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ANR XenAfPol

The politics of xenophobic exclusion in Africa: mobilisations, local orders and violence

Programme description

December 2010

1. General context

Over the last two decades, major political changes have transformed daily life in many African societies. While the so-called 1990s democratic transitions have not ended the various forms of authoritarian practices which survive in many countries, they have nonetheless opened space for a flurry of political parties, civil society organisations, religious movements and NGOs. With decentralisation and the general decline of central state power, local governments have gradually acquired unprecedented responsibilities and resources. Their ascendance and seemingly endless (and mostly externally-driven) State reforms have created complicated and often conflicting overlaps between spheres and levels of government. The political economy of the continent has dramatically changed too. Paradoxically, its economic marginalisation since the end of the colonial period has reinforced its economic dependence on aid: with arguably the South African exception, African states and economies are more and more dependent on international donors, African migrants’ remittances and the export of oil, gas and minerals. The last decade of economic growth has not been sufficient to lift the continent out of the poverty trap. The struggle over the control of resources has thus been exacerbated within this context of relative (and absolute) deprivation and increasing political competition. As rural agriculture further declines in the face of drought and desertification, conflicts for remaining—often urban—resources are only likely to heighten.

As the African population continues to grow and move, the continent’s societies have seen increasing social, cultural, linguistic and economic heterogeneity. Cities and metropolitan areas have now reached a crossroads where local authorities have little effective control over the socio-economic processes which they have been charged to manage. These phenomena may be related to the



globalisation of economies and political regional integration processes as well as new local mobilisations around access to resources and political voice. The various waves of rural exodus towards capital cities in particular resulted in profound and now well documented forms of urban transformation. More recent voluntary and forced movements and forms of inclusion and exclusion going along with them contribute to a rapidly evolving redistribution of power and space that is at once highly visible but yet poorly understood. These forms of exclusion are more apparent in large cities but are also present in rural areas. What makes this particularly visible today in several countries across the continent is the fact that exclusion has taken the form of violent attacks targeting more specifically foreigners or groups identified as ethnic, political, or religious outsiders. This project aims to document these phenomena in two specific areas: that of the changing social dynamics at work in the continent between hosts and strangers, nationals and foreigners and that of the role of the State in managing cultural diversity and socio-economic differentiation.

1.1 Context and economic and social challenges

While colonial powers across the continent imposed strict and often racist controls over mobilities towards and within cities, greater freedom of movement and settlement has not necessarily relieved urban areas of the segregationist, exclusive settlement patterns generated by past policies.. Episodes of organised and somewhat violent State constraint over mobility and urbanisation are well known such as for instance Frelimo's Operation Production in Maputo, massive deportation of West Africans from Nigeria or South Africa's massive removals from cities under apartheid and current deportation policy to neighbouring countries. Since the demise of colonial and post-colonial harsh authoritarian orders, various forms of popular mobilisation against those identified as outsiders have emerged. Among the flurry of such mobilisations, there has been a distinct questioning of the legitimacy of certain categories of residents to enjoy certain rights and benefit from certain resources. This has led to redefining boundaries between insiders and outsiders, sometimes in extremely violent terms across countries (Ivory Coast since the late 1990s, Kenya 2007; South Africa 2008). In other instances, the outcome of such exclusionary discourses and mobilisations have only affected specific cities and parts of countries such as the Kivus and Katanga Province in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1991 and 1993 or in some Nigerian cities or states (especially since the return of a civilian regime in 1999). While some of these episodes of violence have concentrated much media coverage and scholarly attention, they have rarely been considered in their full historical and political ramifications as moments of crisis in longer-term continuums of exclusionary policies and practices. This is what this project proposes to do through a set of case studies in a selection of four countries that will more specifically interrogate the nature and role played by the local dimension of these politics of exclusion in relation with broader institutional and structural dynamics.

1.2 Positioning the project



This research project seeks to distinguish itself from several different trends in the study of African societies which have produced a rich and diverse literature in the recent years. First, in tackling xenophobic¹ forms of exclusion (from their inception down to violent occurrences or demobilisation), it intends to move away from the study of violent groups seeking to overtake power either nationally or regionally, and the approaches in terms of economies of war and armed conflicts which go along with these (Foucher 2007, Marchal, Hassner 2003, Messiant 2008, de Waal 2007, Banégas 2006, Marriage 2006, Cramer 2006) or for an econometric approach (Collier, Sambanis 2005). Some have also more specifically focused on the (re)emergence of militia groups and how democratisation processes had opened space for these groups either as political auxiliaries in electoral campaigns in particular or as local security forces (Maupeu 2002, Anderson 2005, Burs, Jensen 2004). While these are also concerned with issues of legitimacy and claims on space, they focus mostly on constituted and fairly formalised groups and situations of durable conflicts. We are interested in different situations that are potentially anterior to the ones described in the literature above or may be disconnected from them.

Second, although it intends to use it conceptually (see below), the project distinguishes itself from the rich literature on autochthony mainly through the methodologies used which will in addition to ethnographic localised case studies also explore systematically archival and institutional data. It will include two important country case studies that have faced two opposite trends which cannot be reduced to autochthony: South Africa in which autochthony has hardly been used as a framework of analysis and Nigeria where it has become a public policy, which is by and large accepted by most Nigerians, a dimension which is yet not fully explored in the literature.

In terms of thematic areas, this project is firmly rooted in various traditions of Africanist social sciences and tightly fits into the ANR call. It questions at least three key dimensions related to the analysis of societal transformation in contemporary Africa in a diachronic perspective. First of all, we hope that the study of institutionalised and parallel forms of exclusion targeted at “alien” groups will produce material informing critically our knowledge of statecraft at the local level in particular, and question the relevance and historicity of the “democratic participatory local government” model. While this has become a leitmotiv of international cooperation and of decentralisation reforms in developing countries, we actually know little about its effectiveness and the unexpected effects of its implementation. Some authors (Dubresson A. 2005, Bénit-Gbaffou 2009) argue that it may lead to further fragmentation in already extremely divided urban or even rural contexts, either because it multiplies structures and institutions in an already institutionally saturated environment and leads to inefficiency, or because the redistributive nature of such structures lends itself to the financial and political greed of previously marginalised groups. Others have mentioned that decentralisation policies instead of forging a local democratic culture have extended dominant political party at the local level, especially in authoritarian regimes (Crook, Manor 1998, Otayek 2009). The unexpected effects of

¹ A full discussion of the term and reasons for its choice is provided in 2.1.

decentralisation have thus shaped very differently local political societies. This aspect fits into thematic area 2.2.4 of the ANR call on metropolisation and territorial recomposition.

The second important question that this project intends to explore deals with violence as a means of political expression and a specific strategy within broader patterns of social mobilisation. Is xenophobic violence the result of an absence of other political means of expression or a failure to use them or is it rather the legacy of a historical treatment of specific categories of population or a contamination from other sectors of society? Are there links between state policies and popular mobilisation against foreigners and outsiders? What is the degree of orchestration of this violence? Who exactly are the perpetrators? And how do they organise? Are the reasons for resorting to violence and the triggers leading to it similar or comparable between places? What sort of relations do the groups mobilising against outsiders maintain with local and other authorities? Where do they situate themselves in relation with social movements which sometimes also condone violence as a means of political protest (Landless People's Movement; Anti-Privatization Campaign; Treatment Action Campaign in South Africa)? Have these different groups (when they are actually identified as groups) demonstrated their capacity to transform political agendas substantially? The project therefore intends to contribute to the current renewed interest for social movements in Africa (Siméant, Pommerolle 2008, Ballard, Habib & Valodia 2006, Robins 2008) and situate these forms of anti-outsider mobilisation within the broader spectrum of current social mobilisations in each of the countries under study. This is where the project addresses more specifically thematic area 2.3.1 of the ANR call on statecraft.

The third field in which this project inserts itself is that of the understanding of the spatial determinants of identity formation in diverse post-colonial societies. Precisely at a time when decentralisation reforms are premised on the idea that more devolution of power to local authorities should help smooth out territorial divides including in terms of identity and cultural claims, it seems necessary to revisit the actual links between identity formation and spatial determinants. This will in turn help us define whether the observed patterns of exclusion and violence are of the same nature or not between and even within countries. This is in line with questionings identified in thematic areas 2.1.4 and 2.4 of the ANR call on the reinvention of national, local and religious identities and on the specific role played by migrants in the production of local identities.

Both in its conceptual and methodological design, the project seeks to diversify the usual approaches to exclusion by developing urban, local or regional perspectives as well as by coming back to issues of statecraft and nuances in scales and national trajectories.

Besides the production of scholarly knowledge that intends to fill out some of the existing gaps in the understanding of xenophobic exclusion in Africa, the other ambition of this project is to produce policy-relevant research, that is research that attempts to answer questions defined by scientific agendas but that is pertinent to inform decision-makers' understanding of societal trends and enrich their final choices. In particular, in tracing the historical ruptures and continuities and their connection to contemporary trends as well as the specificities of each national and sub-national contexts, we hope

to help decision-makers move away from at least three major pitfalls commonly observed in policy-making circles:

1. First of all, this kind of project should provide material and analyses that will militate against the kind of ready-made technical tool kits too often suggested or imposed by international organisations and donors, or sometimes sought after by national governments in designing responses to exclusionary practices²;
2. Secondly, its strong historical perspective should help fight against the illusion of the false novelty of xenophobic exclusion which almost systematically leads to 'new' solutions. Rather, it will encourage and document an identification of the actual triggers behind passages to violence, including the role of public policies and of successive waves of reform;
3. Finally, results from the project and their dissemination should help in moving away from the idea that migration and urbanisation are the negative causes behind xenophobic violence which often goes along with the other assumption that they are reversible phenomena. The hope is to draw attention to the challenges as well as the potential benefits of diversity and more specifically to the ways in which some localities have communities that manage to design their own pacific arrangements in spite of adversarial socio-economic and political conditions.

As African cities are exponentially growing and will keep doing so in the next fifty years at least, not only as an outcome of natural growth but as a result of sustained migration (United Nations Development Programme 2009), they will also necessarily become more complex in terms of diversity and spatial distribution of resources. Their relations with their hinterlands and immediate surroundings (peri-urban areas) will also be placed under greater pressure. The case studies planned for this project should provide robust comparative elements enabling policy-makers to improve, according to their specific national trajectories, the role of and coordination between their different spheres of government in the management of this inevitable increase in diversity and adaptations to it.

2. Technical and scientific description

2.1 Literature review

*From **autochthony** studies to the understanding of **xenophobic** exclusion*

Most of the time the word "xenophobia" refers to discourses and practices that are discriminatory towards foreign nationals: the 2008 attacks in South Africa have been said to be "xenophobic" while measures or practices against other African citizens are also termed "xenophobic" for instance in post-colonial Gabon, Botswana or Nigeria (Gray 1998, Nyamjoh 2006). Autochthony, by contrast, expresses the claim to have settled first in a certain place and to now be rooted in the soil (Geschiere, Nyamjoh 2000). In North America, and by extension, in the works of scholars influenced by North American

² For a criticism of this tendency leading to the depoliticisation of aid intervention and State reform in Africa, see in particular (Ferguson 1990) and (Darbon 2003).

literature, the term “nativism” is also frequently used. Both autochthony and nativism bear strong connections with two other key dimensions of political identities: territory and citizenship. Autochthony and nativism refer to a kind of ‘internal xenophobia’ linked to a “new nationalism” or second nationalism which is no longer directed towards other countries but against non citizens living within an African state (Kersting 2009, Aké 1996). In most cases however, differences between xenophobia and autochthony are blurred and, in the literature on the African continent, it is hard to find a conceptual difference between the two. Quite logically, in some of the continent’s violent conflicts, in Ivory Coast, Eastern DRC or Rwanda for instance, the politics of exclusion rely on a repertoire targeting all of those considered as outsiders, be they from within or from outside the nation state. Despite this, it is probably not totally satisfactory to consider those different terms (xenophobia, autochthony and nativism) as equivalent both as categories of analysis and as categories of action. As mentioned by Peter Geschiere, the words ‘autochthonous’ and ‘autochthony’ have different meanings within different national contexts. While we use the word “xenophobia” as a generic key word for this project, we however have the intention to problematise the multiple meanings of the various notions associated with it (autochthony, nativism, indigenenity and even ethnicity) in the four countries selected for the project.

While it will not remain confined to it, the project will make use of the vast literature devoted recently to the rhetoric and practice of autochthony, and more particularly to the mobilization of multiple repertoires (ethnicity, territory, nationalism, ancestral land ownership, etc) in the struggles for a redefinition of citizenship (Bayart, J-F., P.Geschiere & F. Nyamjoh 2001, Comaroff, Comaroff 2001, Meyer, Geschiere 1999, Kersting 2009, Jackson 2006). This debate includes discourses on imagined communities which are shaped by national and local historical narratives in most African countries: autochthony discourses have in common to conceive allochthons as a threat against the local community and to resort to varied metaphors associated with order, social control, purity and public health (Geschiere, Nyamjoh 2000). At the centre of studies of autochthony also stands an analysis of the struggle over land. Historically, access to land symbolized local or regional citizenship in many African societies (Dorman, S., Hammett, D., Nugent, P. 2007). In contemporary Africa, claims over land have typically been expressed in terms of rights of first and later comers, a situation which dramatically increased competition in the countryside (Crummey 2005, Lund 1998, Chauveau 2000, Kuba, Lentz 2006) and which fuels major national conflicts (Liberia, Ivory Coast or Eastern DRC) (Boas 2009, Vircoulon 2009).

Autochthony has been analyzed through two historical moments in Africa. Firstly, as mentioned by Bayart, Geschiere & Nyamnjoh (2001), autochthony is part of the formation of the colonial and the postcolonial state which dramatically shaped the categories of citizens and subjects, of ‘first’ and ‘late’ comers. If those categories were already found in pre-colonial Africa, colonial authorities generally contributed to the reification of boundaries between the former and the latter (Kuba, 2006, Mamdani,

2001). For Geschiere and Jackson, most colonial regimes were inspired by the idea that people should be kept where they belonged as this would facilitate colonial ruling over them (Jackson 2006: 4). Secondly, the upsurge of notions of autochthony has to be placed in the broader context of the 'global conjuncture of belonging' (Geschiere 2009). In Africa the notion has especially been associated with the 1990s democratization and decentralization processes which have had the paradoxical effect of triggering an obsession for belonging (ibid 6). According to Whitaker (Whitaker 2005), the use of the label 'stranger' to disqualify opposition parties has accompanied the democratization of authoritarian regimes in different African countries. However, if these two periods are central in shaping the politics of belonging, there is no consensus among scholars about the link (or the lack of links) between colonial and contemporary practices. For some authors, while the promotion of national citizenship and the idea of 'nation-building' had dominated the 1970s and 1980s, the following two decades (1990s and 2000s) then represented a radical break with the former period (Geschiere and Nyamnjoh 2000: 425). For other scholars, there could be a historical continuity that has not been undermined by post independence and nationalist periods, for instance in Nigeria and Ivory Coast (Chauveau 2000, Akinyele 2009, Fourchard 2009, Marshall-Fratani 2006) while in South Africa and the DRC, this historical legacy does not clearly appear. Altogether this literature shows the necessity to deepen our historical understanding of xenophobia and autochthony in Africa.

In parallel with this trend, there is growing academic concern for exclusion from public services and violence related to it in megacities of the South (Davies 2006, Neuwirth 2005, Koonings, Druijt 2009). However, other authors have challenged a perception of megacities in Africa (and more generally in the South) seen exclusively as shantytowns, as places of violence and chaos (Mbembe, Nuttall 2004). It is thus important to avoid the kind of chaotic vision all too often associated with urbanization in Africa through focusing on three specific points. First, xenophobic exclusion does not automatically lead to violence as shown by the complicated political geography of violence during inter-ethnic violence in Nigeria, during the 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa, or in the post electoral period in Kenya in 2008 (Douglas 2002, Misago, Landau & Monson 2008, Calas 2008). Kinshasa could even be a counter-example where, despite extreme competition for very scarce basic resources, specific anti-outsider mobilizations are few and do not seem to degenerate into systematic violence. Second, xenophobic violence may in some cases be only one aspect of a broader political concern over the lack of service delivery, the lack of housing and the struggle over limited resources. While much more research needs to be done, the very sharp increase in service delivery protests in South Africa in the past three years points to some connections, in terms of types of mobilization, rhetoric and forms of violence (Sinwell et al. 2009). In other countries, xenophobic violence goes far beyond routine xenophobic practices as other economic, political and religious concerns often motivate such mobilization (Fourchard 2007, Higazi 2007). Third, in Nigeria, South Africa and Kenya, any study of xenophobic violence should take into account similarities and differences with organizations which rely on violence to achieve their political and/or criminal aims (vigilante, militia, political party wings, religious militants or armed gangs) (Maupeu 2002, Anderson 2005, Burs, Jensen 2004, Pratten, Gore 2003, Pratten 2008, Kynoch 2003). While this literature has largely helped better understand these organizations from within, it only superficially dealt with the specific issue of xenophobic exclusion.

The scale of analysis in the four countries

The political history of exclusion is different in the four countries selected for the project and unsurprisingly each national research agenda has been largely shaped by its national perspective. 1) **Nigeria** has institutionalized exclusion towards non indigenes since the colonial period and many researchers have looked at the unexpected effects of policy at the federal, regional and local level (Akinyele 2009, Fourchard 2009, Douglas 2002, Higazi 2007, Bach 1997). While there are two categories of citizens (indigenes and non indigenes) in the 36 states of the federation, it is not clear why indigenous claims led to violence in some cases (most notably in Ile/ Ife, Plateau State, Warri) and how citizens have accommodated this institutional difference in other parts of Nigeria. 2) Because of the nature of apartheid in **South Africa**, pre-1994 studies have focused almost exclusively on migrant labour from an economic and/or race and class perspective, paying scant attention to differences and tensions between local and foreign workers. (Paton, Institute of Social Studies 1995, Crush, Jeeves & Yudelman 1991, Jeeves 1985). More recent research have fairly well documented the state of South African public opinion on foreigners (Crush, et al. 2008), the continuation of discriminatory institutional patterns (Vigneswaran 2009, Wa Kabwe-Segatti 2008, Posel 2004, Posel 1991), issues of access to resources (Greenberg, Polzer 2008, Polzer, Akech 2007), and tensions between African foreigners and South Africans in the emerging grey areas of Johannesburg or in the Rand mines or in border towns (Morris 1998, Kynoch, 2006). However, to the exception of Misago et al.'s work on the micro-local politics of xenophobia following the 2008 riots (Misago, Landau & Monson 2008), peri-urban areas and the dynamics of identity formation in these transit zones around Johannesburg and even more so Cape Town are still poorly documented. 3) In the **DRC**, the concept of xenophobia has mainly been used in the context of the 1990s and 2000s wars, with a specific focus on Tutsis in the Eastern parts of the country, and the hunting down of Rwandan Tutsis in Kinshasa in 2001. Although not documented in great detail, the legacy of colonial urban and industrial development in establishing divides between local peripheral populations and immigrant elites is regularly referred to in the literature on the Katanga or the Bas-Congo regions and for Elisabethville, Coquilhatville, Stanleyville and Leopoldville (Young 1994, Young, Turner 1985, Ndaywel è Nziem 1997, Bakajika Banjikila 1997, Dibwe dia Mwembu 2006a, Dibwe dia Mwembu 2006b). These have most of the time been referred to as ethnic tensions and violence. Besides these works however, forms of inclusion and exclusion of migrant communities in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi have hardly retained scholars' attention. In **Kenya**, the history and sociology of political violence has been central especially for the Mau Mau War; and since the democratic transition in the early 1990s (Anderson 2005, Bermnan, Lonsdale 1992). Nativism, xenophobia and conflicts over urban space are linked to a range of state and social political processes flavoured by long standing unease over urbanisation and uncontrolled mobility. Widespread discrimination against Somalis, for example, reflects both nationalism and ethnic chauvinism animated by competition over land and trade. Elsewhere ethnic discrimination is linked to local electoral struggles with leaders spatially organising their constituency to strengthen their ethnic support base (Anderson 2005, Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence 2008). The mobilization of an ethnic repertoire for instance in the 2007 elections

is only one aspect of various forms of violence (social protest by youth, opportunist armed gangs, self-defence organizations and well trained militia groups) which have affected both urban and rural areas. Despite this, empirical research on these mobilizations remains limited to some specific areas or fields of research (on militias for instance).

2.2. Project aims

This extremely concise overview of the literature shows that there is both an increasing academic concern for understanding exclusion and violence directed at groups identified as outsiders in Africa and some crucial gaps in the literature which remain to be addressed. The first question to ask is on the scientific notions to be used by the researcher. As discussed previously (2.1), while we have decided for the sake of simplification to use xenophobia, other terms such as ethnicity, nativism, or autochthony are used unevenly, sometimes with similar, sometimes with different meanings in national contexts (autochthony, indigeneity in Nigeria, ethno-regional tensions and anti-foreigner/invasion reactions in the DRC, xenophobia, nativism and chauvinism in South Africa and ethnicity and chauvinism in Kenya). But who categorizes these forms of exclusion and violence as xenophobic, ethnic, autochthonous, religious or communal? To what extent does this categorization derive from state actors and potentially from external agencies and informs state policies, the media and public perceptions? And do these categories of violence make sense for the researcher? This epistemological question on the meanings and scientific validity of this terminology is a cross-cutting issue that each case study in each country will explore. Besides this, three major sets of ambitious and challenging questions described below will also guide us.

a. History, politics and place

If most authors agree on the importance of history to understand xenophobic practices and discourses in Africa, there is less consensus on whether the recent xenophobic resurgence is only the remaking of an old problem shaped by colonialism, or a new phenomenon shaped by heightened political competition or possibly both, with historical continuities between the two periods. The history of autochthony is not just a side issue reserved to a limited circle of academics. It is taken very seriously by promoters of autochthony themselves: building de-historicised identities is a powerful instrument to establish direct connections between primordial affiliations and 'natural' rights. The rhetoric of autochthony also build links between local history, national narratives and global discourses on the rights of indigenous people which testifies to a wish to include these claims in a discourse on modernity rather than on tradition. There is thus an important challenge both as academics and as citizens to retrace competing historical and contemporary claims over locality and to confront these narratives with historical sources.

Why some communities do resort to xenophobic violence is as central a question as why many others do not. There is a necessity for a better understanding of place (Moore 1998, Massey 1995),

understood in the broad sense (i.e. a village, a city or an administrative scale such as local government, a city region, a province or a state (for a federal state like Nigeria). The phenomena that we are intending to observe—forms of xenophobic exclusion and violence—are certainly not specific to cities. They encompass much broader political spaces in terms of institutional frameworks and mobilisations. This is why, while the project will mainly focus on megacities and secondary ones, it will do so without using the “city” as its unit of analysis but rather the political and social dynamics observed in terms of xenophobic exclusion in all their socio-spatial scope. In doing so we hope to avoid two specific pitfalls: one is an overemphasis on the micro-local to the detriment or neglect of other levels and spheres of government and the interconnectedness between them; the other is the depiction of urban and rural societies as undifferentiated in terms of affiliations and class interests. One of our contentions is that it is growing differentiation between people and spaces (in terms of socio-economic indicators but also in terms of expectations, political affiliations, etc) within and beyond cities that are at the root of anti-outsider mobilisations. The project will therefore pay specific attention to the scope of mobilisations and their dynamics *in* cities as this is still poorly addressed in the literature on urban violence. But it will also look *beyond* cities, in particular in peri-urban areas which are increasingly bearing the brunt of so many African cities’ developmental hick-ups. This focus on the politics of place would not be done *per se*, but through an analysis of the articulation between local, regional, national and international scales.

b. Forms of mobilizations, counter mobilization and demobilization

Violence can be claimed to be used on behalf of a group while only a restricted number of people in the group actually participate in it. The claim to share an exclusive identity is not a sufficient explanation. Instead, there is a real need to distance the analysis from any “*illusion identitaire*” (Bayart 1996), and instead to consistently insist on the fact that group identification and affiliation are always contextual, relative and multiple (Bayart, *ibid.*: 98). There is thus a need to look at the multiple forms of collective mobilizations in identifying key actors and organizations behind those rhetoric and practices of exclusion. On the one hand, media and sometimes academic reports may identify very large categories involved (Christians/Muslims, Autochthons/Allochthons, National/Foreigner) which are of little help to understand the detailed process of mobilization. On the other hand, the growing literature on vigilantism, armed organizations and political parties have documented these organizations from within but a more systematic approach of their role in the day to day xenophobic exclusion and processes of violent mobilization remains to be done. Similarly there may be an articulation, albeit it poorly understood, between a high level of violent crime, the number of professional groups of armed violence especially in South Africa, in Kenya, and in Nigeria, and the violent mobilization against outsiders or migrants. Certainly, the lack of coordinated and efficient reactions from state agencies (e.g. police, army, justice, disaster management) allow xenophobic mobilizations to become larger, more radical and more widespread. However, the involvement of the state in these confrontations remains ambiguous and unclear on the ground as well as in academic literature. Research needs also to clarify forms of counter mobilization and demobilization. We may assume that the capacity of ‘civil society

organizations', governmental agencies, political parties and religious organizations to mobilize citizens against exclusion appears to be stronger in South Africa and DRC and weaker in Nigeria and Kenya but empirical research needs to explore this new field of research. Eventually if the demobilization of soldiers is fairly well informed in the armed conflict literature, this is still poorly understood in the case of xenophobic violence. To what extent and for what reasons organizations which used to be xenophobic and violent change objectives and how their ranks came demobilized?

c. State retreat or State embeddedness?

While various explanatory models of xenophobic violence (relative deprivation, cultures of violence, tolerance thresholds, etc) models have their merits and should be considered as complementing each other, they are also lacking in answering some of the broader questions this project is intending to address: Is the violence observed recently in our four countries a symptom of resistance to public authorities' attempts at asserting the State's various disciplinary regimes (Dean 1996) in politically and socio-economically marginal areas? Or are these series of attacks reflecting public authorities' failure and their subsequent de-legitimation in the eyes of African population following a pattern already observed elsewhere on the continent as well as in sections of emerging countries? In other words, are these instances of State absence or failure in socio-economically deprived areas merely "brown areas" (O'Donnell, Schmitter & Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.Latin American Program 1986) to be "treated" as atypical concentrations of negative factors both structural and topical, both socio-economic and political? Or are these areas the omen of more profound and widespread dysfunctional governance issues and of patterns (and not just epiphenomena) of popular mobilisation? How can scientific research help us distinguish between popular myths, political rhetoric and the objective state of data? These different questions point to a triangular relation between population, territory and normative orders but they do not establish clearly what the nature of that relation is, nor at which scale(s) it becomes manifest. While there is a vast scholarly literature on 'failed' (weak, quasi, collapsed or ghost) states (Zartman 1995, Fukuyama 2004, Gross 1996), we concur with many other authors that such generalisations based on broad data set analyses not only profer a normative Weberian perspective but are often anhistorically used to assess state development in Africa in ways that have little heuristic value (Dolek 2008). They conceal historical trajectories; actual learning processes and bureaucratic developments (Bierschenk 2008), and possibly the respective responsibilities and complicity of multilateral agencies and donors in addition to that of developing countries' governments in failed reforms of public administrations (Darbon 2003). Even in the case of DRC that is probably the closest proxy to a failed state in our selection, our approach here will be much more about documenting the workings of the state and social mobilisations and demobilisations using non normative, historical and ethnographic methods.

3. Scientific programme, project structure and management and work plan:

3.1 Research structure and scientific programme:

Research structure

Building on long-term local collaborations, this project will synthesise existing knowledge and generate new comparative perspectives. This approach will help validate or invalidate and generalise the knowledge we have of xenophobic exclusion across African countries at different scales. Within countries, we intend to shift from an over-emphasis on capital cities to other localities such as peri-urban areas and at a broader scale such as the province for instance. Between countries, we will both compare current patterns of exclusion and violence against outsiders as well as try to trace continuities and ruptures over time. The way in which the research work has been conceived for the project is an attempt at reflecting that.

This research project has been designed in 4 main phases in order to:

1. capitalize on research conducted previously by project participants and share with the group in order to identify specific analytical gaps;
2. design common comparative framework and methods from the project inception;
3. conduct fieldwork to produce original data and explore possibilities of joint studies across countries in a second phase of fieldwork;
4. and reunite at regular intervals in order to write collectively.

Research focus areas

Although much more detailed work is expected to be conducted in the first phase of the project, the literature review and theoretical framework identified above indicate two main directions in which to launch our investigations:

1. Inclusion, exclusion and discrimination (access to urban land and resources): policies, institutions and parallel orders
2. The politics of mobilisation, demobilisation and counter-mobilisation against outsiders

These two research focus areas are conceived as cross-cutting themes over the four countries considered. However, in the initial phase, participants will split along these two areas. Projects would be distributed as follows (a full tentative title and participants' profile are provided in the table in 5.2) :

3.2 Project management:

Laurent Fourchard from CEAN Bordeaux is the project Principal Coordinator. Aurelia Segatti, from the African Centre for Migration and Society, University of the Witwatersrand, will assist him in the administrative & scientific coordination.

Structure:



Central coordination by CEAN / Bordeaux (Laurent Fourchard) with joint scientific and administrative management by Aurelia Segatti (African Centre for Migration & Society, Wits University);

Financial partner: 1 UMIFRE (Institut Français d'Afrique du Sud-IFAS-Research, Johannesburg) with responsibility over financial management (of "*prestataires de service*"), logistics and dissemination of results;

Scientific partners providing staff and intellectual input: Centre of Governance and Human Rights in Cambridge, part of the Department of Politics and International Studies, King's College (Cambridge University); Centre of African Studies (University of Oxford); Forced Migration Studies Programme (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa); Institute for Development Studies (University of Nairobi, Kenya); Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Kinshasa, DRC; The French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA) Ibadan, Nigeria.

3.3 Time frame and work plan

The project runs between January 2011 and January 2014. A detailed work plan will be posted after the inception meeting to be held in Johannesburg in February 2011.

4. Dissemination

4.1 Scholarly publications

Different publications projects in English and French will be submitted to peer-reviewed journals. In the case of calls, these will be advertised on the partner institutions' websites.

4.2 Teaching

Several of the partner institutions and participants in the project are actively involved in postgraduate teaching in their respective institutions (MA in Risk Management and International Cooperation and Development at CEAN, Bordeaux; MA in Migration Studies at FMSP Wits; MAs in African History and Politics in Cambridge and Oxford; MA in African Politics at UNIKIN; MA in Development Studies at the University of Nairobi). This research will directly feed into these respective degree programmes. While it would be premature at this stage of the project to plan more detailed cross-fertilising collaborations in teaching, it is hoped that such sub-projects, in the form of a jointly taught module for instance, would emerge as participants collaborate. In particular, this would help bridge existing gaps in teaching curricula (across regions and languages as well as in terms of periods studied and/or exchanges on methods and theoretical frameworks).

4.3 Public and internal communication

The scientific project will be hosted on the coordinator's web site (www.cean.sciencespobordeaux.fr), on the financial partners' website (IFAS in Johannesburg www.ifas.org.za) and on the four other scientific partners' websites : African Studies Centre at Oxford University (www.africanstudies.ox.ac.uk),



Kings College at Cambridge (<http://www.polis.cam.ac.uk/cghr/>), Forced Migration Studies Programme at Wits University, Johannesburg (www.migration.org.za), Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi (www.uonbi.ac.ke/faculties/ids/html/). For practical reasons, the interactive platform for posting working documents and the creation of a joint bibliographical data base (on RefWorks) will be hosted at Wits University.

The creation of this network will increase media expectations on researchers. Each researcher already informs major media in France, the UK and various African countries, especially during periods of crisis. Having one general coordinator of the project in France, assisted by a full-time researcher in South Africa and by country coordinators will help to direct the media to the right specialists. The fact that such a network will be coordinated in France will probably raise French media awareness and government departments' interest in the issues considered (Defence, Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation in particular).

5. Organisation of the partnership:

5.1 Partners

There are **three European partners** in the project: the **Centre for African Studies (CEAN)** at **Sciences Po Bordeaux**, the **Centre of Governance and Human Rights**, Department of Politics and International Studies, King's College, **Cambridge** University, and the **Centre for African Studies**, University of **Oxford**.

The **Centre for African Studies (CEAN)** at the Institute of Political Science in Bordeaux is a research centre created in 1957 and is one of the main research centres in France devoted to the political analysis of African societies. This Unité Mixte de Recherche (UMR 5115) of the Centre national de la Recherche scientifique (CNRS) and of Science Po Bordeaux is associated to the National Foundation of Political Science in Paris (FNPS). With Oxford, CEAN is also a founding member of the African European Group on African Studies (AEGIS), the main European network of scholars working on Africa. There is a long tradition of comparative politics in the centre and multidisciplinary programs have been developing fast in the last years involving a team of twenty researchers and lecturers in political science, history, geography and anthropology. CEAN will be the financial basis for European scholars and Ph D students, will host the second coordination seminar of the project and be the coordination centre.

The **Centre for African Studies at the University of Oxford** is one of the world's leading centres for the study of Africa. The African Studies Centre, within the School of Interdisciplinary Area Studies, acts as a focal point for graduate level work and faculty research on Africa. More than 150 students are currently registered for doctoral degrees in African topics.

The **Centre of Governance and Human Rights**, part of the Department of Politics and International Studies, King's College, **Cambridge** University represents the last partner in Europe. This centre was launched by the department of Politics and International studies in November 2009..

In Africa, the **main financial partner** is the **French Institute of South Africa**. Established by the French Department of Foreign Affairs on the 12th of May 1995, IFAS-Research is a Centre National de la



Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) Research unit (UMIFRE 25) funded by the French Department of Foreign and European Affairs. Its regional mandate over Southern Africa is bringing IFAS-Research to develop cross-projects on the countries of the region as well as partnerships with the Institutes of Ibadan and Nairobi on continental programmes. IFAS-Research supports around 80 researchers every year coming from the most prestigious French and European centres on Southern Africa. Its mission is to promote the creation of mixed research teams through calls for proposals as per annual programmes. IFAS-Research hosts French students and researchers during their field trips in Southern Africa and assists Southern African researchers doing research work in Europe. During the past nine years, the Institute initially emphasized the **reconstruction of space and identities in post-apartheid South Africa**, then the **observation of social and political change indicators** by favouring an interdisciplinary approach. Its current research areas are: urban transformation, international migration, African languages as a medium of education and the history and archaeology of people's settlement in Southern Africa. It was host to ANR Mitrans and has collaborated with the Forced Migration Studies Programme at Wits University since 2005. Sophie Didier, its current Director, will be the resource person for the ANR project. As an "Etablissement à Autonomie Financière", IFAS is fully authorised to coordinate and implement fieldworks in South Africa and the DRC. It is also an authorised ANR recipient.

Scientific partners in Africa are:

- **African Centre for Migration & Society (formerly Forced Migration Studies Programme), Wits University, South Africa:**

The Wits Forced Migration Studies Programme is South Africa's premier institution for the study of migration, with regional and global experience and networks. FMSP is an internationally engaged centre for teaching and research that aims to help shape global scholarly and policy debates on migration, humanitarian aid, and social transformation. FMSP's work across Southern and Eastern Africa draws on the disciplines of anthropology, sociology and political science. It has an extensive track record of scholarly publications, reports to NGOs, multilateral international organisations and government. It relies on a team of 15 full-time senior and junior researchers and on an extensive network of partner institutions and post-graduate students.

- **Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Kenya:**

The Institute for Development Studies (IDS) is one of the oldest and best-established research institutes in Africa. IDS is a multipurpose and multi-disciplinary institute within the University of Nairobi's College of Humanities and Social Sciences. It focuses on social and economic issues of development in Kenya, the rest of Africa and the world. In addition to initiating its own academic and policy-oriented research, IDS provides research services to government, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector. IDS builds capacity for the analysis of development issues through its MA and PhD programmes. IDS also encourage intellectual exchange through collaborative research and welcoming research associates.

- **Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Kinshasa, DRC:**



The Department of Political and Administrative Studies at the University of Kinshasa is host to several research initiatives besides being a teaching entity at undergraduate and postgraduate level. Since 2008, one of its Senior Lecturer, Jacques Tshibwabwa Kuditshini, has collaborated with FMSP and IFAS on a research initiative on Mobility and the Governance of Urban Space in African Cities in relation with the case study of Kinshasa (access to resources and mobility in Kinshasa's peri-urban areas) in collaboration with Aurelia Segatti.

- **French Institute of Ibadan, University of Ibadan, Nigeria:**

IFRA-Nigeria is a non-profit Institute set up to promote research in the social sciences and the humanities, as well as enhance collaborative work between scholars in France and West Africa. First established in 1990 and financed by the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Institute has now been operating from the Universities of Ibadan (Institute of African Studies) and Zaria (Institute for Development Research) since 2006. IFRA's mandate includes subsidizing research programs, granting research allowances to academics and scholars, publishing research results, holding workshops, seminars and symposia. The Institute also runs a library, a media database, and publishes a newsletter. Over the past few years, the research orientation of IFRA has revolved around problems of democratic transition, urban violence, restructuring of educational systems in Africa, transborder studies, religious networks, urban management and the politics of violence. However, a large sample of disciplines has also been represented, ranging from history to musicology, economics, linguistics, etc. Together with IFRA-Nairobi, IFRA-Nigeria is part of the UMIFRE 24, and of the USR 3336 of CNRS.

5.2 Project coordination:

Laurent Fourchard, Senior Researcher, Centre d'Etudes d'Afrique Noire (CEAN, Bordeaux): Principal Investigator

Laurent Fourchard has a ten-year experience in research project management in social sciences in Africa. As director of the French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA Nigeria) from 2000 to 2003, he initiated and coordinated two research programmes ("security and violence in Nigeria" and "transnational religious enterprises in West Africa" in collaboration with seven Nigerian and French universities) which have been completed respectively in 2003 and 2005³. In 2005, with the support of the CNRS and the University of Stellenbosch, he launched a new and large network of 60 researchers and 16 institutions on "Governing cities in Africa" (GDRI). This programme came to an end in 2009 and will be followed by a peer-reviewed publication with the HSRC Press in Pretoria in 2010⁴. A historian by training, appointed by a political science institution, editor of the main journal in political science and political anthropology on the African continent in France (*Politique africaine*), Laurent has become more

³ Laurent Fourchard and Isaac O. Albert (eds.), *Security, Crime and Segregation in West African Cities since the 19th Century*, Paris, Karthala, Ibadan, IFRA, 2003. Laurent Fourchard, André Mary et René Otayek (sous la dir.), *Entreprises religieuses transnationales en Afrique de l'Ouest*, Paris, Karthala, Ibadan, IFRA, 2005.

⁴ <http://www.gdri-africancities.org>



familiar with interdisciplinary work in those three disciplines. He works personally on vigilantism, violence, crime and the figure of the stranger in Africa. He has conducted extensive fieldwork research in Nigeria and in South Africa in the last decade and is thus familiar with the political and social environment of those two major countries in the project.

Aurelia Segatti, Senior Researcher, African Centre for Migration & Society, Wits University: Administrative coordination & scientific coordination Southern Africa

Aurelia Segatti has an eight-year experience in research project management in social sciences in Southern and Central Africa. The former director of the French Institute of South Africa (IFAS) from 2004 to 2008, she initiated and coordinated three major research programmes on migration and urban transformation (FSP programme sponsored by the French Department of Foreign Affairs), on transit migration in Africa (ANR Mitrans with Jocelyne Streiff-Fénart from URMIS) and on mobility and the governance of urban space in Southern, Central and Eastern African cities (IRD Joint Fellowship with Loren Landau, FMSP, Wits University). Trained as a political scientist specialising in cognitive public policy analysis, she has developed an increasing interest in the local governance of diversity in African cities. She has co-edited several books and reports and conducted fieldwork in South Africa and the DRC regularly in the past ten years.

Programme participants:

	Partner institution	Name	First name	Current position	Discipline	Role & Responsibility in project
1	Centre d'Etude d'Afrique Noire / Bordeaux	FOURCHARD	Laurent	Senior Researcher	History	Principal coordination and relations with institutions; coordination of Nigeria; fieldwork in Nigeria: Indigeneity and historicity of exclusion and inclusion in Ibadan, Zaria and Kano.
Other participants						
2	ACMS, Wits University	SEGATTI	Aurelia	Post-doctoral research fellow	Political Science	Secondary coordination ; coordination of Southern and Eastern Africa ; internal and external communication & dissemination ; seminar coordination. Fieldwork: Kinshasa:



						Comparison of policies and discourses/practices relating to foreigners'/allochthons' access to urban land and mobility management between Kinshasa and Lubumbashi.
3	ACMS, Wits University	LANDAU	Loren	Associate Professor	Political Science	Coordination of South Africa ; fieldwork in Kenya : Historical review of policies of inclusion and exclusion in African cities; narratives practices informing contemporary forms of ethnic and economic exclusion and division; micro-politics of the cities' poor neighbourhoods in conflicts over access to resources.
4	ACMS, Wits University	KIHATO	Caroline	Consultant, Associate researcher	Political Science, Urban planning	Fieldwork in South Africa and Kenya: Mobility, gender and conflict among women migrants (both domestic and international) and their access to urban resources in 2 peri-urban areas, Oguta Rongai, Nairobi, and Diepsloot, Johannesburg
5	ACMS, Wits University	MISAGO	Jean-Pierre	Researcher	Migration Studies	Fieldwork in South Africa & Lubumbashi (DRC): Migration and belonging in contemporary South Africa : Exploring the politics of space and anti-outsider violence (with an extension to Lubumbashi, DRC in Phase 2 of Project)
6	ACMS, Wits University	MONSON	Tamlyn	PhD Candidate	Migration Studies	Fieldwork in South Africa : Access and Exclusion in Urban Informal Settlements in South Africa: Formal and Informal Networks
7	ACMS, Wits University	BLASER	Caitlin	PhD Candidate (works full time)	Political Science	Fieldwork in South Africa: Comparison of local service provision and migration management in 3 peri urban localities in South Africa
8	Science Po Paris, Centre de sociologie des organisations	CABANES	Lydie	PhD candidate (grant recipient (« allocataire »))	Political science	Fieldwork in South Africa: "Dealing with xenophobic violence. The politics of disaster management in South Africa (focus on the Western Cape Province)"
9	ACMS, Wits University	MINA OLAGO	Sharon	PhD candidate	Development Studies	Fieldwork in Nairobi: Access and exclusion into the urban informal economy for in-migrants based in urban informal settlement.
10	IDS, Univ. Nairobi	MITULLAH	Winnie	Associate Professor	Development Studies	Fieldwork in Kenya: Street-trading conflicts and negotiations between nationals and non-nationals in 3 cities (Nairobi and 2 secondary cities).
11	UNIKIN, DRC	TSHIBWABWA – KUDITSHINI	Jacques	Lecturer (Chef de Travaux)	Political Science	Fieldwork in Kinshasa, DRC: Continuities and ruptures in mobility management and autochthons/allochthons relations between the colonial and post-colonial periods (Kinshasa- DRC)
12	Centre of Governance and Human Rights, part of the Department of Politics and International Studies, King's College, Cambridge University, UK	HIGAZI	Adam	Visiting Research Fellow	History	Fieldwork in Nigeria: Sources and dynamics of ethnic and religious violence in northern Nigeria, focusing on Plateau State.
13	African Studies Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford University, UK	PRATTEN	David	Director, Centre ; Senior Lecturer	Social Anthropology	Fieldwork in Nigeria: The Politics of Youth Indigeneity, and Generational Exclusion in Nigeria.
14	Department of History & Strategic Studies, University of Lagos	AKINYELE	Rufus	Professor	History	Fieldwork in Nigeria: Ethnic mobilization against foreigners in Lagosians' societies: historical and contemporary study.

15	Department of History and International Studies, University of Jos, Jos-Nigeria	LAR	Jimam, T.	Assistant Lecturer	History	Fieldwork in Nigeria: Xenophobic Exclusion and Group Violence in Nigeria: Comparative Histories from Jos and Wukari (1940-2010)
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