

Global Context

The inherently interdisciplinary and comparative nature of studies of borders of modern states, which are offshoots of the Westphalian system, has led to their broad categorization into ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ border studies. Raimondo Strassoldo, a leading scholar and pioneer of border studies in Europe, would appear to have appropriately captured this distinction when he described the latter vis-a-vis the former in terms of ‘a new emphasis on the socio-economic aspects; focused on the integrative rather than conflictual processes; and on problems of border people instead of the nation-states; ... instigated by local authorities and European organisations rather than national governments... [and] more than the traditional ones ... policy-oriented’¹. The ‘traditional’, based on a state-centric vision of the border, is typically explored within frameworks of such established disciplines as History, Geography, Political Science, Economics and Law. On the other hand, in ‘modern border studies’, popularized as ‘Borderlands Studies’ by North American experts who initially concentrated on the most spectacular, i.e. the U.S-Mexico border (‘Where North Meets South’)², the focus is on the border in its local setting. In contradistinction to ‘traditional border studies’, borderlands studies is the domain of local and comparative historians, regional geographers and economists, ethnographers, sociologists, anthropologists, epidemiologists, environmental engineers and regional planners.

In North America and Western Europe, the field, especially in its ‘modern’ edition as ‘Borderlands Studies’, has attracted the sustained attention of scholars and researchers. A veritable avalanche of scientific literature has been generated, and is still rapidly being generated, as to warrant its emergence in the mid-1970s as a distinct area of academic specialization to be taught and researched at tertiary level, most prominently in the numerous universities in border cities of the American Southwest adjoining twin-sister urban centres in the territorially adjacent Northern Mexico. Border and Borderlands Studies also became famous in Europe, where the driving force was their demonstrable relevance to the twin policies of trans-border cooperation and special development focus on European border regions as cornerstones of the European integration process. Both in North America and Europe, many specialized research establishments (Centres, Institutes and Programmes) were also created and lavishly funded.³ Nothing illustrates better the intellectual maturing of ‘modern’ border studies in North America than the creation in 1976 of the US-based Association of Borderlands Scholars, later renamed Association of Borderlands Studies (ABS), now a world-wide learned society in the field, and the launching of its internationally reputed biannual

Centring the Margins: Fifty Years of African Border Studies

Anthony I. Asiwaju

Governance and Border Security in Africa

by Celestine Bassey and Oshita O. Oshita, eds.

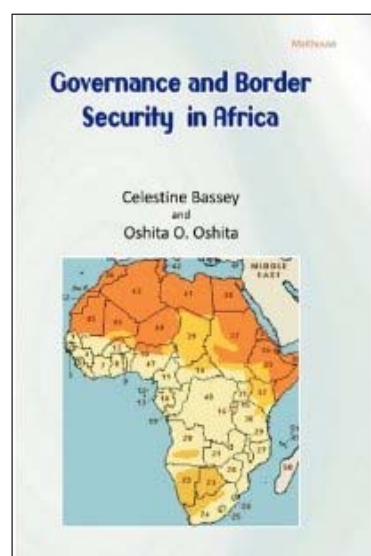
Malthouse Press Ltd for University of Calabar Press (Lagos),
2010, xvii+327 pages

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Border and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa

by Dereje Feyisa and Markus Hoehne, eds.

James Currey, 2010, xv+205 pages



Journal of Borderlands Studies (JBS) in 1986. A clear pointer to comparable developments in Europe is to be found in a special issue of *JBS* co-edited by Joachim Blatter and Norris Clement⁴, to say nothing about the European Community Studies Association, which embraces members whose works are about commitment to the ideal of ‘Europe Without Frontiers’.

African Contributions

The publication of the two co-edited volumes under review in 2010, the Golden Jubilee Year of African Independences, provides perhaps the most opportune moment to engage in a reflection aimed not only at commenting on these two works but also using them as an appropriate platform for a critical review of African border scholarly literature and the contributions that have been made to the development of border and borderlands studies in the continent and globally.

The two publications provide typical illustrations of the range of contributions which African and Africanist scholars have made and are continuing to make to both border and borderlands studies and the blurring of the distinction or boundary between the two. The first, *Governance and Border Security in Africa*, as the title clearly denotes, is written from a statist perspective and is co-edited by two of Nigeria’s brightest political scientists with shared experiences as teachers at the University of Calabar, South-South Nigeria. Both of them later became members of the faculty of two of the nation’s high-profile government establishments: Bassey, during a

sabbatical leave, as Directing Staff at the African Centre for Strategic Research and Studies of the National Defence College; and Oshita, for sometime now, as the Director of Research and Policy Analysis of the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, both in Abuja. As expected, the twenty-three chapters of the book are all contributions to the general theme of the border as a risk factor to peace and state security: Part I (consisting of four chapters) addresses ‘policy and institutional context’; Part II (six chapters) is focussed on ‘Conflict Development and Management’; Part III, the largest section of the book, is made up of the remaining thirteen chapters and is devoted to the discussion of different aspects of ‘border security management regimes’.

On the other hand, the second book, *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa*, places a refreshing emphasis on the localized impacts of the border and explores the borderlands as *sui generis*. The book bears the stamp of unmistakable originality in the nine constituent substantive essays on the various strategies by which borderland communities (opportunistic nationalists, irredentists, separatists and unionists, cross-border alliance seekers and regionalists, rebels and smugglers) explore and exploit the border in their diverse contexts and situations not just to survive but even to flourish economically, socially, culturally and politically. Of particular fascination is the way different transborder peoples across same borders (e.g. the Anywaa and the Nuer astride the Ethio-Sudanese border) play distinctly different games around the issue of national identity vis-a-vis kith and kin on the other side of the boundary (pp.27-44).

Unlike the co-editors of *Governance and Border Security in Africa*, civil servants and establishment scholars, so to speak, Dereje Feyisa and Markus Hoehne, the co-editors of *Borders and Borderlands as Resources*, are seasoned social anthropologists. The first is an Ethiopian scholar and author of a distinguished

doctoral dissertation on the colonially partitioned Anywaa and Nuer in the Ethiopian Gambella region on the western border with Sudan, already revised for publication as *Playing Different Games: Paradoxes of Anywaa and Nuer Identification Strategies in Gambella, Ethiopia*. The other is a German Africanist with research experience on issues of identity and conflict in northern Somalia (Somaliland and Puntland) and a Ph.D candidate in the famous Max-Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle/Saale (Germany), where Dereje Feyisa was a Research Fellow. While the editors and contributors to *Governance and Border Security* tend to have a general fixation on the State and related security and development concerns, their counterparts in *Borders and Borderlands as Resources* have their eyes focused on the peoples and their ears close to the ground in the various border localities.

In spite of these distinctions, however, the two publications provide pointers to the danger of over-drawing the contrasts between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ border studies. The concerns for state in the one and for the people in the other are matters of differing emphases, indicating that the contrasts in the realities being confronted by experts working within the two frameworks are more those of degree than of kind. Thus, for example, though the conceptual or theoretical framework for the one, as brilliantly articulated in the Introduction (XIII - XXVIII) and further elaborated in chapter 2, both by the lead editor (Celestine O. Bessey), emphasizes the over-arching concern for state and cross-border relations between states, there are substantial references to dimensions of localized impacts and roles and functions of borderlands, reflected, for example, in the essay on ‘Cross-Border Relations in Africa’, included as Chapter 1 (pages 1 – 12) of the book.

Conversely, there is no complete escape in *Borders and Borderlands as Resources* from the fundamentals about borders as installations of sovereign states whose policies, individually or collectively, form the core of the meaning of ‘borders and borderlands as resources’. This fact is prominently indicated in the theoretical grounding provided in the particularly insightful ‘Analytical Framework’ provided by the joint-editors in Chapter 1 (pp. 1-26). In any case, if *Governance and Border Security* dwells primarily on borders as ‘risks’ to state security, *Borders and Borderlands as Resources* provides the justification by the emphasis on the border as a world unto itself, predisposing the borderlands as asylum to a wide spectrum of frauds and criminal behaviours on account of proximity to a foreign jurisdiction that offers opportunities for quick escape. Smuggling, for example, is the act of disobeying the law of the state in order to obey the more compelling law of economics – problem and solution at the same time! Both border and borderlands studies are of great attraction to states

engaged in regional integration projects, precisely because the success of such projects, in the final analysis, is the answer to the basic policy questions posed by both the border and its borderlands.

One admirable feature common to both these two apparently companion volumes is the balance neatly maintained between theoretical and empirical data and the scholarly introductory discourses by the co-editors in each case, which help readers to situate the presentation of each volume within its wider regional and global contexts. On matters of detail, however, the editors and publishers of *Borders and Borderlands as Resources* would appear to have done a much more skilful job of editing than their counterparts in *Governance and Border Security*. On the whole, these two works illustrate the two interdigitating, though distinct, phases in the evolution of 'border studies' and the manifestations of the visibility of the field as a viable interdisciplinary on its own right even in the African continent.

The Last 50 Years

This visibility is evidenced principally in the substantial and steadily growing scholarly literature, antecedent to the two edited volumes under review. The foundation was solidly laid in the rich European archives that emanated from the delimitations and demarcations that followed the infamous era of the European scramble for and partition of Africa at the turn of the 19th Century. As with African historiography in general, the process was initiated by European experts (historians, jurists and political geographers) whose pioneering publications characteristically reflected European imperialist and colonialist rather than indigenous African perspectives. Among these were Sir E. Hertlet's three-volume *Map of Africa by Treaty* (1909), precursor of the late Ian Brownlie's authoritative *African Boundaries: A Legal and Diplomatic Encyclopaedia* (London: C. Hurst and Co. Publishers, 1979); and Sybil E. Crowe, *The Berlin West African Conference, 1884-1885* (London: Longman, Green & Co. 1942), the first comprehensive publication on the conference, surpassed only relatively recently by S. Foster, W.J. Mommsen and R. Robinson (Eds.), *Bismark, Europe and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, for the German Historical Institute, London, 1988).

By the late 1950s and the early 1960s, when African and Africanist scholars became active, largely in response to the challenges posed by the new sovereignties achieved after independence having to be exercised within the inherently problematic territorial frameworks defined by the colonially arranged boundaries, scholarly focus shifted explicitly to the African boundaries themselves. Accordingly, we enter into the phase of the African perspective marked by a concern for the sovereign African States and the nation-building projects. Archetypical

publications in this regard are, first and foremost, the two pioneer Nigerian case studies based on two doctoral theses, both submitted to the University of London in 1960, by J.C. Anene, a Nigerian historian, and J.R.V. Prescott, an Australian geographer. These were published in their revised editions, respectively in 1970 and 1971, as *The International Boundaries of Nigeria, 1885-1960: Framework of an Emergent African Nation* (London: Longman) and *The Evolution of Nigerian International and Regional Boundaries 1861-1971* (Vancouver: Tantalus Research). A.C. McEwen's *International Boundaries of East Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), published contemporaneously, also grew out of the author's higher degree dissertation. Saadia Touval's *The Boundary Politics of Independent Africa* (Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard University Press, 1972) and Boutros Boutros-Ghali's *Les Conflits des Frontieres en Afrique (Etudes et Documents)* (Paris, 1973), followed quickly, one from Political Science and the other from International Law perspective. A critical early warning signal to the essentially multidisciplinary and comparative nature of the field was provided in C.G. Widstrand (Ed.), *African Boundary Problems* (Uppsala: Nordic Institute of African Studies, 1969), which also beamed the searchlight on issues of the borderlands as top research priority.

The emergence of 'modern border studies' or 'borderlands studies' in Africa became perceptible when, in the early 1970s, scholarly works began to appear with emphasis placed on the localized impacts of the boundaries. Here, perhaps, the best known early publications are L.R. Mills, 'The Development of a Frontier Zone and Border Landscape Along the Dahomey-Nigeria Boundary', *The Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 34, June 1973; and A.I. Asiwaju, *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule, 1889-1945: A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonialism* (London: Longman, 1976). The initial focus on the Nigeria-Dahomey (now Benin) borderlands and in the context of comparative studies of localized impacts of French and British colonialism was eventually expanded from the Yoruba to other West African case studies subsequently pooled together and published in 2001 as *West African Transformations: Comparative Impacts of French and British Colonialism* (Lagos/Oxford: Malthouse Press Ltd).

The transformation from comparative study of French and British colonial regimes in West Africa's cross-border areas to Comparative African Borderlands Studies was marked by extensive literature surveys and practical field missions to sample borderlands sites and institutions in Africa, North America (notably the U.S.-Mexico) and Europe, beginning in late 1979 and resulting in several publications, including the edited volume, *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations Across Africa's International Boundaries, 1884-1984* (Lagos/

London/New York: University of Lagos Press/ C. Hurst and Co. Publishers and St. Martin's Press, 1984); *Artificial Boundaries* (Lagos: University of Lagos Inaugural Lectures Series, 1984) and *Boundaries and African Integration: Essays in Comparative History and Policy Analysis* (Lagos: PANAF Publishing Incorporated), a book of readings selected from a larger body of writings, mostly chapters in specialised books and articles in journals, published between 1984 and 2003.

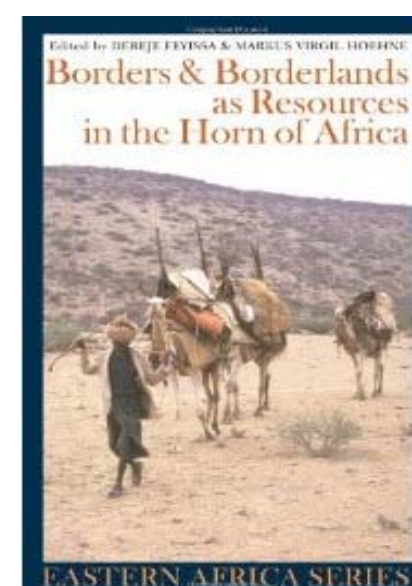
Further propagation of the field of African border and borderlands studies in Nigeria, spearheaded by University of Lagos, led to the organisation of sensitization seminars and conferences as well as the institution of the University's Centre for African Regional Integration and Border Studies (CARIBS). All these developments were marked by special scholarly productions, exemplified by A.I. Asiwaju and P.O. Adeniyi (Eds.), *Borderlands in Africa: A Multidisciplinary and Cooperative Focus on Nigeria and West Africa* (University of Lagos Press, 1989). It also included *Borderlands and African Integration* (Lagos: PANAF Publishing Inc. 2008); *Academic Disciplines and Border Studies* (University of Lagos Press, 2007); and *Contemporary Issues on Boundaries and Governance in Nigeria* (Lagos: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005), all edited by R.T. Akinyele, Director of CARIBS since 2004. Equally promotive of borderlands studies are the National Boundary Commission's publications based on the series of bilateral workshops on trans-border cooperation with each of Nigeria's neighbours, organised between 1988 and 1993.

Since the 1980s, there has been a phenomenal expansion in the scholarly literature on Borderlands Studies in Africa, far beyond the limits of the initial productions in Nigeria. Typical in this regard are William F.S. Miles', *Hausaland Divided: Colonialism and Independence in Nigeria and Niger* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994) and Paul Nugent's *Smugglers, Secessionists and Loyal Citizens on the Ghana-Togo Frontier: The Lie of the Borderlands Since 1914* (Legon, Ghana/Oxford/Athens, Ohio: Sub-Saharan Publishers/James Currey/Ohio University Press, 2002). While both books, as explicitly acknowledged by the authors (Miles, 12-16, 61-62, 314-315 and Nugent, pp 4-9, 28), build on the foundations of such existing works as *Western Yorubaland Under European Rule* (1976) and the edited volume *Partitioned Africans* (1984), each has made distinctively original contributions to African borderlands studies.

By the emphasis placed on issues of citizenship and identity, Miles' award-winning work shares analytical interests and concerns with two other equally fascinating contemporary

borderlands scholarly publications, albeit in two other different regions: Peter Sahlin's *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1989) and the more contemporaneous Oscar J. Martinez's, *Border People: Life and Society in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Tucson: University Arizona Press, 1994). Miles' own commitment to comparative borderlands studies subsequently led him to primary research work in sites outside Africa, in South Asia and the South Sea, leading to several other admirable scholarly publications, most notably his 'Citizens Without Soil: The French of India (Pondicherry)', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (Vol. 13 No.2 1990, pages 250-273), and *Bridging Mental Boundaries in a Postcolonial Microcosm: Identity and Development in Vanuatu* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998). On the other hand, Nugent's more explicit focus on the Ghana-Togo borderlands as a *sui generis*, his supplementary exploration of the anthropological research methodology of a participant observer and his controversial utilitarian thesis about the border as a variable on which the local communities depend for their daily living and socio-economic welfare (e.g. as smugglers!) make the book an attractive model and preferred reference point for the co-editors of *Borders and Borderlands as Resources in the Horn of Africa* (pp. 10-13).

Of particular importance to the expansion of scientific literature on Borderlands Studies in Africa in the last half-century or so are the works (mostly by economic geographers, social anthropologists, regional historians and economists as well as criminologists) focusing on cross-border and wider regional flows of persons, goods and services. Typical titles in this genre include John O. Igue and B. Soule, *L'Eta-entrepot au Benin: Commerce informel ou solution à la crise?* (Paris: Karthala, 1992) and Igue's own follow-up volume, *Le Bénin et la mondialisation de l'Economie: Les Limites de l'Integration du Marche* (Karthala, 1999). These geographic studies of cross-border trade in West Africa should be read conjointly with the more theoretically informed anthropological perspective on Zaire in Janet MacGaffee et al, *The Real Economy of Zaire: the Contribution of Smuggling and other Unofficial*



Activities to National Wealth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991) and the expanded case studies in Georges Kobou (Ed.), *Real Economies in Africa* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2003).

In this same sub-category of studies in cross-border trade are the survey series on Eastern and Southern Africa, edited by A.I. Asiwaju and M. de Leeuw and entitled *Border Region Development in Africa: Focus on Eastern and Southern Sub-Regions* (Nairobi: UN Centre for Regional Development Africa Office, 1998). Worthy of special citation is the fascinating essay by Chris Ackello-Ogutu, the Kenyan geographer, entitled 'Informal Cross-Border Trade in Eastern and Southern Africa: Methodological Approaches and Preliminary Result'. Of similar import is Kate Meagher's 'Informal Integration or Economic Subversion? Parallel Trade in West Africa' in R. Laverge (Ed.), *Regional Integration and Cooperation in West Africa: A Multidimensional Perspective* (Trenton, New Jersey/Asmara: Africa World Press, Inc., 1997). B.M. Barkindo and A. Lipede (Eds), *Human Trafficking and Economic Crimes across Nigeria's International Borders* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 2007) illustrates the border security perspective.

This survey of the rapid growth in African border and borderlands studies literature would be incomplete without reference to the contributions by experts in regional science, especially history and geography. The relevant publications include Boubacar Barry's *La Senegambie du XV^e au XIX^e Siècle: Traite negrière, Islam et Conquête Coloniale* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1988) and, more recently, the strongly border-implied UNESCO-sponsored multi-volume case histories of nation-state problematics in regional integration, under the main title *Les Etats-Nations Face à L'Integration regionale en Afrique de l'Ouest (National-States and the Challenges of Regional Integration in West Africa)*, one for each of the fifteen member states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), published by Karthala in Paris, which he co-ordinated⁵. Also sponsored by UNESCO under its Culture of Peace Project were the series of regional histories of International Boundaries and Borderlands which, in the case of Africa, has led to the publication of *Des Frontières en Afrique du XII^e au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris: UNESCO, 2005), proceedings of an International Symposium held in Bamako, Mali in 1997. Also serving the same purpose of wider regional perspective are books on cross-border relations, on wider regional canvas, such as Momar-Coumba Diop (Ed.), *Le Senegal et Ses Voisins* (Dakar: Societe-Espace-Temps, 1994), Basse E. Ate and Bola A.

Akinternwa (Eds.), *Nigeria and Its Immediate Neighbours* (Lagos: Pumark Nigeria Limited, 1992), Paul Nugent and A.I. Asiwaju (Eds.), *African Boundaries: Barriers, Conduits and Opportunities* (London: Frances Pinter, 1996) and Wilbert Gooneratne and R. Obudho (Eds.), *Contemporary Issues in regional Development Policy: Perspectives from Eastern and Southern Africa* (Aldershot, England: Avebury, Ashgate Publishing Company, 1997), notably Section 4 of the four component essays on 'Least Developed Regions and Border Areas', 203-260.

Future Projections

The growth and development of African border and borderlands studies would appear to have peaked with the creation on 13 June 2007 of the African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE), following the foundation conference at the University of Edinburgh, U.K, hosted by the institution's Centre of African Studies. The Network embraces researchers and institutions in Africa, Europe and North America, who share long-term interests in all aspects of international boundaries and transborder phenomena in the continent. Though focused on borderlands as physical spaces and social spheres, the Network is also concerned with inter-related regional flows of persons, goods and services as well as socio-economic processes that may be located at some distance from the geographical border.

Since its creation, ABORNE has grown by leaps and bounds. It has held its Annual Conference on a regular basis: Bayreuth, Germany, in 2008; Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2009; Basel, Switzerland, in 2010. The 2011 conference is scheduled for September in Lisbon, Portugal. Each annual conference has focussed on a carefully selected pertinent theme; the Network's membership has expanded spectacularly from the thirteen founding members in Edinburgh in 2007 to over 170 by the last Conference in Basel, members being drawn from Africa, Europe and North America. By 2009, the Network has also secured major funding support from the European Science Foundation, though mainly for members who are nationals of the contributing Member States of the European Union. It says a lot about the quality of the work of the Network members that they have been able to pool together a collection for the first ever African-perspective issue of the internationally reputed *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, entitled *From Empiricism to Theory in African Border Studies* (JBS, vol. 25 No.2, 2010) and guest-edited by David Couplan, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and founding Member of ABORNE.

The evolution of African border studies has, therefore, come a long way in the last fifty years; but the cruising altitude, such as is in evidence in Europe and, especially, North America, is yet to be attained. For example, outside Dominique H. Zidouemba's, *Les Sources de l'Histoire des Frontieres de l'Ouest africaine* (Dakar: Les Nouvelles Editions africaines, 1979), there are no specialized bibliographies of the same size and quality available for North America, especially the US-Mexico Borderlands.⁶ Nor is there a standard guide to relevant institutions and organisations, be it at the national, regional or continental level, to assist researchers.⁷ For a model, see Milton H. Jamail and Margo Gutierrez, 1992, *The Border Guide: Institutions and Organizations of the United States-Mexico Borderlands*, revised and updated edition of *The United States-Mexico Border: A Guide to Institutions, Organizations, and Scholars*, Austin, Texas: Centre for Mexican Studies.

Given the magnitude of boundary problems and the grave challenges posed to African peace and development processes, the continent should have been dotted by now with numerous high quality and well resourced specialised research and training institutions. No such development is in evidence. The Centre for African Regional Integration and Border Studies (CARIBS) of the

University of Lagos, Nigeria, the first of its kind in any African tertiary institution, has recently suspended operation. Similarly, the African Regional Institute, Imeko, also in Nigeria, a privately registered research and training outfit with a vision and mission similar to CARIBS, is now faced with challenges of sustainability. The dream for African equivalents of specialised border studies establishments in Europe and North America remains far remote from realisation.

The way to specialized institutionalisation may become clearer if and when the African Union Border Programme Unit, domiciled in the daily bombarded Conflict Management Division of the constantly engaged Department of Peace and Security of the African Union Commission in Addis Ababa, is able to carry out a long-standing proposal for an inventory of relevant research and training institutions in Africa and recommend on strategies for improvement. Until such a time, we would have to depend on the kind of heroic efforts of individual scholars, such as those who have put together the edited volumes under review, located in different institutions in which African border and borderlands research interests. These are dispersed rather than consolidated into recognisable centres of excellence, distinctly or as integral parts of larger institutions.

Notes

- 1 R. Strassoldo, 1989, 'The State of the Art in Europe', in A.I. Asiwaju and P.O. Adeniyi, eds., *Borderlands in Africa: A Comparative and Multidisciplinary Focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, Lagos: University of Lagos Press, pp. 383-384.
- 2 Lawrence A. Herzog, 1990, *Where North Meets South: Cities, Space, and Politics on the U.S-Mexico Border*, Austin: Centre for Mexico American Studies.
- 3 Such institutions include the European University Institute, Florence, Italy; the Europa Institute, Edinburgh, U.K.; Institute of International Sociology, Gorizia, Italy; Institute of European Studies, Brussels; European College, Luzanne, Switzerland; and, in North America, the Centre for Inter-American and Border Studies, University of Texas at El Paso; the Albert Utton International Transboundary Resources Centre, Albuquerque, New Mexico; Institute for the Regional Study of the Two Californias, San Diego State University; and El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF), Tijuana, Baja California, Northern Mexico.
- 4 *European Perspectives on Borderlands*, JBS Special Issue, Vol. XV, No.1 (2000), 293 pages.
- 5 The eleven national case studies already published are Benin, 2006; Mali, Senegal and Niger, 2007; Cape Verde and Burkina Faso, 2008; Ghana, Togo, Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire, 2009; and Nigeria, 2010.
- 6 Cf. Ellwyn R. Stoddard et al, eds., 1983, *Borderlands Sourcebook: A Guide to the Literature on Northern Mexico and the American Southwest*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, or B.G. Valk, ed., 1988, *Borderline: A Bibliography of the United States-Mexico Borderlands* Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Centre.
- 7 For a model, see Milton H. Jamail and Margo Gutierrez, 1992, *The Border Guide: Institutions and Organizations of the United States-Mexico Borderlands*, revised and updated edition of *The United States-Mexico Border: A Guide to Institutions, Organizations, and Scholars*, Austin, Texas: Centre for Mexican Studies.

