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Hammar, Amanda. *Displacement Economies in Africa: Paradoxes of Crisis and Creativity*. Zed Books, 2014. 260pp.

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Hammar, Amanda, ed. *Displacement Economies in Africa: Paradoxes of Crisis and Creativity*. London/New York: Zed Books, 2014, vii + 260 pp.

Displacement Economies in Africa, an anthology edited by Amanda Hammar, breaks new theoretical ground in its introduction as it examines the troubling question of displacement economies that result from Africa's vast and apocalyptic range of upheavals, stemming from wars, misrule, ecological devastation, and allied challenges that confront its nascent nation-states. Internal displacement, as well as the more familiar variety of refugee export, receive close attention, and the economic spaces vacated and created by these difficulties come under very close analysis for the inevitably novel alternative socio-economic and political relational configurations that they spawn. Major changes occur in both formal and informal economic arrangements, and some players derive maximal benefits while others lose out as inchoate forces at play shape new universes of opportunity and disadvantage. The instrumental agency sometimes exercised by the displaced, yet often ignored, comes in for close scrutiny, and the resourcefulness of the victim in the midst of adversity becomes compelling terrain for heuristic review. This is a bold and insightful introduction to the book.

Andrea Behrends discusses the Darfur-Chad borderlands, and, in charting differential responses to displacement, she identifies scenarios ranging from continuing, even if temporary, attachment to agricultural production, lives free of assistance from aid agencies, partial dependence on aid-supports, through to total reliance for social reproduction on the charity of the latter. Through extensive discussion of the lives of the displaced, she demonstrates the choices that individuals are forced to make in fashioning their peculiar survival strategies in dire situations of conflict. These decisions were often influenced by conditions of intense political volatility as rulers of Chad and Sudan warred with each other, significantly constraining the choices of the displaced, heightening the appeal of the aid agencies, and dimming for many the prospects of an eventual return to pre-conflict locations and lifestyles.

The war-torn Casamance region of Senegal is Martin Evans' terrain of analysis. He shows convincingly how the forces of secession in the area introduce displacement but also discusses the possibilities of a "return" once some normalcy begins to dawn. The returnee faces challenges of physical as well as relational fracturing and deterioration, and economic opportunities have to be rebuilt even as generational tensions emerge as the youth take on the elders in the much-contested political stakes. New land tenurial arrangements become necessary, and administrative re-alignments breed tensions and roil communal solidarity, with

former guerrillas claiming a seat at the table. re-alignments breed tensions and roil communal solidarity, with former guerrillas claiming a seat at the table.

Amanda Hammar's chapter deals with the implosion of a Zimbabwe badly governed by Robert Mugabe's ZANU/PF in the period after 2000. She charts the major problems of a failed state, Mugabe's megalomania, the serial insecurities of a majority population heavily dependent on the informal economy, and the re-shaping of social class as white commercial farmers and their African workers suffer exclusion while the working classes experience both internal and external displacement. The well connected amass wealth, but their goal is the most primitive and grotesque of accumulations, not re-investment to foster economic growth. The middle class recomposed, with heavy dependence on the informal economy, particularly with the crushing burdens of Structural Adjustment. The poor do worse, even as new economic relations emerge in areas like Masvingo, where "class, gender and generational differentiation" (90) threw up new initiatives that sustained beleaguered households, especially in the area of livestock. Displaced white farmers cooperated creatively with new black owners to their mutual benefit, and ZANU/PF is too embarrassed to formally note this vital relationship. The illicit trade in foreign currency has imbricated the social classes, bringing some relief to the internally displaced, while raising fortunes for the apparatchiks. The introduction of the American dollar has restored some sanity to the economy, but not before much disruption of material conditions occurred across the board.

For Cristina Udelsmann Rodrigues, the diamond-rich north-eastern Lundas of Angola, in a season of crisis, is the field of exploration. Independence in 1975 brought no respite to a war-weary nation, and difficulties were compounded by instability in the neighboring Congo. Illegal mining (garimpo) became the refuge of many as population groups variously experienced displacement, involuntary confinement to both safe and unsafe areas, forced mining labor at the command of UNITA, and sundry material dislocations amidst an influx of competing Congolese refugees. The end of the war generated yet more insecurity as the government showed the flag, garimpo became more hazardous, and legal mining became more dominant for the approved few. Non-mining jobs were now the new attraction, and the hardy, and generally insecure, garimpeiro now easily fell foul of the law, and were greatly harassed.

Nairobi's Eastleigh Estate, home to many displaced Somali, is Hannah Elliott's purview in this anthology. She is particularly drawn to the trade in camel milk, which became the commercial, social, and therapeutic refuge of a displaced population that was much traumatized by civil war. The milk trade, run on a trust system, drew visiting Somali from abroad, generated income for real-estate investment, cemented social ties, and elevated the urban "middle-woman," the

widow, and the spinster, who avail themselves of the indeterminacy of their clan location to rival the patriarchs.

We continue with the Somali-displaced in Peter Hansen's contribution, but this time with an emphasis on the returnee, post-conflict. Few returned to Somaliland permanently, but, from the Somali diaspora, many invested savings and time in real estate, businesses, conjugal arrangements, and social networking. The returnees found great comfort in belonging to an established network of familial and social ties, transcending the anonymity that could never bring social distinction to their efforts in the diaspora. Neither the fledgling "government" nor family members encouraged their permanent return, for, as a floating population, they offered Somaliland a whole lot more materially.

With Sarah Bracking, we return to Zimbabwe, this time to examine the dynamics of asset-relocation in a period of economic hardship and displacement. The wealthy, both those with ZANU/PF connections, and those without, sought creative ways of spiriting their funds out of the besieged economy to safer havens abroad. Many escaped state predation as taxes rose, and victimization came to those out of favor with the government. Bank officials helped some to get their funds out, and others found creative ways of evading detection. A lot of bribes were paid in these spoils politics of the redomesticating of capital, and the elite joined the poor in many acts of extraversion. The state took to manipulating remittances sent to family members from Zimbabweans abroad, and creative delays in completing transactions ensured good rents to state officials and the well-connected. The business in foreign currency spawned a network of Chinese, Angolan and Zimbabwean capitalists, and, at a time of great immiseration for the majority, significant fortunes were made by the wealthy.

Morten Boas and Ingunn Bjorkhaug probe northern Uganda in their chapter, examining the psychological trauma of confinement, in which displacement is of a short distance, and the displaced can see their original homes, and yet cannot live there. This circumstance bred poverty and utter hopelessness. The Acholi communities, traumatized by Joseph Kony's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), and other bandits, lived in a "prison-like economy" of the internally-displaced, in camps that offered little agency, operating under curfew, with only a few opportunities for trade, limited cultivation, or military service. In perpetual fear of terror, and encompassed in mythical, preternatural beliefs of Kony's occult powers, these populations languished in abject dependence on charity.

Jeremy Jones reviews the Zimbabwean crisis of the 2000s, and highlights the misery, but also the resourcefulness, of those who were "stuck" in their original locations while being traumatized by a collapsed formal economy. He traces Mugabe's slide into extravagant financial commitment to war veterans, state

corruption, urban opposition to ZANU/ PF (and the reprisals this drew), and the ultimate collapse of the formal economy. People of all social classes took to illegal means for survival, with the poorly educated youth being the biggest victims, their lives completely unhinged from the tenuous material moorings they once knew.

The final essay comes from Timothy Raemaekers, and it deals with the displacement of the youth in an eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) ravaged by war. Few Congolese ever made it to the aid camps, many pursuing solace in neighboring countries. A number found shelter in forest environments, with a large majority being hosted by more cohesive families that could offer some protection. Aid agencies were rigid in their munificence, and only those directly under their wing could expect their sustained charity. Being mostly unarmed, the youth had to devise a means to survive. They were at the mercy of the G8, that “closed group of transnational traders who dominate[d] almost every aspect of urban economic life,” (236) a virtual government in the eastern Congo. The vibrant informal economy in the towns supplied some temporary jobs, but one’s ethnic roots often determined what was available to these youthful “strangers.” Periods of peace improved work chances, but host families exacted a high material price, and were generally cold comfort in harsh economic times.

This is a well-packaged, and insightful anthology, and it richly fulfills the claims of the introduction in covering displacement, especially the internally-displaced, from a very rich field of empirical investigations. While noting that a map or two would have provided greater context for the unfamiliar reader’s understanding of the complex sequences and locations, this collection is a task well accomplished.

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