

# African Studies Initiative

## **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

**Ngwarsungu Chiwengo**  
Creighton University

## **ICGC ALUMNI LECTURE**

**Amanda Lock Swarr**  
University of Washington

## **FILM SCREENING**

**Chérif Keïta**  
Carleton College

## **PANELISTS**

**Ali Abdullatif Ahmida**  
University of New England

**Jennie Burnet**

Georgia State University

**Meriem El Haitami**

International University of Rabat

**Badr Guennoun**

International University of Rabat

**Chérif Keïta**

Carleton College

**Lisa Mueller**

Macalester College

**Suren Pillay**

University of the Western Cape

**Joachim J. Savelsberg**

University of Minnesota

**J. Siguru Wahutu**

Harvard University

University of Minnesota

**Michael Woldemariam**

Boston University

# *reframing* mass violence in **AFRICA** *social memory & social justice*



School chalk board in post-genocide Kigali, Rwanda.

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## Public Symposium PROGRAM

April 12-13, 2018

120 Elmer L. Andersen Library

University of Minnesota

Organized by the African Studies Initiative, a Title VI African Studies National Resource Center funded at the University of Minnesota by the U.S. Department of Education • [africa.umn.edu](http://africa.umn.edu)

Co-sponsored by the Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change, Global Programs and Strategy Alliance, UMN Extension Global Initiatives, Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies



## African Studies Initiative

# Reframing Mass Violence in Africa: Social Memory and Social Justice

## African Studies Initiative Public Symposium

co-sponsored by the Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change,  
Global Programs and Strategy Alliance, UMN Extension Global Initiatives,  
and the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies

April 12–13, 2018

120 Elmer L. Andersen Library | West Bank Auditorium • University of Minnesota

## Welcome

The African Studies Initiative (ASI), a University of Minnesota Title VI African Studies National Resource Center funded by the U.S. Department of Education, is pleased to convene this international public symposium on **Reframing Mass Violence in Africa: Social Memory and Social Justice**. The Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change (ICGC), Global Programs and Strategy (GPS) Alliance, UMN Extension Global Initiatives, and the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies are co-sponsoring the symposium. This event is the latest in a series of Institute for Global Studies events exploring mass violence and its reframings in other geopolitical contexts, including Europe and Latin America.

Understanding the history of mass violence in Africa—and its political, social, and cultural aftermaths—is vital to understanding contemporary life on the continent. Africa has been shaped and scarred by some of the largest episodes of mass violence in modern human history, including the trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades and the nearly continent-wide experience of colonial expropriation and dispossession. In recent decades, genocides in Darfur and Rwanda and civil wars in such contexts as Algeria, Angola, the Congo, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Somalia, and the Sudans—often with at least partial roots in colonial histories and the ongoing influence of foreign powers in the post-independence period—continue to roil Africa. Yet in focusing attention on mass violence in Africa, do U.S. and other observers perpetuate reductions of Africa *to* violence? How do those of us based in the U.S. academy address that problem? When, for example, some U.S. scholarship and media portrays violence in Africa as “ethnic” or “tribal” genocide, eliding the fact that such violence might stem from a struggle over material resources, political access, etc., do such representations distort and obstruct a deeper understanding of that violence? Are the categories we use to speak of violence in some ways constitutive of that violence? How might reframing those categories challenge us to see and to rethink the problem in new ways? How do African academics, journalists, and policymakers understand “mass violence,” and how might the categories they use to interpret it project different modes of redress?

We have organized the symposium into three core panel sessions engaging these and related questions:

### 1. Uncivil Wars: Repression, Revolution, Fragmentation, and the Record

- How might “civil” wars be interpreted as the result of complex determinants, exogenous as well as indigenous? What of “failed states”?
- Do the assassinations and disappearances perpetrated as a result of the intransigence of dictatorships qualify as mass violence?
- How are revolutions mobilized to spur repression? Are revolutions excesses of communal violence?
- Why are some wars made “civil” when they should not be? How do we restore forgotten genocides to history?

## 2. Remembering and Representing Genocide: Darfur and Rwanda

- Where and when does mass violence by one or more groups against others turn into genocide?
- Were the Darfur and Rwanda genocides driven by communal or ethnic conflict, as common representations suggest? Might they be reframed as contests over political or economic resources, or as responses to climate change, desertification, ecosystem degradation? Where foreign powers are complicit, do these contests turn also *geopolitical*?
- How might the representation of the Darfur and Rwanda genocides be reframed through the lens of women's experience? Do women's bodies remember genocide differently?

## 3. Economies of Violence and the Labor of Marked Bodies: Race, Gender, Religion, Migration

- How might gender and sexual violence be brought into the frame of "mass" violence?
- How is religion marshaled as a force for or against mass violence (e.g., apartheid, terror) by states and revolutionaries?
- Might the mass violence of workers in protest represent unfinished struggles for decolonization and social justice? What of state or police violence against insurgent labor? Should that too be brought into the compass of mass violence?
- Can we reframe dehistoricized discussions of the contemporary "refugee crisis" by foregrounding histories of violence (e.g., colonialism, apartheid) and their role in forced migration and the displacement of refugees?

To reframe mass violence in Africa is to call attention to overlooked determinants and definitions and to invite fresh analysis that African peoples and allies might marshal not only for redress and restitution of past trauma but also for prevention of future violence. We understand "reframing" in its many senses:

- Representation in mass media, policymaking, historiography, orature, literature, art, photography, film, dance
- (Re)mediation and reconstruction
- Redress and reparations
- Revisitation and reinterpretation
- Transitional justice between dictatorship and democracy
- Response, in all forms

We are delighted to bring into conversation, here at the University of Minnesota, scholars from Africa and the United States whose work explores these urgent questions. To our speakers and to all in attendance, we extend a warm welcome!

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UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

**African Studies Initiative**

## **Reframing Mass Violence in Africa: Social Memory and Social Justice**

### **African Studies Initiative Public Symposium**

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**April 12–13, 2018 • 120 Elmer L. Andersen Library and West Bank Auditorium  
University of Minnesota**

#### **SCHEDULE | Thursday, April 12**

**11:30–11:40 am:** Welcome, opening remarks, introductions by Shaden M. Tageldin, Director, African Studies Initiative

**11:40–11:50 am:** Welcome by Evelyn Davidheiser, Director, Institute for Global Studies, and Assistant Dean for International Programs, College of Liberal Arts

**11:50 am–noon:** Welcome by Meredith McQuaid, Associate Vice President and Dean of International Programs, Global Programs and Strategy Alliance, University of Minnesota

**12:00–1:00 pm:** Lunch

**1:00–2:30 pm | Special Session: ICGC Alumni Lecture**

**Welcome by Karen Brown, Director, Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change (ICGC)**

**Amanda Lock Swarr**

**Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies,  
Department of Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies, University of Washington**

**Racing Intersex: Rethinking Violence and Gendered Medicine in South Africa**

Why do South African physicians claim that intersexuality is more common among black South Africans than white South Africans? And how have the parameters of gender been violently inscribed and undermined in medical contexts? This presentation addresses these questions by drawing on fifty years of South African medical scholarship to interrogate the contested parameters of gender and by putting these considerations into conversation with assertions and activism of South Africans who identify as intersex themselves. In so doing, it historicizes contemporary conversations, such as those focused on the mistreatment of Olympian athlete Caster Semenya, and retheorizes gender binaries and gender violence.

**2:30–2:45 pm:** Coffee break

**2:45–4:45 pm | Panel 1: Uncivil Wars: Repression, Revolution, Fragmentation, and the Record**

**Moderator: Patricia Lorcin, Professor of History and Samuel Russell Chair in the Humanities,  
University of Minnesota**

- Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, University of New England: “When the Subaltern Speak: Researching Italian Fascist Colonial Genocide in Libya, 1929–1934”
- Lisa Mueller, Macalester College: “Protest and Democratic Accountability in Africa”
- Michael Woldemariam, Boston University: “Discourses of Internationalization: External Intervention and Its Framing in African Civil Wars”

**4:45–5:00 pm:** Informal mingling over coffee, tea, and refreshments

**5:00–6:30 pm (West Bank Auditorium [Willey Hall 20]): uKukhumbula uNokutela / Remembering Nokutela:  
documentary film screening and discussion with director Chérif Keïta, Carleton College**

**6:45–8:45 pm:** Dinner for invited symposium participants (speakers, moderators, and planning committee)



**African Studies Initiative**



## **SCHEDULE | Friday, April 13**

9:15–9:45 am: Continental breakfast

9:45–10:00 am: Welcome back, introductions by Shaden M. Tageldin, Director, African Studies Initiative

10:00 am–12:00 pm | Panel 2: Remembering and Representing Genocide: Darfur and Rwanda

Discussant and Moderator: Alejandro Baer, Associate Professor of Sociology / Stephen C. Feinstein Chair and Director, Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, University of Minnesota

- Jennie Burnet, Georgia State University: “Embracing the Complexity of Genocide: Drivers of Collective and Individual Action in the Rwandan Genocide”
- Joachim J. Savelsberg, University of Minnesota: “Representations of African Mass Violence: Global, Northern, Field, and Country-Level Forces in the Case of Darfur”
- J. Siguru Wahutu, Harvard University / University of Minnesota: “‘We Have Failed as a Continent’: Covering an African Atrocity for an African Audience”

12:00–1:00 pm: Lunch

1:00–3:00 pm | Panel 3: Economies of Violence and the Labor of Marked Bodies: Race, Gender, Religion, Migration  
Moderator: Dianna Shandy, Associate Dean, Institute for Global Citizenship / Professor of Anthropology, Macalester College

- Chérif Keïta, Carleton College: “William Cullen Wilcox: The Missionary Who Planted the Seeds of Liberation in South Africa”
- Meriem El Haitami and Badr Guennoun, International University of Rabat: “Morocco’s State-Sanctioned Murshidat: Women as Providers of Spiritual Security?”
- Suren Pillay, University of the Western Cape: “Migrants, Refugees, and Mass Atrocity: Rethinking Apartheid’s Violence”

3:00–3:15 pm: Coffee break

3:15–4:45 pm | Keynote Address

Ngwarsungu Chiwengo  
Professor of English and Director of Black Studies Minor, Creighton University

### **They Say, We Say: Representation of Congo (DRC) Conflict and Rapes**

Understanding conflicts and rapes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is no easy task because the conflicts have been referred to as civil wars and the location where the rapes and conflicts take place described as another lieu, the Great Lakes. DRC rapes and conflicts are also oftentimes conflated with the Rwandan genocide, which frequently elides the violence, the cruelty of the rapes and naturalizes them. The humanity of the Congolese people and of the various crises are themselves often obliterated by the ethnological and ecological discourses framing the events and the people described in a primal Conradian vision that ascribes, overtly and covertly, these tendencies to irrational, unmanly Congolese behavior and culture. The international discourse obfuscates and collectivizes the rapes as a Congolese phenomenon and implies that they are encouraged by Congolese culture and Codes of Family Law. In fact, many local rapes are individual acts or gratifications sanctioned by superiors, and many are committed by external factions. Fortunately, counter-discourses to such representations of conflicts and rapes have emerged from both Congolese and international academic publications, films, and novels and the popular sites of resistance Facebook and WhatsApp. But, to move into the future, the marked bodies of Congolese women must also be rewritten and named womanhood.

4:45–5:00 pm: Thanks, closing remarks, farewells by Shaden M. Tageldin, Director, African Studies Initiative  
Informal mingling over coffee, tea, and refreshments

6:00 pm: Dinner for invited symposium participants (speakers, moderators, and planning committee)



## KEYNOTE ADDRESS

### Ngwarsungu Chiwengo

Professor of English and Director of Black Studies Minor, Creighton University



### They Say, We Say: Representation of Congo (DRC) Conflict and Rapes

Understanding conflicts and rapes in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is no easy task because the conflicts have been referred to as civil wars and the location where the rapes and conflicts take place described as another lieu, the Great Lakes. DRC rapes and conflicts are also oftentimes conflated with the Rwandan genocide, which frequently elides the violence, the cruelty of the rapes and naturalizes them. The humanity of the Congolese people and of the various crises are themselves often obliterated by the ethnological and ecological discourses framing the events and the people described in a primal Conradian vision that ascribes, overtly and covertly, these tendencies to irrational, unmanly Congolese behavior and culture. The international discourse obfuscates and collectivizes the rapes as a Congolese phenomenon and implies that they are encouraged by Congolese culture and Codes of Family Law. In fact, many local rapes are individual acts or gratifications sanctioned by superiors, and many are committed by external factions. Fortunately, counter-discourses to such representations of conflicts and rapes have emerged from both Congolese and international academic publications, films, and novels and the popular sites of resistance Facebook and WhatsApp. But, to move into the future, the marked bodies of Congolese women must also be rewritten and named womanhood.

**Dr. Ngwarsungu Chiwengo** ([chiwengo@creighton.edu](mailto:chiwengo@creighton.edu)), Professor of English and Director of the Black Studies Minor at Creighton University, is a native of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). She earned her licence at the National University of Zaire (now UNILU) and her PhD at the State University of New York, Buffalo. At Creighton, she teaches world, African, and African American literature. As a Fulbright grantee, Chiwengo taught at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa; back in the DRC, she taught at the University of Lubumbashi as Assistant and Associate Professor and chaired the English Department. During the Mobutu transition, she was Federal and Vice-President of the Democratic Social Christian Party (PDSC) and later its U.S. representative. She also has taught at Samford University in Birmingham, Alabama. Chiwengo's scholarly work in French and English has appeared in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *Journal of Black Studies*, *La Revue de l'Université de Moncton*, *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, and *Présence Francophone*. She is author of *Understanding 'Cry, the Beloved Country': A Student Casebook to Issues, Sources, and Historical Documents* (Greenwood Press, 2007), which analyzes the literary/historical background of Alan Paton's 1948 novel about racial tensions in South Africa, and co-editor of a special issue of the *Journal of the African Literature Association* on "The Teaching of Violence and Human Rights in African Literature," *JALA* 9.1 (2014). Much of Chiwengo's work deals with violence, trauma, and embodiment, mainly in the DRC. Her articles in English include "When Wounds and Corpses Fail to Speak: Narratives of Violence and Rape in Congo (DRC)," in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* (2008), and "Making Visible and Eradicating Congo's History of Violence: Maiming the Female/National Body," in *Violence in/and the Great Lakes: The Thought of V. Y. Mudimbe and Beyond*, ed. Grant Farred, Kasereka Kavwahirehi, and Leonhard Praeg (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2014). Chiwengo is also a member of the International Research Group "Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict" (SVAC).

## SPECIAL SESSION

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### ICGC Alumni Lecture

organized by the Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change (ICGC)

## Amanda Lock Swarr

Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies,  
Department of Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies

University of Washington



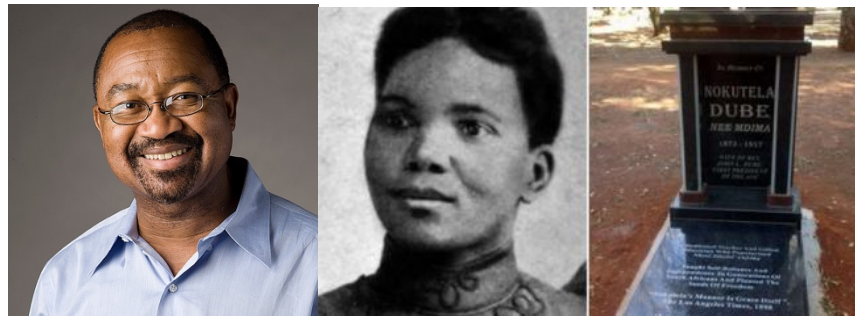
## Racing Intersex: Rethinking Violence and Gendered Medicine in South Africa

Why do South African physicians claim that intersexuality is more common among black South Africans than white South Africans? And how have the parameters of gender been violently inscribed and undermined in medical contexts? This presentation addresses these questions by drawing on fifty years of South African medical scholarship to interrogate the contested parameters of gender and by putting these considerations into conversation with assertions and activism of South Africans who identify as intersex themselves. In so doing, it historicizes contemporary conversations, such as those focused on the mistreatment of Olympian athlete Caster Semenya, and retheorizes gender binaries and gender violence.

**Dr. Amanda Lock Swarr** ([aswarr@uw.edu](mailto:aswarr@uw.edu)) is Associate Professor and Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies at the University of Washington. She has published in such journals as *SIGNS* and *Feminist Studies* and is the co-editor of *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis* with Professor Richa Nagar. Her monograph, *Sex in Transition: Remaking Gender and Race in South Africa*, was awarded the Sylvia Rivera Prize in Transgender Studies from CLAGS/CUNY and Honorable Mention for both the Distinguished Book Award (American Sociological Association) and Ruth Benedict Prize (American Anthropological Association). Swarr has collaborated with South African activists since 1997, work continued in her current project, *Forcing Sex: Contesting Violent Masculinities in Contemporary South Africa*.

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## SCREENING AND DISCUSSION

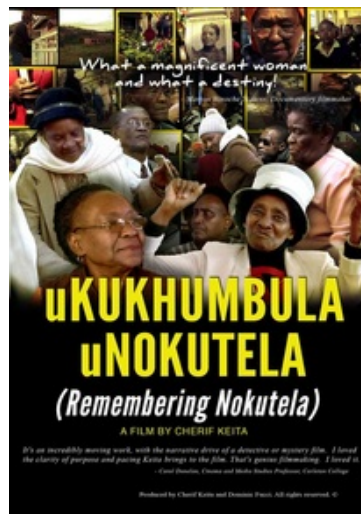


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### Chérif Keïta

William H. Laird Professor of French and the Liberal Arts, Carleton College

### **uKukhumbula uNokutela | Remembering Nokutela** (dir. Chérif Keïta, English and Zulu, 57 minutes, 2013)



On August 31, 2013, Nokutela Mdimba Dube was welcomed into the pantheon of the first South African liberation heroes when a gravestone was officially unveiled for her, after she had suffered for almost a century the indignity of total oblivion in an unmarked grave in Johannesburg. *uKukhumbula uNokutela (Remembering Nokutela)* is the four-year-long journey of an African-born U.S. director, Professor Chérif Keïta, to rescue Nokutela Dube (1873–1917), a forgotten woman pioneer of the liberation movement in South Africa, from the Purgatory of history, almost a century after her death at the age of 44. (Source: Media Lab Africa, <https://www.medialabafrica.com/nokutela.html>)

**Dr. Chérif Keïta** ([ckeita@carleton.edu](mailto:ckeita@carleton.edu)) is the William H. Laird Professor of French and the Liberal Arts at Carleton College in Minnesota. He is the author of three books and several articles on West African literature, music, and popular culture. An award-winning documentary filmmaker also, he is the director-producer of three feature-length historical documentaries linking nineteenth-century American missionaries from Northfield, MN, to the birth of the African National Congress of South Africa. His films have been screened at festivals in North America, South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa and on television in several African countries.

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## PANELISTS

### **Ali Abdullatif Ahmida**

**Professor and Founding Chair, Political Science, University of New England**

#### **When the Subaltern Speak: Researching Italian Fascist Colonial Genocide in Libya, 1929–1934**

Despite Hannah Arendt's observation in 1951, African cases of colonial genocide such as the Congo and Namibia are viewed in isolation and with no connection with the Holocaust. The Libya case is almost forgotten and silenced. With the exception of a few courageous scholars, the genocide (1929–1934) of Libyan nationals at the hands of Italian Fascists remains virtually unknown to all but the Libyan people. In 1929 over 110,000 Libyans, the total population of rural Eastern Libya was interned in concentration camps. By 1934, only 40,000 were left alive amid widespread executions, suicides, hunger, and diseases. The following silence with respect to colonial Libya has contributed to a persisting notion that Italian Fascism was somehow moderate. My research promises to revise our views of comparative European and Italian history under Fascism. First, it challenges the dominant historiographical view, which is based on the myth that Italian Fascism did not encompass acts of genocide and mass murder, so was therefore a lesser evil than Fascism practiced under the German Nazi regime. Second, it argues against the use of the nation-state and region as a unit of analysis. Instead I argue for the use of comparative analysis that includes the European colonies in a transnational world system, in order to begin to understand how such horrors took place.

**Dr. Ali Abdullatif Ahmida** ([aahmida@une.edu](mailto:aahmida@une.edu)) was born in Waddan, Libya, and educated at Cairo University in Egypt and the University of Washington, Seattle. He is founding chair and professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of New England, Biddeford, Maine. His areas of expertise are political theory, comparative politics, and historical sociology. His scholarship focuses on power, agency, and anti-colonial resistance in North Africa, especially in modern Libya. Ahmida has published major articles in *Italian Studies*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Arab Future*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Italian Studies*, *Journal of African History*, and *Arab Journal of International Studies*. He is also the author of *The Making of Modern Libya: State Formation, Colonialization and Resistance* (SUNY Press, 1994, 2009; Arabic edition, 1998); *Forgotten Voices: Power and Agency in Colonial and Postcolonial Libya* (Routledge, 2005; Arabic edition, 2009); and *Post-Orientalism: Critical Reviews of North African Social and Cultural History* (Center of Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, Lebanon, 2009). Ahmida is editor of *Beyond Colonialism and Nationalism in the Maghreb: History, Culture and Politics* (Palgrave, 2000) and *Bridges across the Sahara* (Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009). He is currently working on a book about genocide in colonial Libya due to be published in Fall 2018.

### **Jennie Burnet**

**Associate Professor, Global Studies and Anthropology; Associate Director, Global Studies Institute, Georgia State University**

#### **Embracing the Complexity of Genocide: Drivers of Collective and Individual Action in the Rwandan Genocide**

Popular representations of the Rwandan genocide portray the situation as the spontaneous eruption of ethnic or so-called “tribal” violence across the country. These portrayals emphasize ethnic hatred and political ideology and occasionally acknowledge poverty or social inequality as factors. These representations reinforce negative stereotypes about Africa and Africans. Scholarly studies of the Rwandan genocide yield a different, more complex picture. Faced with a threat to their control of the state, a small group of elites organized the genocide. Primed for action, thousands of Interahamwe and Hutu extremists responded immediately to the state-directed enterprise of genocide. The majority of Rwandans initially responded by trying to help save their Tutsi kin, friends, neighbors, and strangers from genocide. Those who became perpetrators had to be mobilized and enlisted in the state's killing machine. By describing the factors that led some ordinary Rwandans to save Tutsi from the genocide, this paper argues that genocide is a complex social, political, cultural, and economic process comprising hundreds of thousands of discrete acts that unfold over time. Understanding the Rwandan genocide as a complex process of national, subnational, and local actors engaged in fluid decision-making over time illuminates the opportunities for intervention to restrain or de-escalate violence.

**Dr. Jennie Burnet** ([jburnet@gsu.edu](mailto:jburnet@gsu.edu)) is the award-winning author of *Genocide Lives in Us: Women, Memory, and Silence in Rwanda* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2012). She is an associate professor of Global Studies and Anthropology and serves as Associate Director of the Global Studies Institute at Georgia State University in Atlanta. Her research explores the social, cultural, and psychological aspects of war, genocide, and mass violence and the micro-level impact of large-scale social change in the context of conflict. She is currently writing a book, *To Save Heaven and Earth: Rescue during the Rwandan Genocide*, which examines how and why some Rwandans risked their lives to save Tutsi and others targeted for killing. Burnet has been studying Rwanda, the 1994 genocide of Tutsi and its aftermath, and women in politics for more than 20 years. Her research has appeared in *Politics & Gender*, *African Affairs*, *African Studies Review*, and *Women's Studies International Forum*. She received her PhD in anthropology from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2005.

## **Meriem El Haitami**

Assistant Professor, Pôle Langues, Cultures et Civilisations, International University of Rabat

## **Badr Guennoun**

Assistant Professor, English Studies and Anthropology of Gender, International University of Rabat

### **Morocco's State-Sanctioned *Mursbidat*: Women as Providers of Spiritual Security?**

This paper addresses Morocco's innovative counter-radicalization strategy in the aftermath of the 2003 Casablanca terrorist attacks, based in part on training and deploying female religious leaders (*mursbidat*) to preserve the nation's tradition of tolerance and moderation. Morocco's deployment of women as active actors in preserving the country's "spiritual security" highlights the role of organized women's agency in addressing the socio-economic needs of at-risk members of society and disrupts the gender order that privileges male-centered discursive structures. The paper thus examines how state-based female religious activism has been instrumental to the state in countering political dissidence mediated by non-state religiously-oriented action through the re-appropriation and re-invention of a Moroccan brand of Islam and thus in establishing religious homogeneity in the country. We argue that the emergence and expansion of state-based female religious action is a product of the state's hegemony over the public sphere and thus demonstrates the intricate interplay between the politics of religion, gender, and the rhetoric of political liberalization in Morocco. This paper therefore raises questions about the reversibility of religious reform and the extent to which state-sanctioned female religious leaders are stretching the gendered boundaries of the public space and are negotiating their marginality in the masculinized "national security" processes.

**Dr. Meriem El Haitami** ([meriem.elhaitami@gmail.com](mailto:meriem.elhaitami@gmail.com)) is Assistant Professor, Pôle Langues, Cultures et Civilisations, at l'Université Internationale de Rabat, Morocco. She holds a PhD in Cultural Studies from the University of Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah in Fez, Morocco. Her research explores the dynamics of women's religious authority and activism in Morocco with focus on state-sanctioned female imams and their particular role in nation-building and in the war on terror. During 2015–2016, El Haitami was a Rice Fellow and Lecturer at Yale University, where she taught courses on Islam and gender in North Africa. From 2012–2013, she was a Fulbright Scholar at SUNY Binghamton, her research during this period explored Sufism as a global Islamic movement. In spring 2015, she was a Carnegie Fellow at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, where she was conducting research relating to modes of religiosity and attitudes towards human rights in Morocco. El Haitami has recently received the Global Religion Research Initiative Award (2018–2019) from the Center for the Study of Religion and Society at the University of Notre Dame to collaborate on a research project on Morocco's deradicalization processes and the construction of a spiritual security model.

**Dr. Badr Guennoun** ([guennounbadr@gmail.com](mailto:guennounbadr@gmail.com)) is Assistant Professor of English Studies and the Anthropology of Gender at the International University of Rabat, Morocco. He also has served as a consultant of Millennium Challenge Corporation in Washington, DC, on issues of women's emancipatory projects and gender equality in Morocco. He earned his MA in Women's and Gender Studies and his PhD in the Anthropology of Gender and Subcultural Studies. His fields of interest and publications revolve around anthropology, gender studies, minority questions, postmodern feminism, body politics, and youth subcultural studies.

## Chérif Keïta

William H. Laird Professor of French and the Liberal Arts, Carleton College

### William Cullen Wilcox: The Missionary Who Planted the Seeds of Liberation in South Africa

In this paper, I show the unheralded but pioneering role played by Reverend William Cullen Wilcox, a missionary with Northfield, MN, connections, who not only “adopted” and mentored both young John L. Dube, the future co-founder of the African National Congress and his future wife Nokutela Mdimba Dube (the subject of my documentary film, *Remembering Nokutela*), but who fought also for 38 years for black economic empowerment in the British colony of Natal (South Africa), by advocating for equal rights to land ownership between 1881 and 1918, the year when he was finally driven out by the colonial administration and white colonists. The story of this renegade missionary is a counterpoint to that of the proverbial missionary, who is said to have taught Africans to pray with their eyes closed while other Europeans stole their land.

**Dr. Chérif Keïta** ([ckeita@carleton.edu](mailto:ckeita@carleton.edu)) is the William H. Laird Professor of French and the Liberal Arts at Carleton College, in Minnesota. After earning his PhD in Romance Languages and Literatures at the University of Georgia, with a minor in African history and politics and a Certificate in Global Policy Studies, in 1985, he joined the French and Francophone Studies Department of Carleton College, where he teaches basic and advanced courses in French and Francophone literature of Africa and the Caribbean, as well as seminars in African cinema and the Mande cultures of West Africa. In addition to his teaching on campus, he has led off-campus study programs in France, South Africa, and Mali, and he soon will lead a new program to Sénégal. He is the author of three books on West African literature, music, and popular culture and of several articles on the epic traditions of Mali and oral performers and performance, with a focus on writers and artists such as Seydou Badian Kouyaté, Massa Makan Diabaté, and Grammy-nominated singer Salif Keita. An award-winning documentary filmmaker also, he is the director-producer of three feature-length historical documentaries linking nineteenth-century American missionaries from Northfield, MN, to the birth of the African National Congress of South Africa. His films have been screened at festivals in North America, South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa and on television in several African countries, and his research has been featured on Radio France, NPR, the BBC, and Vox Africa TV and in many newspapers in South Africa and in his native country of Mali.

## Lisa Mueller

Assistant Professor, Political Science, Macalester College

### Protest and Democratic Accountability in Africa

Can popular protest substitute for institutional checks on executive power in sub-Saharan Africa, or does it simply spur repression? Mass uprisings in Niger, Burkina Faso, Senegal, and other countries seem to have thwarted presidents from violating constitutional term limits during recent years. But the causal link is unclear: Other autocrats managed to remain in power despite protests, and political science is inconclusive regarding the effects of protest on democracy and dictatorship. Why do protests sometimes result in democratic reforms and other times not? Mueller documents two general trends spanning diverse African contexts: First, many participants in “democratic revolutions” do not necessarily prioritize democracy. Second, international donors are relaxing conditions on aid, thus strengthening the power of incumbents to restrict civil liberties. She then analyzes the outcomes of protests under varying degrees of those circumstances. Preliminary findings indicate that protests can enhance government accountability even if protesters do not prioritize democracy, but this effect is conditional on donors providing judicious support for protesters and relaxing their preference for partnering with states.

**Dr. Lisa Mueller** ([lmuellet@macalester.edu](mailto:lmuellet@macalester.edu)) is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Macalester College. Her teaching and scholarly interests include comparative politics, African politics, behavioral and development economics, and research methods. Her book, *Political Protest in Contemporary Africa*, is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press. Her other work on protest has appeared in *African Affairs*, *Electoral Studies*, the *Washington Post*, and elsewhere. She also studies clientelism, coups, and citizen engagement, applying her expertise on those topics as a principal investigator and an advisor for USAID and the U.S. State Department. She has conducted fieldwork in Niger, Senegal, Mali, Guinea, Burkina Faso, and Malawi.

## Suren Pillay

Associate Professor, DST-NRF Flagship on Critical Thought in African Humanities,  
Center for Humanities Research, University of the Western Cape

### Migrants, Refugees, and Mass Atrocity: Rethinking Apartheid's Violence

Wishing to transcend a history of violence, repression, and inequality, South Africa's post-apartheid constitution enshrines a widely hailed commitment to creating equal citizenship and upholding human rights. The centrality of a commitment to human rights in post-apartheid South Africa has a genealogy in the framing of apartheid's violence as human rights violations on a mass scale. How then might we make sense of increasing violence towards Africans from elsewhere in Africa that has become a normalized feature of life in post-apartheid South Africa? And how then might we make sense of the "Marikana massacre" of 2013, when 34 mineworkers were shot dead by the South African police in full view of a contingent of local and international media? This paper seeks to problematize thinking of mass violence through a human rights lens and suggests, rather, that we think of the political subject as a historical subject crafted at the intersections of being a migrant, a citizen, and a refugee.

**Dr. Suren Pillay** ([spillay@uwc.ac.za](mailto:spillay@uwc.ac.za) and [surenpillay1@gmail.com](mailto:surenpillay1@gmail.com)) is Associate Professor at the DST-NRF Flagship on Critical Thought in African Humanities, at the Center for Humanities Research at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, South Africa. His current research focuses on the political and intellectual legacies of colonialism in the present. He leads three Mellon-funded research projects: Migrating Violence; Citizenship and Justice, on rethinking political theory from the South; and Other Universals, which involves setting up a consortium of scholars and graduate students in Africa, the Middle East, and the Caribbean to think about intellectual traditions, notions of difference, and emancipatory discourses. With Chandra Sriram, he is co-editor of the volume *Truth versus Justice? Dilemmas of Transitional Justice in Africa* (James Currey, UK), winner of a CHOICE award for Outstanding Publication. He has held visiting fellowships at Columbia University; The Graduate Center of the City University of New York; Makerere University, Uganda; and Jawaharlal Nehru University, India. Pillay holds a PhD in Anthropology from Columbia University. A previous editor of the journal *Social Dynamics*, he is a founding co-editor of the *MISR Review*, a journal based at the Makerere Institute for Social Research in Kampala, Uganda.

## Joachim J. Savelsberg

Professor, Sociology, and Affiliate Faculty, Law; Arsham and Charlotte Ohanessian Chair, University of Minnesota

### Representations of African Mass Violence:

#### Global, Northern, Field, and Country-Level Forces in the Case of Darfur

Based on interview data and content analysis of 3,387 media reports from eight countries, this contribution examines representations of mass violence in Darfur (2003–2011). Analyses show that global forces color narratives, but accounts vary substantially across the fields of criminal law and human rights, humanitarian aid, and diplomacy. Media reports initially neglected Darfur, but they peaked following political initiatives, especially Kofi Annan's UN speech on the 10th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide. Judicial interventions enhanced reporting, and the crime frame soon began to dominate media reports. The humanitarian field initially was a crucial source for journalists. Yet, use of the humanitarian emergency frame declined quickly as continued suffering was no longer news and the Government of Sudan barred humanitarian aid organizations from Darfur. The diplomatic field produced dramatic moments, which colored reporting, but its favored armed-conflict frame has also declined over time. In line with globalization arguments, patterns of reporting follow similar paths in all countries, but they do so at different levels, both in terms of intensity of reporting and use of the crime frame and genocide label. Country-specific civil society movements, policy practices, and cultural sensitivities affect the number of reports and affinities with competing frames.

**Dr. Joachim J. Savelsberg** ([savel001@umn.edu](mailto:savel001@umn.edu)) is professor of sociology and, by courtesy, law and holder of the Arsham and Charlotte Ohanessian Chair at the University of Minnesota. After completing his education in his native Germany and after fellowships at Johns Hopkins and Harvard Universities, he joined Minnesota in 1989. He has since been a visiting professor or fellow at the Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München, Karl Franzens Universität Graz, Humboldt Universität



Berlin, the Rockefeller Bellagio Center, and the Käte Hamburger Institute for Advanced Study “Law as Culture” in Bonn. Recent work addresses human rights issues, especially the effect of legal intervention on collective representations and memories of mass atrocities. Related publications are *Representing Mass Violence: Conflicting Responses to Human Rights Violations in Darfur* (University of California Press, 2015; open access: <http://www.luminosoa.org/site/books/detail/3/representing-mass-violence/>); “Representing Human Rights Violations in Darfur: Global Justice, National Distinctions” (with Hollie Nyseth Brehm), *American Journal of Sociology* 121/2015/2:564-603; *American Memories: Atrocities and the Law* (with Ryan D. King; Russell Sage Foundation, 2011) and *Crime and Human Rights: Criminology of Genocide and Atrocities* (Sage, 2010). For more information, see <http://www.joachimsavelsberg.com/> and <https://cla.umn.edu/about/directory/profile/savel001>.

## J. Siguru Wahutu

Visiting Fellow, Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University  
PhD Candidate, Sociology, University of Minnesota

### “We Have Failed as a Continent”: Covering an African Atrocity for an African Audience

Talking about African media fields in the 1990s, Styan (1999) stated that for most Africans, their knowledge about other African countries was constructed by a relatively small number of Western media organizations. Almost 16 years after this lament, a journalist in Kenya was bemused by the number of articles about Africans in general, and Darfur especially, that his media organization had lifted from Western media organizations. Speaking of African media generally, this journalist stated, “We have failed as a continent” (journalist interview, Kenya 2012). This paper analyzes the extent to which this “failure” is as pervasive as suggested by Styan (1999) and the Kenyan journalist. It finds that not only are African voices marginalized in the knowledge construction process about the atrocities in Darfur, but also, and more specifically, African journalists are themselves engaged in the marginalization of African voices.

**J. Siguru Wahutu** ([jwahutu@cyber.harvard.edu](mailto:jwahutu@cyber.harvard.edu) and [siguru@umn.edu](mailto:siguru@umn.edu)) is a Visiting Fellow at the Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University and a PhD candidate in Sociology at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities. Commencing July 2019, Wahutu will be an assistant professor in New York University’s Department of Media, Culture, and Communication. His research interests are in the fields of media studies (with an emphasis on media fields in Africa), sociology of knowledge, genocide, mass violence, ethnicity, and collective memory. His current book project investigates how media fields in Africa construct knowledge about instances of massive human rights violations, such as the atrocities in Darfur. Wahutu’s research has appeared in *African Affairs*, *Sociological Focus*, *Media, Culture and Society*, and *Global Media and Communication*. He has also written about global media patterns on the coverage of genocide in Africa (with Dr. Joachim Savelsberg) and on ethnicity and land politics in Kenya (with Dr. Tade Okediji).

## Michael Woldemariam

Assistant Professor, International Relations, Pardee School of Global Studies, Boston University

### Discourses of Internationalization: External Intervention and Its Framing in African Civil Wars

Most scholars of political violence recognize that “civil wars” are shaped by a complex cocktail of domestic and international factors. This is particularly true in post-colonial Africa, where colonial legacies, Cold War rivalry, and hostility between African states interacted with fragile domestic political arrangements to produce a series of intense and resilient armed conflicts. Today’s conflicts in the DRC, the Sudans, Somalia, and the broader Sahel are powerful demonstrations that African civil wars retain important transnational dimensions. To date, most research on the international dimensions of civil war have focused on how external factors trigger, sustain, and sometimes end civil wars. This paper, by contrast, focuses on how discourses of “internationalization”—that is, the rhetorical framing of the external drivers of a civil war—are forged, employed, and contested by African armed actors for the purposes of establishing legitimacy and waging war. It also points to the way these discourses can be unwittingly (or wittingly) appropriated by international commentators in ways that might limit understanding of conflict dynamics in particular African countries. The author draws on research from the Horn of Africa region and the Sahel to illustrate these points.

**Dr. Michael Woldemariam** ([mwoldema@bu.edu](mailto:mwoldema@bu.edu)) is an assistant professor of international relations at Boston University's Pardee School of Global Studies. He also serves on BU's graduate faculty of political science and as a faculty affiliate at the African Studies Center. He previously worked as a research specialist with Princeton University's Innovations for Successful Societies program and held fellowships at the Woodrow Wilson International Center in Washington, DC, and Penn State University's Africana Research Center. Woldemariam's teaching and research interests are in African security studies, with a particular focus on armed conflict in the Horn of Africa. His most recent scholarly articles have been published or are forthcoming in the journals *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, and the *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, in addition to several edited volumes. Woldemariam's first book, *Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa: Rebellion and Its Discontents*, was published earlier this year by Cambridge University Press.

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**Director:** Shaden M. Tageldin, Associate Professor, Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature

**Associate Director:** Klaas van der Sanden, Institute for Global Studies

**Outreach Coordinator:** Deborah Jane, Institute for Global Studies

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Hakim Abderrezak, Associate Professor, French and Italian, College of Liberal Arts

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Danielle Dadras, Coordinator of Curriculum and Advising, Institute for Global Studies, College of Liberal Arts

Deborah Jane, Outreach Coordinator, Institute for Global Studies, College of Liberal Arts

Allen Isaacman, Regents Professor, History, College of Liberal Arts

Patricia Lorcin, Professor, History, and Samuel Russell Chair in the Humanities, College of Liberal Arts

Joachim J. Savelsberg, Professor, Sociology, and Arsham and Charlotte Ohanessian Chair, College of Liberal Arts; Affiliated Faculty, Law School

Dianna Shandy, Associate Dean, Institute for Global Citizenship, and Professor of Anthropology, Macalester College

Josef Woldense, Assistant Professor, African American and African Studies / Political Science, College of Liberal Arts



School chalk board in post-genocide Kigali, Rwanda.

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