress the lack of adjustment by nomads to the existing rules that demand settlement as a precondition for humanitarian aid. This however is not the only reason why many groups of nomads are being left unsupported. Humanitarian aid organizations are even more inflexible when it comes to adjusting to the needs of nomads. This presentation concentrates on the mechanisms that came into play when I was making a series of documentaries about the Rashaayda, Arab Bedouin nomads from Eastern Sudan, who are living in Eritrea as refugees. Even though it is obvious that they need humanitarian aid, it is almost impossible to find a donor to help them. The sheer expectation of receiving aid and then not getting it creates a reality in itself. As I was filming the efforts of a local humanitarian aid worker supporting the refugees, many of the mechanisms of the aid industry and the strategies of the refugees and their representatives were revealed. The camera, held by a white European, played an important role in how the refugees, the representatives of local and international aid organizations and the politicians portrayed themselves. In this presentation, I look into the interplay of projections evoked by the video camera, as a reflection of the positions of the Rashaayda refugees, local aid workers and international donors.

White chiefs in Ghana. Between culture and development

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Since the early 1990s, dozens and, lately probably hundreds of foreigners from the West (e.g. Germans, Dutch and Americans) have been ceremonially installed as chiefs and queen mothers in Ghana. The Western media show a fascination with these 'white' chiefs and evoke exotic images of Westerners ruling as 'traditional' monarchs over the 'natives'. However, the usual title given to most foreign chiefs and queens is revealing of what is expected of them. The Akan term for the function is *Nkosuohene* (female equivalent: *Nkosuohemaa*), the Ewe term is *Ngoryifia* (female: *Ngoyisi*), both meaning 'development chief' (or 'queen mother'). The installation of development chiefs and queens thus raises questions about the relationship between chieftaincy, development and culture. In this paper I investigate what such development chiefs, few of whom are resident in Ghana, intend when they enter into such binding commitments, and what these installations tell us about Ghanaian expectations of the West.

Lamin Kuyateh. Muzikant met een missie

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Lamin Kuyateh is een griot uit Gambia. Griots zijn de muzikanten en geschiedenisvertellers van West-Afrika. Lamin heeft zichzelf in zijn leven twee doelen gesteld: zijn meest geliefde muziekinstrument - de kora - beroemd maken in de hele wereld en zijn familie in Gambia een beter leven geven. In 1996 is Lamin bij zijn

Nederlandse partner in Nijmegen komen wonen. Hoe probeert hij vanuit deze stad zijn missie te volbrengen?

Deze videoproductie van de Stichting Benkamá maakt onderdeel uit van het project 'De Nijmeegse Stadsfilm 2005' en werd mede mogelijk gemaakt door de Joris Ivens Stichting, Stichting Dziga, culturele vereniging Het Arsenaal, Stichting Nijmegen 2000, Gemeente Nijmegen, Provincie Gelderland en het Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Gelderland.

FILM

VOICES IN THE DESERT

Fuzum, the Rashaayda and the camera
(DVCAM, 70 min)

In January 2000 I recorded the testimonies of a group of Sudanese Rashaayda Bedouin who had recently fled from Sudan and crossed the border into Eritrea where they were living in a campsite outside Tessenei. They spoke of continuous harassment, abuse, torture, rape and the theft of their property by the Sudanese authorities. Three years later I resumed filming. *Voices in the Desert* is the first documentary in a series of three films that show the different aspects of their current situation.

The Rashaayda are a nomadic ethnic group that originated from the Arabic Peninsula some 150 years ago and settled along the Red Sea coast from Egypt to Djibouti. They lived as pastoralists, breeding camels and goats and sheep, and because of their good relations with Saudi Arabia, they engaged in overseas trade. An estimated 100,000 to 150,000 Rashaayda live in Sudan but since 1989 their trade has been challenged by the Sudanese authorities under the Bashir regime who have tried to prevent it by confiscating their Toyota pick-ups, land cruisers and their boats, and by shooting any vehicle spotted near the border. In response to this, the Rashaayda started to organize their own political movement: The Free Lions Forces. This resulted in increased persecution that finally forced them to flee to Eritrea in 1999.

This documentary shows the complexity of getting food aid to a nomadic group like the Rashaayda, who have few people campaigning on their behalf. Fuzum Tewelde, an Eritrean aid worker, has been a friend of the Rashaayda and their leader, Mabruk Mubarak, ever since he lived as a refugee in the Kassala area of Sudan. As a nurse, he provided them with medicine and treatment for minor diseases but because of his support for the Rashaayda, he had to leave Sudan at the end of the 1990s. I got to know Fuzum in August 2000. In Eritrea he continued to promote their case amongst international aid organizations.

The Rashaayda are now living in two refugee camps in Eritrea. Along the northern border, many are still waiting in no man's land in very poor circumstances until they can be sure that they will get food aid and water before they enter Eritrea. Their numbers have now increased to some 10,000 people. In 2001 Fuzum found food aid for them through a Dutch humanitarian organization called ICCO.

In this video documentary, *Voices in the Desert*, I follow Fuzum, who is now the coordinator of a small local NGO called Solidarity Committee. He manoeuvres between the demands of the donors, the Rashaayda leaders, and the Eritrean authorities to get food aid and basic supplies to the people in these camps. *Voices in the Desert* focuses on the discourse around the fate of the refugees. How is their situation represented by themselves and their leaders? How do aid organizations and mediators like Fuzum present their case? Is Fuzum manipulating the camera in his attempts to portray the Rashaayda's bad conditions and show the work he is doing? The Rashaayda leaders use the cameras to propagate their political concerns, and the INGOs present their rules and regulations in defence of their inactivity. But in the end, the Rashaayda remain without food.