

# A Companion to the Anthropology of Africa

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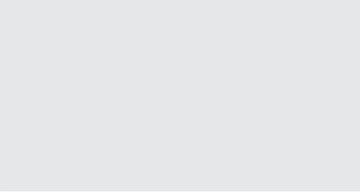
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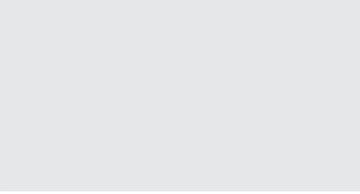
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# Introduction

*Roy Richard Grinker, Stephen C. Lubkemann, Christopher B. Steiner, and Euclides Gonçalves*

Anthropology conducted in Africa has been central to the methodological and theoretical development of the discipline since it was first institutionalized in the late nineteenth century. Sadly, the earliest anthropologists were predisposed to imagine that sub-Saharan Africa consisted of relatively isolated peoples, as were European explorers, colonial administrators, and colonists. They overlooked much of what they witnessed on the ground – including complex states, migrant labor, the proliferation of vernacular Christianities, and urbanization – and often neglected obvious evidence of Islamic influence and the slave trade. Well into the twentieth century, most anthropologists working in Africa studied small-scale rural communities, and represented them as static and bounded. Anthropologists either ignored change or viewed change as a by-product of external forces, such as colonialism or Christian evangelism. The topics anthropologists selected for study reflected this ahistorical predisposition: local rather than long-distance trade; rural rather than urban communities; so-called traditional religions rather than Islam or Christianity; ritual performance rather than violent struggle; reproduction of kinship and marriage systems rather than social transformation.

This is not to say that such research foci had been entirely absent from academic anthropology. Abner Cohen's (1969) study of urban migrants in Nigeria or Elizabeth Colson's research in 1957 on the Kariba Dam construction among the Gwembe Tonga in central Africa (see, for example, Colson 1971) were notable studies of the relationship between economic and socio-cultural change, which also highlighted

the human suffering and the social turmoil that could result. Similarly, in the area of religion, anthropologists had studied Muslim and Christian beliefs and rituals (such as Coptic Christianity in the Horn of Africa), but did not focus on transnational religious movements, nor on the syncretism that emerged at the intersection of so-called traditional beliefs and religions that had been introduced from Europe or the Middle East. Similarly, while it is also true that other twentieth-century anthropological studies were historical, such as work by Kopytoff on slavery (1982), or by Jack Goody (1971) on property and the origins of the state, such works were notable primarily for being outside the mainstream. Moreover, with relatively few exceptions, such as Max Gluckman, Isaac Schapera, and Monica Wilson – who all decried exploitation and racism (Kearney 1986, p. 343) – the anthropology of Africa would have to wait for the neo-Marxists in the 1960s and 1970s before it confronted colonialism and launched a serious and sustained effort to integrate the analysis of racism and exploitation in Africa into its analytical approaches.

The anthropology of Africa in the early-to-mid twentieth century also served as a model for other academic disciplines that were just beginning to turn their attention to the peoples and cultures of the African continent. One noteworthy example (though not directly represented by any of the contributors to this volume) is art history and its engagement with African art and material culture in the United States during the late 1950s. Anthropologists working in Africa had a long-standing interest in sculptures and masks produced by indigenous artists and craftsmen. In a number of detailed ethnographies, particularly from areas in West and Central Africa which have rich sculptural traditions, one or two sub-sections were often devoted to the study of material culture or religious icons (see, for example, Schwab and Harley 1947). However, for the most part, anthropologists ignored the aesthetic qualities of these objects, and focused instead on their broad social, religious, or political functions – e.g., the enhancement of social status and communication with the supernatural (Ben-Amos 1989). In 1966, French ethnographer Georges Balandier remarked in a statement typical of anthropologists writing during this period that “these ‘aesthetic’ works are linked to a certain mode of social organization; they are, above all, instruments for religious ‘technics’” (1966, p. 67).

In 1957 the University of Iowa awarded the first PhD ever in a department of art history to a scholar (Roy Sieber) whose work focused on the art of Africa (Clunis 2008, p. 12). Prior to this time, art historians had resisted the acceptance of African art as a topic of serious study because it lacked, in their estimation, the sort of complex historical evolution of style which was associated with the development of European “high” art from the Middle Ages on (Adams 1989, p. 57). With its sweepingly broad title, *African Tribal Sculpture*, Roy Sieber’s dissertation, and his subsequent impact as a professor of art history at Indiana University, would have a lasting effect not only on the discipline of art history – which would now finally come to recognize the place of Africa in the history of world art – but also on anthropology itself. In the wake of Sieber’s work and that of his students, anthropologists increasingly turned their attention to various aesthetic dimensions of African art – including the development of style, symbolic analysis, patronage, and the rising art market.

The study of art in Africa offers an excellent example of how the anthropology of Africa has engaged with other disciplines, shaping their approaches, while in turn, also being influenced itself, as a result. In this case, anthropology established the “groundwork”

for the study of art and material culture in Africa by raising awareness, and providing intellectual guidance and methodological models for how to conduct research on the African continent. By the 1980s, the field of art history was fully engaged with the study of art in Africa, and art museums throughout Europe and America had begun to include, and even highlight, the arts from the continent within the universal survey of world art. By the 1990s, the work of art historians had become increasingly more “anthropological” in the kind of questions it posed about power, patronage, social function, and the influence of tourism, technology, and international markets (Forni and Steiner 2015). Meanwhile, anthropologists were, in turn, awakened to the aesthetic dimensions of African art. Today, the scholarship on African art that is produced by scholars in anthropology is often virtually indistinguishable from the work of scholars in art history. This suggests the usefulness of thinking critically not only about how we define the boundaries of our focus in socio-geographic terms but also of considering the broader intellectual ecology in which we are situated – including the question of how Africanist anthropology relates to Area Studies, and its impact on various related disciplines, as well as the reciprocal impact of other disciplines on Africanist anthropology itself.

The prior work co-edited by three of us, *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation* (Grinker, Lubkemann, and Steiner 2010) sought to immerse readers in highly influential articles that had been published in several major thematic areas – but at different historical moments – in order to allow them to see how African social realities were portrayed through the lenses of successively predominant theoretical perspectives. This volume also reflects our conviction that scholars and students of Africa still need to comprehend the continuities between older and more recent scholarship. But just as importantly, they need to understand the new developments and departures that are forging the future of anthropological practice in Africa. This book thus examines how the anthropological study of Africa has continued to change, informing – and informed by – the broader discipline: for example, kinship and social organization, economic behavior, and religious beliefs. But it also aims to highlight areas of inquiry that have become salient more recently and which represent the major challenges and opportunities for the future of the anthropology of Africa. We thus seek to provide readers with a historically-grounded introduction to the contemporary anthropology of Africa, which focuses on problems that have not always been part of the classic canon, and which include social justice, political conflict and armed insurgency, economic inequality, new social media, global mobility, epidemics and disease, refugees and displacement, and international intervention regimes.

Among the most significant of shifts in theoretical approach that distinguishes contemporary from classic Africanist anthropology is the current concern with historical dynamics, and with the local effects of broader political economic forces and processes – which notably include conflict and contestation, and not merely consensus. Models of communities as closed and largely stable and consensual systems have been replaced by the study of fluidity, conflict, power, change, and movement. Many anthropologists still study topics that have long been staples in African studies (e.g., marriage and descent, authority, religion, ritual, and witchcraft) but they approach them in very different ways. Anthropologists interested in kinship and marriage, for example, have followed in the footsteps of scholars like David Murray

who, beginning in the 1980s, analyzed domestic institutions in Lesotho not as age-old social organizations but as systems of relations that influenced and were influenced by migrant labor to South African mines. From this perspective, political economy, and specific resources like gold, oil, land, water are now seen as constitutive of complex, and highly dynamic, social relations. Anthropologists such as Peter Geschiere (1997) and Harry West (2005) now study witchcraft not solely as a function of kinship organization but in terms of its role in local and national politics, and in the context of democracy and capitalism. A growing number of others, such as Shandy (2007) and Feldman-Savelsberg (2016), have explored marriages as sites of gendered social struggle, negotiated through reproductive strategies, and played out within transnational social fields. Rather than investigating kinship as a form of deterministic prescription defined within a circumscribed social group, all of these approaches emphasize how roles and rights are continuously contested and re-negotiated among actors with different degrees of power and opportunity, and in contexts where these differences derive from complex articulations between local and global political economies.

Many other topics that are important in the contemporary anthropology of Africa have not always been staples, but have emerged from the critique of classical approaches. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, anthropologists paid increasing attention to property, government, health care and disease, political violence, and materialism as a departure from previous studies of poor, stateless, rural peoples. Still newer topics that early anthropologists could never have imagined have gained traction only since the turn of the millennium – including, for example, transnational adoption, the role of social media in forging social imaginaries and new forms of social networks business entrepreneurship, HIV/AIDS, and Africa’s remarkable new global diaspora. Meanwhile, renewed anthropological interest in the state – but also in governance more broadly – has revealed the deep inter-penetrations of state and society (Bayart 1993) and offered new readings of concepts that are widely used, but often used uncritically, such as democracy (Karlström 1996; Moran 2006; West 2005), civil society (Comaroff and Comaroff 1999), corruption (Anders 2009; Blundo and de Sardan 2006; Smith 2008) and sovereignty (Chalfin 2010).

A number of recent contributions of note draw upon empirical cases in Africa to challenge the neat divisions between the social and the political, or between state and society (Bierschenk and de Sardan 2014). For example, a growing number of scholars analyze the interactions between civil servants and ordinary citizens in the public health (Jaffré and de Sardan 2003; McKay 2018), migration (Chalfin 2008; Hoag 2010), and justice (Obarrio 2014; Worby 1997) sectors. Jean and John Comaroff, for example, problematize the concept of “civil society,” and pave the way for analysis that recognizes the ways in which African communities privilege consensus over strict procedural democracy (Comaroff and Comaroff 1999; Ferme 1999; Jackson 2009). A growing number of scholars interested in public policy have studied personal identification documents as vehicles for understanding how a state’s authority is both enacted and actively subverted (Donovan 2015; Gonçalves 2013). A number of such studies highlight how non-state actors play various authoritative roles in ethnographic contexts in which the state is anemic or virtually absent, resulting in spaces of complex “co-governance,” sometimes in cities (Hecht and Simone 1994; Landau and Freemantle 2010), or in border-zones (Chalfin 2010; Roitman 2005), and in which the state is but one participant (and not necessarily the predominant one) among

many (Blundo and Le Meur 2009; Brass 2012). Other scholars have noted instances in which the coupling of muscular international intervention with constrained state power results in new modalities of “therapeutic” (Nguyen 2004) or “humanitarian” (De Waal 1997) governance.

The topics that currently animate the anthropology of Africa rose to prominence at different historical moments and for this reason we organize the chapters into four parts, organized roughly in chronological order, even though there are common, enduring themes that cross-cut the entire history of twentieth – and twenty-first-century Africanist anthropology.

- 1 “Enduring Themes” traces the development of anthropological thinking and the current debates about themes that have demonstrated remarkable staying power in the anthropology of Africa but which have come to be theorized in vastly different ways. These topics include witchcraft, kinship, religion, illness and healing, and economics.
- 2 “Critical/Decolonizing Themes” considers topics that began to garner attention during decolonization and in its immediate aftermath. Such topics include mobility and displacement, urbanism, political violence and armed conflict, and new forms of belonging. Much as has been the case with the classical themes that preceded them, many of the topics that anthropologists began to take up after decolonization have continued to evolve – taking on new empirical and theoretical foci.
- 3 “Post-colonial and Emerging Themes,” our largest section, comprises topics that have arguably become the central concerns of anthropologists of Africa, over the period navigated by the continent’s nations since their independence including trauma, social justice, sex and sexuality. This section also comprises a number of topics that despite being quite recent, are fast gaining traction in Africanist anthropology, such as social media, social justice, humanitarianism, the anthropology of children, and environmentality, and Africa’s new global diaspora. This section does not pretend to be encyclopedic. Given the scope of this single volume, we do not have separate chapters on oil, minerals, and other forms of resource extraction; on the growing and ubiquitous Chinese presence that represents the largest and most sustained in-migration to the continent since the heyday of settler colonialism (French 2014); on arts, aesthetics, film and cinema; or on international development. A number of these topics are addressed – sometimes repeatedly – in other chapters whose themes intersect with them, in ways that we hope will shed light on them as part of the vibrant mix of the anthropology of Africa today.
- 4 In a final section, “Reflexivity,” we have contributions from authors who turn the lens back to focus squarely on the discipline itself, writing as if from the outside looking in, to consider the role that Africanist anthropology has played in informing other Africanist disciplines, and to reflect on the politics of representation within the discipline as well. From very different perspectives and positions – including those of the “Africanist wing” of another discipline altogether (Political Science), and that of African anthropologists working in Africa – these chapters critically highlight the vexed – and productively vexing – role of Africanist anthropology – both within the discipline, but also at the intersection of those broader social sciences which convene around Africa as their area focus.

Together the chapters in this volume address a range of important questions. For example, some explore the extent to which anthropological thinking on this topic has been and/or remains influenced by the theoretical traditions – some nationalist, others defined in sub-regional terms – that once held sway in Africanist anthropology. French scholarship of Africa, for example, was once dominated by Marxist-oriented anthropology and the study of Central and West Africa; British work was largely structural-functionalist, with a focus on reproduction of social systems in Anglophone West Africa, East Africa, and Southern Africa; much American work in Africa was symbolic and psychological in theoretical orientation, with a focus on the study of belief systems. In what ways are the legacies of these differences still evident and, conversely, to what extent has their influence dissolved?

A number of chapters also consider the extent to which anthropological thinking has been transformed by growing interest in using anthropological knowledge to critically address practical concerns and public problems such as war, poverty, and public health. Just twenty years ago, anthropological research in top tier universities on contemporary social problems tended to be criticized as less scholarly than research on the grand theoretical problems of the day. How has the still-ongoing shift in thinking about “public anthropology,” and the rise of “applied anthropology” affected the old stigma, and hierarchies, that distinguished “applied” or “policy” from “basic” research? What kinds of engagement have emerged from new framings such as “public anthropology” and what has been the result for theory, practice, and the influence of Africanist anthropology? Thus for example, while Africanist anthropology once inevitably included a significant focus on kinship and marriage, as a lens through which most scholars studied other topics, this may no longer be the case. The anthropology of Africa may now revolve around other points of entry, such as food security, the organization of wartime violence, or refugee coping strategies. New foci frequently call for new methods as well, including collaborative and interdisciplinary research. To what extent is the anthropology of Africa informing, and being informed by, other disciplines, such as public health, political science, and cultural geography?

Another important concern in the anthropology of Africa – some might say this is the elephant in the room – is the relationship between the discipline and the geographic area at a time when area studies programs throughout the world are either under assault, or being reorganized in accordance with bureaucratic (rather than intellectually or sociologically substantive) logics. Witness recent cases of the consolidation of South, Southeast, and East Asia programs into Asia centers, as just one example. This book is about the *anthropological* study centered on a particular area – sub-Saharan Africa. It is not meant as a contribution to what is often called “Area Studies” – or as would apply in this case more specifically – to “African Studies.” Nonetheless, any geographic focus requires some attention to the question of the crisis of area studies.

As early as 1978, Benedict Anderson suggested that area studies had already been in decline for more than a decade (1978, p. 323). Those who believe there are shared patterns to be found in certain areas of the world (sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, etc.), or in sub-regions (e.g., the Baltic states or Appalachia), blame a range of different intellectual and political movements for challenging what they see as the worthy goal of intensive in-depth area-based scholarship. The responsible parties include some unlikely bedfellows, such as postmodernism and rational-choice theory.

Thus, the Orientalist critique highlighted the manner in which one half of the world (the Occident) classified and represented the other half; many scholars also rightly argued that area studies implicitly essentialized heterogeneous parts of the world, and reified non-western cultures as bounded entities. Others argued that since area studies emerged in the United States after World War II and during the Cold War, in an explicit attempt by the US. government to harness state, educational, and philanthropic resources for the study of regions that might pose a political or military threat to the United States, it remained the handmaiden of US. political and economic imperialism. Additional criticism has been levied from other virtually opposing directions such as rational-choice theorists (predominantly in the field of political science) who argued that a region's particular historical and cultural contingencies were largely irrelevant to their predictive models of behavior. At least in the field of Political Science as it stands today, regional specialization seems out of favor, and those who specialize in a specific region of the world are sometimes relegated to "minor scholar" status, and stigmatized.

Looking forward, there are a few important paradoxes that should be carefully pondered. Area studies, for many, is an anachronism that lacks methodological and theoretical sophistication and yet area studies is almost always focused not on methods or theory but on the need for the kind of deep knowledge that can only be achieved through intensive historical, linguistic, and cultural research. Scholars increasingly promote interdisciplinarity, yet at the same time criticize area studies for being too far removed from (their own) disciplinary foci. Moreover, while specific disciplines (some more than others) are deriding area studies, a number of influential universities are promoting new programs in "global studies" – as if somehow area studies specialists (including archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians) had somehow previously ignored the complex global and regional relationships that existed for centuries, if not as far back as the Iron Age. At the risk of sounding cynical, in the larger context of the rise of skills-based higher education and the decline in popularity of college majors such as English, History, Sociology, and Anthropology, the area studies crisis may also be related to the changing interests of the neoliberal university. The bottom line is that programs are typically not dismantled if they earn tuition dollars. Students and employers are placing far more value today on the development of particular skills, like econometrics, than on the study of history and culture.

Although there is much to be said for the decoupling of culture and geography in an increasingly globalized world, it would be wrong to presume that scholarship within area studies cannot account for the new flows of ideas, labor, media, and money which anthropologist Arjun Appadurai calls "–scapes." Nor is it accurate to claim that area studies was (much less needed to be) as geographically bounded, or biased towards homogeneity and stasis, in the same way that an earlier anthropology was. Equally important, however, it would simply be wrong to assume that language, socio-cultural differences, particular histories, and location no longer matter. As Peter Jackson wrote in relation to Asian Studies, "While some varieties of globalization theory and post-structuralism pronounce the end of geographically based difference, empirical research consistently demonstrates the persistence of localized, geographically bounded forms of knowledge, culture, economy, and political organization" (2003, p. 2). Making such a point is not in any way to suggest that scholars can comfort themselves inside spatial borders or resuscitate old structural-functionalist models

of social reproduction in what anthropologists once called “closed systems.” It is, rather, to empirically contest claims that the world is becoming a monoculture, a critical task that George Marcus and Michael Fischer long ago identified as the central promise of anthropology (1986), and to challenge the neoliberal Thatcherist view that claims societies are now a thing of the past, and that all that is left in its place are atomized and autonomous individuals who fight it out.

Across the African continent, different sub-regions share common climates, seasonal migration patterns, and economic/production zones. Moreover, at some level, persistent ethnographic patterns are to be found across a great many African communities, in particular those south of the Sahara.<sup>1</sup> Grammar and vocabulary in so-called Bantu languages, from Kenya to South Africa, are often remarkably similar. There are common social organizational patterns in the majority of Africa’s patrilineal societies, as well as in the central African matrilineal belt.

It is also particularly important to note that despite variations in colonial histories, most African societies experienced colonial power and domination – informed by profoundly racist ideologies – that permeated and reshaped existence at all levels of social life, from that of the household to that of the metropole. Colonialism’s effects in Africa were wide ranging, profoundly affecting everything from the regulation of marriage practices to cattle as a gendered form of property, plundering the continent’s resources, mobilizing the migrant and forced labor of many millions of Africans, importing and imposing Christianity and setting the stage for nationalism. Since their independence, African nations have also arguably been the primary stage in which new regimes of international intervention such as “development” have unfolded – and arguably served as the premier stage for the institutionalization and growth of some of its more specialized modalities, such as “humanitarian action” and “global public health.” We thus cannot understand the centrality of Africanist anthropology to the broader anthropology of global health (see Upton and Le Clerc this volume), the emergence and development of refugee studies (see Lubkemann this volume), the anthropology of intervention (see Johnson this volume), or political violence (see Hoffman this volume) unless we recognize a certain relative – if not categorical nor essentialized – distinctiveness of Africa’s contemporary experiential engagement with these processes.

We contend that recognizing that such patterns exist is an important – albeit obviously never a fully sufficient – step in understanding how particular lines and themes of research have emerged over time in specific geographic areas and why these have served as strategic sites for the development of certain lines of research and theory within the discipline of anthropology writ large. We must recognize the extent to which the questions anthropologists posed, wherever in the world they worked, were ultimately not *merely* projections of external worldviews, but ultimately co-productions, in which the “realities” that were “invented” (Hobsbawm and Ranger) *also reflected the agency of the local communities themselves*. In short, to simply dismiss the social patterns and problematics in question as purely ethnographic projection is to fall into the neoliberal trap of socially undifferentiated universality, an unfortunate place to be after having worked so hard to crawl out of the trap of socio-cultural essentialism.

Early Southeast Asian anthropological studies, for example, provided a wealth of ethnographic data for structuralist analysis, especially alliance theory, since asymmetrical

marriage was so common in Indonesia. French structuralism arguably owes as much to the anthropology of eastern Indonesia as it does to the Amazon, where Lévi-Strauss worked. The questions these anthropologists were asking were distinct because of the distinctions of their field sites – for example: What is the relationship between marriage rules and symbolism? How do the house and the body, as opposed to politics, structure experience and cognition? The early anthropologists of note in Africa, such as Meyer Fortes and Edward E. Evans Pritchard, asked different questions because of the importance of lineage and descent to political organization in the societies they studied in Africa. How does kinship constitute political organization? How can societies cohere without centralized political organizations? Later on, Clyde Mitchell and A.L. Epstein, both pioneers in urban anthropology, asked questions relevant to migration and the rapid growth of cities in sub-Saharan Africa: What is the social and cultural relationship between a rural “tribe” (conceived as a “total social system”) and the urban residents of that tribe who appeared to be re-creating the tribe through “tribalism”? Was the city a new total social system? We rightly look back with a critical eye at the way in which the implicit biases of the aforementioned structural functionalists reflected many aspects of the colonial worldview from which they came and in which they operated. As Southall (1970), Ranger (1967), Vail (1991), and others have pointed out, the carving up of Africa into “tribal” societies was profoundly influenced by the European ethno-nationalist project and the essentialized notions of political identity therein. Taken together, these examples help us understand how the questions we ask, and the answers we generate, are inextricably linked to the patterns multiple researchers find in the areas that have been defined as “Africa,” “Southeast Asia,” etc.

Recognizing this sort of co-production helps explain how African societies seemed so amenable to some of anthropology’s earliest and (relatively) non-evolutionary Marxist studies of core-periphery relations, and of lineage modes of production (hierarchy involving the control of the means of reproduction in agricultural communities in which elders married polygamously, withholding wives – and therefore also the possibility of children – from bachelors). Indeed it can be argued that Marxism gained some of its earliest traction in the anthropology of Africa for at least three reasons. First, African societies provided a context in which to study the ideological rationalization of the classic topics of kinship and marriage as a form of economic power and exploitation (Meillassoux 1981). Second, the continued existence of rural “pre-capitalist” societies in Africa was seen as providing a kind of laboratory in which to apply Marxist models (Moore 1994, p. 102), develop new ones, such as the “African Mode of Production” (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1972), and produce innovative Marxist historical accounts of African societies (Terray 1974). Third and finally, Marxism fits well with the emerging interests of African (and other) intellectuals who sought to challenge European, capitalist hegemony, and to critically incorporate the colonial project into their analytical frame (Moore 1994, p. 95, see also Gonçalves this volume). These factors, *acting in concert*, do much to explain why the neo-Marxist turn in anthropology gained the traction that it first did in Africa, rather than elsewhere in the world.

The trick in the end is for the discipline’s Africanists to recognize the usefulness of certain points of departure and mutual recognition, while always cultivating and continuously renewing a critical awareness of why those points are what they are. As the

chapters in the final section of this book remind us, this requires a critical genealogy of our concepts, questions, debates, and approaches, with particular attention to what may have been pre-empted, and with what consequences for a future Africanist anthropology, for our broader discipline, and for the other disciplines with which we transact. In short, we must willingly and critically place the practice of anthropology into the analytical frame of the anthropology of Africa.

We see signs that point in this direction already in many college and university anthropology curricula, where courses on “Culture of Africa” or “Cultures of Southeast Asia,” for example, have been renamed “The anthropology of...” in part to reflect the disarticulation of place and culture, but also in order to focus scholarly attention on anthropology itself as a particular kind of knowledge that seeks to represent others. This volume seeks to flag scholars in precisely this direction, in order to underscore that we can no longer study the Nuer *of Nuerland*, but instead the people who represent themselves as Nuer, *wherever* and *whenever* they have lived, and with a critical awareness of their *representers* – whether that be the research of Evans-Pritchard, funded and shaped by the concerns of the colonial pacification campaigns of the pre-World War II British empire; or the internally displaced within Sudan whose flight to Khartoum is a reaction to the recurrent visitations of war across the multiple generations that have transpired since that country’s independence – and as studied by Sharon Hutchinson (1996), Rogaia Abusharaf (2009), and Roberta Cohen and Francis Deng (1998); or among the returnees to the politically convulsive newly independent state of South Sudan, who maintain contacts with their relatives in a global diaspora, which we learn from Shandy (2007) now extends as far afield as Minneapolis-St. Paul.

## NOTE

- 1 For this very reason, northern Africa has typically been integrated into Middle Eastern Studies.

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