



MAX-PLANCK-GESELLSCHAFT

**Max Planck Institute
for Social Anthropology**

Report 2017–2019

**Department
'Integration and Conflict'**

**International Max Planck
Research School on
Retaliation, Mediation and
Punishment
(IMPRS REMEP)**

Imprint

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Report 2017–2019

Department ‘Integration and Conflict’

edited by Günther Schlee

International Max Planck Research School

on Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment (IMPRS REMEP)

compiled by Timm Sureau

Cover photo: View/s from Cape Coast Castle, one of Ghana’s – then the Gold Coast’s – major slave castles, from where slaves were shipped to the Americas. (Photo: Jacqueline Knörr)

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Halle/Saale

2020

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CONACYT – Joint Postdoctoral Program between the Max Planck Society and the
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Convivencia – Project ‘Convivencia – Iberian to Global Dynamics, 500–1750’

KUV – Project ‘Kinship Universals and Variation’

LoF – Research Initiative ‘Lands of the Future’

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UGC – Research Group ‘Integration and Conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast’

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Department
‘Integration and Conflict’
Contribution to the Report 2017–2019

Günther Schlee, Director emeritus

Department ‘Integration and Conflict’

Günther Schlee

The period to report about for me is divided in two parts. Until 31 July 2019, I was Director of the Department ‘Integration and Conflict’ at this Institute. As of 1 August 2019, having reached the age of sixty-eight, I was retired. I am now only responsible for my individual activities as an emeritus.

Although my work rhythm and activities differed in no way on these two subsequent days, in retrospect the change was dramatic. The last year of my “active” life was full of initiatives of junior scholars under my guidance who wanted to bring their activities to a conclusion and full of interaction with cooperation partners who had realized that, though the intellectual exchange with me and the researchers of my Department would continue, the necessary funds for travel and communication would be harder to get after my retirement.

I applied to the Max Planck Society for an *Emeritus-Arbeitsplatz* (emeritus work station/emeritus budget) and have received a generous grant for two years. My funding request was connected with several activities.

- Together with my wife Isir, a Kenyan, I have done extensive research on language change, on one language expanding the expense of another in northern Kenya. The topic has far-reaching implications for the study of identity, politics, and patterns of social interaction. We have collected over 1,000 questionnaire responses and have so far published two volumes in our “Field Notes and Research Projects” series in which we document the material and offer preliminary analyses of it. These volumes are open access and are available online. I want to continue this work, finish the documentation, and write articles about this topic.
- Since 1974 I have been studying and publishing on Kenyan politics, with a focus on territorial and economic marginalization. I want to continue this line of research by finishing work in progress and conducting future research.
- Since 1996 I have regularly done field research in Sudan and this has resulted in a number of publications. In addition, I am working on a half-written monograph about a village which I have visited mostly twice a year for over two decades. The unusual time-depth of the research makes it possible to write a new kind of “village ethnography”. It puts the village in a national and international context and follows village life through different historical phases: before and after peace with Southern Sudan, the separation of South Sudan, and the revolution of 2019 and the present economic crisis.

- I have also applied for funds for technical assistance for my publication projects, for academic visits, and attending conferences.

The application was generously approved, but in the year of heated activity immediately preceding my retirement I had overspent my budget, and some months later my emeritus grant was cut by 60% to cover my “deficit”. Thus, the money which I had spent on young scholars was deducted from my personal research budget.

I then accepted a professorship in social anthropology at Arba Minch University in southern Ethiopia, financed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). My Department and I had multiple links to that university from earlier cooperation, and its location in a very complex political entity, the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State, is of great interest to a political anthropologist. It is close to my Kenyan research sites and Sudan is on the way to Ethiopia, so it should be possible to make arrangements to reduce travel costs.

With the intention of spending the next two years dividing my time between Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Germany, I left for Africa on 20 December 2019. Little did I know that the difficulties caused by the austerity measures would soon be aggravated by the coronavirus pandemic. I was forced to come back to Germany, taking a flight organized by the German embassy in Khartoum, possibly the last opportunity to get back to Germany for a long time, on 5 April 2020.

I am now more aware than ever how fortunate I have been most of my life, moving from a protected childhood to one intellectually conducive environment to the next with ease, having to cope with hardship only when I myself had looked for adventure. It is only since my retirement that I have had to struggle to make it possible to engage in the activities necessary for fully evaluating the findings gathered over many years of research. But as the year 2020 is not part of the period covered in the report, we will focus here instead on the highlights of the work of my Department in 2017 to 2019, the last years of its existence. Since then, the Max Planck Society has appointed Ursula Rao as a director at this Institute. She is also a political anthropologist and to that extent my successor. But, as expected in the Max Planck Society, she has her own research programme and has given a new name to her incipient department, namely ‘Anthropology of Politics and Government’. There is thematic overlap and cooperation between Ursula Rao’s department and what is left of the activities of ‘Integration and Conflict’, but no institutional identity. Nevertheless, she has been kindly contributing to easing my situation and that of my remaining co-workers.

Selected Activities 2017–2019

Within the overall theme of ‘Integration and Conflict’, the research activities of the Department can be grouped into two main categories. The first section looks at access to land and its connections to ethnic identity, citizenship policies, and conflict within states. The second turns from the rural to the urban context and considers questions of precarity and international migration. A final section highlights an important method for presenting and disseminating the Department’s research – namely, the medium of film.

In addition, the activities of the research group ‘Integration and Conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast’ and the International Max Planck Research School on Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment are included in this volume, but will be discussed separately.

Lands of the Future

Our last report (2014–2016) already highlighted the project “Lands for the Future”, of which the films produced in the series “Guardians of Productive Landscapes” are a part. The problem of access to agricultural land (including pastures) is a key problem in Africa and therefore both of great interest to political anthropology and of practical importance in terms of sustainable development. Food producers’ access to productive land is negatively affected by climate change. The implications for food security are obvious. In addition, the current coronavirus pandemic further threatens food security, as it interrupts production chains and market access in many settings in which subsistence production (i.e. production for one’s own household and immediate community) and production for local markets have been negatively affected by land alienation and an orientation towards cash crops for global markets. The two currently most widely discussed global problems, climate change and COVID-19, are like magnifying glasses for the problems and possibilities we have been discussing in “Lands for the Future”. Access to fertile land in Africa and the often violent competition it entails is not a new problem. It goes back to colonial times and beyond. But the limitations of this access have been aggravated and been made more visible by the two crises now on everybody’s mind.

However, it is not just the problems of local-based subsistence and exchange networks that have gained meaning in times of COVID-19; the potential that lies in agro-pastoralist communities’ flexible approaches to food production has also assumed renewed prominence. In fact, many small-scale food providers hold important expertise about seed varieties and growth conditions and, while they face numerous challenges during the pandemic, they are also in some ways better prepared to sustain their food needs than people who depend on longer supply chains. In these new contexts it is essential to reflect upon the relation between food sovereignty and

food security, and the danger of dependence on global players due to the conversion of sustainable and locally beneficial land use forms into export-oriented but locally useless crop production becomes obvious. The ongoing challenges and opportunities of land use in the twenty-first century were the topic of an international conference that we organized together with colleagues from McGill University, Montreal, at the Max Planck Institute in May 2018. The title of the conference was “Transformations and Visions: Responses, Alternatives and Resistances to Large-Scale Land Deals in the Global South” and it brought together more than 30 international researchers and practitioners to discuss case studies from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

We also ensured the prominent presence of the topic at the 20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (ICES), in Mekelle, Ethiopia, in October of the same year. Together with Ivo Strecker, I chaired the panel “Guardians of Productive Landscapes: Farmers and Farming in Ethiopia”, which owed much of its success to our Ethiopian partners Eyob Defersha and Mitiku Gabrehiwot. In addition, Echi Christina Gabbert, senior lecturer at the University of Göttingen, “Lands of the Future” coordinator and former MPI researcher, organized a panel at the ICES with the title “Future: Time for Innovation. Can Ethiopia Still Set an Example for Equitable Development?” that included three contributions by scholars affiliated or formerly affiliated with the MPI.

Among the presenters were Shauna LaTosky and Oliserali Olibui on “Cultivating the Agro-pastoralist Diet in South Omo Now and in the Future”, and Echi Gabbert on “Who Makes the World? Reassessing Land Use Expertise in Ethiopia”. The title of my own presentation was “Forms of Communication and Non-communication in Land Use Management”, in which I was able to draw on insights from the doctoral theses of two students at the MPI, Ameyu Godesso Roro and Kaleb Kassa Tadele.

Both panels were well attended, even crowded, and I took up the topic of land use and resources before a yet larger audience in an invited keynote lecture to the plenary. I chose the title “Citizenship and ‘Backwardness’ as Interconnected Collective Identities”. Inspired by my earlier studies on the construction of collective identities, the presentation explained how these identifications play a role in unequal access to resources and a de facto dissolution of the notion of unified “citizenship”.

Research in the “Lands of the Future” project is also being published in the form of a collected volume with contributions based on papers given at the ICES conference and similar events. Edited by Echi Christina Gabbert, Fana Gebresenbet, John Galaty, and Günther Schlee, the volume is titled *Lands of the Future: Anthropological Perspectives on Agro-Pastoralism, Land Deals and Tropes of High Modernity in Eastern Africa*. At the time of writing (May 2020) the book has been accepted by Berghahn and is in the process of production. It provides anthropological perspectives on the future of pastoralism with a special focus on agro-pastoralism among many forms of livelihood, asking how people and their livestock live with, not only off, the land. Examining new forms of land use in Eastern Africa at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the volume describes and scrutinizes the socio-

economic, cultural, political, and ecological changes that are unfolding in pastoral and agro-pastoral territories, showing the outcomes of and reactions to fast-track development schemes and land grabs on pastoralist territories. Contributions challenge the favoured tropes of modernist discourses such as “backwardness”, “empty land”, and “improvement”. They juxtapose different perspectives and describe the hopes, fears, expectations, and calculations of various actors – pastoralists, investors, policy-makers, and scientists. The case studies are based on long-term fieldwork and close cooperation with (agro-)pastoralists involved in the Lands of the Future Initiative. Taking a pragmatic view of pastoralism and agro-pastoralism as equivalent modes of existence when considering which of many options is the best way to use certain lands, the authors argue that alienation of pastoralists from productive lands is often unwarranted, unproductive, and unadvisable. This conclusion is not based on romantic notions of traditional land-use practices but on time-tested evidence that (agro-)pastoralism, like nomadism, is a successful and sustainable way of life in certain areas of the world and continues to be so during the era of climate change. Moving between conflict and hope, aspiration and destruction, the contributions describe and analyse the arenas of possibility and offer suggestions for the future of the lands and the lands of the future.

At this point the reader might wonder whether the Department has abandoned social theory – in our case the study of collective identification – and gone into development studies or advocacy. Let me therefore explain why I find this focus on land issues and sustainable food production to be a continuation of previous work by myself and other Department members and logically in line with it. Here I use the example of Ethiopia to illustrate what politics has to do with the categorizations people make in the social world surrounding them and how economic and development issues are related to identity and difference – a core concern of the Department ‘Integration and Conflict’ throughout its existence.

Citizenship and ethnic identity are collective identities that in some cases (mostly in the case of ethnic nationalism and xenophobic ideologies) reinforce each other and in other cases compete with each other or stand in some form of complicated relationship to each other. Both imply rights and resource access and are therefore highly political and contested identities.

Modern ideas of citizenship imply equality. They are of fairly recent origin. In Germany, the three-class franchise system, which gave different weight to the votes of different categories of people according to property and status, was abolished in certain parts of the country only in the early twentieth century. Likewise, in many parts of the world women’s suffrage was not introduced until the mid-twentieth century, or later. Racial equality and the non-discrimination of sexual minorities are still hotly debated political issues and matters of changing legislation even in the developed world. The impatience of those Westerners for whom universal citizenship, the principle that all citizens of a country have the same citizenship rights, is an indicator of civilization, makes one wonder whether they would regard their own

parents and grandparents as uncivilized, since even in Western countries this standard has been achieved only recently and imperfectly. Still, on the normative level universal citizenship has been universally accepted. This means that any attempt to grant special rights to defined categories of people in a special area within a nation state requires justification. How can these special rights be reconciled with the demands of equality and universal, uniform citizenship? After all, the more rights that are invested in you as a member of an ethnic group in a given part of your country, the fewer rights you have in other parts of your country where others hold these special rights. And the more rights you claim as a citizen of the wider unit, the more rights you will have to concede to others who are not your co-ethnics in your own ethnic territory, in accordance with universal citizenship. This is a kind of zero-sum game. You have to strike a balance between ethnic entitlements and universal citizenship. Ethnic movements need to consider well how far to go. If they are too successful, they become self-defeating and the groups they stand for may lose more than they gain, especially if their ethnic territory is smaller than the average.

Ethno-nationalists might object that this dilemma does not arise if everyone stays in their own territories and if these have the kind of self-sufficiency that does not depend on people moving between territories, but such fantasies are so remote from the empirical reality that they do not deserve serious discussion.

The question of how these special rights should be reconciled with the demands of equality and uniform citizenship has been asked often and in many variations, and the answers are also manifold. One answer is that demands of equality at the individual level do not address problems of inequality between groups, and that specific groups might deserve special consideration to address past imbalances and injustice. One may also argue that ethnic federalism and other forms of organized pluralism are mainly concerned with cultural and linguistic rights and that all citizens of a given country – for example, Ethiopia, which is divided into regional states defined in most cases on the basis of ethnicity – have the right to live and work and vote in any part of the country. Admittedly, proponents of this argument would have to concede that things do not always work out this way in practice. A third answer would be that a constitution can be written in such a way as to give equal voice to all component regional states so as to grant equality at a collective level. The implication is that citizenship at the federal level has an indirect component: one is member of a federation by virtue of being member of an ethnic group or having citizenship in a regional state. One is Ethiopian by virtue of being Gurage or Hadiya or Amhara or whatever, and in that context one ethnic identity is as good as the other. So the discourse shifts from the equality of individuals to the equality of groups.

The terminology with which the right-bearing entities in Ethiopia are described (nations, nationalities, and peoples) go back to Stalin and follow the Soviet model. And the resulting maps also look similar. Boundaries have many corners and bulges in order to include one village that speaks language A on the generally B-speaking side and one village that speaks language B on the A-speaking side. The post-

Soviet states of Central Asia look much like the Ethiopian regional states. Along the border between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan there are long narrow protrusions, like peninsulas surrounded by the other state, and there are exclaves and enclaves. The border faithfully follows the linguistic map, so that a village with an Uzbek-speaking majority would belong to Uzbekistan and a Tajik one to Tajikistan. These borders were not ever meant to be closed, as they were interior boundaries within a larger unit, the Soviet Union. But when I travelled in the area in 2006, the border between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan was closed. We needed a special permit to cross from Uzbekistan to Khojand in a northern protrusion of Tajikistan and from there we took an airplane to reach the main part of the country and the capital city Dushanbe behind a 5,000-metre-high mountain range. Geographical proximity was ignored, as towns were cut off from their hinterland and the existing traffic infrastructure was interrupted by roadblocks. People had to learn that existing neighbourhoods and business links no longer mattered and that they belonged to those others behind the mountains who speak the same language.

In Ethiopia each regional state has the constitutional right to separation and there is a fixed procedure for it, which makes Ethiopia unique in the world, but the procedure requires mutual consent, so that a one-sided demand for separation is not sufficient (and that is what one thinks of when one hears “right of separation”). So the “right of separation” in Ethiopia is a bit like according the right of divorce to a woman *if* her husband grants it. Nor is separation a practical possibility. The states are not designed for separation. If you want to go from Yem, a “special *woreda*” (i.e. a district with special linguistic and cultural rights for a particular group) of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Regional State, to Awassa, the capital of that state, you have to travel via Addis Ababa, twice crossing a part of Oromia (Popp 2001: 371). Likewise people in Beni Shangul-Gumuz, living to the north and to the south of the Blue Nile, might as well meet in Addis Ababa, since it is not possible to reach one part of the state from the other due to the river. Replace the river gorge by a mountain range and you almost feel like you are in Tajikistan. If Oromia were to actually separate from the federation, all these people would need visa to go the Addis Ababa or to visit another regional state on the other side of Oromia.

Like the Soviet model it emulates, the delineation of boundaries has followed the linguistic principle. Minimal dialect differences were used to claim special rights, down to the *woreda* (district) level. Ethnic groups reacted to the incentives given and multiplied. But very distant linguistic relationships were also used for identity discourses.

In 1991, a Boran friend from Moyale, Kenya, Abdullahi Shongolo, and I walked across the boundary into Moiale, Ethiopia. There was no state on the Ethiopian side, and we left our passports with the Kenyan border post to be collected on our way back. But there was a new government in Addis Ababa and there was a palpable sense of what was coming: that one day it would extend its power through the whole country with new units of administration that would follow ethnic lines. We walked

straight into the office of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) and found a group of men standing around a table, bent over a map of Ethiopia. They were designing Oromia. What should be done with the Burji? We were speaking Boran. The new official Oromo language, which is heavily influenced by the Wollega dialect, had not yet developed at that point. The men explained to us “*Worri sun Oromoonit ammo Cushites*” (“These people are not Oromo but [they are] Cushites”, with “Cushites” being the only word in English). The reasoning was that as the Oromo language also belongs to the Cushitic language family, being Cushites should be good enough for inclusion into Oromia. This inclusion did not materialize, as the Cushitic-speaking western neighbours of the Oromo, like the Burji, Konso, Sidama, and Gedeo, later ended up in SNNPRS (the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State). What I find remarkable is that classifications by European and American scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth century, which had never played a role in Ethiopian identity discourses, had found their way into political language (Schlee 1994: 977, Schlee 2008: 47).

Expectations about the new regional order went far beyond linguistic rights. Boran traders rejoiced at the prospect of having a regional state just for Oromo like themselves. This would enable them to expel their Gurage competitors. To the best of my knowledge that never happened, but the recent history of the area is replete with similar atrocities.

Before the coronavirus pandemic dominated the news, headlines brought attention to the huge refugee camps of Gedeo who had been expelled by Guji from their villages. Tadesse Berisso dates violent clashes between Guji and Gedeo to a major war in 1998. Traditionally, the Guji, who are Oromo, had hostile relationships with all their neighbours, in particular with those neighbours who are also Oromo, namely the Arsi and Boran. These other Oromo were recognized as speaking the same language, stemming from the same ancestor and being equals in cultural terms, sharing the values associated with the *gada* systems and warlike virtues. Therefore, killing them carried a much higher prestige than killing non-Oromo. So much for linguistic and cultural similarity having a harmonizing effect on interethnic relations! The only two groups with whom the Guji mostly lived in peace are two non-Oromo groups that now belong to the SNNPRS: the Sidama and Gedeo. Relationships with Gedeo were economically and ritually interdependent, and settlement patterns were interspersed. There was no way to draw a boundary that would include all Gedeo villages and hamlets on one side and all Guji on the other. Linguistic classification and territoriality along linguistic lines did not take long to develop into resource conflict. Local administration and schools changed to the Gedeo language on one side of the boundary and to Oromo on the other. In each case, speakers of the other language felt excluded from civil service jobs and neglected by public services. The next question was land. Could people on the wrong side of the boundary till land there or should they go to “their own” side?

Ethnic federalism was thought to be a solution to the “nationality question”. So why has the problem not been solved with the instruments of ethnic federalism over the past two decades? The answer is that territorial ethnicity could not be the solution here because it was the cause of the conflict. Political activists had taught the Arsi and Guji and also the Boran that they were Oromo. I can testify that in the 1970s and 1980s at least the Boran of northern Kenya were not aware that they were included in that category. When asked who the Oromo were, the answer was that the Oromo are a people to the north who speak a language which is similar to Boran but a bit strange and that one can sometimes hear them on the Ethiopian radio. Even within Oromo, the Arsi, Boran, and Guji belong to the same dialect group and were aware of their similarities, but that did not, as we have seen, translate into peaceful relationships, much less Oromo nationalism. But now there was this new identity and a territorial boundary needed to be drawn around it. According to Asnake Kefale (2013: 53) boundary-making was the cause of the conflict between Guji and Gedeo, who before had both belonged to Sidamo Province. No amount of boundary corrections with more little bends and bulges can rectify the situation, because boundary-making itself is the problem. Tadesse Berisso’s study of this conflict between the Guji and Gedeo is part of a volume on *Changing Identifications and Alliances in North-East Africa*, and in the case of the Guji the change of alliances could not have been more radical. They sided with their Oromo arch-enemies against their non-Oromo former neighbours and in-laws, namely the Gedeo.

Similarly, on the other side of Oromia, along its contested eastern boundary with the Somali region, there are long-standing conflicts that have not been solved in spite of many local referendums. One of the problems is the imposition of a binary classification. Groups who are neither Oromo nor Somali but claimed by both and who might have clan ties to one side and linguistic proximity to the other, or vice versa, were expected to please make up their minds about which side they belonged to. Tactical and strategical considerations may have played a role in the choices they made. Pasture and water rights had never been exclusive. Pastoralists migrating with their herds in times of peace might be given water once by the owners of a well and then told to leave again, but there were no lines on the ground separating one group from the other. The drawing of such lines led to violence and expulsions (Dejene Gemechu 2012, Fekadu Adugna¹ 2009, Schlee with Shongolo 2012, Schlee and Shongolo 2012).

So the issue of what ethnic rights in an ethnic territory actually mean is still violently contested in many parts of Ethiopia, and conversely which rights you have as an Ethiopian are contested in any part of Ethiopia. The rights you have on paper might be worth little in places where you do not dare to go, and in practice the issue of citizenship, entitlement, and political empowerment is far from being

¹ Dejene Gemechu and Fekadu Adugna are former PhD students in the Department ‘Integration and Conflict’. Now they both are professors in Ethiopia.

solved. The question of which rights or practical opportunities to access resources are associated with one's ethnic identity is still contested after 29 years of ethnic federalism, but even the more basic question of who defines one's ethnic identity has not been solved either. To exemplify the problem, Assefa Fiseha (2018: 337) asks whether it is enough to speak the Afar language or whether you have to be of Afar descent to become the president of the Afar Regional State. The global trend is to regard ethnicity as a matter of self-declaration. But merely identifying yourself as Afar may not be good enough if you want to be elected or hired by others. Over these long years of ethnic politics, branches of the public service have become ethnicized, just like other spheres of life such as religion (ethnic churches splitting into smaller churches to cultivate dialect differences in their vernacular services), music, transport companies, education, and many other fields where ethnic identity is not just of symbolic value but tied to material resources. Dominant ethnic networks forge alliances or compete for power at the national level; less powerful ones defend access to resources at the regional or local level. In many different and complicated ways ethnic identities or the claims to represent them are used as entitlements.

The key material resource is land. A land conflict around the capital city Addis Ababa that affected Oromo land rights was one of the reasons why Abiy Ahmad, an Oromo, became Prime Minister in early 2018. The federal government had been increasingly infringing on the land rights of its constituent states or nationalities in recent years and now could no longer keep Oromo resistance in check. But the problem seems to be much older. The authors of the 1994 Constitution already chose an ambiguous wording: Article 40(3) specifies that “[t]he right to ownership of rural and urban land, as well as of all natural resources, is exclusively vested in the State and in the peoples of Ethiopia. Land is a common property of the Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia and shall not be subject to sale or to other means of exchange.” If all nations, nationalities, and peoples of Ethiopia own the land in common, through what institution do they administer it? Is the federal government not the only institution they all have in common? This article appears to say that the land belongs to the individual nations, nationalities, and peoples, but does it not amount to the opposite, namely that the land belongs to the federal government? This ambiguity reminds us a bit of the right of separation, which is first granted and then specified in a way which denies it, because the House of Federation has to agree and unilateral separation is not possible. The Constitution, often cited as it is in the context of ethnic federalism, also lays the foundations for the negation of ethnic federalism, namely establishment of a top-down centralist developmental autocracy if a strong leader comes along. No wonder conflicting policies, endless debates, and high levels of violence have resulted from these ambiguities.

There is, however, one magic formula that makes things very easy: “backwardness”. If your group is classified as backward, then your ethnicity is not associated with any entitlement to resources and does not have a voice in politics. So this may be a new class division that runs across the entire country. Ethiopia is divided into

those who know the direction of progress and therefore know where the directions “forward” and “backward” point, and those who do not. What exactly is meant by “forward” depends on the aim. In Marsabit, Kenya, I came across the tale of an old Somali man, the shop owner Ducale, who once participated in a running competition on a public holiday. He joined the others at the starting line. Ready, steady, go! Ducale ran in the opposite direction and everyone laughed at him. He responded by saying that in his direction he was first. The power to define which direction is forward implies the power to denounce others as backward.

“Backward” people are not consulted. They are taught. When teaching fails, they are forced. In his booklet *Land to Investors: Large-Scale Land Transfers in Ethiopia* Dessalegn Rahmato simply writes that in the lowlands of Ethiopia large tracts of land are taken without consultation from those who have farms or pastures there. I have examined elsewhere (Schlee 2018) what forms the communication with “backward” people takes, and it indeed cannot be described as “consultation”. Nor are the people’s systems of production studied before they are destroyed. Consequently, the developers have no idea what the opportunity costs of their development measures are. Analysing decades of experience in Awash Valley, site of the oldest large-scale irrigation scheme in Ethiopia, researchers have come to the conclusion that for the general economy it would have been more profitable to maintain the earlier form of use, nomadic livestock production. (Behnke and Kerven 2012, Maknun, Lydall and Flood 2018, Schlee 2013)

Nor is this the only example of development projects being implemented without communication with the “backward” people already using the land. Kaleb Kassa Tadele² (Kaleb 2018, p. 99) reports on the disastrous effects resulting from a hydropower project in 2014. At this time the reservoir of the newly built Gibe III hydroelectric plant was filling up and thus the yearly floods of the Lower Omo did not take place. To provide irrigation for the riverine farmers who practice flood recession agriculture, an artificial flood was produced by releasing a big tidal wave of water. In principle a good idea. But the plan was not announced in a timely fashion. The Dassanech had already sown their fields and the new crop was sprouting. The flood washed it away. There seems to be no routine of normal communication with “backward” people and no shared common sense.

In other cases, “backward” groups may be deprived of access to land altogether, as illustrated in an article co-authored by Lucie Buffavand.³ Top-down communication and expropriation by force lead to violent reactions, social disruption, and

² Kaleb Kassa Tadele was a doctoral student in the REMEP research school; he defended his thesis “Changing Patterns of Conflict Management in the Lower Omo Basin, Ethiopia: The Dasanech and Their Neighbors” in May 2019.

³ Lucie Buffavand defended her thesis “Vanishing Stones and the Hovering Giraffe: Identity, Land and the Divine in Mela, South-West Ethiopia” in December 2017 and is now a postdoc at the Laboratoire d’Anthropologie Sociale in Paris.

alcohol abuse, which then nurture the designation of the victims of land alienation as “backward” people (Stevenson and Buffavand 2018).

Being classified as “backward” not only deprives a portion of the Ethiopian citizenry of their land rights, it also strikes at the core of ethnic federalism: cultural pluralism. You are denied the right to perform cultural practices if you are classified as “backward” and your practices – for example, inserting lip plugs or scarification (LaTosky⁴ 2015) – as “harmful”. So if one wants to reverse the whole project of ethnic federalism, all one has to do is press the button “backwardness” and it is re-set to zero – at least, as far as those others are concerned; you might still claim group rights for yourselves if you manage to define yourselves as advanced or whatever the opposite of “backward” may be. A line runs through Ethiopia dividing those who can classify others as backward and those who lack the means to reject this label when it is applied to them. Elaborating which side of this line the Oromo are on, or how different Oromo subgroups are located along this line, would be a separate discussion. Oromo have always been on both sides, whatever the binary division was: rulers and ruled, noblemen and serfs, slavers and slaves. Merera Gudina has stressed this diversity in the history of different Oromo groups who have been part of or victims of imperial expansion (Merera 1994); other Oromo scholars have put a rather unilateral emphasis on victimhood.

In the present context of “backwardness” we find Oromo on both sides of the line which separates those who are classified as “backward” from those who classify them as such. A new chapter of that story started in April 2018, when Abiy Ahmad became Prime Minister of Ethiopia.

Abiy received the 2019 Nobel Peace Prize for reconciling with Eritrea and for opening the border with that country. A little later (and long before corona caused movement across borders to be restricted around the world), that border was closed again and people who had visited their relatives for the first time in twenty years got stuck on the wrong side. Abiy is facing stiff and violent opposition from parts of the Oromo Liberation Front in Wollega – i.e. from his own co-ethnics. He also faces resistance from other ethnic groups: the Tigray feel betrayed by him and may obstruct any agreement he might reach with Eritrea. After all, it was their leader, the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, who fought a bitter war with Eritrea in 1999/2000. The Tigray speak the same language as many Eritreans and the Tigray regional state, along with Amhara and Afar, borders Eritrea. So they are in the perfect position to repair or to spoil relations with Eritrea, depending on their political needs.

Little has changed on the southern margins of Ethiopia since Abiy took office and he has continued the policies of his predecessor. Pastoralism, i.e. all forms of mobile animal husbandry, is denounced as backward. Likewise under Abiy, pastoralists in the Lower Omo area have been deprived of access to their pastures, forcefully “villagized”, beaten, tortured, and castrated.

⁴ Shauna LaTosky is a former postdoc in this Department. She now teaches in Canada.

It still remains to be seen whether Abiy, who was made Prime Minister to mollify the Oromo opposition, will be able and willing to introduce true ethnic federalism by also giving the “backward” peoples a voice and respecting their rights, or whether he will merely shift the power balance among the dominant groups, namely the Tigray (now marginalized), the Amhara, and the Oromo, some of whom are his fervent supporters while others are his worst enemies.

What will be the outcome of all this, when the dust settles? Will all Oromo, or additional Oromo subgroups, become part of the centre, leaving others as “backward” people in the periphery, or will the new constellation make it possible to re-think the whole set of centre-periphery relations? Only time will tell.

We turn now from research that has focused largely on issues situated in a rural context to another constellation of topics that has played a major role in the research of the Department over the last three years and is more closely associated with urban settings: precarity and migration. As will become clear, neither of these issues is exclusively a problem of cities, nor are urban developments entirely separable from events happening elsewhere – for example, rural-urban migration may be motivated by loss of access to land.

Urban Anthropology and Migration

Brian Campbell and Christian Laheij organized a workshop in March 2019 on “Urban Precarity”. A collection of papers resulting from this workshop has been submitted to the journal *City and Society* for a special issue.

The presentations at this conference all addressed the concept of precarity and placed it in an urban context, but they sometimes differed significantly in their understanding of the concept itself and its implications, leading to intense debate: In some cases precarity implies a threat to life itself, exposure to the elements, malnutrition, and shortened life expectancy. In other cases middle-class aspirations or the urban lifestyle are threatened, while survival as such is not at risk. In one of our discussions, John Comaroff suggested that in such cases the noun-adjective relation should be turned around and we should speak of precarious urbanity, not of urban precarity, because it is urbanity, a form of “civilized” life meeting urban standards which is at risk or “precarious”, not survival.

Furthermore, as the contributions showed, there is no sharp divide between urban and rural. There is middle ground between the two. One can give up some degree of urbanity and settle for a lower level, for example moving out of the inner city to the outer, where the plots are cheaper and larger and life is more affordable. Looking at Mozambique, Julie Soleil Archambault suggested that the people who move out into the suburbs are predominantly in their mid-twenties to early thirties and consist of young families or people about to start families. Establishing a family is one of the aspirations that seem to be difficult to give up when compromises must be made.

Rural-urban migration, rapid urbanization, and the resulting precarious conditions can be seen as the first step on a longer path. Urban precarity and precarious urbanity can make people look further afield, to other parts of Africa and beyond. There is massive migration to South Africa, the Middle East, Europe. Urban precarity, then, is closely linked to migration, another topic that figures prominently in our research programme.

Much of the African migration to Europe, research has shown, originates from the middle of African society and preponderantly from towns and cities (e.g. Nieswand⁵ 2011, Twum-Baah 1995). The typical migrant, at the start of his or her journey, is neither destitute nor elite but of some intermediate status. The most destitute – for example, those who have lost livelihoods due to drought and famine – lack the means to undertake the long journey to Europe. Starving people get as far as the nearest rural town or trade centre and there they either receive help or die. On the other end of the social hierarchy, the elites can move with relative ease between Africa and Europe with educational or business visas and might not try to settle in Europe at all, because in their respective African countries they own businesses or hold offices that give them access to state revenue.

So the typical migrant is precisely the type of person we also encounter when we study urban precarity. Many of the causes of urban precarity and migration to the Global North are the same, and they involve much the same social groups or categories. Both are about frustrated ambitions to achieve middle-class status in the city, where it turns out to be impossible to meet ordinary goals in life, moving from one phase of life to the other, marrying, having children, educating one's children, securing tolerable conditions for one's old age. To marry, for example, you are expected to have a certain standard of housing, a sofa set and curtains (in Sudan this means furnishings from Turkey), entertainment electronics, and preferably a car. Prolonged bachelorhood is the consequence of not meeting these requirements. First- and second-generation urban people share the rural values that consider family reproduction and continuity to be of vital importance, but in an urban setting the requirements for meeting this demand are much greater than in a rural setting. As Nina Glick Schiller, a long-time associate of the MPI and the Department, has pointed out in our discussions, these people are not excluded from the production of urbanity – after all, they are the ones who create urbanity by performing all the services and producing all the amenities of urban life, and many of them receive salaries or derive other sorts of income from these activities. But they are excluded from the rewards for this: Their incomes do not allow them to enjoy the lifestyle they help to produce for others and moreover, many of them migrated to cities across international borders. Others are regarded as mere “guests” or “strangers”

⁵ Boris Nieswand was a former student of mine in Bielefeld, later a doctoral student in this Department, and is now Professor of Sociology at the University of Tübingen.

by local ethnic majorities, because they come from other parts of the same country and territorialized ethnicity has come to be a dominant pattern even within nation states. This often gives them a legal or social status which limits their bargaining power due to all sorts of categorical exclusions. And often they have already been excluded from rural forms of livelihood as well, having come to the cities as a result of processes like land grabbing,⁶ closure of the open range, and depressed prices for agricultural products caused by the dumping of subsidized agricultural products from Europe. In spite of their frustrated expectations of being able to start a family and their low reproduction rate, their ranks are constantly replenished by new waves of migrants from rural regions.

These processes are located in the wider context of the demise of the middle class and increasing inequality on a global scale. People with a migration background or insecure status are confronted with a situation that is an uphill struggle even for groups who do not have their specific disadvantages.

During my research trips to Khartoum I frequently stay in Kalakla, a cheaper area quite remote from the city centre. People here often have to spend an hour or two commuting to their workplaces, if they are fortunate enough to be employed at all. Kalakla, however, is far from being a slum. People there are not destitute, and during my visits I heard various stories of migration to Europe, sometimes illegally. One day, for example, a member of my host family excused himself because he had to pay condolences in the neighbourhood, and I learned that the deceased was a migrant who had drowned in the Mediterranean. On another occasion, I was given the telephone number of a young man in Germany and special food for Ramadan to send to him when I returned to Germany. Years before, this young man had given up university studies and become an electrician. In Kalakla, I also met a young unemployed university graduate and listened to him explain his calculations about the expenses of crossing the Sahara and the Mediterranean, the chances of losing these investments, and the chances of losing his life.⁷

Although the links between urban precarity and migration to the Global North and the Middle East are obvious, patterns are changing and some modifications might be in place. It would be a mistake to suggest that migration to Europe is solely an urban phenomenon or limited to the aspiring middle class. There is certainly also a rural aspect to international migration. The causes of migration have to do with food production, food markets, and land markets, the latter often discussed under the label “land grabbing”.

On a recent visit to the area along the Blue Nile in Sudan, where I have done field research for many years, I started to ask people whether they had heard about

⁶ A topic of our “Lands of the Future” project; see the previous section of this report and our 2014–2016 report.

⁷ These are generally underestimated, because the majority of those who drown never appear in any statistics.

migrants who have made it to Europe or of others who have attempted to go there and failed. I have asked my Sudanese colleague Elhadi Ibrahim Osman to do the same. It turned out that there seem to be such cases in quite rural contexts; maybe one or two in a village, sometimes several, and thousands of villages in the Sudan mean thousands of migrants in total. Towns and cities may continue to be hubs of migration and nodal points of information relevant to would-be migrants, but they are no longer exclusively so. The period that rural migrants spend in towns or cities in their own countries before they move on may have become shorter, and the internet, a source of information that can be accessed regardless of where you are along the rural-urban divide, has become more relevant.

All this is, of course, what quantitatively minded scholars would call “anecdotal evidence”. But it is enough to raise questions about the possible increased importance of rural conditions and their connections to migration to Europe.

Likewise, migration, whether rural-urban or international, tends to be connected to collective identities. People are forced to migrate because of the many interconnected civil wars in Africa. Often they flee from the contested areas to the capital city. Just as political parties and military alliances are often ethnic coalitions, so, too are the victims, the excluded, the marginalized, and the expelled defined by ethnic and sometimes religious criteria. Both internally displaced persons and international refugees tend to belong to different categories of collective identification than the people around them (Eidson et al. 2017), and in the case of international refugees these differences include citizenship.

Europe has reacted to the massive influx of migrants from Africa by externalizing border control and trying to settle refugees in Africa, with the promise of enabling them to apply for resettlement to Europe. This has enhanced and accelerated the decades-old process of the growth of refugee camps and their transformation into permanent settlements – in fact into refugee cities. The residents in these refugee cities are typically not citizens of the countries where they are located: entire city populations without the rights of citizens. This adds a new dimension to “urban precarity” and should be an important topic in future research.

The numbers of refugees in Africa are impressive and still rising, and so are the sizes of their settlements. There are about 6.3 million international refugees in Africa,⁸ a number that exceeds the population of Denmark. These 6.3 million are all deprived of their civic rights, because they are not citizens of their countries of residence. The human rights of many of them are also violated. They become victims of organ harvesting, rape, abduction for ransom, and other crimes (Ounour 2018).

⁸ UNHCR; Global Appeal 2019 update, http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/ga2019/pdf/Global_Appeal_2019_full_lowres.pdf

For 2018 the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (German Federal Agency for Civic Education) <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/Kurzdossier/InnerafrikanischeMigration/Flucht%20und%20Vertreibung>, accessed 27 November 2018, gives the number of 5.7 million refugees in Africa.

The camps where many of them live have grown to the size of cities. In 2019, Kakuma and neighbouring Kalobeyei in Kenya comprised 191,500 registered refugees and asylum seekers. To these the non-registered need to be added. At the other end of the country, the camp Dadaab had five sub-locations with a total of 217,000 inhabitants (Millar,⁹ in prep.). Many of them were born in these camps and now have children who are the third generation of “refugees”.

The EU migration policy contributes to the size of these settlements and the permanent nature they are acquiring. The official reason for this policy is to prevent people from drowning in the Mediterranean Sea by giving them an opportunity to apply for asylum in Europe from Africa. The credibility of this depends on whether applicants realistically have a chance to acquire such a status. The (not so) hidden agenda behind this policy is exclusion: preventing people from reaching Europe. EU policy also follows the premise that African countries should grant asylum to refugees from other African countries.

Given these factors, it seems likely that the refugee population in Africa will continue to be at least 6 million, probably reaching 10 million in coming years, and that this population will remain there for a long time. This is a structural problem. In addition to these international refugees there are about 14.5 million¹⁰ internally displaced persons in Africa who are also unlikely to go back to where they came from unless the causes which made them flee these regions have been dealt with. Although, unlike refugees, they are citizens of their country of residence, they may suffer other disadvantages, such as not having traditional land rights in the areas where they are now. And there are millions of other migrants in Africa, some who have simply walked across the border (for example Somali from Uganda crossing into South Africa), or others who overstayed their visas (Carrier and Scharrer¹¹ 2019).

Here are some of the consequences which are likely to result from the fact that at least 6.3 million people across Africa are living as refugees, with the precarity and lack of rights that goes with this:

1. As refugees do not have the right to vote, the governments of their countries of residence are not answerable to them. Instead, these governments are answerable to those foreign governments and organizations that finance their work with refugees. Among these are the UNHCR and the EU, which, with the help of biometric identification and digital documentation, have pushed European border control far into Africa.

⁹ Stefan Millar (see below in the REMEP report) is a doctoral student co-supervised by Marie-Claire Foblets and myself.

¹⁰ UNHCR 2019 (cf. fn above). The Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung in 2018 estimated this number to be 12.2 million.

¹¹ Tabea Scharrer was a postdoc in the Department ‘Integration and Conflict’.

2. As refugees are not citizens, they neither automatically have work permits nor the right to move freely in their country of residence. Therefore, whatever they do is often technically “illegal” and they risk consequences if they are found in places where they are not allowed to be. This makes them susceptible to blackmail and they have to accept low wages, mistreatment, and exploitation.
3. As refugees are not citizens, one can promise them citizenship as a reward for compliance. The Sudanese autocrat Omar al Bashir has done so with a group of Eritrean refugees who had co-ethnics on the Sudanese side. They remained his voters and partisans after being granted Sudanese citizenship.
4. As in Africa refugee status tends to be permanent and even hereditary, it gives rise to a new sub-proletariat that will depress the already low level of wages in Africa by undercutting the locals. Refugees are prepared to accept much more basic living conditions than the rest of the population. This phenomenon is not limited to Africa. Today in southern Italy and Spain the tomatoes and other vegetables for much of Europe are already produced with cheap and dependent refugee labour.
5. As the EU has an interest in externalizing border controls and advancing them into Africa, and in refugees staying in Africa, its policies contribute to the establishment of settlements of sedentarized refugees in Africa. Sooner or later this will result in the question being posed as to whether it is not more humane to give these people some productive employment and whether a meaningful occupation is not better than humanitarian hand-outs. At that point the refugee camps will turn into labour camps, and millions of refugees in Africa will form a new global low-wage sector as the extended workbench of Europe or – more likely – China.

That things are moving in this direction is clear from Stefan Millar’s study of Kakuma Refugee Camp and the nearby Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement in Kenya, which are in the process of being turned into a municipality. Who is included in democratic representation is constantly changing, and the process of devolution in Kenya has added a new aspect to this question. People can apparently now be granted rights within a county – in the case of Kakuma, this means Turkana County – without becoming Kenyan citizens. Does that make the refugees Turkana and give them access to the open pastures of Turkana pastoral nomads? Hardly. But refugee settlements are built on good pastureland and Turkana who come down from the Ugandan border during the wet season often resent finding ever more refugee shelters built on their pastures. Will the authorities defend refugees against attacks by pastoralists? Will the refugees perhaps even be privileged in some ways because the UNHCR has a watchful eye on the protection of their human rights?

Whatever comes out of this discussion is likely to diverge considerably from the ideal model of uniform citizenship.

This development towards permanent physical and political structures is partly in response to the Valletta summit on the EU on migration in 2015, where it has been decided that the “resilience, safety, and self-reliance of refugees in camps and host-communities” need to be improved (Millar, in prep.). “Self-reliance” implies productive lives and meaningful employment. And here the discourse on refugee management seems to move quite naturally towards the discourse on special economic zones.

Under the title “Can ‘Voluntary Colonialism’ Stop Migration from Africa to Europe?” BBC News reported in 2018 on a proposal for EU countries to lease land in Africa as a way of reducing migration:¹²

“The European Union, or a body like the World Bank, should build and run cities in Africa in order to boost job creation and development on the continent, Germany’s Africa Commissioner, Gunter [Günter] Nooke, told the BBC in an interview in which he outlined his thinking on how to stem migration to Europe.

This will mean African countries leasing their land to a foreign body to ‘allow free development for 50 years’, Mr Nooke said.”

This proposal might be a bit too explicit. Senior officials often word their proposals more cautiously. But the idea is certainly in line with current developments and not totally absurd (which is not to say that it is politically desirable). The article goes on to explain that similar ideas have been around for some time. In this context the article cites American Nobel Prize-winning economist Paul Romer, who proposed over a decade ago that developing countries might cede the control of some parts of their territories to foreign states, who would then build “charter cities”.

In 2008 Romer managed to convince the then-president of Madagascar, Marc Ravalomanana, of this idea, and in 2011 President Porfirio Lobo Sosa of Honduras declared “that ‘charter cities’ would improve the lives of Hondurans by offering competitive jobs, better health and education, and a ‘top class’ legal and security system” (ibid.). Ravalomanana lost office following public protests in 2009 and Lobo Sosa’s ideas for Honduras likewise met hefty opposition. In spite of this, even the present government of Honduras “hopes that the creation of what it calls special economic zones (SEZs) will boost development” (ibid.).

The recent proposal by Nooke also met with some approval. The article cites a Kenyan intellectual, Carol Musyoka, described it as fascinating and said she would be open to it if it could be ensured that the project would benefit Africans rather

¹² Can “voluntary colonialism” stop migration from Africa to Europe? *BBC News online*, 26 November 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-46017551>

than foreign powers. Predictably, many more voices from Africa have criticized the proposal as introducing a new type of colonialism and forcing African states to give up sovereignty. In Germany, too, Nooke's utterances caused a very ugly controversy.

We do, however, not need to go to Madagascar or Honduras to see that Günter Nooke's ideas fit well into a much broader current of thinking about how to deal with migration from Africa. His lack of caution possibly gave more ammunition to his critics than similar proposals by others. The debate about how to settle would-be refugees in Africa and how to let them earn a living there is ongoing, and it has a tendency to move towards establishing special zones for special people with restricted rights.

The BBC online article quoted at some length has covered many perspectives on European attempts to curb migration of Africa and the special status the emerging cities for people who might otherwise have ended up in Europe might be given. But it (like other media debates; I am not aware of any exceptions) has not addressed the issue that these new cities, unless other solutions are found, will be largely populated by people without civic rights, since would-be migrants to Europe are often migrants in Africa as well, are aliens in their countries of residence, and often have no chance to go back to the countries they have fled. Solving this problem would require not just creating special economic zones but pacifying the whole continent.

If special cities for refugees and migrants are created, do they not risk becoming a new low-wage sector made up of a labour force of non-citizens of precarious status, without democratic rights and without bargaining power?

The cover of this volume depicts a man facing the sea at a location in Ghana from which slaves were exported in the past. We have no projects on slavery or its history at this Institute. But slavery is still an image which evokes many of the things we are studying. Refugee labour, irrespective of whether the labourers have crossed the sea or not, may not be slave labour in the technical sense, but is far from being free labour. The issues of citizenship and equality discussed above in this report in connection with "Lands of the Future" are also intimately linked with depriving people of self-determination in their productive activities.

REMEP (Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment)

The REMEP (Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment) programme has come to a conclusion in 2019 after a number of wrap-up events. The cooperation involved universities, other Max Planck Institutes, and the Department 'Law & Anthropology' at this Institute in addition to the Department 'Integration and Conflict', but we include a report about it, compiled by Timm Sureau, as part of this volume for reasons of convenience and because of my role as its spokesperson.

Visualization and Outreach

In the course of the twentieth century, mainstream anthropology, emulating its prestigious sister disciplines philosophy and sociology, has mostly become purely discursive. Typically, anthropological books contain nothing but words. Not a single picture. This is in stark contrast to early ethnography and its precursor, the travelogue. In books from the nineteenth century one finds visual illustrations, engravings hand-made from drawings and (in the later part of the century) photographs, although they were expensive to do. In spite of the expense, the visual dimension was regarded as essential, for good reasons.

Ethnography is about the totality of life. Even if there is a special analytical focus on one question, this totality always forms the backdrop. Sharing a complex experience with others is difficult enough, and there is no reason to abstain from the use of any particular channel of communication. Even if we have appealed to all senses and used all forms of expression at our disposal, we may still be left with the feeling of inadequacy.

In our last report we included a section on our “Field Notes and Research Projects” series in which we discuss visual methods and also use pictorial illustrations. The present report will take a closer look at films. It is meant to provide an up-to-date report about our activities, but as this aspect of our work has not previously been a focus of our reports, some older films will also be listed in the interest of providing an overview.

Films about Haile Selassie

Emperor Haile Selassie I. His Burial and the Rastafarians in Shashamane, Ethiopia.
A two-part documentary

Haile Selassie Film Project (2016–2019)

The late Georg Haneke and I attended and filmed the burial of Emperor Haile Selassie I in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 5 November 2000. Many years later, with the help of Verena Böll, Ambaye Ogato, and Robert Dobsław, the – now historical – footage, in combination with new recordings, was edited into proper films.

Haile Selassie I (23 July 1892 – 27 August 1975) was officially buried only 25 years after his death. The highlight of the burial was the laying out of the sarcophagus on the square of the Holy Trinity Cathedral and the mourning service with Abuna Paulos, the Patriarch of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The first part of the film documents the burial and comments unobtrusively on the background and circumstances of the funeral service.

Emperor Haile Selassie I is worshipped by the Rastafarians as God and Messiah. The Rastafarians, who derive their name from the former title (Ras) and birth name (Tafari) of Haile Selassie, only attended parts of the ceremony in small numbers. Shashamane, Ethiopia, is home to many Rastafarians because Emperor Haile Selassie I granted land in Shashamane to the “black people of the world” as an expression of thanks for their support during the Italian war and occupation (1935–1941). The second part of the documentary covers the perspectives of those around and connected with Emperor Haile Selassie I. It includes interviews with Rastafarians in Shashamane about the death and burial and with relatives of the emperor and representatives of the Emperor Haile Selassie I Memorial Association and of the Association of the Patriots. The interviews were held over the course of several years: 2012, 2013, 2017, 2018, 2019.

The films and more documentation about them can be accessed at <https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/media/haile-selassie-film-project>

Film by Ina Schröder on a summer youth camp in Siberia

The documentary film *Fighting for the Thread of Life* (2018, 44:22 min.) deals with the question of gender regimes in relation to the revival of local native traditions in a socio-economically marginalized region in western Siberia, Russia. Every summer Mansi, Khanty, Nenets, and Komi youth come together in a summer camp to participate in a historical role-playing game conducted by female educators and elders, who expect boys and girls to fulfil their gender roles as imagined in the traditional past. The intensity of male warriors’ involvement in the battle contrasts with an ambivalent stance of girls towards their role as wives and sisters. The film focuses on the issues of normative gender roles, (neo)-tradition, and role-playing as a local strategy for suicide prevention in a native community of a remote Siberian region.

***Films by Harald Müller-Dempf
about the Turkana (Kenya) and Toposa (South Sudan)***

Since 2006, Harald Müller-Dempf has been taking his video camera on his fieldwork trips to the Toposa in eastern South Sudan and the Turkana in north-western Kenya. The resulting filmic notes, each with a different focus, collectively provide a glimpse into local life. None of the scenes were staged or reshot; everything was filmed in a trusting atmosphere and with the consent of the participants. Müller-Dempf deliberately refrained from dramatic shots and sound backdrops, in order to avoid turning the scenes into some exotic sensation but instead show them for what they are: a part of the normal, local life. This also involved adjusting the rhythm of the films to the living pace of the people.

Turkana Trilogy

Turkana 2016

This film explores present-day ways of life of non-pastoralist Turkana.

Length: 47 minutes

Turkana 2014

In his field research 2013/2014 Müller-Dempf focussed on how the Turkana developed hybrid ways of life between traditional pastoralism and the modern market economy.

Length: 45 minutes

Turkana 2011

The material for this film was shot in 2011 shortly after the rainy season and it therefore depicts more of the positive aspects of the otherwise rather arduous lives of the pastoralists. It also features scenes from the capital Lodwar and irrigation projects.

Length: 50 minutes

The *Turkana Trilogy* can be accessed under
https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/media/turkana_trilogy

Toposa Trilogy

Toposa 2015

This film explores how the Toposa perceive their relation to their “modern” environment.

Length: 45 minutes

Toposa 2012

As suggested by the complete title “At home with the Toposa – 2012”, the scenes for this film were filmed mostly inside the Toposa homesteads – an intimate and quiet film.

Length: 39 minutes

Toposa 2008

Scenes from the traditional day-to-day lives of the Toposa as well as clips of some spectacular generation-set festivities.

Length: 39 minutes

The *Toposa Trilogy* can be accessed under
https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/media/toposa_trilogy

Harald Müller-Dempf has also digitalized and re-edited older ethnographic films about specific aspects of Toposa and Turkana life, making accessible this valuable information which otherwise would not have been available in a format useable today:

Toposa/Turkana Ethnography

https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/en/media/toposa_turkana_ethnography

Toposa 1983

The Toposa socio-political system is based on generation-sets. At regular intervals each generation-set holds a *nyakidamadam*, a generation-set dance celebration, in order to show its vitality and strength. The film shows digitally restored historical Super-8 material. A comparison with some almost identical scenes in *Toposa 2008* may be of interest.

Length: 30 minutes

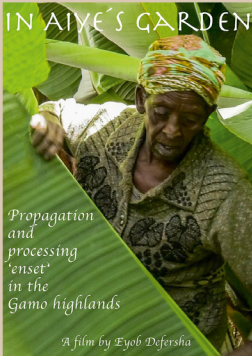
Crafts (Toposa and Turkana)

To varying degrees the Toposa and Turkana still lead their traditional life and produce their traditional handicraft. At the same time, they have adapted new techniques in order to find income niches in the modern (non-touristic) sector. The film focuses on beadwork, rural architecture, metal techniques, and fibre weaving, embedded in the daily life of people.

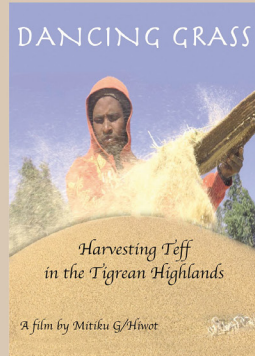
Length: 28 minutes

Films for the project “Guardians of Productive Landscapes”

We decided to call the series “Guardians of Productive Landscapes” rather than “Guardians of Traditional Landscapes” (our previous working title), because we wanted to direct the attention to the future. The series focuses on landscapes formed by small-scale, subsistence-oriented agriculture (provide for your own food security first and then take the surplus to the market) that makes use of traditional techniques. By directing attention to these landscapes as “productive”, we implicitly criticise the propagation of large-scale agriculture and high-modern practices in the current Ethiopian “development” discourse which denounces traditional agriculture as “backward”.

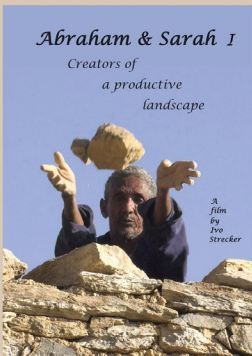


**Guardians
of
productive
landscapes
in
Ethiopia**



**Jinka
Ethnographic
Film Festival**

at the
South Omo Research Center
15.-16. February 2020



Films from
a new series
of the
Max Planck
Institute for
Social
Anthropology



The ecological cost and the frequent failure of “modern” large-scale agricultural enterprises show that these are not sustainable. But the future of agricultural production depends on sustainable forms of agriculture. Forms which are not sustainable will, by definition, not exist in the future. Therefore the attribute “productive” needs to be re-appropriated from the proponents of “development”, large-scale agriculture and “high modernity”. “Modern” agriculture is often detrimental to biodiversity (of varieties of domesticated plants and animals as well as wild species) and soil fertility (which among other things depends on biodiversity, including that of species which we cannot see with the naked eye, the microorganisms). Biodiversity is not only valuable in itself, but also essential for the future of food production. The symbiosis we call agriculture encompasses humans and the other animals and the plants they have “domesticated”. This symbiotic ensemble, however, is not self-sufficient but is systemically interdependent with species that have not been domesticated. Those who think in terms of simple, direct relationships between input (water, fertilizer ...) and output (yield) are invited to rethink agriculture from the ground up.

Even in the short term a closer look at the concept productivity reveals weaknesses of “modern” agriculture. We need to distinguish productivity per unit of labour from productivity per surface area. A man on a huge tractor which pulls a big machine may have a high productivity per working hour (even if you calculate the hours which went into the production of the machinery and the provision of the fuel), but the production of the field he labours may not be higher than a comparable surface tilled manually or with animal traction by a large number of smallholders and their families.

And who feeds the smallholder families who had to vacate the area to make space to “modern” agriculture? They frequently end up living in urban precarity (a topic which we have addressed above from a different angle). In the absence of proper employment, rural-urban migrants often end up rendering occasional and poorly paid services or engaging in petty trade (often praised by development “experts” as “ingenuous” and a “coping mechanism”), which is divided into smaller and smaller shares as a result of the influx of too many traders. (At the moment, much of this street hawking, shoe-shining and petty trade seems to have come to a halt because of corona.)

Small-scale agriculture may need more labour than the “modern” alternative, but it is also able to feed all that labour and, in addition, produces a surplus for the market. In settings in which urban life does not provide reliable income, an important measure of the success of rural development should be how many people a rural economy can absorb and support.

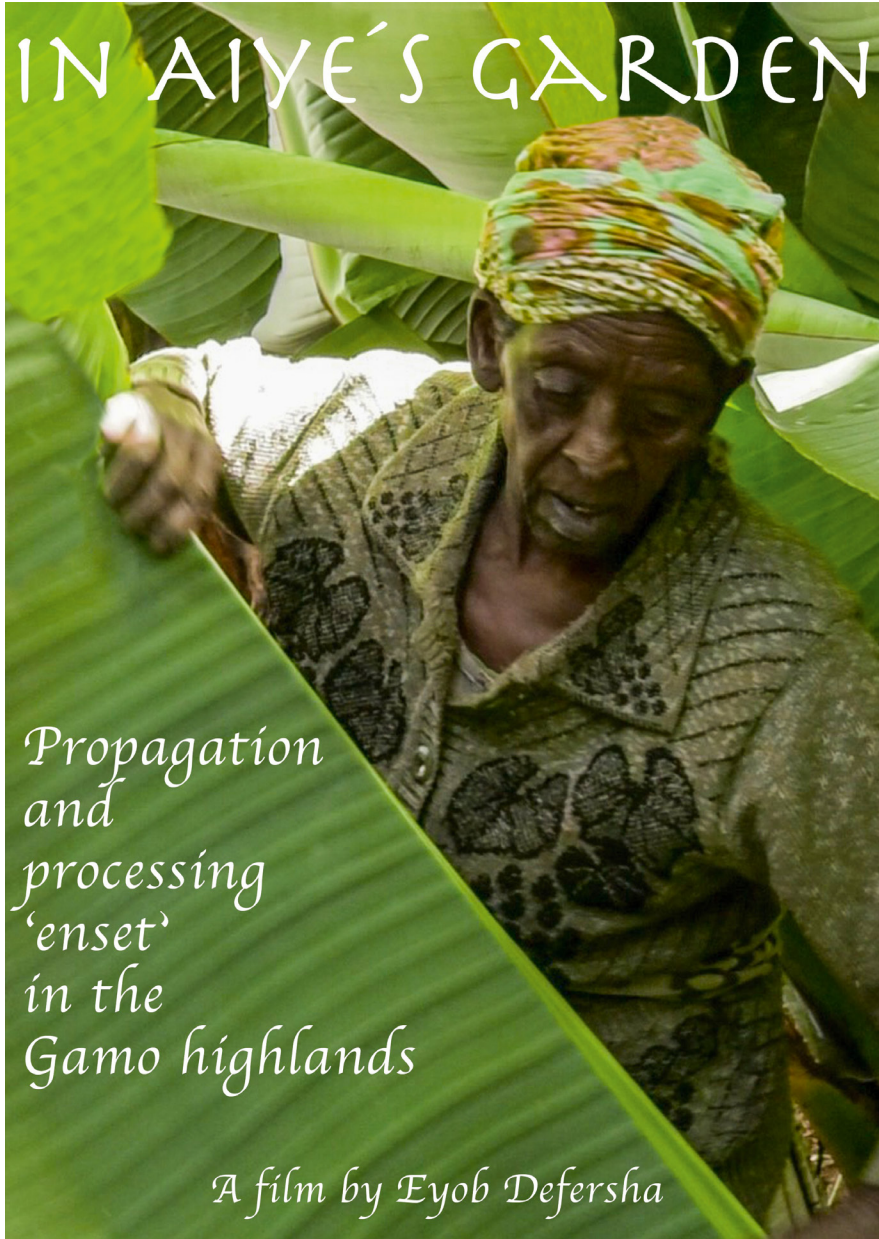
In connection with this project, we held a number of workshops for discussion during early stages of the production of these films, collaboration with our Ethiopian partners, and networking within Europe in view of continuing these activities after my impending retirement.

- 11–13 August 2017: “Modelling the ‘Guardians’ Problematic”, Melle, Germany
- 10 January 2018: “Guardians of Productive Landscapes”, Mekelle University, Ethiopia
- 12–13 March 2018: “Guardians of Productive Landscapes”, Arba Minch University, Ethiopia
- 1–2 September 2018: “Films in Progress for the GPL Project”, MPI Halle

As the in-progress material developed into presentable films, the events we organized or joined addressed a wider public. A highlight was a panel dedicated to the project on 5 October 2018 at the 20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, where these films (and other activities of the Department) received great attention.

Presentations:

- 20–21 June 2019: “The ‘Guardians of Productive Landscapes’ Project: Achievements and Future Prospects”, MPI Halle
- 10 January 2018: Joint presentation by Ivo Strecker, Tesfahun Haddis and Mitiku Gabrehiwot and public screening of the films *Abraham and Sarah I* and *Dancing Grass* at the Edna Mall Cinema, Mekelle, organized by the University of Mekelle, Ethiopia
- 11 May 2018: Screening and discussion of Ivo Strecker’s film *Abraham and Sarah I: Creators of a Productive Landscape* at the German International Ethnographic Film Festival (GIEFF) in Koblenz, Germany
- 5 December 2019: Public screening and discussion of *Abraham and Sarah I: Creators of a Productive Landscape* as part of the “Thursday Cinema” series of events at the Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zurich, Switzerland
- 22–23 March 2020: Screening and discussion of five completed films of the GPL series at the 2nd Jinka Ethnographical Film Festival (JEFF), Jinka, Ethiopia



Poster for In Aiye's Garden. With this film Eyob Defersha has won the student competition at 2Rivers Film Festival 2020 in the category "Food Cultures".

With the onset of the corona pandemic, the dissemination of our films sadly moved away from the big screen and continued online.

13–17 May 2020: Screening and discussion of five films of the GPL series as part of the German International Ethnographic Film Festival (GIEFF). Based in Göttingen, Germany, this year’s festival was held online. The completed films in order of showing were:

- *Abraham & Sarah I* by Ivo Strecker
- *Abraham & Sarah II* by Tesfahun Haddis
- *Dancing Grass* by Mitiku Gabrehiwot
- *In Aiye’s Garden* by Eyob Defersha
- *Family Subsistence* by Jean Lydall and Kaira Strecker

Work in progress of two further films was also shown and discussed:

- *Floods, Fields and Meadows* by Echi Gabbert
- *Milking the Chobui Tree* by Shauna LaTosky

The presentations were followed by an online “conversation” between the creators of these films and Feleke Woldeyes (Ethiopian Biodiversity Institute), Sophia Thu-bauville (Frobenius Institute, formerly this MPI), and myself.

In Ethiopia the GPL series has reached a high level of visibility.

- Demtsi Woyane Television, a private Ethiopian station, has made a 25-minute television production on the Guardians of Productive Landscapes film series. Tesfahun Haddis and Mitiku Gebrehiwot (members of the GPL team from Mekelle University) had an interview with the television station. By the time of writing (6 June) the programme has been broadcast three times.
- TTV (Tigray Television) is owned by the Tigray regional state of Ethiopia. TTV produced a 23-minute documentary on the Guardians of Productive Landscapes film series. It was broadcast five times between 17 and 27 May 2020.

The two television programmes opened the door to promote the GPL film series all over Ethiopia. It has already attracted the attention of a large audience.

Other Department research in audio-visual media

In addition to film projects that highlight the visual aspects of the content of our research, film has also served as a way of recording lectures and making them available to a wider public after the conclusion of the event.

In 2017 I had the opportunity to give a presentation about “Wie Terroristen gemacht werden” [How terrorists are made] at the *Campus Talks*, an event at the Volksbühne Berlin, which was televised by ARD alpha and made available on YouTube starting 18 October 2017 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AoX0i6slG-U>).

Another event for the German-speaking public which has been made available on YouTube is a *Max Planck Forum* which was held at our Institute (an innovation: all other events of this kind had been held in Berlin or Munich). The event with the title “Wohin? Was passiert, wenn Menschen ihre Lebensgrundlage verlieren” [Where to go? What happens when people lose their livelihoods] took place on 14 November 2017 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eSjn3mXnCMQ>).



The MPI also recorded my keynote lecture from 22 November 2019 at the conference “Is Terrorist Learning Different?” organized by the research group “How ‘Terrorists’ Learn” headed by Carolin Görzig. The talk entitled “Studying Evil” is available as a video on the website of the MPI. In it I discuss research methods and ethical dilemmas of field research in violent settings and reflects my personal experience going back to the 1970s, as well as drawing on the work of Markus Hoehne and the pertinent insights from terrorism research (<https://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/de/media/keynote-schlee>).

New Anchorages

Retired people are a group with low budgets and increased mortality. They do not provide safe institutional anchors for longer term academic activities. I am therefore glad to report that “Lands of the Future” has successfully been transferred to the chair of Nikolaus Schareika at Göttingen University, where Echi Gabbert continues to coordinate this network.

CASCA, the Centre for Anthropological Studies of Central Asia, has always been co-directed by Peter Finke at the University of Zurich and myself. With my retirement, the main responsibility rests with Peter Finke. The CASCA website will migrate to Zurich in August 2020. The new address is www.casca.uzh.ch. Peter Finke continues to be the first supervisor of some shared doctoral students and has hired new researchers for CASCA related projects. These include a postdoc from Mongolia and a Chinese doctoral student who works on Uzbekistan. The chair of Peter Finke participates in the Horizon 2020 Project “Central Asian Law” of the EU and hosts the book series “Economic and Social Transformation in Central and Inner Asia” published by Routledge.

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Research Group
‘Integration and Conflict
along the Upper Guinea Coast of West Africa’

Jacqueline Knörr

co-authored by (in alphabetical order):

*Maarten Bedert, Jonas Klee, Anaïs Ménard, Agathe Menetrier,
William P. Murphy, David O’Kane, Wilson Trajano Filho*

Composition of the Research Group 2017–2019***Members***

Jacqueline Knörr

Head of Research Group (since 2004)
and Extraordinary Professor at the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg

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PhD Student (2016–2020)
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PhD Student (2016–2020)
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Associate, Lecturer and Research Fellow at the University of Durham (2017–2018)

Anita Schroven

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Associates/Research Partners

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Senior Lecturer at Northwestern University

Wilson Trajano Filho

Research Partner
Professor of Anthropology at the University of Brasilia

Research Group ‘Integration and Conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast of West Africa’

Jacqueline Knörr

Background of Research (Group)¹

The research group ‘Integration and Conflict along the Upper Guinea Coast of West Africa’ was established in 2005 and has been the only group worldwide whose members explore in a long-term perspective the various processes of integration and conflict in this particular West African region. As elaborated in previous reports and publications, the region has experienced violent conflicts as well as extended periods of – more or less – peaceful interaction. The integration of social difference, the incorporation of strangers, and the reconciliation after conflict and crisis may in many cases be achieved through established and often institutionalized social and political practices.² The research group aims to contribute to a better understanding of the social structures and dynamics that affect integrative and conflictual forms of interaction at local, regional, and (trans)national levels. In order to do so, the impact and repercussions of specific historical experiences are taken into account as they influence how values, institutions, organisations, and traditions are applied and transformed within and across ethnic, social, religious, national and spatial boundaries.³

Research Foci and Activities (2017–2019)

We have continued to study the involvement of the Upper Guinea Coast in contemporary social and political interactions at local, regional, (trans)national, and global levels.⁴ In recent years we focussed our attention on current contestations and controversies concerning (re-)configurations of power and authority in Upper Guinea Coast societies. Local institutions and agents of power and authority have long played eminent roles in everyday lives and in situations of conflict, crisis and (re-)integration in the societies concerned. They have long been in exchange and interaction with various external institutions and agents – such as colonial powers, missionaries, various groups of (more or less influential) settlers and intermediary populations, (I)NGOS, global organizations, and influential diaspora communities.⁵

¹ References in this report include only recent publications by current and (some) former research group members (apart from the exception of a quote by Mamdami (2001/reference in footnote 7).

² E.g. Knörr and Trajano Filho 2010; Knörr and Schroven 2019; Bedert 2016, 2019; King 2016. See also the group’s contributions to our Institute’s Reports (2005–2016).

³ Bedert 2019; Schroven 2019.

⁴ Knörr and Kohl 2016; Højbjerg, Knörr and Murphy 2017.

⁵ Knörr and Trajano Filho 2010; Murphy 2016; Knörr and Schroven 2019.

We therefore examine local and external leadership and institutions and agents of power in consideration of their mutual interactions and the changes that they effect at the levels of social relationships, identity formation and social class.

Historical imaginations and narratives impact contemporary perceptions and contestations of belonging which are connected with claims to resources and to power at various levels.⁶ Colonial legacies and reactions to them also continue to impact contemporary constitutions and administrative practices in Upper Guinea Coast societies. The latter often make reference to precolonial as well as colonial patterns of distinguishing “natives” from “settlers” that, to varying degrees, also involved the categorization of natives according to ethnic identity. Regionalization policies have often led regional governments to determine people’s rights in relation to criteria of indigeneity and – thereby – ethnic identity, excluding those not classified as natives from access to land, positions of political power and socio-economic advancement, leading to a re-division of “yesterday’s natives into postcolonial settlers and postcolonial natives.”⁷ We explore the specific forms such classifications take in Upper Guinea Coast societies, not least because they are influenced by the – often eminent – roles that creole and settler populations have played in the formation of ethnic and transethnic categories and in their positioning and functioning vis-à-vis the nation-state and transnational networks and interactions.⁸

Our research has investigated how inequalities in terms of access to resources are addressed and negotiated within the framework of local and global models of power and governance and vis-à-vis local communities and the state.⁹ In the wake of recent regional wars and conflicts and in connection with the Ebola crisis (2014–2016) new configurations of power have emerged in mutual exchange with previous political forms integrated with the latter to varying degrees depending on situation and context.¹⁰ Contestations over whether and which global or local models of governance should be applied occur, amongst others, where inequalities – related to different categories of belonging – exist in access to resources of various kinds, among them land, education, health facilities, positions of political and spiritual power, as well as institutions granting and strategically enabling visa and asylum.¹¹ Access to and

⁶ Bedert 2019, 2017b, in press, under review; Murphy 2017; Schroven 2019.

⁷ Mamdami, M. (2001: 660) Beyond settler and native as political identities: Overcoming the political legacy of colonialism. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43(4): 651–664; cf. Bräuchler and Ménard 2017, Ménard a, b, under review; Rudolf 2017; Bedert 2017b, in press.

⁸ Knörr and Trajano Filho 2018; Knörr 2018; Trajano Filho 2018; Kohl 2018a, b; Ménard 2017a, b, 2018; Bedert 2018a, b, under review.

⁹ Schroven 2019; Knörr and Schroven 2019; Højbjerg, Knörr and Murphy 2017.

¹⁰ Knörr and Schroven 2019; Ménard 2017a; Schroven 2017.

¹¹ Knörr and Schroven 2019; O’Kane 2017, 2018, under review; Menetrier 2017a, b, in press; Menetrier and Lawrance under review; Bedert in press, under review.

control of resources are often causes for divisive social and political practices and are shaped by differing logics and identifications that lead to contestations during times of severe conflict, but also when (relative) peace and stability prevails.¹² How contestations and controversies manifest themselves and how they are negotiated and, potentially, solved, also depends on whether and how local and global models and practices of authority and governance are perceived and on how and by whom they are communicated and employed.¹³

Transnational relations and migration have always been important dimensions of our research given the Upper Guinea Coast region’s involvement in complex migratory processes across time. Some of our more recent research activities have focussed more specifically on the current social and political dynamics of out-migration and on the transnational practices and interactions between home and diaspora communities that are becoming ever more influential also where power relations at various societal and political levels are concerned. Their impact on the contestations and controversies that occur with regard to (re-)configurations of power and authority are manifold and affect social relations and political practices at individual and institutional levels.¹⁴

In April 2018, Jacqueline Knörr and Agathe Menetrier organized a conference entitled “Those Who Stay: How Out-Migration Affects West African Societies”. By focussing on the effects of out-migration on “those who stay”, we more generally aimed to shift the attention from the effects of immigration on the so-called Global North (and Europe in particular) to the effects of emigration – or out-migration – on the societies and people of the so-called Global South. Papers presented investigated how kin and social ties, gender and generational relations and hierarchies, social support systems, and consumption and spending practices are subject to change as the result of out-migration and changed patterns of social interaction and socio-economic dependencies which are related not least to the remittances sent by migrants to families and communities left behind. Such remittances are also transferred in support of specific political leaders and parties as well as NGOs and civil society organizations, thereby influencing the latter’s work as well as concepts of governance, authority and power relations. The diaspora’s involvement in national politics evokes both positive and negative reactions by those “back home”. Papers explored under which conditions remittances are perceived, amongst others, as a (legitimate) tool for development by those who stay, an (unwanted) strategy to generate dependencies,

¹² Bräuchler and Ménard 2017; King 2016; O’Kane 2018; Bedert 2017b; Rudolf 2013; Schroven 2019.

¹³ Knörr and Schroven 2019; Højbjerg, Knörr and Murphy 2017; Murphy 2016; Ménard 2019.

¹⁴ Knörr and Schroven 2019; Knörr and Kohl 2016; Menetrier 2017a, b, in press; Menetrier and Lawrance under review; Knörr 2017; Schroven 2019; 2018; Rudolf 2017; Bedert 2019.

a left-over of colonialism, or a symbol of North-South inequality. Publications of some of the outcomes of the conference's papers and discussions are underway. Research on the connection between decolonization and transnational interactions was also initiated and some of our researchers' future research will deal with the question how transnational interactions and processes of decolonization reinforce or impede each other.

In October 2018, Jacqueline Knörr (MPI) and Mariana Kriel (NMU) co-organized a conference on "Language and the Decolonization of the African Coast" at Nelson Mandela University (NMU) in Port Elizabeth (South Africa). The research group's members' contributions focussed on the role of creole languages in processes of decolonization in the Upper Guinea Coast region. The conference also hosted a public book launch at the South End Museum in Port Elizabeth where Jacqueline Knörr gave a talk on her book *Creolization and Pidginization in Contexts of Postcolonial Diversity: Language, Culture, Identity* (2018), co-edited with Wilson Trajano Filho.

Outreach and Impact

Researchers of the group continue to be called upon as experts, consultants and advisors in various domains of policy-making, such as networks, working groups and commissions of governmental and non-governmental organizations and institutions. They share their regional and anthropological expertise beyond academia, impacting policies of international cooperation in development, crisis intervention practices, asylum policies, the implementation of humanitarian assistance, and societal discourses about these issues more generally. This is the more important given that the region has been going through conflict and crisis for decades, the most recent ones being civil wars and the Ebola epidemic.

Our more recent foci on out-migration in Africa and the contestations resulting from the interaction of global and local models of governance have received a lot of interest both within the scientific community and on the part of governments and (I)NGOs. They concern the ways migration flows and crisis in Africa impact global developments at all societal and political levels. Not least the German government and national as well as international organizations concerned with humanitarian aspects of migration and flight have been very responsive to our work. The increased (yet not full) recognition of the fact that Africa must be at the top of the agenda of European (and global) politics and policies of cooperation and development to achieve more global equality and shared responsibility for a world threatened by social, political and climate crisis involves increased (yet not complete) acknowledgment of the fact that to deal with these pressing issues in a responsible and effective

manner we need more in-depth knowledge concerning the underlying socio-cultural and political constitution of African societies.¹⁵

As the Scientific Advisory Board has explicitly requested more detailed information concerning the Institute’s outreach activities in their previous consultations, the different organizations and institutions group members have cooperated with as experts, consultants and advisors are mentioned below:

- The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Chancellery of the German Government
- Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)
- Akademie für internationale Zusammenarbeit (AIZ)
- Deutsches Institut für ärztliche Mission (Difäm)
- The United States Department of State
- The Canadian Department of Global Affairs
- The Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
- The United Kingdom’s Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Dutch Council for Refugees (Vluchtelingenwerk)
- The Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Belgian Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons (CGRA)
- Belgian Council for Refugees
- The Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
- The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
- The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF)
- The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
- The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR)
- United Nations Special Court for Sierra Leone
- The International Organization for Migration (IOM)
- World Health Organization (WHO)
- Médecins sans Frontières (MSF)
- Amnesty International
- Human Rights Watch
- Asylös, Research for Asylum
- Horn of Africa People’s Aid, Ireland

¹⁵ <https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/aktuelles/vertiefte-partnerschaft-mit-afrika-1594886>;
<https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/regionaleschwerpunkte/afrika/-/2203368>

Members of the group have also been interviewed many times, and their expertise has been featured in newspaper articles and radio programs particularly in connection with the political upheavals in the region, the Ebola crisis, and the practice of Female Genital Cutting (FGC). Among them are the following radio stations and newspapers:

- Deutschlandfunk
- Deutschlandradio
- ORF Radio
- MDR
- Radio Corax
- KölnCampus
- Bayern 2
- Radio France International
- Nederlandse Publieke Omroep
- Die Zeit
- Süddeutsche Zeitung
- Mitteldeutsche Zeitung
- Chicago Sunday Times
- DeWereldMorgen (Belgium)
- LoNam, Das Afrika-Magazin

Members of the group took an active part in our “Max Planck Day” in September 2018, presenting our work to students of the Elisabeth Gymnasium in Halle. Anita Schroven, together with Jonas Klee, staged a simulated outbreak of Ebola in which the students from Elisabeth Gymnasium took on the roles of researchers.



*Max Planck Day 2018.
(Photo: MPI for Social Anthropology)*

By enacting fieldwork, the students were able to “experience” how anthropologists engage in participant observation in an environment characterized by fear, tension and conflict and were confronted with some of the problems that may occur in the interaction with different actors on the scene, such as aid workers and people directly affected by the Ebola epidemic.

Agathe Menetrier, together with Laura Lambert, staged “Power Walk”, a role play in which the students from Elisabeth Gymnasium were turned into anthropologists travelling to Senegal, Niger, Uganda, Kenya, and Halle-Neustadt to study refugees by “walking in their shoes”. In the course of their research, the student-anthropologists were confronted with the problems and challenges refugees face in their everyday lives and in different local contexts. At the same time, “sharing” their experience and everyday life, allowed them to realize that refugees are neither as homogeneous nor as totally different from themselves as often portrayed in the German public and media.

The events were followed by lively discussions and turned out to be a great success.

Organization, Management, Output

As before, the group has included researchers at different stages of their academic careers. Apart from the head of the research group (Jacqueline Knörr), one to two postdocs (Anita Schroven, David O’Kane) and two PhD students (Agathe Menetrier, Jonas Klee) have been based and employed in Halle. As the ambitious and challenging scientific work in the region under study requires the involvement of more advanced scholars as well, we have continued to collaborate with more senior research partners and associates who are based at different universities and research institutes world-wide. They complement our thematic and regional expertise and function as (co-)advisors and mentors of individual researchers and the group as a whole. Some have been collaborating with us as Research Partners for many years (Wilson Trajano Filho, William P. Murphy), others for more limited periods of time, getting involved in more specific research endeavours. Research partners and associates have throughout the years also provided important international connections and facilitated visiting fellowships at their home institutions and beyond, thereby fostering our PhD students’ and postdocs’ future careers. Hence, the composition of the group has always been of utmost importance for its successful work.

All researchers attended international conferences as well as seminars organized by the head of the research group where they presented and discussed their work. The research group has been very productive in terms of publications as well. PhD theses (of former PhD students), (co-)edited volumes and articles have been published by renowned publishers, in well-established series and peer-reviewed journals – as well as working papers and blog entries, not least in our Upper Guinea Coast blog which provides a welcome opportunity to publish preliminary findings and impressions from the field. All researchers have engaged in fieldwork following pre-fieldwork workshops and consultations by the head of the research group and research partners.

The data and its analysis have been discussed with all members of the research team as well as with wider audiences at workshops following the periods of fieldwork and at international conferences.

It should be noted that all former PhD students of the group have obtained their PhD degree and that all former PhD students and Postdocs have succeeded in finding employment, in most cases at universities and research institutions, and in some cases in international development organizations. Two current PhD students are in their final stages of writing up their PhD thesis. Some recent delay has been caused by pregnancy and the coronavirus crisis.

Individual Projects

(contributions written by individual researchers,
except Anita Schroven/written by Jacqueline Knörr)

Jonas Klee

PhD project: Creole Identities in the Casamance, Senegal

In February 2017, I moved to Ziguinchor (Senegal) to conduct my doctoral field research. I employed a mix of research methods, including participant observation, informal and semi-formal interviews, photography, video-recording, and collecting documents. My research focused on Luso-Creole culture and identity in the culturally diverse context of contemporary Ziguinchor. With time, the central theme of “belonging” emerged, especially the question of what role historical creolization plays in how people perceive and define various ways of belonging – and not belonging – to Ziguinchor. People in Ziguinchor often describe themselves as “mixed”, portraying their “mixedness” as positively distinctive. One’s place of birth and upbringing is perceived as being more relevant for one’s belonging to Ziguinchor than one’s ancestors’ origins. The Kriol language also continues to play a role in the construction of common identity, allowing the many immigrants from neighbouring Guinea-Bissau to develop a sense of belonging. Moreover, through continued social and religious engagement with places and institutions once primarily associated with Ziguinchor’s Luso-Creole population – like cemeteries, places of worship, and schools – the latter have been embraced as manifestations of mutual belonging irrespective of people’s different origins. My research shows that transethnic belonging and “mixedness” previously associated with a creole group may be transferred to places and populations characterized by diversity, allowing historical creolization to effect contemporary belonging across (ethnic, religious, national ...) differences even after the creole group and the process of creolization through which it emerged are processes and people of the past.

After my return to Germany in February 2018, I presented my findings at different conferences, workshops, and colloquia in Halle, Leipzig, Düsseldorf, and Port

Elizabeth (South Africa). In August 2019, a short video clip was published as part of the “Three Minutes of Anthropology” series, in which I summarized my project and its findings. By the end of 2019, I had written several draft chapters of my thesis and will submit my thesis in 2020.

Agathe Menetrier

*PhD project: LGBT Refugeeeness in the International Asylum System:
The Example of Queer Gambian Refugees in Dakar, Senegal*

I obtained my background knowledge concerning the issues at stake in my research project through reading different bodies of literature on gender and sexual orientation-related stigma, humanitarian practices, and the international circulation of causes – considerate of the problematic fact that most expert knowledge of the Global South is produced primarily in the Global North.

I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Dakar (Senegal) from April 2017 to April 2018, studying the asylum system as seen through the eyes of the different actors that constitute it, i.e. asylum seekers from neighbouring countries, Senegalese employees “at the counter” of NGOs who assist asylum seekers and refugees, and international staff of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). More specifically, I engaged in participant observation with a group of young men and women who sought asylum in Dakar after fleeing homophobic threats in their native Gambia. In Dakar, they turned to the UNHCR, whose West African headquarters in Dakar are in charge of resettlement procedures to the Global North. Their resettlement experts, most of them “expatriates” from the Global North, select gay asylum seekers with the utmost discretion so as not to offend the Senegalese state, officially sovereign in matters of asylum. The cases classified as “refugees” and “LGBT” are forwarded to resettlement countries for approval. While gay Gambians and employees of Senegalese NGOs in charge of assisting refugees in Dakar are aware of such transferrals to the Global North, they are not initiated into the complex procedures of the UNHCR, and therefore wonder how – i.e., by means of which strategies and criteria – people become LGBT refugees – a question that also became the guiding question in my analysis as it allowed me to confront the expectations and the social grammar of each group of actors and their relationships towards one another.

My main findings concern the importance of “whiteness” as a vector of confidence in the asylum and resettlement decision-making chain, the damaging effects of secrecy for the cooperation between international organizations and Senegalese state and non-state actors, and the wide-ranging impact of competition for resettlement spots on solidarity and mutual support among gay asylum seekers.

In addition to presenting papers about my findings at academic conferences and writing articles, I have also shared my expertise on LGBT rights in West Africa notably through collaborations with OHCHR/UNDP, the German media and the NGO Asylos.

Jacqueline Knörr*Head of Research Group and Extraordinary Professor*

The reporting period was filled with coordinating and finalizing writing projects, some of which I authored by myself, while others consisted of books and articles jointly edited and written by members of the research group, including myself (mentioned above, see references). I co-organized two international conferences, one on “Those who stay ...” in Halle and one in Port Elizabeth, South Africa (see above). One of our co-edited volumes was presented at two book launches, one at the EASA conference in Stockholm and one in Port Elizabeth.

Besides finalizing writing projects and thereby deepening the analysis of previously accrued data, I ventured into new fields of research. Just to mention one: I have looked more closely at the connections between historical creolization and contemporary processes of decolonization that involve contestations over (more or less privileged) ways and rights of belonging and citizenship and the distribution of power and access to resources. I am also exploring how the connection between historical creolization and decolonization may give way to the emergence of (something like) a “cosmopolitanism of the (postcolonial) Global South”. My collaboration with South African and Brazilian scholars working on different varieties of identity- and language-related phenomena of creolization/pidginization in contexts of decolonization has been very fruitful in this regard as it allows for interesting comparisons both in terms of societal contexts and language. This, however, is work in progress and it remains to be seen what comes out of it.

I also engaged in various so-called outreach activities. Amongst others, I was invited as speaker to the annual “Themenkonzerte” in 2018, which is organized annually by the Max Planck Society and the Opera House in Munich. That year’s theme being “Show me your wound” (*Zeig mir Deine Wunde*) led me to present on “The wounds of others, or: what (female) genital cutting has to do with creoles, colonialism, the composition of parliaments and men’s fear of impotence” (*Fremde Wunden oder: Was hat (weibliche) Genitalbeschneidung mit Kreolen, Kolonialismus, der Zusammensetzung von Parlamenten und der Angst der Männer vor Impotenz zu tun?*). The talk attracted a wide audience of non-anthropologists and – as was to be expected – involved a lively debate in its aftermath. I have also been involved as expert witness in numerous asylum cases in the UK, USA, Netherlands, Germany, and Hongkong. Serving as the elected Scientific Representative of our Institute to the Max Planck Society during an extended period of transition also involved a lot of – in many cases (mutually) rewarding – work and social interaction.

As Extraordinary Professor I have also taught seminars that focused on political interaction and exchange, constructions of the postcolonial nation, and perspectives on cosmopolitanism in the Global South.

Anaïs Ménard

Associate/Otto Hahn Awardee

In 2017, I was employed as a postdoctoral researcher at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris, France), where I developed my research about the social and integrative aspects of religion in the Sierra Leonean context, in particular the relationship between religious change and urbanization. I presented some of those findings at the African Studies Association UK in September 2018. I also started preliminary fieldwork with associations of the Sierra Leonean diaspora in several French cities. Between 2018 and 2019, I carried out the first phase of my postdoctoral research as an Otto Hahn fellow at the Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve (Belgium), with the following topic: “Diaspora, Migration Trajectories and Eclectic Belonging: Individual and Collective Ways of Becoming a Sierra Leonean Abroad”. This new research builds on my previous research in Sierra Leone, by addressing issues of identity and belonging in the diaspora context.

I have conducted field research in France, Belgium and the Netherlands over the last three years, and mapped out individual and collective connections across the three countries. I attended many events and followed closely the activities of some of the Sierra Leonean associations, women’s associations in particular, including their projects and impact in Sierra Leone.

This project has kept me very close to the activities of the Upper Guinea Coast research group at the MPI in Halle, as issues of migration and identity in Europe are intimately connected with social dynamics in West Africa. As a result, I have continued to collaborate with group members – both regarding field research and joint publications. In 2019, I travelled to Sierra Leone for some follow-up research, which was also a phase of “restitution” of my PhD research data to informants I had worked with. This allowed me to update my manuscript and submit it for publication with Berghahn Books. Moreover, I conducted preliminary fieldwork in Senegal in order to explore the possibility for comparative research with regard to migratory dynamics. To be able to continue my collaboration with the Upper Guinea Coast research group, my Otto Hahn group – which will give particular emphasis on the relationship between diaspora associations and the “home” country – will be launched at the MPI for Social Anthropology in Halle in the near future.

David O’Kane*Senior Research Fellow*

After my first postdoc position at the MPI in Halle that lasted from 2011 to 2016 I held a temporary position as lecturer at the University of Durham (UK), teaching primarily Medical Anthropology and furthering my interest in that subdiscipline which I had had since the outbreak of the West African Ebola crisis in 2013, and on the documentation of which I co-authored a paper in *Globalizations*.

In late 2018 I returned to Halle and the MPI to continue my work conducted under the rubric of “The Role of Language in Post-Conflict Reconstructions of Nationhood: The Case of Sierra Leone”. Since the end of that country’s civil war in 2002, post-conflict reconstruction has involved action on several fronts: there has been the struggle to restore the national-level systems that were severely damaged during the war (health, education, law and policing, administration, etc.), and a parallel reconstruction of the country’s national identity, its sense of nationhood. My research deals with, for example, the place of language in the policies and practices of the University of Makeni, one of the new institutions created in Sierra Leone since 2002. It contextualized those policies and practices in the wider context of the rehabilitation of nation-state systems in post-conflict Sierra Leone, and the country’s politics of language as they existed before and after the conflict, and the wider history of nationalism and systems of mass media in the region (O’Kane 2017). Systems of various kinds (not only media, but also health-care, education, administration, law enforcement, etc.). On the other hand, if a linguistically plural society like Sierra Leone can define its nationhood in a form that unites its diverse communities and identities within a shared sense of nationhood, then the role of language in the reconstruction of nationhood will take a different form. I approach language as relevant to nation-building in terms of practical problems of communication, and as a key marker of ethnic and national identity, and I argue that problems of stress and system have been central to the emergence of the modern nation-state and its particular definition of the relationship between language and national identity. This has relevance not only to questions of national identity in Africa, but also to theories of nationalism more generally. A draft MPI working paper setting out these ideas (and describing how future research on these themes should proceed) is currently under review (O’Kane, under review).

I have (co-)authored several articles and co-edited the volume *Middle Classes in Africa* (O’Kane 2018; O’Kane and Scharrer 2018; Kroeker, O’Kane and Scharrer 2018). With other members of the Upper Guinea Coast group I participated in a conference at the Nelson Mandela University (see above), where I presented my findings on the connections between language and identity at Sierra Leone’s University of Makeni. I attended various other workshops organized by the research group as well as international conferences during the reporting period.

Wilson Trajano Filho*Research Partner, University of Brasilia*

My activities from 2017 to 2019 which were undertaken in collaboration with the Upper Guinea Coast research group built on my previous work on the Creole society of Guinea-Bissau. Until 2016, a substantial part of my research focused on the analysis of specific dimensions of the creolization process in Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde – like creole institutions such as the Cape Verdean *tabancas* and the *manjuandadis* of Guinea-Bissau, and concepts of the nation in Creole societies. From 2017 onwards, I added a new direction to my research, focusing on the connection between creolization and popular culture, which is understood as a dimension of social life in which ambiguity and contradiction are not experienced as qualities to be overcome, but rather as their positively connotated expressions in everyday social life, in which the logic of improvisation replaces the logic of rules and norms. I argue that it is this more conspicuous and popular culture that constitutes the most lively and dynamic part in social contexts that are characterized by historical and contemporary creolization.

This new dimension of my research is exemplified, amongst others, in my contribution to the book edited by myself and Jacqueline Knörr (2018), in which I compare how the related ideas of borrowing and influence are experienced in opposite ways in two historically linked Creole societies: Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau. The ethnographic material used in this analysis comes from the domain of popular culture (fashion, music and forms of sociability). In addition to my contributions in this book, I published a variety of other articles and presented papers on popular culture and creolization, on creative industries, on the genderification of popular culture, on cosmopolitanism in creole cities and on the model of the post-creole continuum to analyze socio-cultural variation in the framework of seminars, congresses and conferences in Brazil, Portugal, Belgium, South Africa and in our workshops in Germany.



Pageant of Lem Cabral village's tabanca (in the Council of Santa Catarina, Santiago, Cape Verde) towards the residence of the tabanca's godfather/godmother and sponsor to collect the gift s/he offers to celebrate the tabanca's patron saint. The girls carrying the flags are called Pombas (doves). (Photo: Wilson Trajano Filho)

William P. Murphy*Research Partner, Northwestern University*

My current research – based on case material from the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone – focuses on the authority and administrative structures of insurgency organizations governing civilians in captured territories. Methodological attention is especially given to the communicative practices that mediate the goals, decisions, and commands shaping the violent projects of such organizations. The semiotic activity of meaning-making constituting those communicative practices provide the analytical key for this research on the logic of violence in these civil wars. Moreover, this focus on the language practices surrounding violent actions offer insights that transcend standard explanations of civil war violence, such as ethnic hatred, generational conflict, or even war’s opaque madness. Analysing the relationship between violence and the governance of civilians in captured territories of a nation at war, moreover, raises fundamental questions concerning “weak states” as well as quasi-state structures of insurgency governance. The theory of the state as legitimate possessor of violence is refined by considering the use of violence by quasi-state structures of insurgency groups. This current research on language, violence, and governance grows out of recent essays (published in edited volumes of members of the Upper Guinea Coast group) on the language ideology of violence, kinship tropes of patronage as a critical discourse of transitional justice (especially in youth discourse), and the logic of cultural and analytical tropes in understanding the social and historical patterns defining this cultural region and its dynamic changes (Murphy 2018). My current and recent research projects build on a key theoretical and methodological focus of the Upper Guinea Coast research group: namely, the study of language usages and discourse practices that mediate and constitute the social identities and differences making up the multi-faceted strategies of integration and conflict in the region (Murphy 2017, 2018; Højbjerg, Murphy and Knörr 2017). My research has been deepened and clarified over the years by the intellectual creativity of the research group in producing rich historical and ethnographic data on this Upper Guinea Coast region in ways that contribute to theoretical advances in social anthropology generally (e.g. theorizing violence/conflict in social relations), as well as to advances in public policy questions (e.g. migration) and social justice challenges facing this region and beyond.

Maarten Bedert

Associate, Postdoctoral Fellow at the Amsterdam Institute for Global Health and Development (AIGHD)

As an associated member of the Upper Guinea Coast research group I had the opportunity to return to my field sites in Liberia in August 2017 and to share the findings of my PhD research with the people I lived and worked with during my fieldwork. This trip also enabled me to collect data concerning the dynamics surrounding the Liberian presidential elections, the preliminary analysis of which I published on the Upper Guinea Coast and blog.

I have maintained contact with members of the Upper Guinea Coast group who continue to provide important insights and comments on publications in preparation and play a crucial role in the process of devising new research projects on imagination, conviviality and social reproduction in contexts of migration. My participation in the biennial UGC conference on “Those who stay . . .” in 2018 led Anaïs Ménard and me to collaborate in our research on the topic of mobility and migration. We are currently in the final phase of preparing a special issue that will include the papers presented at the aforementioned conference which explore the role of imagination in strategies of migration both in the Upper Guinea Coast region and the diaspora.

Since 2018 and as part of my new position at the Amsterdam Institute for Global Health and Development (AIGHD), I have engaged in research on public health and medical anthropology, exploring the reasons for HIV late presentation. Migration and the experiences of (sexual and ethnic) minorities play a central role in this regard. My research in this field is has also contributed to developing new lines of research and to establish new institutional contacts and collaborations, particularly with the University of Amsterdam.

Anita Schroven

Senior Researcher (text submitted by J. Knörr)

Anita Schroven has unfortunately been ill during much of the reporting period. However, as much as she could, given these unfortunate circumstances, she continued her research concerning experiences of recent crises in Sierra Leone and Guinea, exploring how societies reacted to the Ebola outbreak in comparison to previous experiences of violence and war. She studied how people navigate life in crisis and in relation to responses to crisis as well as the ways in which they engage with, and appropriate and resist crisis framings. She explored the processes involved in the perception and definition of crisis, through the meanings attached and the social responses to it. Thereby, she shows the way a crisis is contextualized and framed influences how social relations and identities – such as gender and generational relations and identities – are shaped both during and after periods of crisis. Her analysis

also involved observing the intricacies of the unfolding and ending of crises and on the repercussions on concepts and practices of normality and crisis. She analysed further how interactions between local and global modes of governance are carried on and changed in post-crisis contexts, exploring how these are situated between local, national, and international dynamics and influenced by past experiences with outside interventions.

Anita Schroven undertook fieldwork in Guinea, attended some international conferences and published several articles. A revised and updated version of her PhD thesis was published by Berghahn Books in 2019 under the title of “Playing the Marginality Game: Identity Politics in West Africa”. At the time of writing this report her book has been nominated for this year’s Elliot P. Skinner Book Award of the Association for African Anthropology (American Anthropological Association).

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**International Max Planck Research School on
Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment
(IMPRS REMEP)**

Report 2017–2019

compiled by Timm Sureau¹

¹ Compiled by Timm Sureau with the help of: Ralph Orłowski, Kristin Magnucki, Viktoria Giehler-Zeng, Günther Schlee, Laura Lambert, Stefan Millar, Stefan Schwendtner, Margarita Lipatova, and Carolin Hillemanns.

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IMPRS REMEP
Participating Institutions:

University of Freiburg

Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg

Max Planck Institute for European Legal History (Frankfurt/Main)

Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law (Freiburg)

Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Halle/Saale)

Department ‘Integration and Conflict’

Department ‘Law & Anthropology’

Introduction

Timm Sureau

The International Max Planck Research School “Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment” (REMEP) was a research and teaching network from 2008 until the end of 2019, consisting of four, and later three Max Planck Institutes, namely, the MPI for European Legal History (Frankfurt/Main), the MPI for Social Anthropology (Halle/Saale), the MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law (Freiburg), and from 2008–2012 the MPI for Comparative Public Law and International Law (Heidelberg).

During its 12-year existence, it also included two partner universities, namely Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg and the University of Freiburg.

The position of spokesperson and dean of REMEP was held by Hans-Jörg Albrecht (MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law) from 2008–2013 and by Günther Schlee (MPI for Social Anthropology) from 2014–2019.

The research of the IMPRS was organized and guided by its steering committee and coordinators, consisting of the following persons:

- Hans-Jörg Albrecht, Director (since 2019 Director emeritus) at the MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law
- (2008–†2013) Franz von Benda-Beckmann, MPI for Social Anthropology
- Keebet von Benda-Beckmann, Associate of the Department ‘Law & Anthropology’, MPI for Social Anthropology
- Thomas Duve, Director at the MPI for European Legal History
- (2008–2013) Wolfgang Frisch, University of Freiburg
- (2012–2019) Marie-Claire Foblets, Director at the MPI for Social Anthropology
- Karl Härter, MPI for European Legal History
- Roland Hefendehl, Director of the Institute for Criminology and Business Criminal Law, University of Freiburg
- Carolin Hillemanns, Scientific Coordinator and researcher at the MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law

- (2014–2016) Dominik Kohlhagen, Coordinator at the MPI for Social Anthropology
- Walter Perron, Chair for Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure and Comparative Criminal Law, University of Freiburg
- Richard Rottenburg, Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg; and Professor at Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of the Witwatersrand
- Günther Schlee, Director (since 2019 Director emeritus) at the MPI for Social Anthropology
- (2008–2010) Anja Seibert-Fohr, MPI for Comparative Public Law and International Law
- Ulrich Sieber, Director at the MPI for Foreign and International Criminal Law
- (2008–2010) Michael Stolleis, MPI for European Legal History
- (2011–2013) Pietro Sullo, Coordinator at the MPI for Comparative Public Law and International Law
- (2016–2019) Timm Sureau, REMEP Scientific Coordinator and researcher at the MPI for Social Anthropology
- Bertram Turner, Senior Researcher at the MPI for Social Anthropology
- (2008–2012) Miloš Vec, MPI for European Legal History
- (2006–2008) Silja Vöneky, MPI for Comparative Public Law and International Law
- (2008–2012) Rüdiger Wolfrum, MPI for Comparative Public Law and International Law

During the course of REMEP, two international collaborations were established: with the University of Bern, Switzerland, and with the Università Cattolica in Milan, Italy. In the first one, REMEP and the doctoral programme in penal law (BGS Doktoratsprogramm in Strafrechtswissenschaften) at the University of Bern jointly organized scientific workshops and soft skills training for their PhD students and

supported scientific exchange between both students and senior researchers across the fields of international and comparative criminal law, the theory and philosophy of criminal law, criminology, and the psychology of law. REMEP and BGS students could choose to conduct a portion of their research at the partner institute for up to one academic year. The second partnership with the Centre for Criminal Law and Criminal Policy (Centro Studi ‘Federico Stella’ sulla Giustizia penale e la Politica criminale, CSGP) at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan was initiated in mid-2011. In this collaboration, REMEP and CSGP organized joint research projects, symposia, and conferences in the area of criminal law and criminal justice reform with a focus on restorative justice.

As reflected in the affiliations above, the disciplines represented in REMEP are law, anthropology, and history. Research is mainly empirical and addresses questions common to these three disciplines, looking at how peace, social order, and social control are negotiated, constructed, maintained, altered, and re-established. While the initial focus of the research school was on retaliation, mediation, and punishment, which are and will continue to be three fundamental ways of establishing, changing, and maintaining normative order, over the course of time REMEP shifted its attention to focus additionally on the maintenance of social order by state and interstate actors such as the EU, as well as the role of technologies of control as new socio-legal actors.

The programme of the last three years of REMEP thus consisted in training and supporting its final cohort. Although the research school officially ended in 2019, Marie-Claire Foblets, Director of the Department ‘Law & Anthropology’ at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology agreed to fund the final cohort until October 2021 and to support the preceding groups of REMEP students as they finish their dissertations. An additional student in Freiburg was funded by Hans-Jörg Albrecht through his emeritus budget.

The final period of REMEP also saw various conferences and publications that based on the work of the research school. These included the final conference (“Punishment”) of a three-part series dedicated to the main themes of the research school, the completion of the edited volume *On Mediation*, and the preparation of an additional edited volume *Punishment: Negotiating Society*. Further, it included the preparation of a collection *Understanding Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment: Collected Results* edited by Timm Sureau and Yelva Auge, which contains summaries of selected dissertations that were published within REMEP. This book is already published and can be accessed under: http://www.eth.mpg.de/pubs/series_fieldnotes/vol0025.html. The book is a guide into the theses, and provides a comprehensive overview of the work that has been done within REMEP in twelve years.

The following sections will outline the projects of the new cohort of PhD students, their framework and short fieldwork reports; provide a retrospect of the last three years; and discuss the conference “Punishment” and its proceedings.

Technicization of Exclusionary Practices in the Context of Migration

*Timm Sureau*²

In November 2017, three new students joined REMEP in the framework of this sub-research group. This group of PhD students looks at three interrelated topics: migration policies, technicization of state bureaucracies, and practices that have exclusionary effects on certain groups.

The premise behind this new research group was the following: mobile populations and the challenges they create for state and humanitarian actors have resulted in attempts to manage populations using technological interventions. Rather than reducing suffering, however, such bureaucratic, rational-technical approaches often increase it.³ Thus, the “humaneness” of technological bureaucratic intervention is a paradoxical response to the growing challenges produced by mobile populations. Additionally, and with a different rationale, the EU is externalizing its borders into the Mediterranean and far beyond by creating laws and regulations for NGO ships that rescue mobile populations, for military interventions, and for refugee camps. As Günther Schlee has noted, “[m]igration is in and of itself not, of course, a criminal act, [...] but exclusion can under certain circumstances force entire groups of people into illegality. This phenomenon can be interpreted as a reaction of the state to the populist demand to take a hard line on migrants.”⁴ By pursuing an Africa policy based on incentives, financial assistance, and technology proliferation, the EU thus shifts questions of integration and identity from the local context within the territory of its member states to its expanded borders and to the realm of laws and technologies.

The three PhD students and Coordinator Timm Sureau conducted research at those borders in Sudan, Niger, Kenya, Turkey, and Greece. The four anthropological projects investigate the creation of social order in Europe and beyond through laws and penal populism and the impact of technologies on exclusionary practices in the context of migration. This includes the use of technological securitization, databases, biometrics, and technologies of humanitarian intervention for migrant management among refugee populations. Stefan Millar based his research in the refugee camps Kakuma and Kalobeyei in Kenya. Margarita Lipatova focused on

² I would like to thank Faduma Abukar, Nadine Adam, Marie-Claire Foblets, Sirin Knecht, Kristin Magnucki, Bettina Mann, Kathrin Niehuus, Ralph Orłowski, Günther Schlee, Ines Stade, Bertram Turner, and of course Carolin Hillemanns and many others for their support and trust throughout the years. I would like to thank Laura Lambert, Margarita Lipatova, and Stefan Millar for contributing to this text, but even more for making this last cohort a success!

³ Kleinman, Arthur, Veena Das, and Margaret M. Lock. 1997. *Social Suffering*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. x.

⁴ Günther Schlee in an interview with Stefan Schwendtner, accessed 13 December 2019: https://www.eth.mpg.de/4674242/news_2018_02_06_01

the role of EU law and politics in camps in and at the borders of Turkey and Greece, on islands and on the mainland. Laura Lambert looked at how refugee protection in Niger, one of the main transit states in Africa, has also functioned as a technology of exclusion in the context of migration control that has recently received lots of attention from European politicians. Timm Sureau did a short study of the Better Migration Management programme in Khartoum that focuses on improving management of migration between eastern Africa and Europe and within eastern Africa. Following REMEP's approach, the cases are analysed from anthropological, legal, and discursive perspectives, which in this sub-project are complemented by approaches from technology studies.

A particular focus of all researchers was the bureaucratic, global, and biopolitical complexity of migration management strategies – that is, the way institutions deal with large numbers of individual mobile persons and their bodies from a legal and a technological standpoint. Studying technicization means not only identifying the usage of technologies, but also looking at the consequences and changes to society that result from this.

The theoretical focus is inspired by the observation that governments as well as NGOs that run refugee camps use numerical representations in order to understand and manage populations and provide services. Such quantification of social phenomena has been an increasingly significant aspect of a paradigm shift in ideas of governance, which has followed the ideal of liberal democracy and capitalist market logic since the 1980s and gained new momentum particularly in the last decade.⁵ However, regarding populations as mere numerical objects disregards their performativity. This performativity is co-shaped by the new accessibility of social media (mobile phones and internet), which has been instrumental for displaced populations themselves in their efforts to arrange their lives, hopes, and plans for the future and secure a favourable position for themselves, both in the media representations and in the databases that will be used to determine their fate. People on the move use the internet or interpersonal networks to gain knowledge about their rights, about the advantages and disadvantages of such categories as “refugee” or “internally displaced persons”, and about other routes they can take, in both physical and imagined senses. They also keep in touch, exchange money, make themselves visible, and organize charity or relief to families in conflict areas.

⁵ Rottenburg, Richard, and Sally E. Merry. 2015. A world of indicators: the making of governmental knowledge through quantification. In: Richard Rottenburg, Sally E. Merry, Sung-Joon Park, and Johanna Mugler (eds.). *The world of indicators: the making of governmental knowledge through quantification*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–33.

(Re)Doing Asylum in Externalization Policies: The Case of Niger*Laura Lambert*

Based on 13 months of ethnographic fieldwork in Niger between May 2018 and September 2019, Laura Lambert's project contributes to the understanding of how asylum in the Global South can work as an exclusionary practice, keeping refugees far away from access to effective protection, assistance, and livelihood options, while still fostering the dream of a better life in Europe.

She traces how the implementation of asylum policy in Niger, which has long been one of the main transit countries between the Maghreb and West and Central Africa, is connected with the EU policy of externalizing migration control and refugee protection. When Niger decided to actively cooperate with the EU and international organizations on migration control in 2015/2016, local refugee protection became the flip side of stopping refugees and migrants on the routes towards Europe. Lambert's ethnographic material gives insights into what these developments mean for the bureaucrats, local populations, refugees, and UNHCR staff with regards to establishing effective refugee protection, finding effective long-term solutions and developing administrative routines. With the increasing control of migration and exacerbated by the violence in Libya, the number of asylum applications in Niger has jumped from a few dozen per year to almost 4,000 in 2018. Refugees and migrants now opt to seek asylum in Niger because they cannot travel further, but also because the UNHCR has now made the possibility of resettlement available, making asylum in Niger a "gateway to Europe" and therefore more attractive than before. However, the situation of protection-seekers here is still difficult, with few procedural guarantees, assistance, or employment prospects in a country classified by the UNDP as one of the most underdeveloped in the world. Therefore, many asylum-seekers and refugees are under constant pressure, asking themselves "should I stay or should I go?" and often abandon the process.

With the increase of asylum applications, the workload for administration offices has increased, as have some incentives (daily allowances, international training trips, and recruitment offers at the UNHCR). However, their work routines have been destabilized and the bureaucrats' discretion and the national sovereignty in controlling entry and residence and in adjudicating asylum have been reduced. The thesis investigates these complex, ambivalent relations between the state, the bureaucrats, and the international and European partners for whom externalization might lead to higher numbers of persons who can be processed, but less control for the state.

Lambert's PhD thesis in anthropology at Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg is supervised by REMEP members Marie-Claire Foblets and Günther Schlee. During her time in Niger, she completed a fellowship at the Laboratoire d'Etudes et de Recherche sur les Dynamiques Sociales et le Développement Local (LASDEL) in Niamey where she was co-supervised by Oumarou Hamani.

During her employment at the MPI, she has so far co-authored an article in the ethnographic journal *Berliner Blätter* and published three book chapters in edited volumes. Another peer-reviewed journal article has been accepted for publication in *Anthropologie & développement* and is due to be published at the end of 2020. She also participated in conferences in Niger, Ghana, Portugal, and Germany. She has also disseminated her research in various outlets for general audiences. These include an article for the *Atlas on Migration* published by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the Niger report on the website migration-control.info,⁶ a project collecting information on European outsourcing of migration. In addition, she advised members of the German parliament on topics connected with Niger and Libya and organized a “power walk” on forced migration for students from a Halle high school as part of the Max Planck Day 2018.

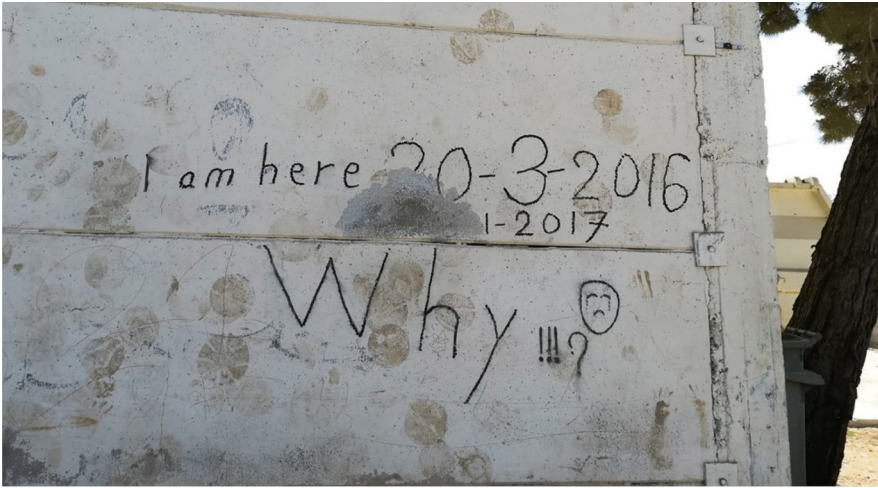
Bordering Europe: Resistance and Governance in Greek Refugee Camps

Margarita Lipatova

Margarita Lipatova’s research project addresses the exclusionary practices of mobility control exercised on the external borders of the European Union, specifically, Greece. Lipatova conducted 12 months of multi-sited fieldwork at three major points along the migration route in the region: Izmir in Aegean Turkey, a migrant transit hub; the Greek island Chios, a main place of arrival; and the Greek mainland, a site of transfer for those marked as “legitimate” asylum-seekers. Her fieldwork started with the “hotspot” island, a legal in-between zone, where she examined how practices of bureaucratic registration and legal classification divided the arriving population into the categories of “legitimate” refugees, deportable migrants, and in-between status holders.

Building a network of research participants from the diverse group of asylum-seekers on the island, she analysed the lived reality of those “governed” by bureaucracy and examined the workings of other administrative, humanitarian, and military agencies in their attempts to control the population of arriving people. Since 2017, migration and border management in Greece is in the process of transitioning from “emergency” or “crisis” management carried out by numerous international nongovernmental organizations, to a fully government-run response. Ethnographic data demonstrated that the effects of this transition include confusion about the responsibility of actors in the field, continuously deteriorating conditions of accommodation infrastructure, and an increasingly large backlog of asylum cases. While some of the bureaucrats working in the field explained the poor conditions of the border infrastructure as a strategy for avoiding “creating a pull factor”, for the people entering the regime of European border governance the situation produced

⁶ See: <https://migration-control.info/wiki/niger/>



VIAL Refugee Camp, Chios, 15 August 2018. (Photo: Margarita Lipatova)

feelings of uncertainty and being neglected and “stuck”. These sentiments of resentment, anger, and indignation experienced by many people on the move has led to new types of engagement and mobilization against the disciplining practices at the European border.

Using the methods of long-term ethnography, Lipatova followed the individual cases of people who were further along the trajectory of Greek migration management and were subsequently transferred to the Greek mainland. Her research therefore provides an encompassing analysis of the larger state-level infrastructures of humanitarian and administrative governance that does not merely receive migrants, but also includes practices that support social and economic inclusion. Through examining the multiple situations emerging out of those interactions at key waypoints along the eastern Mediterranean route, Lipatova contributes to the ongoing critical discussion on the application of (dis)empowering technologies in border spaces.

State Transformations in the Context of Migration: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp and Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement

Stefan Millar

Stefan Millar’s project examines state transformations connected with migration in Kakuma Refugee Camp and Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement in Turkana County, Kenya. Specifically, he studies how modern states and transnational organizations co-construct social orders in the context of Kakuma and Kalobeyei, where fundamental

aspects of the Kenyan state and its territorial sovereignty are being challenged by supranational entities such as the UNHCR and the EU.

Based on 12 months of ethnographic research in Kakuma Refugee Camp and Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement, his research examines these various competing claims to authority as a method to control the refugee population. The research deals with various transformative state projects in Kakuma and Kalobeyei which are carried out by a wide variety of different organizations, including humanitarian organizations, non-governmental bodies, community-based organizations, the UNHCR, the EU, the Kenyan central state, and the local government of Turkana county. The result is a mixture of authorities that compete for and negotiate control over resources and popular authority, which consequently impacts the refugees' interpretations of these humanitarian and state processes.

These various authorities are a product of ongoing political developments within Kenya and between Kenya and the EU. In the past the Kenyan government left the management of the refugee camps within the country to the UNHCR, but in recent years the state has become more actively involved in refugee affairs and management. In Kakuma, the presence of the Kenyan state, in particular the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS), has gradually increased since the passing of the 2006 Refugee Act. In response, the UNHCR has decreased its activities in Kenya, but it is under pressure from the EU to establish spaces of "resilience" in an attempt to reduce migration to Europe. A partnership between the local government and the UNHCR has led to the establishment of Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement, a new camp near Kakuma that is intended to become a long-term refugee camp with permanent shelters and livelihood opportunities in the form of agricultural projects. The establishment of the new camp



The construction of permanent shelters in Kalobeyei, 27 July 2018. (Photo: Stefan Millar)

also took place in the context of another political development in Kenya, namely the devolution of certain centralized functions to local governments in accordance with the 2010 constitution. An aspect of this devolution process, which is supported by a programme of the World Bank, is the establishment of new municipalities by regional governments, in this case the newly formed Turkana County government. With its newly constructed permanent shelters, Kalobeyei Integrated Settlement meets the basic requirements that would potentially enable Kakuma and Kalobeyei to be designated as such a municipality in the future. The varying political contexts at several levels of government – county, state, and supranational – has produced a multitude of different political legitimacies in Kakuma and Kalobeyei.

Such constantly changing humanitarian and state practices have elicited a multitude of responses by refugees. They position themselves within the context of these ongoing shifts in power relations by negotiating with the various organizations that attempt to coercively control them. The result is a mixture of compliance with and resistance against the multitude of competing governing bodies, which reshape and challenge notions of statehood and citizenship within the context of Kakuma and Kalobeyei. Millar's study expands upon REMEP's critical examination of modern states and their attempts to shape social order within highly transnational settings.



Waiting for Somali repatriation flights, 9 August 2018. (Photo: Stefan Millar)

Activities

The participating institutes of REMEP regularly held a variety of colloquia on topics relevant to the projects of the doctoral students. Rather than exhaustively listing all events and activities, this report will focus on the major events and highlights.

In 2017 REMEP held a Winter University at Neudietendorf as well as introductory courses for new doctoral students.

One major purpose of the Winter University was to provide the students of the participating MPIs an opportunity to come together and discuss their work with their colleagues from the other institutes. The participants of the Winter University had a shared interest in the margins of social order – places where social order is not taken for granted and is even contested.

In March and April 2017, the new PhD candidates from all three MPIs attended introductory courses in Halle, Freiburg, and Frankfurt. Through a process of “cross-pollination”, they thus learned about the different theoretical approaches and methods at the three MPIs and the disciplines they represent.

Preparing the Final Cohort

In the summer of 2017, the conceptual groundwork was laid and preparations were conducted for the establishment of the new research subgroup “Technicisation of Exclusionary Practices in the Context of Migration”.

Marie-Claire Foblets, Director of the Department ‘Law & Anthropology’ at the MPI for Social Anthropology and REMEP steering committee member, generously took over the institutional support of this cohort from January 2020 until October 2021, after the closure of REMEP.

Regular colloquia and discussions were held as the students developed their research projects, including intensive supervision and advising. Students from prior cohorts were at various stages of writing up and therefore supported on an individual basis depending on their needs as the activities of this research school wound down.

Conference on Punishment

Timm Sureau

“Criminal law is a central regulatory system by which states impose their authority and which heavily influence societal conditions [...]. It is a system that is subject to constant historical change; simultaneously, the norms vary profoundly between from country to country. Analysing discourses about the purpose, legitimacy, and severity of punishment thus makes it possible to view the normative orders of a polity in a more differentiated manner.” (Günther Schlee)⁷

The conference “Punishment – Negotiating Society” on 14–16 February 2018 was the third major conference of the REMEP scheme and took place at the MPI in Halle. It was organized by Günther Schlee, the speaker of REMEP, and Timm Sureau, the research school’s coordinator. A unifying principle of the conference was the recognition that punishment it is not limited to the handful of actors directly involved in the proceedings (i.e., members of the jurisdiction, perpetrators, victims, etc.) but includes a complex array of many additional actors: families, kin groups, and other polities that judge and punish; peers; associations; the audience(s), including the media audience and the (mass) public; the punished (which may encompass group, surrogate, or proxy punishment); and executive bodies such as states and private prison operators. Thus, punishment is not just connected with retaliation, deterrence, prevention, incapacitation, and rehabilitation/retribution; it is also a reflection of society and part of a constant negotiation of legitimacy, a renegotiation of social order and control. Populism, neoliberalism, misogyny, nationalism, and racism – to name just a few phenomena – are negotiated in the context of punishment. Three interrelated issues in particular stood at the centre of the conference.

The first question was what is considered legitimate punishment. Presenters looked at theories of punishment in order to elaborate, for example, the historical shifts that the concept of punishment has undergone. Several presenters discussed the local, national, international, and global influences on punishment policies and especially the challenges that emerge when these levels interact – challenges that can be observed especially at the fringes of normativities. Such situations occur, for instance, in cases in which the perpetrator is also a victim, e.g. in the case of (former) child soldiers.

Second, media audiences and mass publics were a topic of recurring interest. John Pratt, expanding on his concept of “penal populism”, enriched the debate on the involvement of “the public” in the criminal justice systems. The presence of

⁷ Günther Schlee in an interview with Stefan Schwendtner, accessed 13 December 2019: https://www.eth.mpg.de/4674242/news_2018_02_06_01

the public, he argued, tends to encourage symbolic actions which disregard the proportionality principle in favour of populist interests. Since populism contributes to political success in elections, it potentially leads to preventive policies that are detrimental to minority groups, increasing the danger that punishment becomes a consequence of living on the wrong side of the street or having the wrong passport. Such populist measures further reduce the use of risk prevention in the form of social programmes, instead giving preference to repressive measures. This means that societal discourses can influence penal norms. One case study, for example, showed how Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in the UK encounter systematic impediments to accessing the job market; consequently they find themselves at the margins of society and often end up engaging in criminal activities.

This type of interaction of media, populists, and the public may weaken the principle of equality before the law; additionally, now and in the past the justice system has also been a tool of and for governing and for the creation of social order and the exertion of social control, benefitting some people but not necessarily all.

A third approach drew on insights from neuroscience. In connection with the focus on the brain's role in regulating behaviour, current studies in neuroscience are investigating changes in the frontal cortex that occur during and before acts of crime. Such research puts questions of free will, social control, deviant behaviour, and crime at the forefront. US courts in particular have increasingly begun to rely on neurological assessments when passing judgments on serious crimes. In his comments on the conference, Günther Schlee noted that this development could have far-reaching impacts: such studies propose that some individuals have physiological characteristics that make them more prone to commit crimes, which in turn calls into question their degree of autonomy – whether they in fact could not have acted otherwise. If this is the case, the very idea of punishment as a function of the state is called into question. As Schlee notes, “the idea of punishment is inseparably linked to the idea of free will”.⁸

To reiterate, in spite of the conference title, the focus of the presentations was not on punishment itself. Rather, participants were interested in how punishment/punitive measures and society mutually influence one another. Analysis of criminal law illuminated topics such as racism, populism, the treatment of minorities, the role of the police, class issues, sovereignty, legitimacy, the role of the media, and migration and democracy. “Punishment” was thus both a subject of investigation as well as a means for explaining social dynamics. During the discussions it became clear that the decoupling of punishment and justice can contribute to greater analytic clarity and precision. The examination of law and normative ideas of justice directed attention to the social conditions to which the courts and legal decisions are always subject. Another topic was the fact that prison sentences are not always primarily concerned

⁸ Günther Schlee in an interview with Stefan Schwendtner, accessed 13 December 2019: https://www.eth.mpg.de/4674242/news_2018_02_06_01

with the rehabilitation of prisoners or protection of society; rather, prison operators may have an economic interest in long prison terms and full prisons. This is the case, for example, when the prison system is partially or entirely privatized, as in the United States. It is not in the interest of the operators of these private prisons to promote mild punishments, early release, or expensive rehabilitation programmes.

The participants, representing such diverse disciplines as history, political science, legal studies, criminology, social and cultural anthropology, sociology, human geography, psychoanalysis, and neuroscience, came from Brazil, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, New Zealand, Poland, Switzerland, the UK, and the USA.

The international and multidisciplinary composition of the conference provided an excellent opportunity for participants to learn about new and unfamiliar perspectives on the relationship between law and justice. Many of the participants plan to continue the discussion in the form of further collaboration. An edited volume collecting selected papers from the conference is in preparation.

Autumn Retreat

The Autumn Retreat at the Harnack House in Berlin took place from 29 October to 2 November 2018 and was generously co-financed by the Max Planck Society. The retreat provided the three students of the new cohort an opportunity to present their research and exchange ideas and experiences with more experienced REMEP colleagues, while professors offered supportive input to both new and older students.

In addition, the participating professors gave lectures on topics connected with the foci of the research school. Karl Härter enlightened REMEP on the historical complexities of migration and the current re-emergence of older elements of migration rhetoric. He showed that many issues that dominate current discussions were also regular components of past experiences of migration and the state. These include questions of illegal migration vs. asylum and regulation vs. criminalization; the phenomenon of clandestine emigration and immigration; the development of transnational laws on migration and transnational criminal law regimes and the challenges resulting from this complex jurisdiction; as well as, intensification of security measures, administrative management and technicization of the borders.

Keebet von Benda-Beckmann gave a talk on global legal pluralism in which she carved out essential and cross-cutting parts of her field. She provided insight into different schools of legal pluralism and legal systems while looking at applications of law such as natural resource management, property, care and social security, and governance. She then discussed how étatist conceptions of codified and institutionalized law have become dominant and exclusive: the nation state is the ruling body and other norms are only considered law if they recognized by the state. However, she explained, this does not have to be the case and which normative orders are labelled as law is a question of power, desirability, and recognition. As an analytical concept, legal pluralism encompasses a broader understanding of law and makes it

possible to identify a wider variety of normative actors, situations, and processes. She concluded that the concept of legal pluralism is necessary if you want to do legal political work.

Further, using several tools for enhancing collaboration between participants, the students in the writing up-phase presented their current chapters and received feedback and suggestions.

Summer School – Hinterzarten

The Summer School at Hinterzarten from 1 to 8 July 2019 was focused on developing the projects of the doctoral students under the was broad topic “Understanding Social Order, Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment”. It brought together a total of 42 participants and was guided by the following questions: What is the most important lesson to be drawn from a dissertation? What understanding of social order can we learn from each dissertation? In addition to presentations by current students, the highly successful summer school also managed to bring back a number of REMEP alumni, who contributed with talks based on their dissertations. Reflecting back on their PhDs from a distance, the alumni offered insights into their own process and provided students still in the writing phase with a look at what comes after the PhD.



Clara Rigoni, 3 July 2019, Seminarhaus Sonnenhof, Hinterzarten, presenting on “The Use of Alternative Dispute Resolution Mechanisms and Restorative Justice for Cases of Honor-Based Violence and Forced Marriages in Europe”.

The summer school also adhered to the idea of networking, basic research, and serendipity that is inscribed in the Harnack principle, which suggests that “[g]enuine innovation is usually achieved in small, flexible groups that foster close bonds and daring approaches.” In addition, it emphasises the importance of interdisciplinary cooperation and establishing a “community of trust”⁹ such as that embodied by the research school. Interdisciplinarity was of course always a fundamental part of the success of REMEP, but here at the last summer school, with the inclusion of alumni and their further (job) experiences post-PhD, this interdisciplinarity was particularly highlighted. In addition, the event enabled current students to expand their networks through the contact with REMEP graduates.

Key Publications

As the research school drew to a close, several collective publications focusing on the overall questions it engaged with have been published or are in preparation. These books are the product of several major conferences and workshops organized as part of REMEP.

The book *Understanding Retaliation, Mediation and Punishment: Collected Results* edited by Timm Sureau and Yelva Auge was a product of the summer school in 2019 (mentioned above). It has been distributed to all current and former REMEP members and is also available online as part of the “Field Notes and Research Projects” series of the Department ‘Integration and Conflict’. It includes two introductions that reflect on the intellectual course of the REMEP research in Halle over the course of its existence from 2008 to 2012, and the insights gained thereby. The volume collects summaries of 30 dissertation projects of students in the research school.

Dedicated to the second main phenomenon that gives the research school its name, the edited volume *On Mediation*¹⁰ edited by Karl Härter, Carolin Hillemanns, and Günther Schlee is due to be published by Berghahn in September 2020. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the contributions to the volume include analyses of historical developments in mediation and criminal justice, anthropological case studies and theoretical perspectives, and examination of processes of mediation in international contexts. The chapters build on selected presentations from the “International Conference on Mediation” held in 2014.

A further publication, *Punishment: Negotiating Society*, is currently in production. It gathers ten texts from international scholars that are currently in the reviewing process. Timm Sureau and Filip Vojta will be the editors of this volume.

⁹ The Max Planck approach: The role of the Max Planck Society in the German science system. Website of the Max Planck Society, https://www.mpg.de/39586/MPG_Introduction. Accessed 27 May 2020.

¹⁰ Härter, Karl, Carolin Hillemanns, and Günther Schlee (eds.). Forthcoming. *On mediation: historical, legal, anthropological and international perspectives on alternative modes of conflict regulation*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Graduations 2017–2019

Julia Gebhard: Gebhard’s research on “Necessity or Nuisance? Recourse to Human Rights in Substantive International Criminal Law” was supervised by Rüdiger Wolfrum. In June 2017 Gebhard defended her doctoral thesis, which she had submitted in 2014.

Fazil Moradi: Moradi’s research on “Beyond the Al-Anfāl in Post-Ba’th Kurdistan: On the Force of Memory in the Pursuit of Justice” was supervised by Richard Rotenburg. Moradi defended his doctoral thesis in October 2017.

Ameyu Godesso Roro: Roro’s research on “Transformation in Gumuz-Oromo Relations: Identity, Conflict and Social Order in Ethiopia” was supervised by Günther Schlee. Roro defended his doctoral thesis in November 2017.

Csaba Györy: Györy’s research on “Criminal Law as a Means of Regulation: The Interplay between Economic, Legal, and Political Rationalities in the Prohibition of Insider Trading and its Enforcement” was supervised by Hans-Jörg Albrecht. Györy defended his doctoral thesis in November 2017.

Filip Vojta: Vojta’s research on “Punishment and Sentence Enforcement for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Former Yugoslavia” was supervised by Hans-Jörg Albrecht. Vojta defended his doctoral thesis in July 2018.

Filip Vojta was one of the finalists for the German Thesis Award, granted by the Körber Foundation. His research was selected among 482 applications as one of the 10 best German doctoral dissertations in humanities in 2018.

Christine Preiser: Preiser’s research on “The Border Watchmen of Nightlife. An Ethnography on Bouncers in German Nightclubs” was supervised by Dietrich Oberwittler. Preiser defended her doctoral thesis in July 2018.

Annika Poschadel: Poschadel’s research on “‘Fair Trial’ in Transnational Internal Investigations” was supervised by Roland Hefendehl. Poschadel defended her doctoral thesis in January 2019.

Clara Rigoni: Rigoni’s research on “The Use of ADR for Cases of Honor-Based Violence in Europe” was supervised by Hans-Jörg Albrecht and Marie-Claire Foblets. Rigoni defended her doctoral thesis in January 2019.

Stefanie Bognitz: Bognitz's research on "Promising Access to Justice: The Everyday of Legal Aid and Mediation in Rwanda" was supervised by Richard Rottenburg and Sally Engle Merry. Bognitz defended in April 2019.

Cléssio Moura de Souza: Moura de Souza's research on "Youth and Violence in Brazil: Exploring Youths' Narratives about Street Violence related to Drug and Social Order in Brazil's most Violent City" was supervised by Hans-Jörg Albrecht and Walter Perron. Moura De Souza defended his doctoral thesis in May 2019.

Kaleb Kassa Tadele: Kaleb's research on "Changing Patterns of Conflict Management in the Lower Omo Basin, Ethiopia" was supervised by Günther Schlee and Tadesse Berisso Galchu. Kaleb defended his doctoral thesis in May 2019.

Kerrin Sina Arfsten: Arfsten's research on "Security and Vigilance: A Qualitative Study of Public Anti-Terror Vigilance Campaigns in the United States" was supervised by Hans-Jörg Albrecht and Susanne Krasmann. Arfsten defended her doctoral thesis in June 2019.

Several other students have handed in their dissertations, but had not yet defended at the time of writing.

Publications

of the IMPRS REMEP

at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology 2017–2019

Edited Volumes and Special Issues

Turner, Bertram and Günther Schlee (eds.). 2017. *On retaliation: towards an interdisciplinary understanding of a basic human condition*. Integration and Conflict Studies 15. New York; Oxford: Berghahn.

Chapters in Edited Volumes

Abdal-Kareem, Zahir Musa. 2018. Dynamics of dispute management in south Gedaref State, eastern Sudan: an anthropological approach. In: Barbara Casciarri and Mohamed Abdelsalam Babiker (eds.). *Anthropology of law in Muslim Sudan: land, courts and the plurality of practices*. Leiden Studies in Islam and Society 7. Leiden; Boston: Brill, pp. 147–170.

Bognitz, Stefanie. 2018. Mistrusting as a mode of engagement in mediation: insights from socio-legal practice in Rwanda. In: Florian Mühlfried (ed.). *Mistrust: ethnographic approximations*. Culture and Social Practice. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 147–167.

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Knecht, Sirin Rahel. 2017. Gerechtigkeitsgefühle im Ausnahmezustand: das Identitätskartenregime für Palästinenser*innen an Grenzübergängen zwischen Israel und den palästinensischen Gebieten. In: Jonas Bens and Olaf Zenker (eds.). *Gerechtigkeitsgefühle: zur affektiven und emotionalen Legitimität von Normen*. EmotionsKulturen 3. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 243–266.

Lambert, Laura. 2019. Asyl im Niger: Politische Rolle und lokale Adaptionen des Flüchtlingsschutzes. In: Reinhard Jöhler and Jan Lange (eds.). *Konfliktfeld Fluchtmigration: historische und ethnographische Perspektiven*. Kultur und soziale Praxis. Bielefeld: transcript, pp. 191–205. DOI: 10.14361/9783839447666-012.

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- Stahlmann, Friederike. 2017. Retaliation in postwar times: an analysis of the rhetoric and practices of retaliation in Bamyan, Afghanistan, 2009. In: Bertram Turner and Günther Schlee (eds.). *On retaliation: towards an interdisciplinary understanding of a basic human condition*. 1. ed. Integration and Conflict Studies 15. New York; Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 239–256.

Articles in Thomson ISI (Web of Science) Listed Journals

- Hodbod, Jennifer, Edward G. J. Stevenson, Gregory Akall, Thomas Akuja, Ikal Angelei, Alemu Bedasso, Lucie Buffavand, Samuel Derbyshire, **Immo Eulenberger**, Natasha Gownaris, Benedikt Kamski, Abdikadir Kurewa, Michael Lokuruka, Mercy Fekadu Mulugeta, Doris Okenwa, Cory Rodgers, and Emma Tebbs. 2019. Social-ecological change in the Omo-Turkana basin: a synthesis of current developments. *Ambio* 48(10): 1099–1115. DOI: 10.1007/s13280-018-1139-3.

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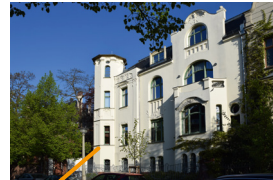
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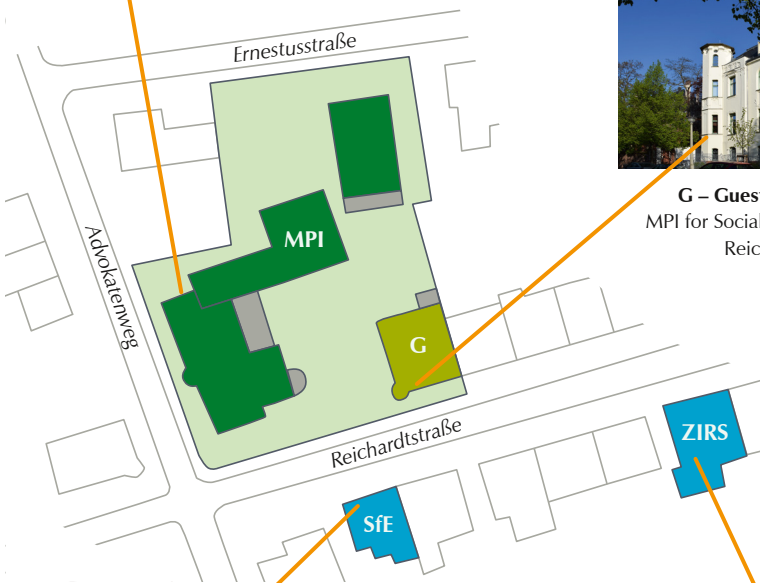
Location of the Institute



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Germany



G – Guest House of the MPI for Social Anthropology
Reichardtstraße 12



SfE – Seminar für Ethnologie
Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology
Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg
Reichardtstraße 11



ZIRS – Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Regionalstudien
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Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg
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