

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM



CROSSROADS IN
AFRICAN STUDIES
CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

4-6 SEPTEMBER 2013

DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN STUDIES AND ANTHROPOLOGY
CENTRE OF WEST AFRICAN STUDIES

Crossroads in African Studies

In 2013 the Centre of West African Studies (CWAS) celebrates its fiftieth anniversary and the opening of a new [Department of African Studies and Anthropology](#) (DASA) at the University of Birmingham. For fifty years, research carried out at CWAS has been distinguished by interdisciplinarity spanning the humanities and social sciences, but united by a common focus on people's lived experience in Africa, and close and long-term engagement with African societies and academic institutions. Whilst CWAS continues to promote the development and dissemination of Africa-focused research, the creation of DASA formalizes the expansion of teaching and research beyond West Africa to include the entire African continent and the growing place of Anthropology in departmental expertise and teaching.

Crossroads in African Studies hosts a large number of research panels and papers organized by Africanist researchers from all over the world, and ranging from presentations of new empirical work, to critical reviews of past and present theories and methods, and discussions of future agendas. It also features plenary sessions at the end of each conference day, and includes spaces reserved for literary and artistic contributions. At the conference it is possible to view part of the [Danford Collection of West African Arts and Artefacts](#) on display in the Danford Room, DASA's departmental seminar room, which hosts conference panels and the final plenary readings session. The University of Birmingham also holds important [archive and manuscript collections](#), including the Records of the Church Missionary Society that are accessible during conference days. It is possible to attend lunch-time talks on the Danford Collection and the Cadbury Research Library's African archives and manuscripts, or to talk informally with artists and researchers who organised some of the conference's screenings and exhibitions. Finally, programme breaks and receptions provide an opportunity to meet colleagues and discover some of the museums, galleries and [collections](#) that the University of Birmingham has to offer, which include the [Barber Institute of Fine Arts](#), with masterpieces of international importance and its coin gallery; [Winterbourne House and Garden](#); the [Lapworth Museum of Geology](#), and [much more](#).

The conference starts at 9:15 am on Wednesday 4th and ends in the evening of Friday 6th September. A registration and information desk will be open at the entrance of DASA on the second floor of the Arts Building (see map below) from 2 pm of Tuesday 3rd September. Panels take place in four designated seminar rooms in the Arts Building: the Danford Room, Lecture Room 6, Lecture Room 7 (all on the second floor), and the Rodney Hilton Library (third floor). Plenary sessions on Wednesday and Thursday are in room G15 on the ground floor of the Muirhead Tower (next to Starbucks). The reception following the Fage Lecture is located in 32 Pritchatts Road, where it is possible to see a display of book covers from 50 years of scholarship produced at CWAS, including the new Kindle edition of the CWAS Interdisciplinary African Studies book series.

Plenary sessions

Producing Knowledge about Africa: Possibilities and Challenges of International Co-operation

Wed 4th, 4:30-6:30 pm, room G15, Muirhead Tower

At this plenary round table, scholars and researchers from the UK, USA, and Africa discuss some of the ways in which knowledge about Africa can be furthered through international cooperation. Contributions to the round table are expected to address issues of agenda setting in Africa-focused research, and consider the politics of representing, and conducting research in and about, African societies and cultures. Contributors have been invited to reflect upon different institutional approaches and practices in their respective countries and universities. This event takes the form of a dialogue led by researchers directly involved in these questions in the Birmingham-Chicago partnership, with respondents from African universities, and is open to contributions from the audience.

First Annual Fage Lecture: African Economic History in the *Longue Durée* from a Global Perspective

Thu 5th, 4:30-6:30pm, room G15, Muirhead Tower

In recognition of the work of Professor John Fage, founder of CWAS and a major contributor to the institutionalisation of African Studies in the UK and internationally, the Department of African Studies and Anthropology (incorporating CWAS) launches a new annual lecture series. The first Fage Lecture is in fact a double lecture on African economic history from a global perspective and in the *longue durée* with talks delivered by Anthony G. Hopkins (Emeritus Smuts Professor of Commonwealth History at the University of Cambridge, former Professor of Economic History at CWAS and UoB Honorary Graduate) and Gareth Austin (Professor of Economic History at the Graduate Institute, Geneva, CWAS alumnus and former Lecturer in the Economic History of West Africa at CWAS), and a response by Robin Law (Emeritus Professor at the University of Stirling, CWAS alumnus and former Research Fellow at CWAS). Following the lecture, a reception takes place in the former home of CWAS on 32 Pritchatts Road. The first Fage Lecture has been organised with the support of the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom ([ASAUK](#)), whose 50th anniversary also falls in 2013.

Readings on Africa in the Danford Room

Fri 6th, 4:30-6:30 pm, Danford Room, second floor, Arts Building

Over the last 25 years we have run a regular series of readings by African, Caribbean, Black British and related writers and artists in CWAS, all open to the public and advertised across the city. Several major writers with international reputations have performed at CWAS – the first speaker in the series was the by now legendary Trinidadian novelist Sam Selvon – author of what was arguably the first novel of modern multi-cultural Britain, *The Lonely Londoners* - caught on a brief visit to the UK just a year or so before he died. Other well established writers to have read here

include the Malawian poet Jack Mapanje – when only recently released from detention: the NOMA prize-winning Nigerian poet Niyi Osundare, two very different Jamaican/Black British ‘top notch’ poets, Linton Kwesi Johnson and James Berry; the much loved Nigerian novelist Buchi Emecheta, the Trinidadian novelist Earl Lovelace; the Jamaican poet and screen-writer Evan Jones and – while he was still in exile from the Apartheid regime in the South Africa, the poet Dennis Brutus.

CWAS has also provided a Birmingham platform for many writers who were 'up-and-coming' at the time but have gone on to become much better known - Booker Prize short listed Abdulrazak Gurnah from Tanzania has read here several times, as has the Forward Prize winner Kwame Dawes, Commonwealth Literature prize winners Olive Senior, Syl Cheney-Coker and Lucy Safo, Whitbread winner Fred D'Aguiar and the much acclaimed young Jamaican writer Kei Miller. But perhaps even more importantly we have provided an opportunity for many less well known writers from Africa and the Caribbean passing through Britain/Birmingham on brief and sometimes more or less unplanned visits to present their work to an informed and interested audience - writers like the Jamaican Mervyn Morris, the Nigerian Odia Ofiemun, from Sierra Leone Syl Cheney-Coker, the Gambian Tijan Sallah, the South African Mandla Langa, the Dominican Lennox Honeychurch, the Cuban Pedro Perez Sarduy, from Grenada Merle Collins and Veronique Tadjo from Cote D'Ivoire among many others.

In the context of this post-colonial milieu CWAS also determined to create a platform for black British literature and for other British writers whose work addresses relevant issues - so locally based writers like Femi Oyebode, David Dabydeen, Jasmine Johnson, Martin Glynn, Don Kinch and the late lamented Roi Kwabena and Amryl Johnson have read here on several occasions but so have writers based in other parts of the UK like Jan Shinebourne, Bernadine Evaristo, Ebou Dibba, John Haynes, Charlotte Williams, A.E. Markham and John La Rose.

So it seems appropriate that we should end our conference celebrating 50 years of African Studies in Birmingham with readings from creative writers who are associated with the Centre and/or have been involved in the conference. Although we all share an interest in some aspect of African Studies there is a fascinating diversity of style, concern, voice and agenda across this small group of writers, so we expect the end of conference reading to challenge, inspire, amuse and sooth us on our ways!

Special Events: Screenings and Babel Art Exhibit

Yoruba Plays and Benin Kingship Rituals

Yoruba plays put on by CWAS students in the past under the supervision of Professor Karin Barber will be screened (with English subtitles) in a special room of 32 Pritchatts Road during the reception that will take place following the Fage Lecture. A classic documentary film on Benin Kingship Rituals based on research by the CWAS anthropologist Ray Bradbury will be screened after the last Plenary session in the Danford Room.



Edmond Fortier's photos of West Africa in the early 1900s

Brazilian Africanist Daniela Moreau (danmor57@gmail.com) will be displaying 1,000 images selected from those produced by the French photographer Edmond Fortier. The photos will be continuously projected on a display at the entrance of DASA on the second floor landing of the Arts Building. They document aspects of life in Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Ivory Coast, Benin, and Nigeria from *ca.* 1900 to *ca.* 1923, and include images of Fortier's Conakry to Timbuktu trip in 1906. Moreau heads the project *Acervo África* in São Paulo, and is preparing a book about Fortier. *Acervo África's* collection of Fortier images is the largest in the world.



Babel Exhibition by Stewart Brown



All participants are kindly invited to visit the exhibition of Dr. Stewart Brown's [Babel Project](#) in the Rotunda Gallery of the Aston Webb Building running throughout the conference. Stewart Brown will be available in the Rotunda to answer questions and talk about the exhibition at lunchtime on Wednesday and Friday.

Introduction by Stewart Brown: 'BABEL is an ongoing series of collages, paintings, digital prints, artist's cards, boxes, books and installations all derived from experiments with *visual language*. There are long traditions in Islamic, African, Oriental and European art of artists and poets playing with the visual elements of letter forms and printed text - from Egyptian hieroglyphs, through Celtic illuminated manuscripts and Chinese calligraphy, to Koranic decorations in Arabic script and contemporary experiments in concrete poetry and cyber-texts. Many contemporary visual artists have been fascinated by the aesthetic dynamics of the painted word, the play between ways of meaning and understanding that the crossover of literary and visual ways of saying can produce. The BABEL images relate to those traditions and discussions in various ways, asking questions about how we 'read' such images, about the relationships between the symbols recognised in these images as linguistic code that carries – or at least implies - particular kinds of utterance and meaning but which in this visual context may take on quite other associations, resonance and, not least, colours. BABEL engages with those echoes and shadows, and I am interested in the intellectual, aesthetic and perceptual issues the images – individually and collectively – raise. But this makes the project sound too heavy and pompous. BABEL is essentially a playful, whimsical, ironic response to the various pleasures and pressures of a life devoted, one way and another, to the text'.

TIMETABLE SUMMARY

Time/venue	Danford room	LR6	LR7	RH	G15/Muirhead	32 Pritchatts R
Wed 4th Sept						
9:15-11:00	Panel 1	Panel 2		Panel 3		
11:30-1:15	Panel 4	Panel 5				
2:15-4:00	Panel 6	Panel 7	Panel 8	Panel 9		
4:30-6:30					Plenary	
Evening					Reception	
Thu 5th Sept						
9:15-11:00	Panel 10	Panel 11	Panel 12	Panel 13		
11:30-1:15	Panel 14	Panel 15	Panel 16	Panel 17		
2:15-4:00	Panel 18	Panel 19	Panel 20	Panel 21		
4:30-6:30					Fage Lecture	
Evening						Reception
Fri 6th Sept						
9:15-11:00	Panel 22	Panel 23	Panel 24	Panel 25		
11:30-1:15	Panel 26	Panel 27	Panel 28	Panel 29		
2:15-4:00	Panel 30	Panel 31	Panel 32	Panel 33		
4:30-6:30	Plenary/readings					
Evening	Reception					

PROGRAMME SUMMARY

PANELS

Panel 1: AFRICAN RELIGIONS IN AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS, 17TH – 19TH CENTURIES

Toby Green; Marina de Mello e Souza; Luis Nicolau Pares; Manuel Barcia Paz; Carlos da Silva Jr.

Panel 2: BEING, BECOMING, AND DOING MIDDLE CLASS?

Reginald Cline-Cole; Claire Mercer; Hannah Cross; Ben Page; Andrea Scheibler

Panel 3: CRITICAL HISTORIES OF PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

Benedetta Rossi; Reuben Loffman; Stephan Miescher; Devin Smart; Branwin Poleykett

Panel 4: LIFE HISTORIES OF SLAVES, 1

Martin Klein; Sandra Green; Alice Bellagamba; Lotte Pelckmans; Christine Hardung; Moris Samen

Panel 5: BLACK STAR: NKRUMAH'S GHANA RECONSIDERED

Kate Skinner; Stephan Miescher; Edem Adotey

Panel 6: LIFE HISTORIES OF SLAVES, 2

Martin Klein; Alice Bellagamba; Sandra Greene; Stephanie Zehnle

Panel 7: WOMEN'S ECONOMIC PRACTICES

Plangsat Dayil; Brobbey Maame Kyerewaa; Felix Meier Zu Selhausen; Mutiat Oladejo; Ambreena Manji

Panel 8: AFRICAN POLICY: CHALLENGES AND CRITIQUES

Ben Page; Devika Sharma; Attah Noah Echa; Tony Binns; Jan Klaassen

Panel 9: AFRICAN POLITICAL STRUCTURES: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

Kate Skinner; Rebecca Shumway; Wilson Kwame Yayoh; Stacey Somerdyk; Joel Quirk

Panel 10: SLAVERY IN THE CITY, 1: MEMORIES OF (INTERNAL) SLAVERY AMONG MIGRANTS IN URBAN CONTEXTS

Lotte Pelckmans; Alioum Idrissou; Elhadji Cheikou Balde; Marie-Pierre Balarin

Panel 11: RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTERS

Olukoya Ogen; Sakariyau Alabi Aliyu; Karen Jenny Lauterbach; Isiaka Raifu; Attahiru Ahmad Sifawa

Panel 12: YORUBA LOCAL HISTORIES

Insa Nolte; Karin Barber; Olukuya Ogen

Panel 13: ECONOMIC HISTORY AND TRADE

Robin Law; Marisa Candotti; Klas Ronnback; Ahmad Attahiru Sifawa

Panel 14: SLAVERY IN THE CITY, 2: MEMORIES OF (INTERNAL) SLAVERY AMONG MIGRANTS IN URBAN CONTEXTS

Lotte Pelckmans; Joel Quirk; Ann McDougall; Marie Rodet

Panel 15: AFRICAN TRADERS AND THEIR MONEY, 1800-PRESENT

Max Bolt; Sophie Mew; Fiona Sheals; Karin Pallaver; Catherine Eagleton

Panel 16: CONTESTED TERRITORIES AND FRAGMENTED POLITICAL IDENTITIES, 1

Roy May; Christi Kruger; Jonathon Glassman; Nathaniel Mathews; Zoe Groves

Panel 17: RELIGIOUS INTERACTION AND COEXISTENCE IN YORUBALAND

Insa Nolte; John Peel; Siyan Oyeweso; Rebecca Jones; Balogun Adeyemi; Saheed Amusa

Panel 18: GOLD COAST HISTORIES: ENGAGING RAY KEA'S STUDIES OF STATE, SOCIETY, AND SLAVERY IN WEST AFRICA AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

Thomas McCaskie; Pierluigi Valsecchi; Larry Yarak; Sandra Greene

Panel 19: AFRICAN TRADERS AND THEIR MONEY, EARLY 20TH CENTURY-PRESENT

Max Bolt; Leigh Gardner; Deborah James

Panel 20: POLICING AND INTELLIGENCE IN AFRICA: CURRENT PRACTICE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Keith Shear; Jim Brennan; Insa Nolte; Kevin Yelvington; Paul Jackson

Panel 21: CONTESTED TERRITORIES AND FRAGMENTED POLITICAL IDENTITIES, 2

Heloise Finch-Boyer; Thando Matshanda Namhla; Ashley Belyea; Kenneth Omeje; Emily Lord Fransee

Panel 22: CROSS-CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS, 17TH-19TH CENTURIES

Toby Green; Benedetta Rossi; Paulo Farias; Candido Eugenio Dominguez da Silva; Mariana Candido; Nadine Hunt

Panel 23: AFRICAN LITERATURE: POST-DOCTORAL DIRECTIONS

Stewart Brown; Femi Oyeboode; Shola Adenekan; Helen Cousins; Jo Skelt

Panel 24: AFRICA'S TREASURES, 1

Zachary Kingdon; Catherine Makhumula; Tatiana Gavristova; Solomon Ikibe

Panel 25: INTERPRETING SOURCES, 1

Silke Strickrodt; Michel Doortmont; Emily Lynn Osborn; Adlyne Anugwom

Panel 26: INEQUALITY AND INSECURITY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, 1

Max Bolt; Deborah James; Nicky Falkof; Tim Gibbs

Panel 27: AFRICA'S TREASURES, 2

Karin Barber; Abdulrasheed Abiodun Adeoye; Solomon Ikibe; Godwin Ogli

Panel 28: CONTESTED TERRITORIES AND FRAGMENTED POLITICAL IDENTITIES, 3

Reuben Loffman; Maggie Dwyer; Ole Martin Gaasholt; Senayon Olaoluwa; Stephen Titus Olusegun; Babajide Ololajulo

Panel 29: INTERPRETING SOURCES, 2

Adam Jones; Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias; Sara Marzagora; Reginald Taluah Asangba; Kola Adekola

Panel 30: MUSEUMS

Fiona Sheales; Zachary Kingdon; Heloise Finch-Boyer; Igor Cusack

Panel 31: STRUCTURE AND AGENCY: SHAPING KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTITY

Reginald Cline-Cole; Jan-Patrick Heiss; Jamaine Abidogun; Dora Edu-Buandoh; Diana Jeater

Panel 32: INEQUALITY AND INSECURITY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, 2

Max Bolt; Jason Hickel; Deborah James; Natasha Thandiwe Vally

Panel 33: CARIBBEAN LITERATURE: POST-DOCTORAL DIRECTIONS

Stewart Brown; Jon Morley; Juanita Westmaas; Ian Dieffenthaler

PLENARIES

Plenary 1: PRODUCING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AFRICA

Malcolm Press; Jonathon Glassman; Jim Brennan; Emily Osborn; Dora Edu-Buandoh

Plenary 2: FAGE LECTURE: AFRICAN ECONOMIC HISTORY IN THE *LONGUE DUREE* FROM A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Karin Barber; Michael Whitby; Anthony G. Hopkins; Gareth Austin; Robin Law

Plenary 3: READINGS ON AFRICA IN THE DANFORD ROOM

Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias; Femi Oyeboode; Toby Green; Ian Dieffenthaler; Joanna Skelt; Juanita Westmaas; Benedetta Rossi; Jon Morley; Stewart Brown

SPECIAL FEATURES

Babel Exhibition

Yoruba Plays and Benin Kingdom Documentary

Edmond Fortier's photos of West Africa

LUNCHTIME EVENTS (1:15 – 2:15 pm)

Cadbury Research Collection Talk and Guided Tours: Thu 5th and Fri 6th in the Cadbury seminar room on the lower ground of Muirhead Tower. Please note that limited places are available for this event, and booking is necessary. Places will be allocated on a first come first served basis. To book a place please email the organisers at CWAS2013@gmail.com by Friday 30th August.

Introduction to the Danford Collection Talk: Wed 4th and Thu 5th in the Danford Room. No booking required, seats will be available on a first come first served basis.

Stewart Brown answers questions on the Babel exhibition: Wed 4th and Fri 6th in the Rotunda of the Aston Webb Building.

Daniela Moreau answers questions on Fortier's photos: Wed 4th, Thu 5th, and Fri 6th next to the photos' display outside DASA's entrance.

Practical Information

The conference will take place primarily in the rooms of the Department of African Studies and Anthropology (incorporating the Centre of West African Studies) in the Arts Building (2nd floor) on the Edgbaston Campus of the University of Birmingham, R16 in the [campus map](#).

Plenaries in the first two days will take place in the Muirhead Tower, R21 in the map.

The reception following the Fage Lecture and several screenings will take place in 32 Pritchatts Road, G1 in the map.

The Babel Project will be exhibited in the Rotunda Gallery, Aston Webb Building, R5 in the map.

Other locations and venues mentioned in this programme are listed alphabetically in the index of the campus map.

Travel

Arriving at the University of Birmingham

(<http://www.about.bham.ac.uk/maps/edgbaston.shtml>)

By car

Approaching from the north west or south east along the M6:

Leave at Junction 6 (signposted Birmingham Central) to join the A38(M). At the end of the motorway, keep to the right, go over a flyover, then through some underpasses to join the A38 Bristol Road. The University is on your right, two and a half miles from the city centre

Approaching from the M42 north:

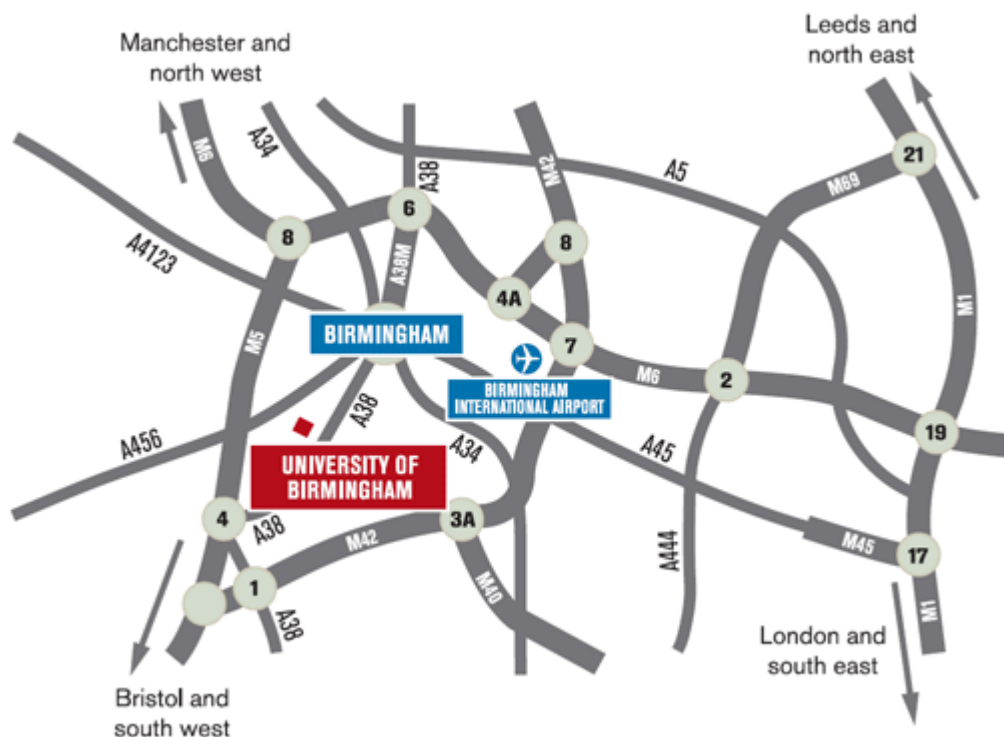
Leave at Junction 8 to join the M6 northbound and follow the instructions above

Approaching from the south west:

Leave the M5 at Junction 4 (signposted Birmingham SW) to join the A38. The University is approximately eight miles from the motorway

Approaching from the M40:

It is easier to turn south on the M42 and leave at Junction 1, heading north on the A38 Bristol Road. The University is approximately eight miles from the motorway



By rail

Most cross-country services to Birmingham arrive at New Street Station. Up to six trains an hour depart for the University on the cross-city line (ten minutes to University station, final destination Longbridge or Redditch). The centre of the main campus is a five-minute walk from University Station.

By coach

There are frequent express coach services to Birmingham from London, Heathrow and Gatwick Airports, and many UK cities. The long-distance coach station is in Digbeth in the city centre.

By bus

Numbers 61, 62 and 63 travel to the University's Edgbaston and Selly Oak campuses, while the 21 and 44 serve the Medical School and Queen Elizabeth Hospital. The services all run frequently from the city centre. There is a travel information office outside New Street Station, where you can obtain bus timetables and departure point information. Maps can be found throughout the city centre indicating bus stop locations.

By taxi

There are taxi ranks at New Street Station and throughout the city centre. The journey to the University takes about ten minutes. Useful numbers for local minicab companies:
Falcon Cars: 0121 603 6666; TOA: 0121 427 8888; Castle Cars: 0121 472 2222

By air

Birmingham International Airport has direct flights from locations in the UK, as well as from the USA, Canada, Europe and the Middle East.

The journey by taxi from the airport to the University takes approximately half an hour. Alternatively,

Air-Rail Link provides a free, fast connection between the airport terminals and Birmingham International railway station. Air-Rail Link operates every two minutes (journey time 90 seconds). Birmingham International railway station has frequent services to New Street Station in the city centre (journey time around 15 minutes). Up to six trains an hour depart for the University (train station on campus) on the cross-city line (ten minutes to University station, final destination Longbridge or Redditch). The centre of the main campus is a five-minute walk from University Station.

If you are arriving at London, there is a frequent train service from London Euston railway station to New Street Station (journey time around 1 hour 30 minutes).

From Heathrow Airport. Take the Heathrow Express train to Paddington Station and then the Underground or a taxi to Euston Station. Alternatively, an Airbus runs from Heathrow Airport direct to Euston Station

From Gatwick Airport. Take the Airport Express train to Victoria Station and then the Underground or a taxi to Euston Station

Visitor car parking

Visitors to campus are requested to park in any of the 4 pay & display car parks, those are:

South Car Park (access via Edgbaston Park Road)

North Car Park (access via Pritchatts Rd)

Vincent Drive Car Park (access via Vincent Drive)

Pritchatts Rd Car Park (at the junction with Vincent Drive)

All of the above are peripheral car parks and can be accessed without entering the main campus. The current cost is £1.00 per day. Visitors who require access to the main campus should contact the department they are visiting to request a permit which should be hung from the rear view mirror of their vehicle.

PROGRAMME

Day 1 - Wednesday 4th September

9.15 – 11.00 – Panel 1 - Wednesday 4th September

1. AFRICAN RELIGIONS IN AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS, 17TH – 19TH CENTURIES

Chair: Toby Green (King's College London)

Discussant: Rebecca Shumway (Carnegie Mellon University)

Marina de Mello e Souza

University of São Paulo, Brazil

Catholicism and Local Powers in Central Africa, 17th century

The role of Catholicism in the relations developed between Portuguese and Congolese since the last years of the XVth century and in the conquest of the Kwanza river region after the end of the XVIth century has been studied from many perspectives. In my research I take religion as the main language used by the people who got in touch at that time. For the Portuguese it justified the conquest, not always successful, and for the local chiefs it was a new source of power, important to deal with the new situations related to the presence of the Portuguese and other Europeans. The paper here proposed will explore the place of the native priests and catechists, the meanings of some Catholic objects of cult like crucifixes and rosaries, and the ways the Catholicism has been assimilated locally. The areas considered are Congo and Angola, including not only the regions controlled by the Portuguese but also Matamba and Cassanje, that kept their autonomy during the XVIIIth century. The focus of the analysis is the Central African historical processes and the search of the meanings that the local actors gave to the new religion, or to some of their elements.

Luis Nicolau Pares

Federal University of Bahia, Salvador, Bahia, Brazil

Religious Pluralism among Afro-Brazilian Returnees (1835-1860)

This communication presents the life trajectory of a few prosperous freed Africans who, departing from Bahia in the 1830s, settled in the cities of Agoué and Ouidah in West Africa. The main goal is to bring some light on how the returnees' plural affiliation to Catholicism, Islam and autochthonous Vodun and Orisa worship contributed to their social insertion and distinction within local communities. More broadly the paper shall discuss how, in a context of displacement and diaspora, religious practice and discourse become critical factors in processes of collective identity. Moreover the paper shall explore how the returnees' multiple religious affiliation was shaped by their Brazilian experience of 'cultural syncretism' and whether this tolerant religious pluralism can be conceived as characteristic of an Atlantic diasporic self.

Carlos da Silva, Jr.

Wilberforce Institute, University of Hull

West African Religious Practices in Eighteenth-Century Bahia: The case of Calundús

Calundú was the name of African religious beliefs and practices in Brazil during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its name derives from the corruption of the Kimbundu word quilundu, which designates any kind of spirit possession. The calundú described not only spirit possession, but also involves ceremonies that included dances, healing processes, as well as divination, both public and private. Although it is a Bantu term in Bahia the ceremonies were conducted mainly for West Africans. This paper aims to discuss these religious practices in the eighteenth century-Bahia, analyzing the ethnic and social background of the leaders and devotees, as well as some cultural aspects of the calundús.

Manuel Barcia Paz

Leeds University

West African Islam in Colonial Cuba

Over the past decades the impact of Atlantic ideas and ideologies in the Americas has become a constant subject of discussion. The ways to which the French and Haitian revolutions determined the actions of African slaves in the Americas has only been matched by the relevance given by scholars to the impact of British Abolitionist policies from 1807 onwards. While, at least for a period, a series of events that took place in Europe and the Americas did influence the choices presented to those who fought against enslavement and slavery, for most of the first half of the nineteenth century they were not by any means the only ones, or for that matter the most important historical events behind their acts of resistance. The transplantation of Islam was just as important. Until today, the impact, and the very existence of Islam among West African slaves taken to Cuba has been all but ignored. In this paper I attempt to establish connections between Islam in West Africa and Islam among West African slaves in Cuba. My key argument here is that Islam was present in Cuba from a very early period and that it really never left. If it is true that in Cuba Islam was never the same cohesive religion that it was in other parts of the Americas, notably in Bahia, there are enough elements to offer a first, preliminary sketch of its presence and impact.

9.15– 11.00 – Panel 2 - Wednesday 4th September

2. BEING, BECOMING AND DOING MIDDLE CLASS?

Chairs: Claire Mercer (London School of Economics) & Reginald Cline-Cole (University of Birmingham)

Discussant: Hannah Cross (University of Westminster)

Ben Page

University College London

Producing Home and Practising Class: The New Middle Class in Buea, Cameroon

Being middle class entails acquiring a set of practices (of production as well as consumption) many of which are played out in the built environment of the homespace. This paper analyses the exteriors and interiors of a number of new domestic buildings in order to gain a better understanding of how these material structures relate to an emergent middle class drawn partly from the diaspora, partly from local entrepreneurs and partly from local civil servants. The paper argues that the middle class can usefully be understood as a 'community of practice' in which a learning process is occurring based on shared experiences and sympathies. The embodied knowledge necessary to become middle class is acquired through socialization, the use of domestic technology and the habituation of particular lifestyles. The habits that define being middle class are conceptualized as a combination of actions and objects. Using social theories of practice in this analysis draws empirical attention to the (unfinished) inter-generational process of learning to be middle class in a context of rapid change; it seeks to escape from current preoccupations with the macro-economic benefits of bourgeois consumption found in the policy literature by treating these new homes as machines for learning to be middle class in.

Clare Mercer

London School of Economics

Middle Class Construction? Domestic Architecture, Aesthetics and Anxieties in Post-socialist Tanzania

Despite the bold claims currently being made in the business and popular press about the rise of Africa's middle classes, we actually know very little about how this group might be constituted and with what implications in the present day. This paper examines the new styles of houses that are being constructed in contemporary Tanzania and asks whether they can be understood as the material manifestation of middle class growth. Through an examination of the architecture, interior décor and compound space in a sample of distinctive houses recently built in urban Dar es Salaam and rural Kilimanjaro, the paper explores the different ways in which these houses are constructed through old and new circuits of mobile people, capital, ideas and materials. Rather than seeing all such houses as straightforward symptoms of middle class consumption, the paper identifies four distinctive aesthetics among new houses: the respectable house, the locally aspirant house, the

globally aspirant house, and the modern minimalist house. These four aesthetics map on to ideas about ujamaa, liberalization and consumption in distinct ways. Houses, understood as sites where ideas about culture, values, morality and money are materialized, demonstrate the contested nature of middle classness in post-socialist Tanzania. Indeed the very materiality of the house can destabilise claims to middle classness: houses stand empty, unfinished, and crumbling for years. Houses do not simply make their builders middle class.

Andrea Scheibler
Oxford University

The Politics of Homemaking: Domesticating Class in Late Colonial Nairobi

The purchasing power of Nairobi's African middle class – particularly on and within the housing market – is perceived to represent the modernising force that will drive the nation to middle income status, yet many of the underlying strategies of middle class formation can be found in the mid-twentieth century. This paper explores the historical processes that have shaped the transformation of domestic needs and wants in a context of explosive urbanization, underlining the centrality of domesticity in middle class strategies of distinction. Moulded in part through a combination of colonial and post-colonial policies and Christian ideals of family life, this paper examines first the shifting gender roles within the home and the material changes this created. It then argues that domestic consumption, particularly of a key set of 'luxury' household products, became sites of contestation among the urban milieu. Many of these products were heavily advertised in the (British-owned) press and through corporate competitions, presenting the conceptualization of the African middle class as one instituted by the principles of Westernization and modernization. Engaging with these problematized concepts, this paper nonetheless argues that they foreground the beginnings of urban domestic distinction, albeit ones latterly subsidized by Africanization policies and nationalist ideals during the 1960s and 1970s.

Reginald Cline-Cole
University of Birmingham

Producing a Cosmopolitan and Transnational Class of Professionals? Imperial Forestry and Colonial Northern Nigeria

Borrowing from ideas credited to transnationalisation and related research, this paper examines the creation of an epistemic community of imperial/colonial scientific foresters. It looks at the institutionalisation of empire forestry, the professionalisation of its practitioners, and the continual re-production of forestry discourse and practice as transnational processes linking metropolitan and colonial sites in complex ways and at a variety of spatial and temporal scales. Specifically, it traces the crosscutting circuits, flows and spaces characterising colonial forestry with reference to colonial Northern Nigeria, highlighting the racialised and masculine nature of the profession, and the socialisation of its 'blokeish' practitioners. In locating translocal agency within the social space of scientific forestry in this way, the paper hopefully illustrates further the now established view that transnational flows are not unidirectional, and that in addition to flows from metropolitan centres to the colonies, scientific forestry ideas, people and practices, among other things, circulated within the colonies, in addition to moving from these margins of empire to metropolitan centres. In the process, these flows re-produced a cosmopolitan and transnational community, a professional 'class' associated with multiple locations, sites and occurrences, one which was bound together by a carefully cultivated esprit de corps.

9.15 – 11.00 – Panel 3 - Wednesday 4th September

3. CRITICAL HISTORIES OF PLANNED DEVELOPMENT

Chair: Benedetta Rossi (University of Birmingham)

Reuben Loffman
Queen Mary, University of London

An 'Obscured Revolution'?: USAID, the North Shaba Project, and the Zaïrian Revolution, 1976-1986

This paper departs from well-trodden national perspectives on Zaïrian history. Instead, it historicises a development project in rural North Shaba known as the North Shaba Project (NSP), which was funded by USAID from 1976-1986. It examines the uneasy encounter between USAID, the

Zairian administration, and local farmers and how interactions between these groups opened up a limited space in which local farmers had some agency. The NSP increased maize production by vastly improving infrastructure and training local producers in new farming techniques, leading officials to call it an 'obscured revolution.' Unlike its colonial precedents and its post-colonial contemporaries, the Project attempted to integrate the local knowledge of Congolese producers through working groups so as to gain their feedback on aspects of its methodology. Many of the most important collaborative ventures between local farmers and anthropologists emerged not in the field of maize production but in the palm oil industry, which already occupied an important place in the Hemba peoples' cultural universe. The near unique way anthropologists contributed to the Project at the time was crucial to giving local people a meaningful voice in it and maintaining a local repertoire of farming options in the context of an authoritarian state.

Stephan Miescher

University of California Santa Barbara

Creating an American Island: the Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO) in Ghana, 1964-2000

In the early 1960s, at the height of the Cold War in Africa, Ghana's president Kwame Nkrumah launched the Volta River Project that included a hydroelectric dam at Akosombo and an aluminum smelter operated by the Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO). The Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Company, a subsidiary of Kaiser Industries, owned 90 percent of VALCO. The Volta project was at the center of Ghana's modernization program. During the smelter's groundbreaking ceremony Nkrumah and Edgar Kaiser, president of Kaiser Industries, exchanged speeches and made customary offerings. While Nkrumah had a libation poured, Kaiser served "American hot dogs and soft drinks." The 5,000 hotdogs, imported from New York, stood for Kaiser's attempt to create an American island in Ghana. The smelter was not only the largest U.S. investment in West Africa, but VALCO became a U.S. outpost in Ghana, economically and politically, socially and culturally. The paper explores how VALCO promoted labor regimes that emphasized efficiency, informality, and productivity, and offered incentives in the form of fridges, stereo systems, and other consumer goods. The paper argues that this American island was not only of great benefit to Kaiser but also to the VALCO "labor aristocracy" that embraced a "VALCO culture." The losers were the Ghanaian state and most Ghanaian people, since VALCO received highly favorable electricity rates and consumed half of the power generated at Akosombo. In the 1980s, the military government of Jerry Rawlings, supported by public pressure, renegotiated the VALCO rates. Still Kaiser continued to operate its Ghana smelter for twenty years. After overcoming labor struggles, the VALCO smelter became one of the most efficient and profitably plants in the Kaiser system. In the 1990s, the management's "new approach" rejuvenated and transformed the VALCO culture. The paper draws on extensive archival and oral research in Ghana and the U.S.

Devin Smart

University of Illinois

Working on the Water: Race, Ecological Change, and Power in the Fishing Economy of Colonial Western Kenya, 1890-1948

This paper explores the intersections between race, class and economic and ecological change and the way these affected relations of power during the commercialization of the fishing industry in colonial Western Kenya. Scholars of African history have shown how simple binaries such as "colonizer/colonized" and singularly-framed concepts of resistance fail to capture the dynamics of power and its contestation in colonial Africa. The history of fishing in Western Kenya reveals how European colonialism indeed created boundaries and inequalities which Africans resisted and reshaped, but that some of the central terrains of struggle during this period were also between South Asians and Africans, as well as within communities of African fishers. This paper additionally addresses questions about the nature of the colonial state in Africa through considering how ecological conditions and physical geography limited the way it could materially and discursively manifest itself in the lives of Africans.

Branwyn Poleykett

University of Cambridge

Impeccable Work: Public Health and Scientific Labour in Historical Perspective

Global health programmes rely upon reserves of skilled auxiliary workers to deliver drugs, collect and analyse data, and to apply and interpret new technologies. In particular the programmes targeting the Neglected Tropical Diseases (NTDs) require the complex coordination of many forms of research, capacity, scientific expertise and human and material resources. Based on fieldwork in Denmark, Kenya and Tanzania this paper examines historical and contemporary projects which aimed to increase scientific capacity in East Africa and the ways in which these programmes have shaped a present experienced by African technicians as uncertain and precarious. Paying close attention to the experiences of Africans who have been positioned ambiguously on the peripheries of scientific interventions and global health, this paper examines the ways in which these actors' identities, understandings and self-fashionings have changed over time and the sense they make of the global health programmes in which they participate. Where Northern scientists and epidemiologists see innovation and progress, African technicians often see the failure of "development" schemes and the exhaustion of national political alternatives. These discordant views shape the ways in which Africans engage with new technologies of global health which require new skills of translation, repair, and improvisation. Focusing in particular on mass administration drugs, this paper seeks to shed light on global health innovation through an historical ethnography of the networks of personal, institutional and collective capacity through which they are administered and articulated.

11.00 – 11.30 Tea and Coffee

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 4 - Wednesday 4th September

4. LIFE HISTORIES OF SLAVES, 1

Organiser: Martin Klein (University of Toronto)

Chair: Sandra Green (Cornell University)

Discussant: Martin Klein (University of Toronto)

Alice Bellagamba

Milano Bicocca

Into the Shadows: Life-Histories of Slave Descendants in Twentieth Century Urban Gambia

In the years of World War II, two young men of slave ancestry – whom I shall call Fally Kebbeh and Mamadi Kumba – left the rural areas of the Gambia River to move into Bathurst, the capital of the colony of the Gambia. By reconstructing their trajectory, I shall raise two questions, one historiographical and the other methodological. The first relates to the possibility (or not) of erasing slave ancestry by migrating to cities. The second addresses the sources that scholars can use when issues of social stigma prevent men and women of slave ancestry from overtly discussing that part of their past.

Lotte Pelckmans

Leiden University

Lives of Activism: Personal Trajectories of West African Anti-slavery Movement Leaders

Several social movements emerged over the past decade to address the problematic nature of (legacies of) slavery in West Africa. These movements are an implicit social critique on the concept of so-called "post" slavery societies in Mali, Niger and Mauritania. My paper will describe the personal trajectories of the activists involved in these anti-slavery movements in West Africa. Often they are of slave status themselves although not necessarily so. The central concern is to understand which personal experiences incited these activists to engage with the fight against discrimination of people with slave status in West Africa. Some of the trajectories presented are biographical, other rather autobiographical. Data are mainly based on interviews with movement activists in Mali, Niger and Mauritanian and with activists in the West African diaspora in Paris.

Christine Hardung

University of Siegen, Germany

Slavery, Life Histories and Their Medialization (Mauritania)

Telling the story of one's own life is not part of the locally produced oral texts of slaves and slave descendants in Mauritania. However, life stories play a central role for Mauritanian human rights organisations when denouncing cases of slavery or slavery-like conditions. In the process of documentation by human rights activists and of medialization, experiences of slavery otherwise remembered and related in a fragmented and fragile manner, are transformed into linear narratives, narratives which match the Western concept of what constitutes a life story. The paper traces the processual nature of such narratives and throws up some fundamental questions. What is the importance of 'gaping spaces' in the life histories of (former) slaves? What happens when these gaping spaces are filled in by the routine of telling? How does this repeated telling of their own story, due to the interest of journalists and other persons involved in the question of slavery, impact the self-conception of persons of slave status and slave descendants?

Moris Samen

University of Mainz

The Slave Status in Contemporary Cameroon. The Life History of a Mun

The Mun were marked by social, political, spiritual, and civil incapacity and were denied certain traditional rights in the Cameroonian grasslands. Mun also designates a low material condition or state (psychological, mental and spiritual). They were sold out of the country as slaves. Their offspring inherited Mun status. The use of the Mun has been continuous from the 17th century on until today. I will tell the life history of a Mun called Ngassam (49). He was born into a polygynous family. He has been living in Germany for 14 years. When he tried to understand the reasons behind his servile function within the larger family, he discovered that his servile obligation is based on the Mun status. His mother had been bought. That gave a certain right to her offspring through certain rituals that justify the spiritual legitimacy to a Mun and its use. Therefore, an emancipation out of this relationship of dependency would only increase the vulnerability of a Mun. Eventually he accepted his traditional status. This paper will address how Ngassam defines his stigma as Mun and how he experiences it.

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 5 - Wednesday 4th September

5. BLACK STAR: NKRUMAH'S GHANA RECONSIDERED

Chair: Kate Skinner (University of Birmingham)

Kwame Nkrumah led the first successful Independence movement in British tropical Africa, and was Prime Minister / President of Ghana between 1957 and 1966. Despite his iconic status as a hero in the struggle for decolonisation and African unity, the ways in which he obtained and exercised power both within Ghana and beyond its borders are not yet fully understood. The papers in this panel aim to stimulate debate about Nkrumah's aims, strategies and legacies, by re-examining, firstly, his vision of industrial socialist modernity (Miescher); secondly, his pan-African foreign policy (Skinner); and thirdly, his stance towards his domestic opponents and the ways in which this has been reinscribed within Ghanaian politics as a 'two-party tradition' (Adotey).

Stephan Miescher

University of California Santa Barbara

The Akosombo Dam and the 'Dream' of Development in Ghana

This paper explores the elaborate dream imagery in relation to the Volta River Project and the hydroelectric Akosombo Dam, Ghana's largest development project. In the 1950s, the country's founding leader Kwame Nkrumah spoke in terms of a dream that would transform and modernize the soon-to-be independent nation, when promoting the Volta River Project towards the Ghanaian public and potential international sponsors. In the early 1960s, as the Akosombo Dam and the VALCO aluminum smelter, the project's main beneficiary, were being constructed, domestic and foreign observers complimented Nkrumah for fulfilling his dream. In the aftermath of Nkrumah's fall, despite a barrage of critiques about his regime, modernization associated with Akosombo did not lose its

luster. Neither broken promises such as the absence of rapid electrification, nor the droughts, which caused rolling black-outs and blemished Akosombo's reputation as a reliable source of power, eliminated this dream of modernization. By 2011, during the 50th anniversary celebration of the Volta River Authority, the state agency that built and operated Akosombo, Nkrumah's dream was again evoked. VRA Board President Akilagpa Sawyerr, once a harsh critic of the Master Agreement between Ghana and VALCO, reminded his audience of the founding dream. The paper, based on extensive archival and oral research, seeks to investigate the contexts, meanings, and legacies of Akosombo's dream imagery over the last sixty years as an entry into reconstructing the history of development in Ghana.

Edem Adotey

University of Ghana, Legon

Founder or Founders: Power, People and the Independence Narrative in Ghana

The popular history of Ghana's independence struggle has been limited to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah or the 'Big Six'. This is borne out by a holiday on Nkrumah's birthday and the images of the 'Big Six' on Ghana's currency. This paper argues that because the two dominant political parties who have wielded power since independence trace their roots to these people, they have used their power to project them and thus exclude others from the nationalism narrative.

Kate Skinner

University of Birmingham

Exiles, Ambassadors and an Assassination: The Ghana-Togo Border Question in Pan-African Foreign Policy

Recent research has highlighted the central role played by Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana in supporting anti-colonial movements across the African continent. This support included financial assistance to left-leaning movements in countries such as Niger and Guinea, military assistance in Congo, and the hosting in Accra of exiles from assorted colonial and neo-colonial regimes. This paper focuses on one of Nkrumah's most problematic relationships, with Ghana's small eastern neighbour, Togo. Although Nkrumah believed that pan-Africanism was a key defence against the threat of neo-colonialism, this paper demonstrates that in his bid to bring Togo into a territorial union with Ghana, Nkrumah tolerated a range of interventions which culminated in 1963 with the re-assumption of power within Togo by the old pro-colonial leadership of the 1950s.

13.15-14.15 Lunch

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 6 - Wednesday 4th September

6. LIFE HISTORIES OF SLAVES, 2

Organiser: Martin Klein (University of Toronto)

Chair: Alice Bellagamba (University of Milan-Bicocca)

Discussant: Benedetta Rossi (University of Birmingham)

Sandra Greene

Cornell University

Biography of a West African Slave Owner: Amegashie Afeku in the Age of Abolition

Biographies of prominent 19th century West African leaders are rare. Historians struggle with limited sources. When diaries and other documents contain data about a specific individual, most often that information focuses on political and economic affairs. Yet many such prominent individuals operated in a world in which slavery was so ubiquitous it influenced not only their political and economic affairs, but also their social lives and identities. This study explores the life of one such person, Amegashie Afeku, who was a wealthy slaveholder and traditional religious priest in the polity of Anlo (located in what is now southeastern Ghana). It argues that the biographies of such individuals demonstrate the complexity of slavery in Africa and the concerns that led many to not just resist and adapt, but resolutely defy both colonial rule and its abolition of slavery.

Stephanie Zehnle

University of Kassel, Germany

'Abáni Fugurá' / My Father Was a Scholar': Autobiographical Accounts of Ali Eisami Gazir

When the former slave Ali Eisami Gazir was interviewed by the German missionary Sigismund Koelle in ca. 1850, he had already reached high age. He was looking back on over 60 years of his Bornu childhood, enslavement, trafficking, freedom and resettlement in Sierra Leone. Being kidnapped by Fulbe warriors in 1806 he was only one victim of many of the Sokoto Jihad. But this account does not only give voice to a whole generation of slaves that were captured throughout the Jihad. He was an individual with an own identity heavily relying on Islamic education. For when he was sold to a royal Yoruban, Ali proudly told him: "My father was a scholar." Ali narrates his religious life caesuras and disastrous occurrences of regional scale in a parallel way. He was kidnapped together with a friend on their way to pay a visit. His process of enslavement appears to be a never ending story of forced migration. Ali could never feel secure.

Martin Klein

University of Toronto, Canada

Alfred Diban's Experience of Enslavement

Alfred Diban was a young boy, who was kidnapped by slave raiders in what is now Burkina Faso. He was sold into slavery in the Sahara, where after several attempts, he escaped and had the good fortune to stumble on a Catholic mission. He was moved quickly from an area where he was in danger of being re-enslaved, converted to Christianity and was educated. His story was written down by his son, the distinguished African historian, Alfred Ki Zerbo. This paper re-tells his story and tries to set it into context. It discusses his enslavement, the defensive strategies of people in the savanna lands, the efforts of his master to get him to accept his servitude, his struggle to free himself and the role of the Catholic church in making that possible. He became one of the first Christians in Burkina Faso and the father historian Joseph Ki Zerbo, who wrote his biography.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 7- Wednesday 4th September

7. WOMEN'S ECONOMIC PRACTICE

Chair: Plangsat Dayil (University of Birmingham)

Brobbey Maame Kyerewaa

University of Ghana, Legon-Accra

Conceptions of Economic Knowledge and Their Implications for Women's Economic Decisions in Akrokerri

This paper draws on fieldwork among microcredit women's groups in Akrokerri, an Akan community in the Ashanti Region of Ghana to suggest that social norms, or at least how they are constructed and understood, and the experiences of them remain powerful forces in women's economic choices. The analysis made, employs a social constructionist perspective of knowledge and feminist economists' conceptualization of what is economic. The paper shows that at the intersection of socio-cultural concerns, economic gains and a credit intervention programme, women in Akrokerri work to maximise social and economic gains and minimise losses. They do this through conscious tactics in relations to their conceptions of economic knowledge – meanings and goals of economic situations and how they are learned. The analysis concludes that women's business decisions are heavily shaped by their understandings of their socio-cultural situation, social expectations and an aggression for success.

Felix Meier Zu Selhausen

Utrecht University

Continuity or Change: Women's Role and Contribution in the Colonial and Post-colonial Economy of Buganda and Toro 1910-2010

Women's contribution to economic growth and development can be particularly transformative (De Moor & Van Zanden 2010). Yet, women's role can only be transformative when women can make free choices in life (Sen 1999). African women's present day agency cannot be adequately understood in isolation from its past (Nunn 2011; Akyeampong & Fofack 2012). However, measuring female

African's role in the economy systematically has not been attempted. This paper explores women's role and ability to participate in the economy for over one century from 1910 to 2010 on the basis of a novel database of 22,000 collected and digitized Anglican missionary (CMS) parish marriage registers from the Ugandan kingdoms of Buganda and Toro. The clerical records contain detailed information on spouses' marriages ages, occupations, and literacy status. We find British colonial rule in Uganda was more liberating for men than for women, as women were largely excluded from labour markets and wage employment, and thus were relegated to domestic production of rearing children and growing food crops. Men, as farmers, craftsmen, employees, and chiefs, were viewed as key to the creation of a colonial order, as only male colonial subjects were held responsible for paying hut/head taxes and fulfilling labour requirements.

Mutiati Oladejo

Emmanuel Alayande College of Education, Oyo

Market Women, Power and Politics in Ibadan, 1930-1960

In pre-colonial Yorubaland, women rose to power through trade. Their involvement in trading and the ability to support war expeditions determined their status in the society. Hence operation in the markets created wealth. This work is focused on market women's display of power in the twentieth century. The historical approach is adopted to examine the issues and circumstances in the display of power. Primary and secondary sources were utilised, the newspapers of the nationalists' era Nigerian Tribune and Southern Nigerian Defender, Ibadan provincial and Divisional papers provided insights on the strategies adopted to demonstrate power. Studies on Ibadan politics, society and economy, were useful as secondary sources to analyse the insights discerned from the primary sources. It was discovered that the politicians in the traditional and modern political system took advantage of the power of market women for political mobilization.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 8 - Wednesday 4th September

8. AFRICAN POLICY: CHALLENGES AND CRITIQUES

Chair: Ben Page (University College London)

Devika Sharma

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Images of Africa: Media and the Affective Economy of the Global North

The Kony 2012 campaign produced rich instances of what we may term affect critique. Nigerian-American author Teju Cole twittered stingingly about the fastest growth industry in the US being "The White Savior Industrial Complex", a complex in which "[t]he banality of evil transmutes into the banality of sentimentality. The world is nothing but a problem to be solved by enthusiasm". Cole's argument is but one instance of a broader critique of a certain feeling culture central to what moral anthropologist Didier Fassin has termed "humanitarian reason". As a feeling culture structured by moral affects such as empathy and compassion humanitarian reason is fuelled by images of suffering in Africa. Conjoining research within media studies, affect studies, and moral anthropology, in this paper I wish to explore a somewhat different structure of feeling towards Africa emerging in the Global North. This structure of feeling is best understood neither as "compassion fatigue" nor as "cynicism", two prevalent paradigms for understanding affective response to images of vulnerability in Africa. Rather, the affective economy I shall be examining is characterized by anxiety, lack of self-confidence, and profound ambivalence. My discussion will take images of Africa in recent Scandinavian fundraising TV-shows as its case.

Attah Noah Echa

Joseph Ayo Babalola University, Ikeji-Arakeji, Nigeria

Possession by Dispossession: Interrogating Agro-investments and Land Grab in Nigeria

The new wave of global land grabbing is developing with transnational companies and other investors scrambling for arable land for food production in Nigeria as in some African countries. The governments at the state and federal levels have been at the forefront of land acquisition for foreign capital under the guise of development and food security. However, contrary to the government's rhetoric of the benefits of foreign agro-investments in Nigeria, they have been producing for exports and not domestic markets. This is happening against the background that Nigeria ranks among the countries of the world in need of food aid. This study examines the process of large scale farm land acquisitions and questions the economies of offering several hectares of Nigeria's fertile land to some foreign firms to produce food meant for export. Based on field study, the work analyses the process of land dispossession for food production using the examples of the white Zimbabwean farmers, Ollam International and Dominion farms. This will be done by drawing both on historical studies and on the political economy of agrarian transition.

Tony Binns

University of Otago, New Zealand

Meeting the urban Challenge? Ensuring Food Security in Post-conflict Freetown, Sierra Leone: The Significance of Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture

Sierra Leone's decade long civil war led to the massive dislocation of people and food supplies. In the post-conflict period, the state of the agricultural sector has become a major concern to government and non-government development agencies. Sierra Leone's capital city, Freetown, experienced rapid growth during the conflict period with the influx of refugees from the provinces. This paper examines the significance of urban and peri-urban agriculture (UPA) in providing food security for households in Greater Freetown, at a crucial point in Sierra Leone's post-conflict reconstruction phase. Drawing on recent field-based research, the paper contributes to the growing debate about urban agriculture and the promotion of an 'enabling environment' in which UPA is encouraged and supported. The paper reports on a recent survey to determine how agricultural activities can fit in with urban structure, urban problems and the lifestyles and livelihoods of a wide range of actors in and around the city. The paper concludes that UPA is a vital element in ensuring household food security, which could play a fundamental role in safeguarding the urban food continuum and promoting more sustainable urbanization in the post-conflict period and beyond.

Jan Klaassen

University of Reading

Spatial Practices, Force Fields, and the Foreign Policies of African States

Mainstream interpretations of foreign policy decision-making in Africa fail to capture the complexities of the subject. Despite attempts by critics to develop alternative interpretations, they both share an adherence to essentialist views. Rejecting such views, this paper draws upon international political sociology to emphasise the role of 'practices' in international relations. Actors use a combination of practices in different contexts. Therefore, raising the question of why foreign policy actors use certain practices within constantly shifting contexts. This paper will argue for an understanding of practices that perceives them as bounded in terms of time and space and being intimately connected with relations of power in varied places. It further claims that a Bourdieusian approach to space strengthens this argument with its emphasis on how continuous practices create social relations. These relations constitute particular force fields, that is, social spaces, where actors with conflicting interests and identities clash. Social spaces structure the modalities of how actors' dispositions are created. Understanding spatial modalities helps to theorise the relationship between actors and their social habitats. In advocating this socio-spatial approach to foreign policy analysis, this paper offers a new reading of Africa's international relations with theoretical implications for the study of other places.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 9 - Wednesday 4th September

9. AFRICAN POLITICAL STRUCTURES: CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

Chair: Kate Skinner (University of Birmingham)

Rebecca Shumway

Carnegie Mellon University

Re-envisioning the Fante Confederation of 1868 in an Atlantic World Context

Scholars working today are much better equipped with theoretical and methodological tools for examining the transformation in African societies from the “pre-colonial” to the “modern” eras than were their predecessors of fifty years ago. This paper will re-examine the origins of the Fante Confederation in the Gold Coast (Ghana) using an analytical framework that emphasizes West Africa’s participation in the making of the so-called Atlantic World of the 15th to 19th century. I will argue that the Fante Confederation should be seen as part of a long continuum of negotiation and conflict that characterized the Fantes’ relationship with their European trading partners from at least the mid-eighteenth century. Drawing on the writings of nineteenth-century Africans involved in the Confederation and contemporary British sources, the paper will argue that the apparently modern conditions of the 1860s should be seen as new iterations of an old pattern of interaction between Fantes and Europeans. The interactions between the Christian, educated African bourgeoisie and the proto-imperial and racially-minded British officials of the era contained many elements of continuity with the “pre-modern” era, even as the Fante Confederation established one of Africa’s first “modern” political movements and laid the foundation for African nationalism and Pan-Africanism.

Wilson Kwame Yayoh

University of Cape Coast, Ghana

Transformations in Power Structures in Ewedome (Ghana) under Akan Influence, c. 1670-1873

The pre-colonial history of Ewedome (the area occupied by the northern Ewe of Ghana) is largely the history of a number of different small independent political units or chiefdoms. From the eighteenth century, the heterogeneous territory was subjected to transformational forces of all kinds. Notable among these forces was the Akan influence engendered by Akwamus’s suzerainty over Ewedome for some hundred years followed by Asante occupation from 1869 – 1873. This paper argues that the period marked the transition from priest-led political organisation to the institution of an Akan-style chieftaincy system. The effect was more profound in the way in which certain local leaders in Ewedome emerged as important chiefs through the accumulation of power and status. This period therefore saw a transition in the power structures within Ewedome and a reconfiguration of regional politics.

Stacey Sommerdyk

University of the Witwatersrand

The Impact of the Transatlantic Slave Trade on Loango Coast Political Structures, 1732-1866

In her 1987 article, "Family Strategies in Nineteenth-Century Cabinda", Phyllis Martin’s nineteenth century study traced the diminishing power base of the Mangoyo, the key political, religious, and economic authority at Cabinda, in a key West Central African trading port. Three years later, Jan Vansina published *Paths in the Rainforest* in which he examined the impact of Europeans on Central African traditions, including structures of leadership, during the early modern era. He argued that within the Central African context "the wellsprings of the equatorial tradition" provided the tools to adapt to the challenges of establishing Atlantic trading networks. Using new evidence from the Dutch Middleburg Commercial Company, this paper will explore the challenges the expansion of this trade brought to the political structures of the polities of Loango, Ngoyo and Kakongo. First, it will outline structures of power in the eighteenth century; second, it will trace the distribution of new wealth acquired primarily through slave trade; and finally, it will link a redistribution of wealth with modifications made to these political systems into the late nineteenth century. In doing so, it will use Vansina’s framework of adaptable tradition to theorize how these changes were negotiated.

Joel Quirk

University of the Witwatersrand

Darshan Vigneswaran, University of Amsterdam (non-presenting author)

Mobility Makes States: Territory, Authority and Migration in Africa

We are living in an era of increasing African mobility. Spurred on by steady economic growth in many parts of Africa and global revolutions in transport and communications, migrants of African origin have increasingly spread across the continent and the world. While long-distance migration has attracted the most attention, it has actually been outpaced by increases in shorter and circular patterns of mobility. Moreover, human mobility now takes place within the context of an increasingly diverse range of conditions and capabilities. Toward one end of a broad spectrum we find large numbers of refugees, internally displaced persons, and 'survival migrants'. These groups move for reasons that are largely beyond their control and often end up being 'warehoused' in camps, temporary protection zones and detention centres. At the other end, we find transnational economic elites, international tourists and workers in the aid and development industries, who are able to both swiftly and routinely parachute in and chopper out of the continent's most remote areas. Mobility has long been the historical norm, rather than the exception, yet theories of authority and state formation have too often started with the misleading image of a static, sedentary and homogenous population over whom power is exercised. In this paper, we begin to develop an alternative perspective that focuses upon the central role of mobility in shaping the way states in Africa are constituted as political and legal entities and also function at an everyday level. Our central argument – that mobility makes states – is not simply concerned with the ways in which states seek to control mobility, it also extends to the role of mobility in (re)shaping state activities and institutions. Three overlapping themes are identified here: prevention, promotion and portability. These three facets are central to our conception of the relationship between the state and mobility, with prevention and promotion describing different – yet not necessarily separate – state orientations towards mobility, while portability instead refers to the spatial and movable dimensions of the state itself.

16.00-16.30 - Tea and Coffee

16.30 – 18.30 PLENARY: Producing Knowledge about Africa: Possibilities and Challenges of International Co-operation

Chair: Dr. Lynne Brydon (University of Birmingham, UK)

Interventions by Professor Malcolm Press (University of Birmingham, UK); Professor Emily Osborn (University of Chicago, USA); Professor Jonathon Glassman (Northwestern University, USA); Professor James Brennan (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA); Professor Dora Edu-Buandoh (University of Cape Coast, Ghana).

Day 2 – Thursday 5th September

9.15 – 11.00 Panel 10 - Thursday 5th September

10. SLAVERY IN THE CITY 1: MEMORIES OF (INTERNAL) SLAVERY AMONG MIGRANTS IN URBAN CONTEXTS

Chair: Lotte Pelckmans (University of Leiden)

Discussant: Joel Quirk (University of the Witwatersrand)

Most studies on legacies of internal slavery in West Africa have focused explicitly on rural and highly marginalized areas. This panel proposes to reflect on the persistence of 'hierarchical relations' between former masters and slaves in urban rather than rural contexts. Also in urban contexts, specific forms of labor, ideologies of slavery and relations of dependency are reproduced among migrants of former slave societies (Tuareg, Fulani, Soninke). How do these continued patterns of hierarchy in cities -even if more symbolical and less constraining- have their impact on the daily life of migrants and citizens in cities both in and outside of the African continent? How does the slave past have an impact on livelihoods in urban contexts: the division of labor, access to land or hosts, spatial organization, kinship alliances, the organization of associational structures, and so on? And secondly, who resists? Which actors protest against such lived memories of slavery in urban contexts, both in Africa and beyond? How to include voices and/or strategies that denounce the heritage of slavery in the form of rumors, individual agency or more collective strategies (of former slave groups or others). Examples could be the way in which migrant associations, social media networks, journalists and radio animators, hip-hop musicians or even mural painters engage in some form of protest or criticism on these legacies in their home communities.

Alioum Idrissou

Université de Yaoundé 1, Cameroun

Urbanité, Migration de Cultures et Mémoire Servile: Regard Analytique du Discours sur l'Esclavage Parmi la Communauté Mafa du Cameroun Septentrional à Yaoundé

Cette étude se focalisera sur la communauté mafa, stigmatisée comme esclaves autrefois et dont certains de ses membres résident à Yaoundé, capitale politique du Cameroun, ville située à plus d'un millier de kilomètres du terroir originel de ses populations au Cameroun septentrional et où les pesanteurs sociologiques sont de nature conservatrice. Par honte et tabou culturel, les anciens esclaves ou descendants d'esclaves n'aiment guère parler pour relater au public cette triste séquence de leur vie. Aussi, la ville de Yaoundé apparaît-elle comme un lieu où les identités façonnées antérieurement se diluent et se reçoivent au contact d'autres cultures et systèmes de pensées. Partant de l'idée que l'école occidentale, le contexte urbain, la situation socioprofessionnelle constituent des éléments de détribalisation et de résilience, il s'agira de saisir d'une part, l'épaisseur de la mémoire servile au sein de la communauté mafa à Yaoundé. D'autre part, appréhender par le biais des trajectoires individuelles et du vécu collectif, les mécanismes mis en place pour la conservation, la transmission et la représentation de cette dernière. Au total, il est question d'analyser la structuration des discours de la communauté Mafa à Yaoundé ainsi que ses différentes attitudes face à un passé servile omniprésent.

Elhadji Cheikou Balde

Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Senegal

L'association Peeral Fajjiri (Fuuta Tooro-Sénégal): La Mémoire de l'Esclavage et la Revendication d'une Identité Servile

A travers ce thème, nous voulons examiner la revendication de l'identité servile ou l'incarnation du maccukagu, au Fouta Toro, portée au sein de la Fédération Peeral Fajjiri. C'est une association qui regroupe tous les descendants d'esclaves du Fouta Toro. Il s'agit d'analyser les manifestations de l'héritage de l'esclavage à travers les objectifs de la Fédération pour mieux saisir les enjeux autour de la mémoire. En effet, la mémoire de l'esclavage telle qu'elle est élaborée et intériorisée dans les consciences collectives joue un rôle déterminant dans la pérennisation de l'idéologie de l'esclavage dans la société foutanké. De ce fait, nous mettrons l'accent sur les enjeux sociopolitiques de l'héritage

de l'esclavage dont la récupération a facilité l'intégration et l'affirmation des descendants d'esclaves dans l'espace public. Dans cette perspective, nous allons identifier et présenter les éléments caractéristiques de cet héritage dans la vie quotidienne et dans les rapports entre les descendants d'esclaves (maccube) et leurs anciens maîtres. L'objectif est d'analyser la récupération de l'héritage de l'esclavage et le discours qui sous-tend l'incarnation de l'identité servile, pour saisir les différentes stratégies mis en place par les descendants d'esclaves pour résister à la discrimination et aux préjugés dont ils sont victimes.

Marie-Pierre Balarin

Unité de recherches "Migrations et société"

The Legacy of Slavery in Kenya: Case of Frere Town, Mombasa

In Kenya, legacies of slavery have now lost much of their emotional and mobilizing power and groups of descendants of slaves are more able to talk about the history of their forefathers and their own feelings, knowing that these groups are not uniform, depending on the context of their installation on the East-African coast. Frere-Town is a mission station created at the end of the 19th century by the Church Missionary Society in Mombasa suburb. It was set up to primarily host slaves that had been repatriated by the British, as well as locals and maroons who ran away from plantations. All along the 20th century, slaves descendants managed to intermingle through marriage and formed unique families with even more unique backgrounds that subsist to date. Thus a new society comprised of a mix of people was born at Frere-Town and formed a cosmopolitan community with a unique culture and a whole new class of people. Nowadays, they are a close-knit family that pride themselves in their sense of brotherhood. However they recount how it is difficult for them to obtain identification and social status in contemporary Kenya, and generally face a lot of discrimination based on their origin. In taking the example of freed slaves and their descendants in Frere-Town, the objective of this paper is to present a critical analysis of the reminiscences of old relations of domination with their consequences in terms of access to resources, of political struggles and instrumentalisation of ethnic and racial identities.

9.15 -11.00 – Panel 11 - Thursday 5th September

11. RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTERS

Chair: Olukoya Ogen (Osun State University, Nigeria, and University of Birmingham, UK)

Sakariyau Alabi Aliyu

Department of History, Bayero University, Kano

One Encounter, Three Streams: Ulama Responses to the Challenge of Western Education in Colonial Ilorin

Scholars have examined Muslim societies' resistance to western education as an extension of the colonial encounter. However this has largely been treated as negative, less as critical. In the process of the encounter of the ulama of Ilorin with colonial education system, three main schools of thought emerged. Namely: Adabiyah, Zumratul Muminina and Markaziyya. This paper examines how the three schools responded and engaged with western education in their respective ways. This paper argues that the responses of two of the three schools were not essentially negative but rather the responses have been critical. Despite the relegation of the Muslim system to the background, the ulama accepted and appropriated aspects of the western system for their system and even contributed to the development of western education. Pax Britannica opened up opportunities for the ulama to travel, learn, engage in missionary endeavors and meet the world. This engendered innovations in rising to the challenge of western education. This paper contends that the appropriation of aspects of western education by the ulama indicated they all have one aim; the protection of the Muslim education system from obliteration by the powerful western system, only their approaches to this differs.

Karen Jenny Lauterbach
University of Copenhagen

Performing and Portraying Pastorship: A Study of Textual Representations of Ghanaian Pastors

This paper offers an analysis of the ways Ghanaian Pentecostal pastors produce, perform and represent themselves through texts. These texts consist of written books, biographies and auto-biographies, as well as writings on social media. Producing and publishing text is an important element of how pastors establish themselves publically. It is a way to show that one possesses knowledge. One example of this is how pastors use facebook to provide comments, thoughts or proverb-like advices on life and religious matters. I argue that this can be seen as new form and platform for building up status that draws on earlier traditions of using literacy and the production of texts and knowledge as a way to achieve social status and recognition (cf. Stephanie Newell's work on Ghanaian popular fiction and 'public display of 'proverbial' quotations'). This also builds on an understanding that literacy, knowledge and status are interweaved and that the production of text is a constitutive part of social being and social relations. Consequently, text also has an aspect of performance to it. It is a way of portraying oneself as an important and big person, or a way for others to portray a pastor and hence establish relations with the person.

Isiaka Raifu

Department of History and International Studies Osun State University, Ikire Campus, Nigeria

Islam and Tradition at War: Interrogating Ajagbemokeferi and Oloolu Masquerade Crisis in Ibadan, Nigeria 1970 –76

Sheik Abdul Azeez popularly called Ajagbemokeferi was a notable modern Islamic cleric and preacher who settled in Ibadan from Esa-Odo in Ijeshaland of Southwest Nigeria. On the other hand, Oloolu masquerade is one of the most important masquerades responsible for the ritual cleansing and spiritual protection of Ibadan. Oloolu is also a revered masquerade that women are forbidden to see in Ibadan. Before the advent of Islam in Ibadan, egungun (masquerade) such as Oloolu has been part of the cultural life and practices of the people. However the coming of Islam pitched Islam against traditional practice in a stiff and bitter opposition. It was such opposition that characterised the crisis between Ajagbemokeferi and Oloolu from 1970 to 1976 that is better described as a 'war' between Islam and tradition in Ibadan. This paper examines the crisis between the Islamic preacher and the Oloolu masquerade, which started at the level of open air preaching against the masquerade and condemning traditional practices until it became violent. This study will be done through ethnographic study based on current literature on the clash of tradition and religion.

Attahiru Ahmad Sifawa

Sokoto State University, Nigeria

The Significance of Abdullahi Fodiyo and Mustapha Goni's Correspondence on Co-education in the Study of Women Education in Northern Nigeria

There are quite a number of scholarly works on the factors responsible for the slow progress of women education in northern Nigeria. Most of these studies however reduced these factors to: primitivism, conservatism, early marriages, gender stereotypes and other socio-cultural issues. Scholars who recognize religion as a factor however, mostly ended in either erroneous conclusions or over simplification of the whole issue; ignorance of the true teachings of Islam on women education, or misinterpretation of Islamic teachings. Using clash of civilization theory, this paper historically examines how co-education as a factor hinders the development of women education in northern Nigeria, beginning from the era of the Sokoto caliphate, down through the colonial and post-colonial periods. The famous debate on the position of co-education system in Islam, between a Bornuan scholar, Mustapha Goni, and Sheikh Usman bn Fodiyo, in which the later instructed his brother and Lieutenant, Sheikh Abdullahi Fodiyo to respond on their behalf, is considered as a turning point. The paper finally highlights how the leadership of the Sokoto Caliphate responded to such challenges and how if some of their strategies are adopted they could go a long way in addressing the problem of gender disparity in education in the 21st Century Northern Nigeria.

9.15 -11.00 – Panel 12 - Thursday 5th September

12. YORUBA LOCAL HISTORIES

Chair: Insa Nolte (University of Birmingham)

Olukoya Ogen

Osun State University and University of Birmingham

The 'Real History' of Ikale: Making sense of Benin and Yoruba Influences in a Cultural Borderland

Reflecting the historical importance of Benin in the Ikale kingdoms, local leaders, colonial officers and historians have described Ikale as part of Benin throughout the colonial period and thereafter. What notions of belonging and identity were reflected in this claim? And what is at stake in the more recent counter-assertion that Ikale should be considered a Yoruba area which was only dominated by Benin?

Karin Barber

University of Birmingham

The Present in the Past and Future: Newspaper History-writing of the 1920s

The six Yoruba newspapers of 1920s Ibadan and Lagos were deeply invested in historiography. Not only did most of them run serials (often repeated) on topics such as the warleaders of the nineteenth century or the ins and outs of negotiations with the British; they also ran editorials and commentaries evaluating recent social change attributed to “civilization”, and printed old poems and songs which they feared would otherwise be lost. What I draw attention to in this paper is a double perspective on the present. On the one hand, the past, especially in Lagos, is not over, but is so intimately tied into contemporary conflicts that newspaper writers could call on long-dead figures to rise up and engage in the fray. In this sense the past is seen as being alive, or at least having the potential to be re-awakened into life: “the present in the past”. On the other hand, writers were acutely conscious and proud of the fact that by documenting events of the present – in print, and with dates – they were providing material for future historians: “the present in the future”. How and why the present is represented is key to understanding how both past and future are imagined in these texts.

Insa Nolte

University of Birmingham

The Dangers of Writing Ijebu History

This paper explores the reflections and comments on the dangers of writing history by non academic historians from the former Ijebu kingdom. In a society where historical knowledge is strongly segmented, historians need to be constantly aware that separate groups lay claim to different historical facts. But beyond its social and political implications, historical knowledge is contained in textual forms and practices that had strong spiritual implications, and is frequently understood to bring the actions of those long dead to bear on the present. Based on the comments and reflections of authors of local town/ regional histories, this paper examines the ways in which this understanding affected the stated methodologies, authority and intentions of Ijebu historians.

9.15 -11.00 – Panel 13 - Thursday 5th September

13. ECONOMIC HISTORY AND TRADE

Chair: Robin Law (University of Stirling)

Marisa Candotti

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

Cloth, Credit and Muslim Networks: Changing Patterns of Trade Across the Sahara and the Textile-led Market Economies of the Sokoto Caliphate

This paper suggests that changes in local political and commercial structures largely account for the Sokoto Caliphate's displacement of Borno as centre of textile production as well as entrepôt of trans-Saharan trade in Central Sudan. The jihad that took place in 1804 had major repercussion on pattern of trade growth and consolidation of decentralised political authority in the Sokoto Caliphate. Decentralised control produced an adaptively efficient set of institutions, borrowed from Islam and the commercial culture of North Africa, that promoted local trade and commercial infrastructure, attracting merchants from the Sahara. This proved more effective than the mechanism adopted in

Borno, where a centralised political authority controlled and monopolise trans-Saharan trade. An efficient Caliphate's juridical system, enforcing commercial and credit arrangements, provided also a safety for mobility of capital and practices of delegation of credit that lowered transaction costs and benefited investment in the savannah from North African traders. This not only reinforced the interaction between long-distance trade and the economies of the Sub-Saharan savannah, but also permitted imports of low cost goods, including cotton cloths, by Saharan caravans as well as the export of Sudanese textile over most of West Africa.

Klas Ronnback

Goteborg University, Sweden

Climate, Conflicts and the Volatility of Prices on Pre-colonial West African Commodity Markets

There has been a large discussion on to what extent there existed a market economy in pre-colonial Sub-Saharan African societies. Karl Polanyi famously argued that trade on pre-colonial African markets to a large extent was regulated by local rulers, and that it therefore existed no real market economy in large parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. Polanyi's thesis has since received much criticism by other scholars. It has for example been shown that there was considerable price inflation in the trade in staple goods in the region. In this paper, I want to contribute to this debate, by analyzing the volatility of prices on West African commodity markets in the 18th century. The paper presents new quantitative series of data on the price of a set of staple goods. In the paper, I will also try to test to what extent the price fluctuations can be explained by climate fluctuations, using historical climate data, or by an impact from disruptions and conflicts – not the least conflicts following in the wake the slave trade, using data from the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database.

Ahmad Attahiru Sifawa

Sokoto State University, Nigeria

The Nature of Pre-colonial Economy of Hausaland and Borno: Subsistence Economy Thesis Revisited

This paper critically examines Hopkins, Olaniyan and Tanko's Subsistence economy thesis with particular reference to Pre-colonial Hausaland and Borno. The three scholars have individually applied the concept of subsistence economy to explain the nature of pre-colonial economy of Hausaland and Borno. It is the argument of this paper that the concept of subsistence economy is misleading and hypothetical and not in any way relevant to explain the nature of the pre-colonial economy of the area under review. Both in agriculture and in the industrial sector of the economy, surplus was deliberately generated and exchanged with other commodities and services through the intra, and inter-regional trades in which both the Hausa Merchants and Kambarin Bare-Bari played an active role. It has equally been demonstrated that throughout the first decade of the British administration in Northern Nigeria, surplus gain was particularly among the export commodities from the region. Surprisingly, even Hopkins who is the most professional of the three scholars fall into ideological captivity, by uncritically employing the concept in his conclusion, in utter contradiction of the substantial part of his thesis.

11.00-11.30: Tea and Coffee

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 14 - Thursday 5th September

14. SLAVERY IN THE CITY, 2: MEMORIES OF (INTERNAL) SLAVERY AMONG MIGRANTS IN URBAN CONTEXTS

Chair: Lotte Pelckmans (University of Leiden)

Discussant: Joel Quirk (University of the Witwatersrand)

Ann McDougall

University of Alberta, Canada

Hidden in Plain Sight: Hratin in Nouakchott's 'Clotures'

The thousands of hratin who have migrated to the Mauritanian capital city of Nouakchott and live in non-legal spaces called 'clotures'. The hratin interviewed in Nouakchott's urban environment without exception traced relations of slavery to a 'master's family' at some point in time, in some rural situation. They live in full view of everyone, often having established relations with bidan ('white' noble) neighbours to obtain water and even electricity, sometimes providing 'voluntary' labour in

their households in exchange for 'neighbourly' kindness (food, assistance with transport etc.). They have eked out autonomous 'niches' in urban employment that nevertheless, often mirror former dependent relations. In spite of their numbers, they are for all intents and purposes 'invisible' to those going about their daily life in Nouakchott. The 'clotures' are often partially-walled-in spaces between villas in well-to-do quartiers like Teghrava Zeina, housing several. Life histories collected among a number of these residents (mostly women) are revealing of the evolving nature of being 'ex-slave' in contemporary Nouakchott. Among the issues raised are marriage stability, relations with former 'masters' (and their families), occupational options, access to land (informally, formally) and education for children. In brief: how different, in socio-economic terms, are the lives of hratin in the city today from those lived by their parents in more rural areas?

Marie Rodet

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

Kayes' Histories of Slavery: Telescoping of Memories, Telescoping of Meanings

The history of Kayes and the surrounding villages, which nowadays form the rural council of Liberté-Dembaya, are closely linked with the history of slave emancipation in the region: the villages of Liberté-Dembaya and the district of Kayes-Liberté in Kayes were all founded by former slaves who escaped slavery and the villages of their former masters in the first twenty years of the twentieth century to build independent communities. Most of these villages are nowadays Bambara-speaking communities in a region of predominantly Maninka and Soninke speakers. With highly significant names such as Kayes-Liberté, Liberté-Dembaya or Diambouroubougou, they constitute the memoryscapes of this history. Memories of emancipation are however little remembered in Kayes or have often been obscured by other processes of memorialization such as colonization. My paper explores the complex processes of telescoping of memories and meanings around the history of slavery in Kayes and how descendants of slaves in Kayes have used this to overcome the legacies of slavery.

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 15 - Thursday 5th September

15. AFRICAN TRADERS AND THEIR MONEY, 1800-PRESENT

Chair: Max Bolt (University of Birmingham)

Sophie Mew

Project Curator, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum

Monetary Transitions: A Case Study of Sierra Leone in the Nineteenth Century

This paper investigates the multiple currency forms and why they didn't work in the coastal regions of Sierra Leone during the proto-colonial period of the nineteenth century. The region has been selected as a case study because it provides very early examples of critical moments in West African monetary history that contribute to wider monetary studies on the British Empire in Africa. The arrival of the first wave of European settlers in 1787 offers a useful starting point for investigating the processes of monetisation in West Africa as it enables us to examine attempts to introduce a local coinage currency system for the community. A decade later, records of instructions for Sierra Leone Company traders on how to carry out exchanges with indigenous populations provide an early flow of official information on the multiplicity of currencies that were in use further eastwards along the coast. The complex systems hint at the ensuing 'struggles' that Colonial officials would encounter in negotiating indigenous currencies with foreign coin currencies. The paper will examine the monetary changes in Sierra Leone in the nineteenth century according to the shifting contexts of international trade and commerce in the region under the establishment of the first British colony in sub-Saharan Africa (est. 1808).

Fiona Sheals

British Museum Volunteer

Hanging in the Balance: Akan Goldweights and the Performance of Self-worth

There are currently 3500 abstract and figurative brass goldweights from West Africa in the British Museum collection, which was assembled between 1874-2003. Over the past 30 years scholarly attention has focussed primarily on identifying a unifying weight- system and establishing a definitive chronology for this object-type (Garrard, 1980). Iconographic and stylistic analyses, conducted by

McLeod (1976, 1978, 1981) have also demonstrated that the iconography of goldweights conforms with a cultural framework that under-pins the cultural world-view of the Akan-speaking communities of the Gold Coast (now modern-day Ghana) during the pre-colonial (before 1900) and colonial periods (1900-1957). As a result of re-assessing this collection, preparatory to publishing a forthcoming online catalogue, new evidence, concerning the functions and cultural beliefs surrounding goldweights has come to light. In this paper I will discuss how goldweights have a complex ethical and spiritual dimension that connects acts of economic transaction with other types of exchange that seek to engender relationships with powerful entities such as spirits and ancestors. When viewed in relation to this wider transactional context, the physical act of weighing gold-dust is revealed to be a moral performance too, one that requires you to put your own worth in the balance.

Karin Pallaver

University of Bologna

Coins, Notes and Commodity Currencies in Kenya and Uganda (1900-1930)

When the British colonized East Africa, they introduced the same monetary system in Uganda and the East Africa Protectorate, with only some minor local variations. In the first years of colonial rule the acceptance and circulation of colonial money was no doubt sluggish, but since the first decade of the 20th century, following the expansion of a colonial economy and the increasing numbers of Africans in paid employment, coins and notes started gradually to circulate. The intention of the colonial power to create a homogenous colonial space with a single, government-issued currency was however challenged by the continuous circulation of commodity currencies. At the same time, a recurring problem was that certain denominations circulated more freely than others and were preferred by labourers and traders. This paper looks at the understudied monetary history of British East Africa to explore the ways in which trade patterns and practices, as well as particular ways of reckoning, shaped the use and circulation of various forms of money. Looking closely at how colonial money circulated along commodity currencies it sheds light on why certain denominations were not accepted by traders and labourers. The analysis of these aspects provides a richer and more complex picture of the colonial period in terms of its money and the values attributed to it.

Catherine Eagleton

Curator of modern money, coins, etc. Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum

Ideas of Value: Coins, Cowries and Manillas in Nigeria (1900-1925)

The value of coins is often taken for granted as being face value, but that value is often fragile, and subject to negotiation and fluctuation. Scholars including Jane Guyer have looked at asymmetries in value and in transactions, exploring the ways in which everyday practices of counting and accounting work at the interface between currencies, or during periods of transition. Nigeria is one of the countries in Africa whose monetary history has received significant attention, particularly by scholars looking at the pre-colonial currencies used there, and the persistence of pre-colonial monetary practices and institutions during and after colonial rule. This paper adopts a different approach, by taking as its starting point the coins introduced by the colonial authorities, and at the ways in which they circulated (or didn't). Coins might be counted and valued in ways that had much in common with pre-colonial currencies, while others were rejected outright, were accepted only at a discount, or were used in ways that had not been intended by the authorities issuing the coinage. Looking at these cases in detail gives a new understanding of the complex process of the introduction of coins into the currency systems of Nigeria, and the persistence of monetary practices despite the change of form and material of the currency objects in use.

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 16 - Thursday 5th September

16. CONTESTED TERRITORIES AND FRAGMENTED POLITICAL IDENTITIES, 1

Chair: Roy May (Coventry University)

Christi Kruger

WISER, Wits

Media and Migration: South African Media's Construction of Farming in Congo-Brazzaville

The 2009-2011 negotiations between the governments of South Africa and Congo-Brazzaville, and the migration of a group of twenty four South Africans in order to establish commercial farming in Congo-Brazzaville attracted a great deal of media attention. Media coverage by South African newspapers, magazines, actuality programmes on both radio and television evoked images of fierce white farmers venturing into a dark, wild Africa and widely drew on comparisons between the migration to Congo-Brazzaville and the Great Trek of 1936, emphasising the importance of similarities between these two migrations and creating in the audiences' imagination the possibility that the migration to Congo-Brazzaville could well take its place next to the mythical Great Trek as a momentous occasion in white African history. Empirically the similarities between these two migrations are far and between. The multiple reports comparing the Great Trek with the move to Congo-Brazzaville, begs a further investigation as to why the former seems to evoke such strong images that resonates with the latter. This paper argues that comparisons between these two migrations suggests a failure of a post colonial imagination and points towards the persistence of colonial ideas that postulate European superiority, notions of African development as dependent on white intervention, and a lingering discourse of civilisation being seen as limited to the global north.

Jonathon Glassman

Northwestern University

Creole Identity and the Search for Nativist Authenticity in Twentieth-century Zanzibar: The Limits of Cosmopolitanism

The founders of the Zanzibar National Party can be understood as creole nationalists, who imagined their political authority as stemming from membership in a transnational Arab elite. But in the mid-twentieth century, prompted by the rising hegemony of territorial nationalism and by subaltern challenges informed by pan-Africanism, they crafted a new historical narrative that depicted their movement as having originated with indigenous villagers. Party leaders then related this narrative to Western scholars, whose publications helped reproduce the myth throughout the rest of the century. This paper traces the genesis of this masquerade and asks what it implies about the nature of the creole metaphor and its supposed link to discourses of cosmopolitan hybridity. The conventional contrast between créolité and nativist essentialism is shown to be illusory.

Nathaniel Mathews

Northwestern University

The Meanings of Colonialism and the 'Arab' Colonization of Eastern Congo, 1840-1900

Since the publication of Fred Cooper's *Colonialism in Question*, Africanist historians have been forced to rethink the binarism of colonialism and the meaning of empire in the context of African history. This binary is nowhere more evident than in the literature on the Congo, where the exploitation of King Leopold's personal fiefdom has become a symbol for thinking about European colonialism writ large. But the exploitation of the region's abundant natural resources preceeded The Scramble for Africa and was initiated by "Arabs", many of them from the island of Zanzibar. By the mid-nineteenth century they had already established towns and settlements in Eastern Congo in a region known as Manyema. Their colonization of this region was shaped by particular attitudes toward the region's inhabitants, and their activities played an important role in shaping the region into the place that later European explorers like Stanley and Livingstone would describe. The changes these coastal Muslims initiated also shaped how local people gauged political possibilities and pursued their ambitions. This paper explores the material realities of the coastal colonization project in Eastern Congo through examination of environmental changes, the formation of new repertoires of power by the coastal traders, and the intensification of violent conflict, which culminated in a thrust to make the region into a commercial province of the Sultan of Zanzibar's Indian Ocean empire. The half century before

European colonization in Manyema was an important period for understanding the later tragic and brutal dimensions of European exploitation, and it highlights the importance of rethinking the meaning of colonialism, colonization and imperialism in African history.

Zoe Groves

WISER, University of Witswatersrand

Struggles for Citizenship: Malawians in Post-independent Zimbabwe

In 2001, the Zimbabwean government passed a new Citizenship Act disenfranchising people of foreign parentage. This act affected people of Malawian, Mozambican and Zambian descent, many of whom were born in (Southern) Rhodesia to parents who came to the country as colonial-era migrant labourers. In 2003 an amendment bill was passed exempting those with parents born in a SADC country from the act's new provisions, providing they renounced their claims to citizenship elsewhere. Despite the amendment, the status of 'Malawians' in Zimbabwe remains ambiguous. Many still carry the status of 'alien' on their identity cards. Drawing from newspapers, human rights reports, and interviews conducted in 2008 and 2012, this paper explores Malawian experiences of inclusion and exclusion in post-independence Zimbabwe. Close attention is given to urban residents affected by the 2005 slum clearances ('Operation Murambatsvina'), and continuities with historical trends are noted. This paper considers several issues: how have 'Malawians' articulated their belonging to the Zimbabwean nation throughout these changes, and how they have responded to accusations of foreignness? Furthermore, what can be learnt from this example in terms of struggles for citizenship in contemporary southern Africa?

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 17 - Thursday 5th September

17. RELIGIOUS INTERACTION AND COEXISTENCE IN YORUBALAND

Chair: Insa Nolte (University of Birmingham)

Discussant: John D.Y. Peel (School of Oriental and African Studies)

This panel explores how Yoruba Christians, Muslims and traditionalists interact and coexist with those of other religions. Southwest Nigeria has established Muslim and Christian communities as well as a traditional religious culture which continues to be of international interest. But unlike in other parts of the country, the area has not experienced major religious conflict even though the sometimes incompatible demands of different religions are often part of local debates or struggles. While there are significant differences in the everyday practices in communities of different location and size, many Yoruba individuals interact regularly with those of different religions. By exploring different case studies from Southwest Nigeria, this panel investigates some of the ways in which Yoruba religious groups and individuals negotiate the space between their own and other religious identities in different areas of everyday life.

Siyon Oyeweso

Osun State University

Public Space and Religious Coexistence in Ede

This paper will discuss the roles of (traditional) Sango practice, Islam and Christianity in the now predominantly Muslim Yoruba town of Ede during the 19th and 20th century. Focusing on historical conflicts between and within religious groups as well as their resolution, the paper will argue that conflict between religious groups often has a strong spatial dimension. Similarly, peaceful coexistence tends to reflect an agreement over the appropriate locations for different religious practices.

Rebecca Jones and Insa Nolte

University of Birmingham

Managing Religious Difference in Family and Social Lives

This paper is based on field work in the Yoruba town of Ede, and it draws on a comprehensive survey to describe the incidence of religiously mixed marriages and nuclear families as well as extended families. Based on detailed interviews and field notes it explores some of the areas in which relationships between relatives of different religions are negotiated. The paper also investigates forms of collaboration and friendship between members of different religions, as well as more

general forms of sociality, in order to explore how people conceptualise (religious) difference and sameness.

Balogun Adeyemi

Osun State University

Agents of Reform or 'Confusion'? Mainstream Muslim views on the Tablighi Jama'at (TJ)

This study examines the relationship between the Tablighi Jama'at (TJ) and the mainstream Muslim community of a northern Yoruba town. While many Muslims reject the TJ's claim to represent a more 'authentic' Islam than others, they nonetheless appreciate aspects of Tablighi practice, such as the commitment to da'wah (inviting others to Islam). Good relationships with other Muslim groups are usually based on shared activities or mosque spaces. Negative relationships often involve personal rivalries, but they also reflect irritations about the TJ's refusal to accept some practices that are important in everyday life, such as prostrating or kneeling when greeting a senior person.

Saheed Amusa

Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife

A Critical Assessment of Religious Tolerance in Three Muslim-dominated Compounds in Ede

This paper is focused on the three most famous Muslim-dominated compounds in the Yoruba town of Ede, which are Imole, Daodu and Talafia Imam Compounds. The paper discovers that although these compounds are dominated by Muslims, there are a couple of Christians and adherents of Yoruba traditional religions inhabiting the compounds today. It is also found that while most of the Christians are not indigenes of the compounds or the town, there are a handful of non-Muslims among the indigenes of the compounds. A major finding of the paper is that the inhabitants of these compounds have been living in peace and mutual understanding in spite of their different religious inclinations. One of the major factors responsible for this peaceful co-existence has been that the non-Muslims accept the Muslim restrictions on how they should practice their faiths. In this way, the Muslim identity of the compounds is unchallenged.

13.15-14.15 Lunch

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 18 - Thursday 5th September

18. GOLD COAST HISTORIES: ENGAGING RAY KEA'S STUDIES OF STATE, SOCIETY, AND SLAVERY IN WEST AFRICA AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

Chair/Discussant: Thomas McCaskie (University of Birmingham), commentary titled 'Thoughts on trying to do things with Gold Coast history'.

In his career spanning more than four decades, Ray Kea has had a profound influence on West Africanist historiography through his rigorous analysis of sources and careful attention to the deep structures of Gold Coast societies. Kea has explored a wide range of African institutions and actors - from households and slaves to state taxation systems to banditry - in the making of local and wider economic, social, and cultural dimensions of the Atlantic complex. This panel commemorates his contributions on the occasion of his retirement from teaching and the recent publication of his two-volume book, *A Cultural and Social History of Ghana from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century: The Gold Coast in the Age of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* (Edwin Mellen Press, 2012). These papers take up crucial themes in Kea's studies, including the social dynamics of power in African-European encounters, new patterns of settlement and mobility amidst economic instability and violence, and the treatment of sources produced by "outsiders" for traces of subaltern African actors. These papers reveal the durability and imagination of Kea's work as it relates to both the deep history of early modern West Africa and broader world historical frameworks.

Pierluigi Valsecchi

University of Pavia

The Fall of Kaku Aka. Social and Political Change in Mid-nineteenth Century Western Gold Coast

The paper focuses on the events surrounding and following the 1848 British expedition against king Kaku Aka of Appolonia, in order to articulate a discussion of social change in the western Gold Coast during the central decades of the nineteenth century. Although formal hierarchies of status and

power of the previous century were still in place, sources convey a strong impression of growing mobility within the social landscape and substantial changes in the condition of the bonded sections of the population. The end of the Transatlantic slave trade, and new commercial trends are just some of the developments which concurred to speed up the process. There appears to be a growing success among lower-classes and marginal groups in asserting forms of autonomy from the power of the military/commercial elite. In the eighteenth century the ruler's households and attached groups constituted a massive percentage of the total population of the main towns. During the nineteenth century the population was less concentrated in and around the chiefly residences, communities formed by slaves and dependants tended to spread on the territory and move to unsettled forest areas, thus reducing the direct hold and extraction capacity of rulers and big-men. A fundamental development is the substantial growth in the number of independent households, together with the increase in social relevance of matrilineages different from the ruling ones. These household and matrilineages were eager to increase their importance in communities by acquiring new members. This favoured integration and upward mobility for slaves, pawns, refugees, immigrants, women and generally dependants. The life and career of Kaku Aka provides excellent examples of the tentative responses articulated by the ruling elite to these growing challenges. Kaku Aka's deposition and captivity resulted in the end of Appolonia's exceptionally strong monarchical power and its replacement with a looser form of oligarchy. It was the political seal to a dramatic wave of social change in the western Gold Coast.

Larry Yarak

Texas A&M University

Listening for the Subaltern in Dutch Judicial Records of Elmina: The Arrest, Trial, and Exile of the Elmina King Ebu, 1824-28

Ray Kea's many path-breaking and heuristic contributions to the study of Gold Coast history are based in substantial part on careful scrutiny of the large body of documents generated by Europeans who traded along the coast. Often these are our only sources concerning persons and/or events absent from local memory. Africanist historians have long discussed the methodologies involved in extracting reliable data from sources produced by such outsiders. This paper addresses the problems and pitfalls involved in assessing the documentary record of a series of events that took place in the Central Gold Coast in the midst of war in the 1820s. In 1824 while the town of Elmina was under siege by its Fante and Wasa neighbors, two men from Fante Komenda were murdered in Elmina, allegedly on the orders of the Elmina king (Edenahen) Ebu. Fante and British authorities at Cape Coast Castle demanded the arrest and trial of the king. Dutch authorities in Elmina Castle complied reluctantly and with difficulty, but delayed trial until a Dutch warship arrived at Elmina to enhance security. Testimony from a variety of witnesses and from the king himself were taken by the acting Dutch prosecutor. In the end the Edenahen was pronounced guilty. Rather than assess the death penalty, the court exiled the king to the Dutch West Indies. What do these events tell us about the nature of royal power at Elmina and the relationship of the Dutch to Elmina's ruling class? This paper contributes to the evolving scholarship, much of it pioneered by Ray Kea, on the nature of overlapping regimes of law, power and authority in the nineteenth century Atlantic world.

Sandra Greene

Cornell University, USA

Tamakloe: From Slave Master to Anti-slavery Advocate

Slavery in Africa experienced a "slow death" after its abolition by colonial powers. This was the case, in part, because colonial officials were reluctant to disrupt the local order in Africa that they had come to depend upon (through indirect rule/ association) to maintain peace and economic productivity. Many Africans, themselves, however, were also quite reluctant to completely discard the social hierarchies they had erected and held in place for many years to distinguish the free-born from the enslaved and their descendants. Yet, there were a few Africans who did indeed embrace an ideology of equality, even though its roots lay outside Africa in Europe. Lamin Sanneh has identified this group of African anti-slavery advocates as those who were heavily exposed to the West: African-Americans who emigrated to Liberia and the re-captives of Sierra Leone, people like Samuel Adjayi Crowther, who after receiving a western education returned to Nigeria to challenge the institution of slavery. This paper undermines the notion that this set of elites, those most often referred to as Euro-Africans because of their melding of African and European cultures and beliefs systems, were

the only ones who embraced an anti-slavery ideology. Some local indigenous elites did so as well. By examining the life of Anlo-Ewe chief Nyaho Tamakloe, I probe the life experiences of someone who was extremely influential in his community as a military leader, a politician and a person of wealth (measured in large part by the number of slaves he owned). Tamakloe, however, ultimately came to reject slavery long before he embraced the Christian faith and its focus on equality before God. In exploring this one life, I discuss the circumstances that led he and a few others who were at the very center of their communities to not only embrace an anti-slavery ideology, but also challenge the very social hierarchies that had long been an integral part of their societies.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 19 - Thursday 5th September

19. AFRICAN TRADERS AND THEIR MONEY, EARLY XX C-PRESENT

Chair: Max Bolt (University of Birmingham)

Leigh Gardner

London School of Economics

Trade and Monetization in British West Africa, 1912-70: Evidence from Seasonal Cycles

The extent to which colonial interventions altered African monetary systems remains a matter for debate. On the one hand, the introduction of colonial currencies saw the gradual decline of pre-colonial currencies such as cowries and manilas. On the other, the persistence of colonial currencies suggests that a pre-colonial system of multiple currencies was maintained for some time after the beginning of colonial rule. This paper uses new data on seasonal fluctuations in the circulation of currencies in West Africa to argue that they were largely used for the purchase of cash crops and imports. These data show that demand for official currencies was driven by their use as the medium of exchange in international trade, and only to a more limited extent in taxation. Such limited adoption of colonial currencies reflected both the motivations behind their introduction as well as Africans' limited access to financial services.

Deborah James

London School of Economics

'Riding the Camel' or 'Working for Mashonisa'? Credit Apartheid in South Africa

In South Africa, with upward mobility much aspired-to but seldom attained, householders must spend money they have not yet earned. Borrowing both from formal institutions and smaller moneylenders (legal and illegal) positions them uneasily: in order to fulfill social requirements in one register, they acquire intensified obligations in another, often getting into debt (sekôlôtô). Moneylending and money borrowing, owing much to "credit apartheid", involve an uneven mix. Under the older system, especially that of furniture hire-purchase, embeddedness and community connection enabled some flexibility and even temporary escape. Under the newer one, technologies enable creditors to pursue debtors with inexorable swiftness. The sense of resignation and of denial experienced by the client is palpable in both systems: it involves a complex mixture of sentiments, coupling personal gratitude with much-resented enslavement. "Riding the camel" remains a risky experience: but many black South Africans remain vulnerable to the dangers not only of being "kicked" but also of "working for mashonisa (the loan shark)": that semi-feudal enslavement that sekôlôtô implies.

Maxim Bolt

University of Birmingham

Soft Currencies and Regional Traders: Foraging for 'Forex' in Malawi

How are the values of currencies negotiated in people's everyday lives? Where people are mobile and economies deeply interconnected, this means negotiating conversions between different currencies. This paper examines money in a regional economy, through the eyes of small-scale traders in Malawi. Like other Malawians, they are confronted daily by the relationship between their own national currency, which has only local value, and the currencies of international and regional trade – a distinction usually glossed as one between 'soft' and 'hard'. Currency convertibility is an urgent issue, in a country dependent on imports but that in 2011 was suffering an acute foreign exchange shortage. Small businesspeople are on the frontline here, in the sense both that their cross-border trade is directly affected, and that their activities mediate Malawi's economic position in the region. What a focus on them reveals is the unevenness of the regional picture. It points not so much to a

simple distinction between foreign exchange ('forex') and kwacha, as a continual evaluation of different kinds of foreign exchange. Most foreign currencies are scarce resources, but each has its particular uses and places of use. This paper reveals that Malawians live in a complicated patchwork of currencies, requiring continual negotiation as their efforts to secure resources extend across southern and eastern Africa.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 20 - Thursday 5th September

20. POLICING AND INTELLIGENCE IN AFRICA: CURRENT PRACTICE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Chair: Keith Shear (University of Birmingham)

Jim Brennan

University of Illinois

Transformations in the Production and Usages of Political Intelligence in Tanzania, 1930s-1970s

This paper examines the evolution of intelligence – its machinery, personnel, and political objectives - within British colonial Tanganyika and Zanzibar shortly before the Second World War through the decolonization process and tumultuous decade of the 1960s. The paper focuses on how the relationship between the two principal foes of nationalist narratives, the colonial state and African nationalist parties, produced the key contours of both state-based methods of intelligence gathering and analysis on the one hand, and political party-based methods on the other. Far from being resolved by independence, these tensions in fact widened in the early 1960s as Cold War actors increasingly influenced both state and political party approaches to intelligence, creating security crises for the newly-independent states of Zanzibar and Tanganyika in January 1964 that produced a revolution and an army mutiny. This in turn produced a radical reformation of policing and security in Tanzania that nonetheless entrenched colonial-era methods and actors of intelligence, just as the definition of 'state enemies' grew wider in both political and geographical terms. Using a wide range of archival sources and interviews, this paper raises comparative questions regarding how intelligence systems form and persevere across chronological divides of sovereignty, as well as how they are transformed by radical shifts in ideology and international political patronage.

Keith Shear, Insa Nolte, and Kevin Yelvington

University of Birmingham and University of South Florida

From Ethnographic Knowledge to Anthropological Intelligence: An Anthropologist in the Office of Strategic Services in Second World War Africa

The paper explores how Jack Sargent Harris – trained in the disciplinary protocols of question setting, hypothesis testing, social immersion, information gathering, and reporting of professional anthropology – adjusted to the work of secret intelligence in Second World War West and Southern Africa. After discussing Harris's pre-war training at Northwestern and Columbia Universities, and his ethnographic practice in Owyhee, Nevada, and Bende, Nigeria, we document his career as an intelligence officer in Nigeria (1942), Washington (1943) and South Africa (1943-45) as a basis for comparing the modes of relationship-building and data collection that underpinned knowledge production in these apparently similar endeavours. Eschewing the more familiar question of social science's complicity with government policy and imperialism, we seek to establish, by contrasting Harris's activities and reporting in the two fields, whether anthropology and intelligence-gathering are cognate pursuits, either intellectually or practically.

Paul Jackson

University of Birmingham

Reproducing Colonial Patterns of Policing in Contemporary Police Reform in Africa

Police reform in many developing countries has become one of the most common and contentious elements of security sector reform processes in 'weak' or 'fragile' states. Typically viewed as part of broader SSR that emphasises security, including the military, contemporary police reform exhibits a number of specific characteristics that reproduce the colonial concepts of the police as an instrument of control. In the modern era this has come to have two critical aspects: internal control in terms of expanding state legitimacy and power across a territory; and globally in terms of enhancing the capabilities of local forces to deal with non-traditional security threats. With an emphasis on 'professionalisation' and the expansion of the liberal state in to Africa, there is little consideration of

the implications of looking at police forces through the lens of colonial patterns, despite the fact that many of these contemporary reforms reproduce concerns and patterns associated with the maintenance of colonial control and also that some police structures held by contemporary international donors to be 'African models' are in fact colonial institutional structures. This paper examines what this looks like and the implications for policing and power.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 21 - Thursday 5th September

21. CONTESTED TERRITORIES AND FRAGMENTED POLITICAL IDENTITIES, 2

Chair: Heloise Finch-Boyer (National Maritime Museum, London)

Thando Matshanda Namhla
University of Edinburgh

Re-imagining Territorial Statehood in Africa: The Making of an Economic Borderland Zone on the Ethiopia-Somaliland Border

Sovereign statehood in Africa has been largely defined in territorial terms. Notions of maintaining the status quo of African boundaries inherited at independence and the preservation of sovereignty have characterised discourses of statehood since independence. This has been more apparent in the Horn of Africa than anywhere else on the continent, despite the existence of a country that was never formally colonised- Ethiopia. Contested state borders have led to three inter-state wars in the period 1960-2000 in this region, with Ethiopia at the centre of all the conflicts. This territorial contestation has consistently defined intra-regional dynamics. However, since 1991 there have been changes in the conceptualisation of territoriality. This is most notable on the border between Ethiopia and the unrecognised polity of Somaliland. Stability and permeability currently characterise this border and are underlined by unprecedented levels of cross-border trade. Based on field research carried out on this border between 2011 and 2012 this paper argues that a re-imagination of territorial statehood is underway on Ethiopia's eastern border with Somaliland. Although instrumental in nature and driven by Ethiopia's economic needs, these changes initiate an examination of the conditions that allow and encourage less rigid conceptions of state sovereignty.

Ashley Belyea
Harvard Law School

Navigating Obstacles, Staying the Course: South Sudanese Constitutional Review in 2013

Amidst austerity measures, security concerns, and the challenges faced by any new state, constitutional review in South Sudan made slow progress in its first eighteen months. Averting legal crisis, the constitutional amendment passed 25 February 2013 indicates continuing, if not uncomplicated, commitment to constitutional review. The amendment extends the mandate of the National Constitutional Review Commission while also clarifying textual confusion and addressing certain concerns about the accountability of elected officials. These are strong indicators for the growing independence of the national legislative body and suggest the review process will be able to proceed successfully. However, not all issues have been addressed—several of which relate closely to the ability of marginalized members of the population to influence the process. This paper analyzes the significance of the amendment's changes, discusses those aspects of the constitutional review process that remain textually unclear or problematic, and considers the benefit that further clarification might provide. It highlights those factors complicating the process of constitutional review, including poverty, low levels of literacy, and the lack of transportation infrastructure. This paper is based on based on twenty-five interviews conducted in Juba, South Sudan, in January 2013, and the monitoring of subsequent legal and political developments.

Kenneth Omeje
United States International University, Nairobi, Kenya
Political Transition and Peacebuilding in South Sudan

This research is an appraisal of the war to peace transition and peace-building processes in the deeply divided state of South Sudan. Specifically, it explores how the phenomenon of post-conflict peace-building interfaces with the politics of building durable state institutions and a coherent state out of the mosaic of bitterly divided ethnocultural groups comprised in the newly independent state of South Sudan. What are the key paradigms and priorities of peace-building in war-affected South

Sudan? To what extent do these processes converge or diverge with those of state-building in the strategic schemes and agendas of principal stakeholders? How committed are key stakeholders to the goal of sustainable peace/state-building in South Sudan? What challenges and opportunities are applicable to the two phenomena (i.e. peace- and state-building) in both short and long term in the light of South Sudan's underlying political economy of rent? The key research questions will be explored using empirical research generated from the authors' fieldwork in South Sudan.

Emily Lord Fransee

University of Chicago

'That I May Vote Like All Women': Senegalese Female Suffrage and the Creation of the French Union, 1944-1946

Although supporters of French colonialism had long touted its ability to "improve" the social status of African women, female political rights were largely ignored. The decades after the Second World War saw an unprecedented reversal of this trend, resulting in a flurry of debates over the limits of women's political emancipation in French Africa. Indeed, the long history of African women's "doubled" political marginalization (as females and non-white subjects) made their enfranchisement the ultimate test case for the mission civilisatrice that justified the French imperial project. To explore this reversal, I focus on one brief but tremendously important conflict over voting rights that occurred between 1944 and 1945, as activists in Senegal successfully challenged the administration's denial of the franchise to female citizens born in French West Africa. Along with providing insights about French colonialism, this conflict demonstrates how African activists forced their conceptions of equality into French law. The specific debate over women's right to vote in French Senegal also illuminates larger postwar struggles over colonial rebranding, democracy, and changing articulations of the relationship between politics, gender, race, and religion.

16.00-16.30 Tea and Coffee

PLENARY: FAGE LECTURE

16.30-16.45 Welcome by Chair Professor Karin Barber

16.45-17.00 Welcome by Head of College Professor Michael Whitby

17.00-17.30 Professor Antony Hopkins

How We Got From There To Here: Fifty Years In Thirty Minutes

This talk offers a personal view of the evolution of African history, particularly economic history, during the past half century. It charts five phases, beginning with modernisation theory and ending with the current global 'turn'. Each phase exerted a profound influence on the subject, even though none was able to monopolise the research agenda. To some extent, the talk is an exercise in nostalgia for lost paradigms. As such, it should resonate with colleagues of a certain age, who are invited, accordingly, to sing along (though preferably silently). It is also, however, nostalgia with a purpose and is aimed at the current generation of post-graduate students. Each phase enjoyed a ten-year run during which its apparent infallibility gave it immunity from successful prosecution. Yet all have either withered or been struck down. Accordingly, graduates who are beginning to shape the future of the subject need to watch for signs of decay and for the first indications that barbarians have arrived at the gates. In this way, they can guard against the prospect of being left amidst the ruins as collateral damage when the next intellectual empire falls.

Professor A.G. Hopkins retired last year from his position as Walter Prescott Webb Chair of History at the University of Texas at Austin, and he is currently Emeritus Smuts Professor of Commonwealth History at the University of Cambridge (UK) and Emeritus Fellow of Pembroke College. He formerly taught African Economic History at CWAS (1964 to 1988) and at the University of Geneva (1988 to 1994). He has published extensively on African and global history. During his 24-year tenure at CWAS, he published 'An Economic History of West Africa', which is considered the most influential interpretation of West Africa's economic history. His more recent publications focus on the history of imperialism and globalization, and include, with Peter Cain, 'British Imperialism, 1688-2000' (2001), which won the Forkosch Prize of the American Historical Association; 'Globalization in World History'

(edited, 2002); and *'Global History: Interactions Between the Universal and the Local'* (edited, 2006). Professor Hopkins is a Fellow of the British Academy and holds honorary degrees from the University of Stirling and the University of Birmingham.

17.30-18.00 Professor Gareth Austin

Where is 'Here' Anyway, and Where Should We Be Going? Promise and Problems in the Resurgence of African Economic History

The expansion of research in the field, which began early in the last decade and has continued to date, means that the question that my history students in Legon used to ask in the 1980s, 'why are we so poor?' is again receiving plenty of attention. As in the earlier heyday of research on African economic history, the attention comes from scholars in a cluster of disciplines. In contrast to the 1960s to early 1980s, however, the interest is not limited mainly to Africanists. Mainstream economic historians, and economists, have shown sustained interest in 'news' from Africa. Whereas many of their predecessors might have considered Africa as outside economic history, at least until the Europeans imposed themselves, in the early twenty-first century comparative economic historians have become eager to know whether evidence from Africa supports different models from those available in Eurasia, or fits into patterns observable elsewhere – and are relaxed about the answers. My contribution will distinguish several strands in the post-2000 economic historiography of Africa, highlight its contributions, and comment on what I see as its problems and potential pitfalls.

Gareth Austin is Professor of International History at the Graduate Institute of Geneva. He moved to Geneva in 2010 from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Prior to his position at LSE, he lectured at the University of Ghana and was a temporary Lecturer in the Economic History of West Africa at the University of Birmingham. His PhD, supervised by Professor A.G. Hopkins, was awarded jointly from CWAS and the then Department of Economic History of UoB. His research and teaching interests are in African, comparative, and global economic history. His primary research has focused on West Africa, especially Ghana and the pre-colonial kingdom of Asante. He is a former editor of the Journal of African History, and former President of the European Network in Universal and Global History (ENIUGH). He is also on the advisory boards of the Journal of Global History, the new journal Economic History of Developing Regions, and the Brill book series in Global Economic History. His publications include 'Labour, Land and Capital in Ghana: From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1807-1956' (2005); and a number of seminal journal articles on African economic development, slavery, labour, markets, and credit.

18.00-18.15 Professor Robin Law, discussion

Robin Law is Emeritus Professor of African History at Stirling and Honorary Visiting Professor at the University of Liverpool. Before joining Stirling in 1972, he held posts at the universities of Lagos and at Birmingham, where he was Research Fellow at CWAS after obtaining his PhD under the supervision of Professor John Fage. His chief research interests are in the history of pre-colonial West Africa and the Atlantic Slave Trade. He is the author of 'The Oyo Empire, c.1600-1836' (1977), 'The Horse in West African History' (1980), 'The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550-1750' (1991), 'The Kingdom of Allada' (1997) and 'Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving "Port", 1727-1892' (2004); and the editor of 'From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa' (1995), and (with Suzanne Schwarz & Silke Strickrodt) of "Commercial Agriculture, the Slave Trade and Slavery in Atlantic Africa" (forthcoming, 2013). His extraordinary scholarly output has been combined with a commitment to African Studies more generally. He was an editor of the Journal of African History for fourteen years and has been a member of the advisory board of History in Africa since 1974. He served on the Council of the ASAUk for two terms. He was a member of the Council of the Hakluyt Society 1993-7, serving as series editor from 1997-2003 and again as member of the Council from 2003-2008. He is a Fellow of the British Academy and was a member of the Academy's International Policy Committee from 2003-9 and Chair of its Africa Area Panel in 2004-2009.

18.15-18.30 Questions

18.30 Reception in 32 Pritchatts Road

Day 3 – Friday 6th September

9.15 – 11.00 – Panel 22 - Friday 6th September

22. CROSS-CULTURAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN AFRICA AND THE AMERICAS, 17TH-19TH CENTURIES

Organiser: Toby Green (King's College London)

Chair: Benedetta Rossi (University of Birmingham)

Discussant: Paulo Farias (University of Birmingham)

This panel brings together leading scholars in the emerging field of reciprocal cultural influences bridging Africa and the Americas in the “early modern” period. The panel offers one of the first scholarly analyses which attempts to compare key different regions of Atlantic Africa, ranging from Angola and the coast of Benin to Upper Guinea. The geographical and chronological scope emphasise the importance of this phenomenon through a long span of Atlantic African history, and reorient the focus of Atlantic African studies away from the prism of slavery per se into the long-standing cultural influences which the slave trade had in both Africa and the Americas.

Toby Green

King's College London

Bridging the World: Upper Guinea and Spanish America in the 17th Century

This paper builds on earlier research (Green 2012) which showed how a pan-Atlantic space was formed in the 16th century bridging ideas and transformations in Africa and those in America, creating a reflexive cultural space that bridged the Atlantic ocean. New research fills out important aspects of the material and institutional lives which embodied this pan-Atlantic space in the 17th century. This is explored in this paper through material culture, ideologies, and language. In the context of material culture, the paper explores the transfer of barafulas – cloths woven in Cabo Verde and a standard form of currency in Upper Guinea in the early 17th century – to Cartagena in present-day Colombia, together with key aspects of daily material life, such as kola nuts and important staple foods which helped in the recreation of African material lives in the New World. The constant mobility bridging both sides of the Atlantic also meant that a reflexive American influence developed in Afro-Atlantic trading ports of Upper Guinea such as Cacheu, in which the institution of slavery was profoundly influenced by the mobility linking Africa and the Americas, and the presence of residents from ports such as Cartagena and Lima in present-day Guinea-Bissau and Senegal. The paper traces the influence of these pan-Atlantic connections in creating a shared culture around the Atlantic basin, in which African material lives and ideas influenced the shape of the New World, which in turn helped in the development of new frameworks and institutions in Atlantic Africa. The ultimate embodiment of this was the emergence of Creole languages in the 17th century, where the Kriolu of Cabo Verde and the Papiamentu of Curaçao were connected through the reflexive influences discussed in this paper.

Candido Eugenio Domingues da Silva

Universidade do Estado da Bahia – Jacobina

The Traffic to Bahia: Enslaved Africans and Slave Ship Captains Between Bahia and the Costa da Mina in the 18th Century

The presence of enslaved Africans working in slave ships coming out of Bahia to Costa da Mina was of great importance to the slave trade of the eighteenth century. Shipowners and captains generally owned slaves taught trades that generated income and assisted trade. This paper aims to analyze the importance of the slaves of the captains of slave ships of Bahia, as well as their roles in the slave trade and the search for freedom.

Mariana Candido

University of Kansas

Marriage, Families, and Property: The Merchant Women of Benguela in the Nineteenth Century

In the past decades, new studies have explored the role of gender in the shaping of colonial societies in the African continent, yet most of the scholarship focuses on the 20th century, and not much attention has been paid for previous centuries. Records from Benguela allow us to see the role of

African women in an earlier period and reconstruct their families, access to labor, and property, and new forms of production and control. In this study, I will explore mechanisms through which women had access to and accumulated property and wealth in Benguela during the nineteenth century. The narrative built around the unfolding lives of women aims at providing a varied set of ways of analyzing occupational opportunities, family formation, social and gender relations, and the complexities of social mobility in the context of a small urban center in West Central Africa. Baptism, marriage, and burial records allow to explore how women built their families and wealth, established social networks, created new kinships, and had access to properties. In the process they claimed new social and economic positions in the colonial setting, accumulating dependents and wealth. Furthermore, parish records allow us to access bits of information on the lives of women who did not leave written records and did not call attention of Portuguese authorities. Some of the wealthiest merchant women also left wills. These wills reveal the provenance of many luxurious items, such as furniture made with Brazilian wood, Chinese dishware, Asian textiles, indicating their participation in global merchant community. Some of these inventories also reveal lists of good for sale at local stores and taverns, offering a glimpse consumption of imported and local produced goods. While some studies had explored the role of women as merchants, very few had analyzed how wealth and property were acquired and transmitted in West Central Africa during the nineteenth century. This study addresses this gap and pushes us to see labor as well as marriage a mechanism to reinforce family positions, production, and control over people.

Nadine Hunt

York University, Toronto, Canada

The Migration of West African Traders and Markets to the Caribbean World in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade

Do all traders and markets share the same common goal? For example, did many African traders rely on principles of trust, access to reliable information, and an effort to minimize financial risk whether a market existed in West Africa or when individuals carried out trade as enslaved people in the Caribbean world? The study of trading diasporas in West African history has largely been explored by Philip Curtin, Paul Lovejoy, Karl Polanyi, and E. Frances White. These scholars have demonstrated how West Africans, especially, organized trade networks and enforced debt repayment. This paper probes the economic roles of enslaved Africans, free blacks and mixed-race people in Caribbean trade. In Jamaica, urban centres such as Kingston and Montego Bay provided multiple economic opportunities for enslaved Africans and their descendants. More importantly, some enslaved Africans learned that access to local “money” or a currency enabled the purchase of themselves or a loved ones freedom, in some cases it enabled a freed person to purchase or rent a piece of land or dwelling, and also to consume conspicuous goods. In the era of the Atlantic slave trade, many Africans for the first time engaged themselves in international trade outside of the continent. This paper is part of a larger study to show the changing and racialised faces of merchants in the Caribbean world in the eighteenth century. Jamaica provides an excellent case study to show agency on the part of Scottish, African, and African-descended merchants who participated in inter-colonial trade.

9.15 – 11.00 – Panel 23 - Friday 6th September

23. AFRICAN LITERATURE: POST-DOCTORAL DIRECTIONS

Chair: Stewart Brown (University of Birmingham)

Discussant: Femi Oyeboode (University of Birmingham)

Shola Adenekan

University of Birmingham

From Orature to Online: Class Consciousness in Selected West African Texts

For my PhD thesis, I examined how emerging African literature in a digital age depicts class struggle in Nigeria and Kenya, in addition to examining African sexuality in new literary work published in cyberspace. My paper at this conference will be focusing on why my postdoctoral research at Bayreuth wants to build on doctoral work. In calling for an African contribution to class theory, I recognise the limitations of theory-building that relies exclusively on the unique historical and cultural matrix and behaviour patterns of Africa, its sub regions and nations. Relatedly, I believe that my analysis must develop concepts and approaches from African contexts that are valid locally, but have

applicability to the wider world. Such an analysis cannot, and need not, supplant Western concepts but should aim to enrich wider theorization of class consciousness, with the voices and experiences of Africa, including its claims to agency in global and regional order.

Helen Cousins

Newman University, Birmingham

Literature Flows: From Africa to the Diaspora and Back Again

If I consider the geographical places of the literature into which I research, the list is disparate: America, Britain, Cuba, Nigeria, Mauritius, Zimbabwe. What connects them for me is not the racial heritage of the authors but theoretical paradigms of 'global flows' – of people, capital, and knowledge. In one aspect of my research this incorporates the 'exotic' (as described by Huggan) in prizes and prize-winning on postcolonial literature; in another, considers belonging, home and return in African diaspora literature where material place and imagined place connect. This may seem a long way from my PhD at CWAS which compared discourses of gendered violences in African women's writing and African feminist thought. In this paper, I will explore the conjunctions across time between my 'research projects' to consider how far these are, not isolated parts, but a flow of connected ideas.

Jo Skelt

University of Birmingham

Protest, Conflict and the African Writer: Towards a Contemporary Reconfiguration of the Writer's Role in Volatile Sub-Saharan West Africa

Drawing on PhD research on the function of writing in post-conflict Sierra Leone and revisiting Achebe's ideas of 'The Novelist as Teacher' (1965), I outline a new approach to the study of literature which locates writing as a form as active engagement and as a location of peace in contested post-colonial settings. I suggest that my findings from Sierra Leone may be useful in other contexts and discuss plans for developing a new research enquiry. I also reflect on how my own experience working as a 'community writer' and teaching creative writing in the UK and Sierra Leone has both challenged and informed the development of my research ideas.

9.15 – 11.00 – Panel 24 - Friday 6th September

24. AFRICA'S TREASURES, 1

Chair: Zachary Kingdon (World Museum Liverpool)

Catherine Makhumula

Chancellor College, University of Malawi

African Treasures: Digital Technology in African Live Performance

Africa has witness a rapid development in ICTs over the last five years. Mobile technology is now driving change for millions of people in the continent. For example, it has been reported that half of Africa's one billion population has a mobile phone – and not just for talking. The power of telephony is forging a new enterprise culture, from banking to agriculture to healthcare and to the arts. The advent of digital technology has spelt out a reconfiguration of the arts in Africa; from music, dance and theatre. Across the continent, for instance, there are more and more theatre artists that include film segments in their live theatre performances. This study discusses theatre in Africa (and live performance generally) in the digital age. The study examines how African artists have appropriated Western technologies with African themes to create dynamic and creative art forms. What are the ways in which digital technology in Africa is beginning to challenge how and why we create and watch performance?

Tatiana Gavristova

Yaroslavl Demidov State University, Russia

Africans Out of Africa: In Search of New Identity

Twentieth century is considered to be the age of migration. Exodus of Africans from Africa predetermined the emergence of "new Africans": Afro-British, Afro-French, Afro-Germans etc. There are many writers, scholars, journalists, artists who successfully worked and work in their professional sphere. Among them a lot of Nigerians: Wole Soyinka, Buchi Emecheta, Ben Okri, Philip Emeagwali,

Uzo Egonu, Olu Oguibe etc. All of them remained open to them a series of questions. Who are they? Which culture do they belong? The answer to these and other questions can be found in their works which play a key role in the creating the image of the new Africa visible thanks their achievements. Globalization has contributed to the emergence of new identities across races, ethnicities and cultures. Actualization of its study in the context of intellectual and cultural history seems to us relevant and urgent necessity. The main objects of our research belong to the crossroads of contemporary literature and arts in context of postmodernism.

Caitlin Pearson

The Africa Channel

Metaphor and Materiality: Disability and the Politics of Representation in West African Cinema

There is an emerging body of criticism which brings together approaches from postcolonial studies and disability studies, demonstrated in the work of scholars like Barker (2011) and Quayson (2003) focussing on African literature. To date, however, only limited attention has been paid to African film. This paper will engage particular theoretical points made by studies in literature and consider their necessary revision in order to relate to the medium of film. This theoretical shift is based on the premise that the materiality of disabled bodies functions differently in oral, textual and cinematic forms of narrative, and that the materiality of disabled bodies is more immediately experienced by the audience in the visual nature of film than in the textual construction of literature. Through a close reading of three West African films, this paper will identify the cinematic techniques used to highlight the lived social and political reality of disability, or to imbue disability with a symbolic significance. Scholars working in the field of disability studies tend to denounce this metaphorical use precisely because of its marginalising effect on the bodies of disabled people. In contrast, postcolonial critics often celebrate allegory for, among other things, its capacity highlight oppressive social and political practices. Each filmmaker included here – Ousmane Sembène, Djibril Diop Mambety and Dani Kouyaté – encourages their audiences to think about the social and political reality of disability to different degrees. The social realist genre of *Xala* and *La Petite Vendeuse* facilitates the audience recognition of a lived experience to a greater extent than the mythical genre of *Keita*. This paper will also consider how the theoretical assumptions of disability studies (developed largely in Europe and North America) are challenged by the African films under discussion – which are here recognised as both cultural artefacts *and* repositories of theoretical perspectives.

Solomon Ikibe

University of Ilorin, Nigeria

Religious Transformation: Critical Issues in the Secularization of Gospel Music in Nigeria

This paper examines some critical issues on the secularization of gospel music in Nigeria. The paper highlights and discusses the patronage system of the gospel artistes, melodic patterns, song text of gospel music, amongst other things as parameter. This is because, Christian missionaries in Africa introduced hymns, anthems, canticles and other forms of Christian music to the church as early as the middle of the 19th century. However, with the introduction of dance-oriented gospel music since the mid-1970s, the tendency towards secularization has increased progressively over the years. This has led to controversies on which type of music is appropriate for the church and Christian musicians. Our methods of data gathering includes participant-observer method, interviews with some selected musicians, internet surfing, the use of available literature materials and recorded Nigeria gospel music. Among other findings, we discovered that gospel music has crossed over to the domain of the secular; reflecting the changing trends in popular culture in Nigeria. The paper observes that this secularization was brought by a number of factors such as “openness” of the gospel arena, changing trends in popular culture, quest for quick money and fame. The paper concludes that in contemporary Nigeria the dichotomy between gospel and secular music remains blurred. We therefore recommend that, there should be a clear dichotomy between gospel and secular music as this will contribute towards a renewed gospel music.

9.15 – 11.00 – Panel 25 - Friday 6th September

25. INTERPRETING SOURCES, 1

Chair: Silke Strickrodt (German Historical Institute, London)

Michel Doortmont

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

African Sources for African History: Finding the African Perspective in the Use and Interpretation of African Source Materials

Around 2000 a group of young Dutch African historians with a keen interest in African historical sources and African historiography came together to discuss the possibility of starting a book series on African sources for African history. They found a willing ear with Brill Academic Publishers. Soon after the series started with two volumes on very different sources, one on songs and narratives of Somono Bala of the Upper Niger, the other on the first original modern novel published in Ghana in the 1880s. The idea of the series was – and is – to give African viewpoints and perspectives a more central place in the writing of African history, by emphasising the importance of indigenous African sources in their many forms for the understanding of African history. This paper reviews the development of the series, and the different source materials that found their way into it over the years. It then uses the review to make an analysis of the development of African historiography from the 1960s to the present, with special attention to shifts in the appreciation, presentation, usage, and interpretation of African source materials, both in their own right and in relation to other sources (especially European literary sources).

Emily Lynn Osborn

University of Chicago

Constituting an Archive of the Informal Sector: Aluminum Casting and Cooking Pots in West Africa, 1945 – 2005

In the second half of the twentieth century, a dynamic informal economic sector has emerged in West Africa around the use and reuse of scrap aluminum. Artisans who specialize in working aluminum collect scrap – old engines, car parts, window frames, and drink cans – which they then melt down and mold into new forms using a technique called sand-casting. Aluminum casters make a variety of products with this process, including spoons, teapots, platters, washboards, plumbing pipes, and parts for bicycles, motorcycles, cars. The mainstay of the aluminum casting sector is, however, cooking pots. This paper considers the history of aluminum casting to argue for the importance of studying processes of transformation and change that fall outside of standard archives. Today in West Africa (as in the past), a great many economic and social activities do not necessarily produce a visible paper trail that can be compiled in an archive. The dearth of written sources has led to a presentist treatment of, for example, the informal or popular economy. This paper exposes the historicity of the informal sector by looking specifically at the diffusion of aluminum casting through West and Central Africa in the second half of the twentieth century. It will also explore how oral sources can be combined with quotidian technologies, embodied knowledge, genealogies of expertise, and material forms to bring new light to historical processes of change.

Edlyne Anugwom

Department of Sociology/Anthropology; University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria & Department of Anthropology, Bridgewater State University, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

From Biafra to the Niger Delta Conflict: Memory, State and Conflict in Nigeria

The paper examines the nexus between the 1967 – 70 civil war and the current Niger Delta conflict in Nigeria within the context of collective memory. It argues that the link between these conflicts can be seen in the mediating role of collective memory in dictating present action and aspirations perceived by a given social group as consistent with the need to redress the wrong of the past. Thus, memory is not just the medium for transmitting the past into the future but also a social process that lends itself to considerable dynamism. The potency of collective memory in this instance is portrayed both in the fact that these conflicts are located in the same contiguous socio-geographical region in the South of Nigeria and have endured through generations. Without doubt, popular discourse and agitations in this region indicate a perception of the role of the Nigerian state towards the area as informed by

both the war and the need to marginalize the region. Therefore, while the enthronement of equity and fairness in national resources distribution is evidently imperative in Nigeria, a sure route out of the dilemmatic influence of collective memory in Nigeria's socio-political life is through the systematic commemoration of the war.

11.00 – 11.30 Tea and Coffee

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 26 - Friday 6th September

26. INEQUALITY AND INSECURITY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, 1

Chairs: Maxim Bolt (University of Birmingham) & Deborah James (LSE)

Maxim Bolt

University of Birmingham

The Roots of Impermanence: Settlement, Transience and Farm Labour on the Zimbabwean-South African Border

What is the role of settled, residential workplaces on the turbulent margins of contemporary South Africa? During the Zimbabwean crisis, millions crossed through the South African apartheid-era border fence, searching for ways to make ends meet. Many joined black farm-worker populations on white-settler farms, in turn shaped by the 'flexible' capital and crop flows of intercontinental export agriculture. Today's 'flexible capitalism' is commonly seen in terms of ephemerality and perpetual change. Local arrangements are commonly thought so ad-hoc and fleeting that contracts collapse into informality, employment into entrepreneurialism. Acute crisis is seen merely to hasten capitalism along its path. But on the Limpopo River, amidst transience, mass unemployment and short-term strategies of making do, resident workforces are settings in which people strive for a provisional permanence. This paper reveals how workforce hierarchies incorporate transient people: regular labor migrants; recent fugitives seeking work; actual or would-be dependents; and traders, drawn by the lucrative markets represented by hundreds of waged workers. It argues that, on the Zimbabwean-South African border, migrants have manifold reasons for moving, and are made labor migrants through their social incorporation, on unequal terms, at places of employment. Amidst southern African upheavals and global capitalism, workplaces are lifeworlds.

Nicky Falkof

University of the Witwatersrand

Out the Back: Race and Reinvention in Johannesburg's Garden Cottages

The domestic servant's room, or 'maid's room', was one of the most complicated spaces in apartheid-era white suburbia, imbued with issues of privacy, sexuality, race, gender, class and work. The relations between white 'madams' who lived in houses and black 'maids' who lived 'out the back' embodied many of the contradictions that characterised the apartheid project, and these relations were often played out in the movement between inside and outside within racially segregated suburbs. In the post-apartheid era, the repeal of the Group Areas Act and other racist legislation has meant that, in Johannesburg's older suburbs, most domestic workers live off site. Many of the outdoor rooms that were built for them have been reconceptualised as 'garden cottages', aspirant spaces that add to a property's value. Their racialised histories have been largely erased by a new, upwardly mobile discourse. This article examines the transition from maid's room to garden cottage, considering how these spaces have been (in some cases literally) whitewashed. It uses a range of texts, from apartheid-era literature and sociology to contemporary mass media and advertising material, to consider how these once-contested spaces have been reimagined as seemingly unproblematic additions to the class-bound Johannesburg suburb.

Tim Gibbs

University of Cambridge

South Africa's Bantustans After the Collapse of the Labour Migration System

The changing patterns of internal migration illuminate some of the huge changes in South Africa's Bantustans. Industrial decline in the 1980s was accompanied by a wane in older patterns of labour migration, where men once journeyed between rural homes and the industrial city; more fluid patterns of mobility emerged, spanning small towns and peri-urban areas, travelled by more equal

numbers of men and women. At the same time rural households relied increasingly less on wages remitted by male workers in formal factory employment; more on the informal sector incomes earned by both women and men and, after 1994, government grants and pensions. This paper explores the burgeoning, multi-directional flows of trade, transport and cultural practise that emerged from these developments. Arguably, some of the highest rates of economic growth are seen the former Bantustans (albeit from a very low base). Government expenditures – pensions and welfare grants, as well as infrastructure investments – have been central. By controlling these flows of investment, the ruling government have extended their reach over the former Bantustans, which today provide an important base of support for the African National Congress. This expansion of the centre has not been at the expense of local identities. Rather key political leaders operate through decentralised networks and speak the language of local identity.

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 27 - Friday 6th September

27. AFRICA'S TREASURES, 2

Chair: Karin Barber (University of Birmingham)

Albdulrasheed Abiodun Adeoye

University of Ilorin

Interpreting and Directing African Heroes and Heroines: Two Intercultural Performances in Focus

A reconnection to the past activities of heroes and heroines, the spectacular and larger-than-life personalities is aimed at social change, political emancipation, spiritual benefit and cultural revival. Like Siamese twins, the life of heroes and heroines cannot be divorced from the society that they come from. In theatrical enactment, however, African heroes and heroines are not adequately represented in spite of the fact that some of them are mythological figures while a daring few have even anthropomorphised. Through the Bertolt Brecht's epic tradition and the poetics of interculturality, this study examines the interpretation and artistic direction of Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Micere Githae Mugo's *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* (1976) and Wale Ogunremi's *Queen Amina of Zazzau* (1999). These are two intercultural performances that took place in two Nigerian universities. It has also come to the fore in this study that transforming original texts with their unique settings and cultures into different settings and cultures for performances posed some challenges within the borderline of play directing, artistic interpretation and performance articulation. The study also concludes that intercultural plays of heroes and heroines are sources of African pasts. They should be relived, restaged and promoted.

Solomon Ikibe

University of Ilorin, Nigeria

Musical Aesthetics and Dynamics in Kabba Traditional Music: A Study of Woro Are-Obirin Music

This paper examines woro music among the Okun speaking people of Kabba town of Kogi State, Nigeria. The paper focuses on the aesthetics and dynamics in woro music. We observed in our study that woro music, although originated as a feminine music, has incorporated the masculine gender in its performance. We also found out that the musical aesthetics and dynamics in woro music are the moderately soft ostinato rhythmic features and the 24 and 68 meters with variations used during its performance. The basic musical instrument is the gbedu while the omele and the talking-drums are new entrants played by the men. The rhythmic features and the drums enhance the dance patterns by the womenfolk during the performance. Moreover, because of its feminine nature, woro music is soft, slow, and dolce with high pitches of ululation – thus affirming the homogeneity of African music. It is recommended that exponents of woro music should be encouraged through the recording and performance of their music in various mass electronic media for global recognition and consumption.

Godwin Ogli

Federal College of Education, Okene, Kogi State, Nigeria

Celebrating the Past, Present, and the Future: The Case of Odumu Music and Dance among the Idoma People

The theatre of Idoma performative culture has served religious, entertainment as well as historical functions. Using the language of music and dance, Odumu music offers an entertainment space for both young and old in Idoma traditional society. The music celebrates the people's conquest and

subjugation of their environment, effectively making it friendly, habitable and useable for cultivation. This paper discusses Odumu musical performance and its socio-cultural significance among the Idoma people of Benue state, Nigeria. It captures Idoma's celebratory story of conquest of the wild, self-rehabilitation and occupation in the face of wars in the past. While the composition of the group depicts the strength of Idoma traditional society, the performance structure, musical instruments and occasion for performance reveals the inter-personal realities, social interactions, belief system and entertainment priorities of the Idoma people. Further still, the work reveals that musical performance like Odumu is a vehicle per excellence for promoting Idoma identity and arts.

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 28- Friday 6th September

28. CONTESTED TERRITORIES AND FRAGMENTED POLITICAL IDENTITIES, 3

Chair: Reuben Loffman (Queen Mary, University of London)

Maggie Dwyer

University of Edinburgh

Tactical Communication: Mutinies as a Form of Dialogue in West Africa

Throughout West Africa it is common for militaries to use mutinies as a way of making demands to the government or higher military authorities. Although there is a tendency, especially from a military standpoint to view mutinies as acts of disobedience, this paper will argue that it is more valuable to view a mutiny as a nontraditional form of communication. Drawing on an original dataset of mutinies in West Africa since independence as well as field research in three West African countries (Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, and The Gambia), this research will show that African mutineers typically use a rather limited number of tactics. These include public gathering (often in proximity to decision makers), firing weapons in the air, taking hostages, and holding strategic locations. Additionally, there is a growing trend of mutineers utilizing the media in creative ways during a mutiny. These tactics are intended to grab the attention of authorities, publicly express dissatisfaction and force a dialogue with leadership. By viewing mutinies as a form of communication, rather than a challenge to the state, leaders may be able to better anticipate discontent in the armed forces and avoid future problems among soldiers.

Ole Martin Gaasholt

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

Which Northern Malians? Mediatized Tuareg, Rebels and Islamists Against a Suffering Population

The recent conflict in Northern Mali is discussed in the media, but also by scholars, with a focus on the Tuareg, and the Islamist groups. Ironically, the Tuareg-dominated rebel group, the MNLA, insisted on their fight for Azawad, and included the other ethnic groups of Northern Mali as members of this entity. However, the rebels' emphasis on autonomy is not shared by most of these people or even by many Tuareg. The political rather than merely the military aspects of the conflict has been recognised, even after the French and West African military interventions. But the views of those Northern Malians and Tuareg who do not identify with the programme of the Tuareg rebels, let alone the Islamists, receive very limited attention. Depictions of the population of Northern Mali rarely specifies political and ethnic affiliations and concomitant attitudes to the conflict, making them appear as a mass of refugees or conflict victims. Employing information from Northern Malian contacts, I wish to show the variety of experiences undergone during the conflict, and the resulting range of opinions regarding the situation in Northern Mali. Understanding of and engagement with politics and recurring conflict in the area require recognition of such nuances.

Senayon Olaoluwa

Osun State University, Nigeria

Studying Africa, or Studying Majority Ethnic Groups: Notes Toward Mainstreaming Minority Nationalities in African Studies

The decisive study of Africa in the past 50 years has impacted the understanding of African peoples and cultures in an unprecedented way. Nevertheless, I reckon that more often than not the study has tended to focus essentially on majority ethnic nationalities. Therefore, if African Studies is at a crossroads, leaving us with options of which way(s) to go, this paper suggests that there is the prospect of new and exciting perspectives on Africa once we turn to minority groups and cultures. In

substantiation of this position, I turn to the Ogu people of South West Nigeria who are found in Lagos and Ogun States and who embody a distinct identity and culture, contrary to erroneous scholarship that tends to categorize them as a Yoruba sub-group. Taking their culture of royal python veneration for illustration, I hope to tease out the logic of biodiversity preservation in this extant cultural practice in Apamo-Thaweh in Ere, Ogun State. Ultimately, I argue that this practice antedates and complements the contemporary advocacy for biodiversity preservation by modern African states. This is precisely because in the preservation of the royal python in a sacred grove, so many other animal and plant species are preserved.

Stephen Titus Olusegun

Kogi State University, Nigeria

Music and Media as Agents of Partisan Politics and Threat to National Integration in 1959 and 1964 Elections in Nigeria

Politics and electioneering are some of the major issues on conflict especially in the history of Nigeria from the time of colonial era till date. Music and media are powerful forces for political mobilisation which sometimes results into violence due to the textual potency of the songs and messages passed from the media. Studies on electoral campaigns abound but none of the studies understudied the use and place of music performance and media as agents of partisan politics and that they threatened the national integration and unification of Nigeria state. Music and media carry messages that caused the colossal destructions of lives and properties in Nigeria. This paper therefore examines the roles of music and media as agents of partisan politics and threat to national integration and unification in 1959, and 1964 general elections in Nigeria. It consists of analyses of the content and context of selected songs and print media messages. This study is moored to Entertainment-Education and Deprivation-Frustration-Aggression theories. Primary data were collected through 5 key-informant interview of some political figures in the then Action Group, (AG) with Chief Obafemi Awolowo as the national leader, National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) which had Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as the national leader, Northern People's Congress (NPC) with Sir, Ahmadu Bello as the national president and assisted by Sir Alhaji Tafawa Balewa who was the first Nigeria prime Minister. Other parties include, Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) formed by Ladoke Akintola, The three national archives namely Enugu, Ibadan, and Kaduna were consulted. Three Focus Group Discussions were also conducted with chiefs and elders. Secondary data were obtained from written texts, newspapers which include West African Pilot, Tribune, and Daily Times, periodicals, journals and the internet. Music and media recordings, photographs of campaigns, cartoons and violent situations were documented. 8 songs were purposefully sampled while transcription of songs was done with Sibelius music software. It was discovered that music performances and media were used to oppose other parties. These political parties, apart from using music for campaign and insulting other political parties which always result into violence conflict, they also had media houses which they used as platform to foster the agenda of their parties and use it to demonize other parties as well. This lead to military coup and headship of the country in 1965 and 1983. The recent happenings in the country have not really changed from what was observed during the study period. Both print and electronic media including music are used for electoral processes which is still a threat to national integration. A solution to this media and music production will go a long way in fostering the unity and integration of the country as the preparation for 2015 general elections draw closer. Media productions need to be censored during political campaigns and Independent National Electoral Commission need to see to the moderation of the songs produce during political rallies and in the media.

Babajide O. Ololajulo

University of Ibadan

Local Arrangement and Exclusion Politics in Nigeria's Electoral Democracy

Elective offices in Nigeria, for the most part, span four years and polls are conducted some two or three months to the expiration of a tenure. Although incumbents are constitutionally empowered to seek a second term, certain informal understandings widely known as zoning arrangement often ensure that majority of elected officials fail in their bids to return to office. Based on a study conducted on State Legislative Assembly Elections held in Ondo State, Nigeria between 1999 and 2011, this paper examines the force of 'local arrangement' as a determinant of participation and success in Nigerian electoral contests. It analyses the institutionalisation process of local zoning arrangements by political parties, and the systematic internalisation by local politicians and other

political stakeholders. The paper argues that a single tenure ideology which underlines political participation, even at the local level, is produced by the popular construction of political power both as a means of accessing and equalising patronage, and a tool for reinforcing some existing divisions in the polity. The paper concludes that 'local arrangement', though exhibiting all the traits of exclusion politics, paradoxically represents a way of ensuring inclusion for all segments of a political division.

11.30 – 13.15 – Panel 29 - Friday 6th September

29. INTERPRETING SOURCES, 2

Chair: Adam Jones (University of Leipzig, Germany)

Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias
University of Birmingham

The 'KISRA' Oral Traditions: An Ideology of Collaboration Between Muslims and Followers of West African Traditional Religions Misinterpreted by Historians and Nationalists

From 1988, and lately in January 2013, we have collected oral traditions in Borgu, an area straddling the Bénin/Nigeria border with cultural links with Yorubaland. Most Borgu chiefly lineages trace their origins to Kisra, a prince who supposedly refused Islam, fled Mecca and settled in Africa. Frobenius, in the early 20th century, perceived these stories as the reflection of resistance to Jihād invasions from the Sokoto Caliphate and hostility to Islam in general. His perception has been replicated by historians from outside Africa ever since. From the 1980s onwards, university-educated Borgu intellectuals have propagated the same perception in the context of cultural nationalism. However, analysis of the stories shows that it was the Muslims who owned the means of production of such tales -- the narrative repertoires from which Kisra was borrowed, and the Qur'ānic schemata that frame the stories. Moreover, the purpose of the tales was to justify cooperation between Borgu's communities of Muslim traders and non-Muslim chiefs. The stories are a rare surviving example of an ideological device promoting alliance between Muslims and votaries of African Religions, and both sides deployed them. Such ideological devices flourished in West Africa before the Jihād era (18th-19th c.). They are now decried by many Muslims as evidence of local "ignorance" of the tenets of Islam, while non-Muslim academics continue to turn the Kisra theme on its head, instead of recognising it as an alternative to Jihād ideology.

Reginald Taluah Asangba
University of Education-Winneba, Ghana

Oral Traditions as Embodiments of Knowledge: The Case of the Kasena of North Eastern Ghana

Before the advent of the European, every existing African community had its own means of education. Like the Kasena, the worldview of most communities is inextricably woven into the fiber of their oral traditions. Kasena oral traditions express beliefs, values, ideas and other socio-cultural negotiations that depict their philosophy of life. Quite apart from the novelty of technique of Kasena oral traditions, they serve as road guides to their endeavours and offer a better understanding of the spiritual and mundane worlds. Oral traditions embody the sense of time, place and identity of the Kasena in this multicultural world. The ways and manner to practice good hygiene and conserve the environment are embodied in proverbs, whereas the code of conduct and several other social negotiations are carried in folktales and puzzles. However, in the wake of globalization and its attendants such as Christianity, formal education and rural-urban migration amongst a host of other factors, the role and purpose of Kasena oral traditions have taken a down turn. This article therefore seeks to bring to the fore the significant role of Kasena oral traditions in transmitting and maintaining indigenous knowledge. It further examines the negative toll globalization has on Kasena oral traditions.

Kola Adekola
University of Ibadan, Nigeria

An Archaeological Perspective to the Understanding of 50 Years of African Study Research in Nigeria

Archaeology is perhaps one of the best barometers to examine 50years of African study research in Nigeria. It is no gain saying that archaeology has a central role in providing a holistic understanding of Nigerian history both with regard to its temporal depth and complexity.

For the past five decades scientific research in archaeology has witnessed an exponential growth from the pioneer efforts of individuals like Thurstan Shaw, Bernard Fagg and Frank Willet. The foundation by the pioneers is exemplified by Thurstan Shaw's archaeological investigations in Igbo-Ukwu and Iwo-Eleru in the South Eastern and South Western Nigeria respectively. Arguably, they were the benchmarks for archaeological investigations in the entire West African region. The tempo of archaeological research has improved tremendously following these earlier works. For instance, historical archaeological investigations have been conducted in the Igbomina areas (Aleru, Aribidesi); Tiv land (Gundu); Jos Plateau (Joseph Mangut, Benedicta Mangut); and Ajaba (Ogunfolakan). There is also an emphasis on palaeo-environmental research. Such studies have been carried out in Ife-Ijumu (Oyelaran); Katsina Ala (Tubosun); Badagry- Apa, Gberefu and Agorin (Alabi); and Ajibode (Bagodo). Some scholars have also focussed their attention on settlement studies (Ogundele, Odunbaku) while some others like (Aremu) attempted to unravel the mystery of the industrial archaeology of Africa with the emphasis on Nigeria. These are certainly some of the hallmarks of African studies research in Nigeria.

13.15-14.15 Lunch

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 30 - Friday 6th September

30. MUSEUMS

Chair: Fiona Sheales (British Museum Volunteer)

Zachary Kingdon

Curator of African collections, World Museum Liverpool

Authenticity Versus History: Assembling the Canon of African Art at World Museum Liverpool, 1964-1969

Much critical writing has been published on the now well-known practice of interpreting African artefacts in museum collections as "art" according to western aesthetic notions. However, little has yet been revealed of the institutional processes and implications involved. While a few writers have highlighted the way that the objectifying processes of museums have tended to efface the biographies of Africa objects and the agency of their collectors, further issues are implicated when collections of African works are purchased from art galleries. World Museum Liverpool's object files contain a series of memos from the 1960s relating to African sculptural works acquired from European art galleries, which provide an insight into one curator's attempt to assemble the canon of African art. My paper will show how this attempt involved a denial of individual works' original significances and how it was made in direct response to the museum's existing African collection from the early colonial period – an historically important collection from the western coast of Africa, including many items that can be seen to challenge received notions of authenticity regarding indigenous African cultures. The paper concludes with a discussion about the interpretation of African artefacts in museum collections and their potential as sources for African studies.

Heloise Finch-Boyer

Curator of Science and Technology, National Maritime Museum

The Cultural Worlds of African Palm Oil: Trade, Consumption and Museum Collecting in Britain and Nigeria, 1850-1900

The National Maritime Museum has many artefacts associated with the post-slavery Atlantic and the birth of British colonial rule in Nigeria. Specifically, it holds material relating to Navy campaigns against Niger Delta palm oil traders such as Jaja of Opobo, Doré Numa and Nana Olomu during the 1880s and 1890s. Research will establish new thematic and historical links between Naval and ethnographic objects and archives at the National Maritime Museum, and similar objects and archives in the UK (National Archives, British Museum, RAI, National Museum of Liverpool), US (Fowler Museum at UCLA) and Nigeria. In Nigeria, palm oil trade artefacts from the Herbert Alexander Child collection were transferred from the Poole Museum in the UK to enrich collections at the National Museum of Nigeria in Lagos. The Nana Olomu Living History Museum in Koko, Southwestern Nigeria also has an important collection of objects with British Naval associations. We are interested in conducting ethnographic fieldwork and oral history in Lagos and Koko with historians and museum

workers to improve understanding of current African representations of the palm oil trade and British Naval interventions in the late 19th century.

Igor Cusack

University of Birmingham

Angola's 'Treasures': Colonial, Marxist and Neo-liberal Guardianship of the Museu do Dundo

The Museu do Dundo was founded in 1936, in Portuguese colonial Angola, by a mining company, Diamang. This paper will explore how it became one of the major museums of Sub-Saharan and what happened when Angola gained independence in 1976 when the country supposedly embraced a 'Marxist museology'. The museum survived the long period of the Angolan civil wars only to be closed in the 1990s. The museum was reopened in 2012, despite the loss to the international art market of some of the important ethnographic objects in the collection. The paper will also ask what exactly were these 'treasures' that had been assembled in the colonial museum and to what extent are they relics of the colonial period. It will also examine how these objects have been appropriated and reified by the nation-builders of modern-day Angola.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 31 - Friday 6th September

31. STRUCTURE AND AGENCY: SHAPING KNOWLEDGE AND IDENTITY

Chair: Reginald Cline-Cole (University of Birmingham)

Jan Patrick Heiss

University of Zurich

Explaining a Hausa Peasant's Life Practice. The Impact of Peasant Social Structure and Islam on His Aims and Values

In my presentation, I take sides with Mahir Saul (2006: Islam and West African Anthropology. In: Africa Today, 53 (1): 3-33) who argues that we "misrecognize the cultural legacy of Islam in today's lives [of West Africans; jph] beyond self-professed Muslims". In the centre of my interest is the daily life practice of a Hausa peasant from Niger. I describe his present life, i.e., his working practices, his family life, his journeys to Nigeria, etc. That enables me to characterize him. What are the desires that move him? How does he relate to family members? How does he maintain peaceful relations with his neighbours and other villagers? What role do material goods play in his social relations? What values does he have? The features of his life practice have to be explained. In my presentation, I choose his desires and values as explananda. The desires and values can partly be explained by reference to the living conditions and social structures of peasants. I argue, however, that we should also take Islamic doctrine and teaching into account when we try to explain his evaluative orientation.

Jamaine Abidogun

Missouri State University

Nation Building and Western Education in Anglophone Africa Diaspora

(This paper focuses on one aspect of a monograph that is in progress, *Reconstructing Education and Cultural Transformation in the Anglophone African Diaspora*.) As African nation-states took over the colonial education systems, Africanization of the curriculum was the immediate demand of the people and the promise of the new administration. In reality Christianity and neo-colonial sentiments of Western modernity kept much of the curriculum Western and Christian with few exceptions. A new twist on this continued integration of Christianity and formal education developed within Anglophone Africa that resulted in nationalized curriculums embedded with religious, most often Christian, doctrine. On the one hand education was a necessary tool to create a unified national identity. On the other hand, due to the long history of missionary Christian influences in the imposed Western education system, it proved impossible to separate education and religion. Christian religion took on a different tone in new African nation-states. It was no longer a means to discipline and assimilate African Indigenous societies to a European colonial ruler. It was now part and parcel of the new national identity used to promote and enforce nation making and national citizenship. This presentation provides evidence from a range of Anglophone African national curriculums developed between the 1960's and 1980's that demonstrates Christianity's integration in the new national curriculum to assist in the development of nationhood. This presentation argues that while African leaders spoke of Pan-African liberation, much of what developed on the ground was a neo-colonial

Christian model of nationhood that kept Indigenous ethno-national identities, their religions, and education systems in the margins.

Dora Edu-Buandoh

University of Cape Coast, Ghana

Recognising or not Recognising our Languages: The Discourse Surrounding the Place of Indigenous Languages in Ghana

Ghana can boast of multiple indigenous languages in co-existence. With English as the official language, Ghana has been experiencing shifts in its language policy over the years, pre and post independence. In recent times, educated Ghanaians have used English and some Ghanaian languages to serve their linguistic needs. Students on various campuses have also turned to the use of mainly Twi, rather than English, outside the classroom. The change may convey the idea that Ghanaians, especially Ghanaian students, now have preference for Twi rather than English. This paper argues that though many Ghanaian students and Ghanaians speak Twi more often than they speak English, they still have very negative attitude to the study of Ghanaian languages. The paper uses data collected from fifty Ghanaian students, ten Ghanaian parents, ten policy makers and ten teachers to ascertain the place of Ghanaian languages in Ghana. The data is analysed using the positioning theory to bring out the positions developed to show how Ghanaians position themselves and the indigenous languages in the perfect co-existence of multilingualism. The results have implication for teachers, parents and policy makers.

Diana Jeater

University of the West of England/Woodbrooke Centre for Postgraduate Quaker Studies

50 Years: The Realm of the Spiritual in Southern African Studies

A trend seems to be emerging in African studies, which treats beliefs in ancestral spirits, demons and other supernatural beings treated as causative categories, not requiring further breakdown into other, underlying, causations. This paper contextualises this epistemological revolution, typified by David Gordon's Invisible Agents, by tracing changing analyses of the realm of the 'spiritual' in African, and specifically southern African, studies over the past fifty years, from ethnographic studies and functionalist reductionism, through to Marxist analyses and postmodernist discourse theory. Alongside changes in institutional structures and theoretical debates within the academy, there have been transformations in southern Africa's relationship to the 'western' world and the centres of the knowledge economy over the past fifty years. The paper will examine how voices from the emerging economies are beginning to demand more respect and attention from the gatekeepers of academic respectability, and how significant thinkers from dominant institutions of the north, including the Comaroffs, are now starting to imagine what 'thinking from the south' might look like. The paper suggests that the greater willingness to engage with the spiritual realm as a category in its own right is symptomatic of a larger shift in the politics of the production of knowledge.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 32 - Friday 6th September

32. INEQUALITY AND INSECURITY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, 2

Chairs: Max Bolt (University of Birmingham) and Deborah James (LSE)

Jason Hicckel

London School of Economics

Curing Democracy: Ritual Sacrifice and Historical Memory in KwaZulu-Natal

The social transformations that have taken place in South Africa since the democratic transition have been significant. For people in rural Zululand, one of the most dramatic of these changes has been the state's shift from segregation to liberal multiculturalism. While rural Zulus have welcomed the advent of universal franchise, there are certain other elements of 'idemoklasi' to which many object on moral grounds, specifically liberal conceptions of rights related to gender, generation, and sexuality. For them, the ANC's social liberalism unravels what they take to be the conditions for fertility broadly conceived, causing the crisis of social reproduction that we as analysts might attribute to neoliberal economic policy. This paper shows how, in an attempt to mitigate this crisis, families in Zululand devote a great deal of time and money to performing sacrificial rituals designed to restore hierarchies and reestablish the conditions for fertility, drawing on memories of an idealized past. I

discuss how the process of cattle sacrifice leverages the symbolic dimensions of bovine anatomy to reorder kinship and 'cure' families of misfortunes attributed to liberal democracy, while at the same time allowing them to negotiate the historical cleavages between rural and urban that persist today in the form of the labor migrancy system.

Deborah James

London School of Economics

'The History of That House Keeps You Out': Property, Credit and Repossession in South Africa

A key source of insecurity for South African householders, is "credit apartheid". Policy makers, bemoaning the "swamp like conditions" inhibiting the growth of a secondary housing market, insist that secure title to property coupled with mortgage finance will provide essential collateral. After 1994, some householders used township/family houses in this way, borrowing money to fund extensions. But the inalienable rights assured by custom, current circumstance (especially the need to "return home" after marriage breakup), and the South African Constitution (as evident in a well-known court case), are at odds with this. Flying in the face of South African law's "advantage to creditor principle" that governs debt relations, rights to housing are protected from the fickleness of the market, especially where repossession to secure the interests of creditors is threatened. But factors that mitigate against individual ownership have also inhibited the abilities of single women to improve their lot, trapping them in "swamp like conditions". An uneasy and hybridized compromise between these two approaches to property and rights has prevailed. "Credit apartheid" thus has complex determinants (and effects), ranging from domestic struggles at the intimate level of the household all the way to state policy and the law.

Natasha Thandiwe Vally

University of the Witwatersrand

The Social Life of Grants in South Africa: A Case Study of Bushbuckridge

The scale, scope, persistence and technologisation of South Africa's social assistance programmes are exceptional. Large amounts of quantitative data are being generated around grants that count recipients, access, food security and nationality among many other valuable questions. Despite this, there is almost no theoretical discussion which is in conversation with the burgeoning data and statistics gathered. How can following the social life of the grant in South Africa contribute to understandings of social relations, practices and meaning-making? This research has two primary intentions; firstly I aim to contribute to the theorization of neoliberalism and how the state is conceptualised with regards to grants within these processes. The second goal is to contribute to this theorization by tracing the circulation of social grants through their trajectories and interactions with people and commodities. It is the route traversed by the grant that provides the scaffolding for the telling of the grant 'story' in South Africa. Some of the points of contact are: how social grants are imagined, what the incarnations of this into law and policy are, viewing the movement of the grant through levels of government and to the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), and dynamics of outsourcing and grant delivery. At the most fundamental level, this paper addresses how people in the rural municipality of Bushbuckridge see grants as affecting their lives and how grants in turn shape South African citizen-making.

14.15 – 16.00 – Panel 33 - Friday 6th September

33. CARIBBEAN LITERATURE: POST-DOCTORAL DIRECTIONS

Chair: Stewart Brown (University of Birmingham)

Discussant: Jon Morley (Writers' Centre, Norwich)

Juanita Westmaas

University of Birmingham

Edgar Mittelholzer and the Harlem Renaissance

My PhD thesis argued that the work of the Guyanese novelist, Edgar Mittelholzer (1909-1965) was characterized by subtleties of meaning that had been either overlooked or misconstrued and which had resulted in the perception that his work was sub-literary, marred by race prejudice, 'white ancestor worship', fascist ideologies and sensationalist 'sextravaganza's'. The methodology involved research into a variety of areas: book history, biography, influence and intertextuality, alongside a

close critical reading of the overall canon. The thesis concluded that Mittelholzer had sought through his writing to assert the Caribbean right to be seen, at the very least, as intellectually equal to their counterparts in the West and to subvert the negative/racist literary representations of Caribbean people through a form of intertextual 'call and response'. It demonstrated too that that his themes operated on a variety of levels that were metaphorically complex, but which revealed on examination sophisticated layers of meaning. The paper, to be presented at the CWAS conference – Crossroads in African Studies – is influenced by Belinda Edmondson's assertion in Caribbean Middlebrow that black American popular culture was a key influence on Caribbean writers from as early as the nineteenth century. It thereby develops a strand of research into Mittelholzer's awareness of the Harlem Renaissance and explores the extent to which key figures such as James Weldon Johnson, Langston Hughes, Carl van Vechten, Claude McKay and Sterling Brown influenced his work.

Ian Dieffenthaler

My PhD looked at the evolution of West Indian poetry in Britain. It posited the notion of a portmanteau nation complete with its own culture and language, claimed and unclaimed by its parent cultures at their convenience, yet providing its denizens with the mobility and flexibility that owning just one small cultural suitcase could bring. I could have gone on to examine the number of ways that West Indian culture has embedded itself in Britishness but have largely opted out of formal academic circles in order to get back to just one root of one of those parent cultures -- Trinidad & Tobago. My latest research is into the nature of the T&T poetic canon, if indeed we can admit the possibility of such a being and I have been looking to develop approaches to reading poetry that privilege local readers whilst not abandoning those from abroad. Such a narrow remit has its limitations but my analysis is not set up in opposition to Western or West Indian concepts, or to privilege African or Asian roots but indeed to enrich the debate about theorization of literature and to show the power of the hybrid to expand consciousness whatever its beginnings. Most of all though, I have invested heavily in the search for that special use of language that is poetry. I set up Cane Arrow Press and published the first retrospective anthology of the nation's poetry. It is work in progress and I am pressing on with it despite the attendant difficulties.

16.00-16.30 Tea and Coffee

16.35 – 18.30, PLENARY: READINGS ON AFRICA IN THE DANFORD ROOM

To close the conference there will be a series of readings given by Stewart Brown, Jon Morley, Femi Oyeboade, Toby Green, Jo Skelt, Ian Dieffenthaler, Juanita Westmaas, Benedetta Rossi, Jon Morley, and Stewart Brown. A celebratory reception accompanied by wine will be held at the readings.

Femi Oyeboade was born in Lagos and studied medicine at Ibadan. He trained in psychiatry in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and has been Consultant Psychiatrist in Birmingham since 1986. He is Professor of Psychiatry, University of Birmingham. He has published 7 volumes of poetry including *Master of the Leopard Hunt & Indigo Camwood* and *Mahogany Red*. His most recent book is *Madness at The Theatre*, published in 2012.

Toby Green is a writer and lecturer. Lecturer in Lusophone African History and Culture at King's College London, he is also the author of a diverse body of non-fiction, including biography, criticism, history and travel literature, and his books have been translated into 10 languages. He has contributed reviews to the Independent, the London Review of Books and the TLS. *Imaginary Crimes* is his first novel which will be published by Mkuki na Nyota in July 2013.

www.toby-green.com

Ian Dieffenthaler grew up in Trinidad, qualified as an architect at the Universities of Bristol and Wales and was awarded a PhD by the University of Birmingham for his work on the evolution of West Indian poetry in Britain. He has published the critical history of that poetry in *Snow on Sugarcane* [CSP 2009]. Amongst his publications are *Crossed Suns* [2009], a collection of poetry and *Sixty Poems for Haiti* [Cane Arrow Press, 2010 as editor], an anthology to raise funds following the 2010 earthquake. From time to time, he also reviews poetry for journals such as *Wasafiri*.

Joanna Skelt is completing PhD study at the Centre for West African Studies. She teaches creative writing at MAC, Birmingham and works on community writing and citizenship projects. Joanna has written teaching materials in Social Studies and Citizenship for Ghana, Sierra Leone and Jamaica and was advisor for an Oxfam publication on Making Sense of World Conflicts through English teaching. She is a published poet and was shortlisted for Birmingham Poet Laureate in 2011.

Juanita Westmaas recently completed her thesis Edgar Mittelholzer (1909-1965) and the Shaping of his Novels at the University of Birmingham. Her publications include 'Edgar Mittelholzer: A Caribbean Voice' (Stabroek News and Guyana Review 2008), 'Music and Symbolism in Edgar Mittelholzer's The Life and Death of Sylvia' (Guyana Arts Journal, 2009) and the introductions to the republished editions of Mittelholzer's Corentyne Thunder (Peepal Tree Press, 2009) and The Life and Death of Sylvia (Peepal Tree Press, 2010). Forthcoming publications include a critical anthology, In the Eye of the Storm – Edgar Mittelholzer (1909-1965) and a compendium of Mittelholzer's early works including his short stories, plays and unpublished poems. She is currently working on a collection of poems (exploring identity and displacement) and was a judge on the panel for The Guyana Prize for Literature 2010.

Benedetta Rossi is Lecturer in the Department of African Studies and Anthropology of the University of Birmingham. Regionally, her research focuses on Sahelian West Africa, primarily Hausa and Tuareg societies. Thematically, she has published on twentieth-century labour history, slavery and emancipation, migration, and development. 'Azawagh: Resistance': at this session, Benedetta will read five short texts illustrative of Tuareg resistance in the Azawagh and Ader regions of today's Republic of Niger in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Readings will include her free translations of Tuareg poems and will be accompanied by a brief comment drawing from her research in this area. These texts shed light on how their authors experienced colonial conquest and the following rearrangements in political relations, with consequences extending into present-day events in Mali and Niger.

Jon Morley is Programme Director at Writers' Centre Norwich. He has previously programmed and produced theatre shows, concerts and outdoor arts festivals for The Drum in Birmingham, been a publisher and literary activist in Coventry and taught writing and literature at the University of Warwick, Coventry University and the Workers' Education Association. He contributed essays to The Oxford Companion to Black British History and has edited the work of numerous Caribbean writers, both historical figures and contemporaries. His poetry, which won an Eric Gregory Award, was included in The Allotment (Stride) and Voice Recognition (Bloodaxe), and he has performed from his pamphlet and jazz CD Backra Man at festivals in Scotland, Ireland, Trinidad, Slovakia, Portugal and Brazil.

Stewart Brown has edited or co-edited several anthologies of African and Caribbean writing, most recently The Oxford Book of Caribbean Poetry and, with Ian McDonald, The Bowling was Superfine: West Indian Writers on West Indian cricket. He has also edited critical studies of the great West Indian poets Derek Walcott, Kamau Brathwaite and Martin Carter. As a poet he received a Gregory Award in 1976 and has subsequently published four collections of poetry, most recently Elsewhere: new and selected poems. A collection of his essays on poetry, Tourist, Traveller, Troublemaker, was published in 2007.

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