

Boundaries, Communities and State-Making in West Africa

Border regions are often considered to be the neglected margins. In this book, Paul Nugent argues that through a comparison of the Senegambia and the trans-Volta (Ghana/Togo), we can see that the geographical margins have shaped notional centres at least as much as the reverse. Through a study of three centuries of history, this book demonstrates that states were forged through an extended process of converting a topography of settled states and slaving frontiers into colonial borders. It argues that post-colonial states and larger social contracts have been configured very differently as a consequence. It underscores the impact on regional dynamics and the phenomenon of peripheral urbanism. Nugent also addresses the manner in which a variegated sense of community has been forged amongst Mandinka, Jola, Ewe and Agotime populations who have both shaped and been shaped by the border. This is an exercise in reciprocal comparison and shuttles between scales, from the local and the particular to the national and the regional.

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Boundaries, Communities and State-Making in West Africa

The Centrality of the Margins

Paul Nugent

University of Edinburgh



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-02068-9 — Boundaries, Communities and State-Making in West Africa
Paul Nugent
Frontmatter
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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
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Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

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www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107020689
DOI: 10.1017/9781139105828

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First published 2019

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Nugent, Paul, 1962– author.

Title: Boundaries, communities, and state-making in West Africa : the centrality of the margins / Paul Nugent.

Other titles: African studies series.

Description: New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2019. | Series: African studies series

Identifiers: LCCN 2018061494 | ISBN 9781107020689 (hardback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781107622500 (pbk. : alk. paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Africa, West—Politics and government. | Africa, West—History. | Borderlands—Africa, West. | Africa, West—Boundaries.

Classification: LCC DT475 .N84 2019 | DDC 320.96609—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018061494>

ISBN 978-1-107-02068-9 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-62250-0 Paperback

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For Kwally and Jasmine:
your turn!

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Acknowledgements

It is chastening to have to confront the reality that this book has taken a decade and a half to see the light of day. Part of the reason is that the focus shifted with the passage of time, and another is that the manuscript suffered from competition with a very different project on the history of South African wine. At times, it has felt like a distinct burden. For a multiplicity of reasons, I am glad to finally wrap it up and send it on its way.

Not surprisingly, I have incurred innumerable debts. Some of these relate to funding bodies who funded different aspects of the research. It all began with a University of Edinburgh Development Trust grant back in 2000. That same year, I received a Nuffield Foundation small grant for a project on “Divided Border Communities of West Africa: A Comparison of the Senegal/Gambia and Ghana–Togo Borderlands”. At about the same time, I received a grant from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland for closely related research. And then in 2004 I was awarded a grant by the British Academy for another project entitled “Livelihoods and Identities in West African Boundary Communities: A Comparison of the Ghana–Togo and Senegal–Gambian Borderlands”. These small, interconnected awards enabled me to conduct archival research in Banjul, Dakar, Accra and Lomé and to carry out fieldwork along both sets of borders. In subsequent years, as I became more engrossed in issues of state-making, I sustained elements of the research with internal grants from the University of Edinburgh and often from my own pocket. I owe the external funding agencies an apology for the length of time it has taken for the final results to emerge. But I also thank them for providing me with the building blocks for a project that now looks decidedly different to the research I initially applied to fund. It has also enabled me to think my way through to my next piece of substantial research. Since 2016, I have been leading an Advanced Grant project funded by the European Research Council (ERC), entitled *African Governance and Space: Transport Corridors, Border Towns and Port Cities in Transition (AFRIGOS)* (ADG-2014–670851). In the early phases of this project, I have been able to top up some of the research relating to border towns, some of which is reflected in Chapters 12 and 13.

xiv Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the assistance of staff at various archives for their assistance over the years. I owe a particular debt to Gabriel Sanyang, then of the Gambian National Archives, whose assistance in the reading room was invaluable. The field research would have been impossible without the assistance of two individuals. The first is Yusupha Jasse, who was introduced to me by Gabriel when I had hit an obstacle in conducting fieldwork. Yusupha afforded me a deeper insight into the dynamics of Darsilami as a border town, but he also took me to numerous settlements in the Gambia and the Casamance where we conducted interviews and had less formal interactions. The second is Moses Agbovi of Agotime-Kpetoe who was introduced to me by my oldest friend in Ghana, Harry Asimah, back in 2001. Harry and Moses had served together in the People's Defence Committees, and later the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. Much of their collaboration entailed border surveillance in Agotime and surrounding areas during the 1980s, and I learned much from my discussions with them. Over several years, Moses and myself conducted interviews in just about every Agotime settlement in Togo and Ghana. It was when I was returning for a fresh round of fieldwork in July 2004 that I learned that Moses had tragically been killed on the roadside a few days previously – and by the very school bus that he was scheduled to commission. I only wish Moses had lived to see the final product.

Also in Kpetoe, I have benefited from the insights of Nene Nuer Keteku III, the Konor of Agotime, and Nene Ahortor Makaku V. In recent years, Nene Dapaah VI has been particularly helpful in detailing how the different sections of Kpetoe relate to one another and in placing *Agbamevoza* in its historical context. I also thank lawyer Solomon Kwami Tetteh and Kofi Baku for talking me through the Adaklu-Agotime land case and providing access to key legal documents. Some of my most productive moments have unfolded while sitting under the tree (now alas no more!) at 'Buggie Hotel', watching motorcycles and taxis refuel while writing up fieldnotes and partaking of a cold Star. My long overdue thanks go to Buggie and Nelson. Further down, and on the other side of the road, Assih Batoubaha helped me to understand Agotime from the perspective of a Togolese *policier* stationed in Wodome. My second oldest friend in Ghana, by a matter of months, is Mohammed Abukari who has provided me with countless leads and introductions to people working in the Customs, Excise and Preventive Service (CEPS). His friendship, and that of Meri and the family, has meant a great deal to me over the years. In Accra, I would also like to acknowledge Mrs Emily Asiedu ('Auntie') who has afforded a home from home in Kokomlemlé over many years, as well as the many researchers who have passed through its doors. Nana Soglo Allo IV, the current President of the Volta Region House of Chiefs, has been a good friend and matchless informant on chieftaincy matters for many years now.

A number of individuals have graciously shared material, dug stuff out of archives and generally offered insights that turned out to be helpful. I would especially like to thank Brigadier-General Stanley Alloh, Ernest Aubebe, Nico Fru Awasom, Gareth Austin, Linn Axelsson, Daniel Bach, Alice Bellagamba, Thomas Biershenk, Lynne Brydon, Brenda Chalfin, Jos Damen, Ton Dietz, Maggie Dwyer, Setri Dzivenu, Edward Demba, Ulf Engel, Didier Fassin, Vincent Foucher, Nicoué Gayibor, Jan-Bart Gewald, Paolo Gaibazzi, Mariama Khan, Dennis Laumann, Benjamin Lawrance, Robin Law, Carola Lentz, Donna Maier, Xerxes Malki, Yves Marguerat, Andreas Mehler, Peter Skalník, David Skinner, Kate Skinner, Silke Strickrodt, Isabella Soi, Dmitri van den Bersselaar, Meera Venkatachalam, Olivier Walther and the late Jan-Georg Deutsch. At the start of the project, I learned about Agotime weaving from Malika Kraamer who was finishing up her doctoral research when I arrived in Kpetoe and later shared a copy of her thesis. I owe a special debt to Ole Justesen who retrieved every reference to Agotime in the Danish records, which he was editing at that point, and pointed me in the direction of the important Thonning maps.

Since 2007, the African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE) has afforded an incredibly fruitful forum for collaboration with respect to all things relating to borders. Much of what appears in the book has previously been aired in ABORNE workshops and on conference panels. I would like to especially thank fellow ABORNistas: Tony Asiwaju, David Coplan, Gregor Dobler, Pierre Engelbert, Amanda Hammar, Allen Howard, Thomas Hüsken, Georg Klute, Camille Lefebvre, Gillian Mathys, Bill Miles, Wafula Okumu, Tim Raeymaekers, Cristina Udelsmann Rodrigues, Olivier Walther, Wolfgang Zeller, Werner Zips and Manuela Zips-Mairitsch. More generally, I would like to thank fellow borderlands scholars and practitioners alike: Mohamadou Abdoul, Karine Bennafla, Hastings Donnan, Willie Eselebor, Gilbert Khadiagala, Kinza Jawara-N’Jai, Elaine Peña, Aboukahr Tandia and Chris Vaughan. I have finished up this book while embarking on a fresh intellectual quest with Wolfgang Zeller, Jose-Maria Muñoz, Sidy Cissokho, Hugh Lamarque and Isabella Soi. In Edinburgh and vaguely linked locations, I would like to acknowledge the continuing support of Ian Duffield, Ama Akuamoah, Gerhard Anders, Alan Barnard, Barbara Bompani, Sarah-Jane Cooper-Knock, Sara Dorman, Joost Fontein, Jamie Furniss, Emma Hunter, Steve Kerr, Kenneth King, Francesca Locatelli, Zoe Marks, Tom Molony and Tom Salter. Tom McCaskie, Fred Cooper and John Lonsdale deserve particular thanks for having supported my career over some years now.

Over 2015/16, I was fortunate enough to serve one year as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS), a truly unique haven of intellectual engagement located on the highly productive margins of Princeton. It was

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while I was at IAS that I rewrote large sections of the book (effectively for the third time) and finally found a framing that I was happy with. I would especially like to thank Didier Fassin for creating such a conducive academic environment and Donne Petito for all the administrative support. Kirsty Venanzi in the IAS library ensured that my table was constantly replenished with books on borders and on state-making in disparate regions of the world. I should also express my gratitude to other members of my cohort for their varied insights on the theme of “Borders and Boundaries”, and especially the denizens of the braai: Duncan McCargo, Basile Ndjio, Tugba Basaran, Elena Gadjanova and Linda Bosniak. It was while doing justice to some well-marinated lamb chops that I first fell in with Laavy Kathiravelu, who was then a Fung Fellow at Princeton University. My time would not have been anywhere near as productive, and certainly not as enjoyable, were it not for the positive presence of Laavy. I was also extremely fortunate to have Raya Cohen and Luca Peliti as my highly sociable neighbours. I owe a special thanks to the unique Isabella Soi, my sometime research collaborator and co-author, who read many of the draft chapters when I was really toiling and counselled me as to whether I was making any sense. If I remain incomprehensible, it is at least partly Isabella’s fault! I have also benefited from some very wise counsel from a couple of anonymous readers designated by Cambridge University Press. Finally, Maria Marsh at The Press has been endlessly understanding about slippages in the deadlines. I am relieved that I am finally able to honour our agreement.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge members of my extended family and oldest friends who, it has to be admitted, have displayed far more interest in the wine book than the current offering. But first things first. So thanks go also to Diddy and Marc Skinner, Tony Nugent and Daniela Vignazia, San Nugent, Mike Nugent and Mel Andrews, Aoife Nugent, Eliane Nugent Ngoué, Fiona de Beer and Rod Baker, David and Carol Taylor and Margaret Howie and Dale Whitfield. The book is dedicated to Kwally and Jasmine who have had to put up with my countless absences over the years. Hopefully, there will come a point in their lives when this won’t seem so . . . well, “boring”!

The following material is reproduced with permission from the publishers:

- Table 4.1 from Leigh Gardner, *Taxing Colonial Africa* (Oxford University Press, 2012), table 4.1, p. 64.
 Table 11.2 from Lucie Colvin Phillips, “The Senegambia Confederation”, in Delgado and Jammeh (ed.), *The Political Economy of Senegal under Structural Adjustment* (Praeger, 1991), table 12.1, p. 181; and from Stephen Golub and Ahmadou Aly Mbaye, “National

Acknowledgements

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trade policies and smuggling in Africa: the case of the Gambia and Senegal”, *World Development* 37 (3) 2008, table 2, p. 602.
and Tables 11.5 and 12.1 from the Africapolis database (SWAC/OECD)

The cover photograph of Nene Akoto Sah VII of Agotime-Kpetoe is reproduced with the kind permission of Philippe J. Kradolfer.

Abbreviations

ADC	Assistant District Commissioner (Gold Coast)
AEC	All-Ewe Conference (Gold Coast, British Togoland and French Togoland)
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (Ghana)
ANCT	Association des Chefs Traditionnels du Togo
AOF	l'Afrique Occidentale Française
ARPS	Aborigines Rights Protection Society (British West Africa)
BDS	Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais
CDRs	Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (Ghana)
CDW	Colonial Development and Welfare (Britain)
CEP	Commissioner of the Eastern Province (Gold Coast)
CEPS	Customs, Excise and Preventive Service (Ghana)
CFAO	Compagnie Française de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
CFDT	Compagnie Française de Développement des Fibres Textiles
CMB	Cocoa Marketing Board (Ghana)
CNF	Compagnie Niger-France
CNTS	Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal
CPP	Convention People's Party (CPP) (Gold Coast/Ghana)
CPS	Customs Preventive Service (Gold Coast)
CRAD	Centres Régionaux d'Assistance et Développement (Senegal)
CUT	Comité de l'Unité Togolaise (French Togoland/Togo)
DC	District Commissioner (Gold Coast)
DCE	District Chief Executive (Ghana)
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme (Gambia)
FIDES	Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social (France)
FPC	Food Production Corporation (Ghana)
GBA	Ghana Bar Association
GCU	Gambia Co-Operative Union
GES	Groupements Economiques du Sénégal

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GNTC	Ghana National Trading Corporation (Ghana)
GOMB	Gambia Oilseeds Marketing Board
GPMB	Gambia Produce Marketing Board
GRA	Ghana Revenue Authority
GTP	Ghana Textile Printing Company
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JFM	June 4 Movement (Ghana)
JTP	Juapong Textiles (Ghana)
MFDC	Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance
MOJA-G	Movement for Justice in Africa – the Gambia
NAP	New Agricultural Policy (Senegal)
NDC	National Democratic Congress (Ghana)
NIC	National Investigation Committee (Ghana)
NLC	National Liberation Council (Ghana)
NLM	National Liberation Movement (Gold Coast)
NORRIP	Northern Region Integrated Project (Ghana)
NPP	Northern People's Party (Gold Coast)
NPP	New Patriotic Party (Ghana)
NRC	National Redemption Council (Ghana)
NTC	National Trading Corporation (Gambia)
NUGS	National Union of Ghanaian Students
OCA	Office de la Commercialisation Agricole (Senegal)
OFY	Operation Feed Yourself (Ghana)
OMVG	Organisation Pour La Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Gambie
OMVS	Organisation Pour La Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Sénégal
ONCAD	Office National de Coopération et d'Assistance Pour le Développement (Senegal)
OTR	Office Togolais des Recettes
PAI	Parti Africain de l'Indépendance
PDCs	People's Defence Committees (Ghana)
PDS	Parti Démocratique Sénégalais
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PP	Progress Party (Ghana)
PPP	People's Progressive Party (Gambia)
PS	Parti Socialiste
PTP	Parti Togolais du Progrès
RC	Regional Commissioner (Ghana)
RPT	Rassemblement du Peuple Togolaise
SCOA	Société Commerciale Ouest Africaine
SFC	State Farms Corporation (Ghana)
SFIO	Section Française de l'International Ouvrière
SGMC	State Gold Mining Corporation (Ghana)

xx List of Abbreviations

SIP	Sociétés Indigènes de Prévoyance (Senegal)
SMC	Supreme Military Council (Ghana)
SODEFITEX	Société de Développement des Fibres Textiles (Senegal)
SONEPI	Société Nationale d'Etudes et de Promotion Industrielle (Senegal)
TC	Togoland Congress (British Togoland)
TOLIMO	Movement for the Liberation of Western Togoland
TU	Togoland Union (British Togoland)
TUC	Trade Union Congress (Ghana)
TVT	Trans-Volta Togoland (Gold Coast, British Togoland)
UAC	United Africa Company
UCPN	Union des Chefs et Populations du Nord-Togo
UGCC	United Gold Coast Convention
UGFC	United Ghana Farmers' Council
UN	United Nations
UNACOIS	Union Nationale des Commerçants et Industriels du Sénégal
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNIGES	Union des Groupements Economiques du Sénégal
UNIGOV	Union Government (Ghana)
UNTS	Union Nationale des Travailleurs Sénégalais
UP	United Party (Gambia, Ghana)
UPS	l'Union Progressiste Sénégalaise
URADEP	Upper Region Agricultural Development Project (Ghana)
VORADEP	Volta Region Agricultural Development Project (Ghana)
VRPT	Volta Region Public Tribunal (Ghana)
WAPCB	West African Produce Control Board
WDCs	Workers' Defence Committees (Ghana)