PROGRAMME

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
10-12 April 2018

Between Slavery and Post-slavery Citizenship, Dependence, and Abolitionism in African and Indian Ocean Societies

Organised by
The University of Mauritius;
The University of Birmingham
and SLAFNET

with the collaboration of
The Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture
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Problem statement

In October 2014, the international conference *Slavery in Africa: Past, Legacies and Present* (SLAFCO) was held at the Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA) in Nairobi. This three-day conference brought together over sixty scholars from all over the world and representatives of African anti-slavery NGOs and civil society organizations. Building on this first experience of exchange between researchers and activists, ‘Between Slavery and Post-Slavery’ will focus on (1) the recent legacies of past slavery; (2) contemporary forms of exploitation akin to slavery; and (3) the political mobilisation of African grassroots activists and politicians in various countries in Africa and in Atlantic Ocean and Indian Ocean islands. The conference will focus on three main axes of inquiry:

(1) **Legacies of past slavery:** This axis will explore the political and social marginalization of persons of slave descent in different African societies today. In some contexts, groups of slave descendants are classified, collectively, through labels that indicate slave origins in particular African languages. These labels have derogatory connotations and are often accompanied by ideas about the sociocultural and biogenetic inferiority of those classified as slave descendants. These groups suffer from specific vulnerabilities ranging from political exclusion and ‘second-class citizenship’, to economic exploitation and restricted opportunities for social mobility, to increased exposure to violence and exactions. Contributions focused on slave descent will study identity-based discrimination: what forms it takes and what responses it elicits in terms of resistance and grassroots activism.

(2) **Slavery today:** A second strand of phenomena that will be examined here is the resilience of actual slavery as an institution that enables control tantamount to possession over those enslaved. In spite of worldwide legal abolition, slavery has not ended. In the African continent illegal enslavement takes different forms. It can be a consequence of discrimination based on slave descent in areas where erstwhile slave-owners retained power and slave descendants remained vulnerable to extreme forms of exploitation. But slavery does not affect only persons of slave descent. Like elsewhere in the world, in Africa too, there is a persistent demand for cheap and easily controllable labour and exploitable persons. Human trafficking, especially in women and children, is well documented in different African regions and between Africa and other countries. Furthermore, recent African wars resulted in abductions and violence directed against civilians, primarily women, leading to the prosecution of perpetrators for crimes of sexual slavery. Some political movements, such as Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria, openly advocate the legitimacy of slavery as an institution. Contributions focused on slavery will consider its manifestations, discourses about slavery’s (il)legitimacy, and the resistance of those enslaved or at risk of enslavement.
(3) African anti-slavery movements and grassroots activism: A third axis for reflection and discussion will focus on African anti-slavery NGOs and forms of political mobilization against slavery and the discrimination targeted at slave descendants. Some researchers described African anti-slavery NGOs as phenomena of extraversion, aimed at accessing international funding through links with Western anti-slavery organisations. But African abolitionist movements are diverse. Some engage more with national politics than with international donors, as in the case of the Zoam Marxist movement founded by Malagasy slave descendants in the 1970s. Undoubtedly some of the main African anti-slavery NGOs benefit from the support of international anti-slavery organisations. But this does not make their struggles any less real. Their membership and opposition are national and local. Hence the question is not only whether the agenda of African anti-slavery NGOs chimes with the goals of global anti-slavery organisations: it clearly does. More specifically, we invite contributions that explore the meanings and functions of abolitionism in Africa today; the challenges identified by the leaders and grassroots members of these organisations, their driving ideas and political strategies.

Questions

1. Slave descent, post-slavery, and classificatory slavery:
   a. Following legal abolition, what were the opportunities available to different groups of enslaved persons in different African regions and contexts?
   b. What strategies did different categories of slave descendants unfold, and why?
   c. How, if at all, did relations between former slaves and slave-owners change?
   d. Why are certain groups classified as coming ‘from slavery’, with what consequences, and giving rise to what forms of resistance and/or identity politics?
   e. How was slavery, as an institution, transformed following legal abolition? What forms of labour replaced slave labour? How were the roles of slaves in sexual, reproductive, and domestic domains reconfigured?

2. Slavery today:
   a. What types of slavery, if any, exist in contemporary African societies? What groups are involved? How do war and conflict influence practices of enslavement?
   b. What forms of resistance, and by who, does contemporary slavery gives rise to?
   c. How does the international definition of slavery, based on the 1926 Slavery Convention of the League of Nations, relate to contemporary African phenomena and national legislations?
   d. How is slavery defined and characterised in contexts marked by legal pluralism?
   e. Who, if anyone, defends the legitimacy of slavery today, through which arguments, and with what practical consequences?

3. African anti-slavery movements, neo-abolitionism, and grassroots activism:
   a. What forms does abolitionism take in Africa today, what practices does it give rise to, and what are the ideological roots of different African abolitionist discourses?
   b. What are the main forms of anti-slavery advocacy in Africa today (e.g. national and international NGOs, political parties, grassroots movements, religious associations, etc.)?
   c. Who becomes a member of African anti-slavery movements and why?
   d. What challenges does African anti-slavery activism face and why?
   e. How, if at all, do African abolitionist movements differ from those of African diasporas in Europe and the Americas?
PROGRAMME

DAY 1: Tuesday 10 April - VENUE: ELT 2, Engineering Tower, University of Mauritius
Master of Ceremonies: Stephan Karghoo

9.00 – 10.00 Launching Ceremony

Welcome Speech
Vijaya Teelock, Coordinator Centre for Research on Slavery and Indenture, UoM
Marie Pierre Ballarin, Principal Investigator SLAFNET Project
Professor Dhanjay Jhurry C.S.K. Vice-Chancellor, University of Mauritius

Guest speakers
Jean Francois Chaumiere, Senior Cultural Adviser to Prime Minister and Chairperson Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture
Hon. Maneesh Gobin, Attorney General, Minister of Justice, Human Rights and Institutional Reforms
Hon. Prithvirajsing Roopun, Minister of Arts and Culture

Chagos Remembered – A dance item proposed by the National Heritage Fund
Performed by the Groupe Sega Tambour Chagos

The Moulin à Poudre Cultural Landscape - History and archaeology – Book launch
Introduced by Jean-Marie Chelin and Jayshree Mungur-Medhi

10.00 Viewing of Art Exhibition: Towards a New Iconography of Slavery in Foyer of Engineering Tower

Refreshments

10.30 – 11.00 Benedetta Rossi, University of Birmingham, Conference opening reflection
'50 Years of African Slavery Studies: Concepts, Methods, Politics' 1968-2018

(Presenters have 20 minutes each, followed by discussion)

11.00 - 13.00 PANEL 1: CITIZENSHIP, SLAVE DESCENT, AND THE QUEST FOR EFFECTIVE EMANCIPATION

Chair: Olivette Otele
1. Abena Ampofoa Asare, Disappeared Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs): The (Im)Possibility of Historical Justice in Contemporary Africa
3. Eric Hahonou, Pourquoi pas nous? Emancipation politique et citoyenneté des femmes gando au Bénin

12.30 – 14.00 Lunch
Chair: Olivette Otele
14.00-14.45 Keynote address by Sylvio Michel, politician and activist, Mauritius.
Sylvio Michel has a long experience as activist and politician in Mauritius. With his late brother Elie Michel, he led the struggle for reparations to the descendants of slaves in Mauritius, first, in the NGO *Organisations Fraternelles* from 1968 to 1989 and, then, in a green political party from 1989 to-date. As leader of the *Verts Fraternels* party, he sits on the Executive committee of the African Greens Federation (AGF) and serves as chair of the Southern Region of the same federation.

14.45-16.15 PANEL 2: THE ENDURING STIGMA OF SLAVE ORIGINS

Chair: Olivette Otele

1. **Patrick O. Abungu**, The consequences of slavery heritage on memory, identity and human rights in Kenya
2. **Klara Boyer-Rossol**, After slavery, the emancipation strategies of the Makoa, their stigmatization and the persistence of servile practices in western Madagascar.
3. **Valerio Colosio**, We are not “sons of the people”. Post slavery, origins and citizenship rights in contemporary Chad.

16.15 – 16.45 Tea break

**Presenters: Patrick Abungu and Abubacar Fofana**

16.45 - 18.45 Screening of 2 films from Kenya and Mozambique

**Patrick Abungu** and **Okoko Ashikoye**: *Silent Memories: the Unbroken Chains*  
(A Chestial Touch Production, Mombasa, 2014), 16:39 min.

**Benigna Zimba**: *The Slave Route: Mozambique to Mauritius*  
(Produced by Khanysa Co.) 22 mns.
DAY 2: Wednesday 11 April – VENUE: Octave Wiehe Auditorium

MORNING: 4 KEYNOTE ADDRESSES & DEBATE ON AFRICAN ABOLITIONISM

9.00-12.00 PANEL 3: AFRICAN ABOLITIONISM AND ANTI-SLAVERY

Chair: Benedetta Rossi

1. Biram Dah Abeid, Mauritanian politician, anti-slavery advocate, founder of IRA-Mauritania

Mauritanian abolitionism: ideas and strategies of struggle

Biram Dah Abeid is a leading anti-slavery activist and human rights advocate in Mauritania. He is renowned nationally and internationally for his charismatic leadership. In 2008 he founded the Initiative of the Resurgence of the Abolitionist Movement (IRA), an organization committed to eradicating slavery in Mauritania. Because of his successful campaigns of public awareness to end slavery, he has been repeatedly arrested and detained. He has received numerous prizes including the 2013 UN Human Rights Award. In the Mauritanian presidential election of 2014, he ran on human rights agenda as an opposition candidate, but lost to the incumbent Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz.

2. Ali Bouzou, Nigerien activist, anti-slavery advocate, Secretary General of the NGO Timidria

Nigerian abolitionism: ideas and strategies of struggle

Ali Bouzou is a Tuareg activist and politician in Niger. He has a long political career in which he fought for the rights of black Tuareg communities. From 2015 to date he is Secretary General of BEN Timidria.

3. Ibrahim Ag Idbaltanat pour Temedt, Malian activists, anti-slavery advocate, founder of the NGOs GARI and Temedt

Malian abolitionism: ideas and strategies of struggle

Ibrahim Ag Idbaltanat is an activist in Mali, and founder of the NGO GARI (1987) and Temedt (2006). With these NGOs Ibrahim has advocated for peace and human rights, especially for those of slave ancestry. In recognition of his work, he was awarded the International Slavery Award (2012) and the UNESCO-Madanjeet Singh Prize for the Promotion of Tolerance and Non-Violence (2014).

4. Moses Binoga, Uganda’s National Coordinator Prevention of Trafficking in Persons and Police Commissioner

Uganda’s fight against slavery and trafficking in persons

Moses Binoga is a Commissioner of Police in the Uganda Police force, with over 30 years of experience in the Police Force, and since 2013 National Coordinator Prevention of Trafficking in Persons in Uganda. In 2015 he was named Hero Acting to End Modern Slavery in recognition of his efforts to combat this crime.

12.00-13.00 Lunch
13.00-14.30 PANEL 4: THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN

Chair: Preben Kaarlsholm

1. Ramola Ramtohul, The gender dimensions of slavery in the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius
2. Hannah Baumeister, Forced Marriage in Times of Armed Conflict: A Form of Sexual Slavery?
3. Irene Kamaratou, African women in Greece – a case study

14.30 – 16.00 PANEL 5: BONDED MIGRANT LABOUR, PAST AND PRESENT

Chair: Klara Boyer Rossol

1. Preben Kaarsholm, The changing faces of servitude: From slavery and indenture to postmodern labour in the Western Indian Ocean
2. Deepa Gokulsing, Verena Tandrayen-Ragoobur, Priyanka Gopall and Yashna Damry, Nineteenth Century Indentured Laborers and Today’s Foreign Labor in Mauritius: Any Similarity?
3. Emma Christopher, When Legacies of ‘Old’ Slavery and Methods of Resisting ‘New’ Slavery Overlap: The Banta of Sierra Leone

16.00 -16.30 Tea break

DAY 3: Thursday 12 April - VENUE: Octave Wiehe Auditorium

9.00 - 10.30 Panel 6: HISTORICAL SLAVERY: THE PAST OF THE PRESENT

Chair: Myriam Cottias

1. Eugénia Rodrigues, The instability of freedom: freeing slaves and their posterity in Mozambique before abolition

10.30 – 11.00 Tea break
11.00-12.15 Panel 7: LANGUAGE AND POWER: SLAVERY IN HISTORICAL AND LEGAL DISCOURSE

Chair: Marie Pierre Ballarin

1. Felicitas Becker, Slavery in Tanzanian narratives of statehood
2. Lotte Peckmans, Mobilising ‘slave testimonies’ on internal African slavery: layered authorities of the written for African anti-slavery cases

12.15 – 13.30 Lunch

13.30-14.30 Panel 8: OPEN DISCUSSION BETWEEN RESEARCHERS, CIVIL SOCIETY, AND ACTIVISTS: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Chair: Jimmy Harmon

Q&A on the ideas discussed during the previous two days, reflections on ‘lessons learned’ from policy advocacy and historical research, suggestions for future work and collaboration.

14.30-15.00 Closing session

Conference participants will proceed to Le Morne Cultural Landscape, A World Heritage Site.

16.00 – 21.00 Visit to Le Morne and dinner in the village of Le Morne.
Abena Ampofoa Asare, *Disappeared Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRCs): The (Im)Possibility of Historical Justice in Contemporary Africa*

Abena Ampofoa Asare, Stony Brook University – State University of New York, USA

The famous 1983 Argentina TRC illuminated the phenomenon of disappeared persons (*los desaparecidos*), individuals who ‘were disappeared’ by state violence during the Dirty War. This paper introduces the concept of disappeared TRCs: historical justice commissions whose inquiry into past violence is initially embraced by a state government, but whose findings, recommendations for redress, and archive are subsequently ignored. Even as truth commissions are being embraced by a growing number of African states, these initiatives are also being swiftly vanished, by methods both official and unofficial. First, this paper defines and exposes the phenomenon of TRC disappearance using a rubric that evaluates the uneven consequences of Africa’s national truth commissions (implementation of reparations requests, accessibility of the report and records, rhetorical engagement by politicians, media reportage) after the commission’s tenure. Rooted in research about the brief afterlife of Ghana’s National Reconciliation Commission, this paper then illuminates the reasons and political rationalities by which historical justice initiatives are being ‘disappeared,’ despite the ascendancy of international human rights as a global rhetoric of power. Finally, this paper considers whether this concept of disappeared TRC is useful when analyzing the trajectory of the groundbreaking Mauritius Truth and Justice Commission. In so doing, this paper models the political and analytical utility of exploring Africa’s historical justice efforts through a transnational framework.

Jimmy Harmon, *The FCM Manifesto (2009): A road map to the Afro-Kreols of Mauritius*

Jimmy Harmon, CRSI, University of Mauritius

This paper examines the grassroot political mobilisation of the Creoles in contemporary Mauritius. The Creoles are a mixed group comprising people of European, Asian, African and Malagasy descent. The First Schedule (section 31(2)) of the Constitution (1965) of the Republic of Mauritius refers to four ethnic groups:

For the purposes of this Schedule, the population of Mauritius shall be regarded as including a Hindu community, a Muslim community, and a Sino-Mauritian community; and every person who does not appear, from his way of life, to belong to one or other of those 3 communities shall be regarded as belonging to the General Population, which shall be regarded as the fourth community.

This Constitutional classification of the different communities is rooted in the political quagmire of the pre-independence period marked by ethnic politics. The fourth community, ‘General Population’, includes Whites, Coloured and people of Malagasy and African descents. However, no mention is made of the Creole community, which
comprises mainly slave descendants and represents 30 per cent of the Mauritian population. The Truth & Justice Commission Report (2011) highlights the discrimination and exclusion of the Creoles as a legacy of past slavery and political marginalisation after independence in 1968. In 2007, Father Jocelyn Grégoire, an Afro-Kreol Mauritian catholic priest, lecturer at the University of Duquesne from the United States, and a group of Creole leaders set up an organisation named Fédération des Créoles Mauriciens (FCM). This social movement campaigned mainly for a change in Constitutional appellation. It claimed that the term ‘General Population’ is derogatory and should be replaced by ‘Creoles’. After two years of grassroot mobilisation, delegates of FCM gathered for a National Congress on 22-23 August 2009 to reflect on its mission, objectives and structure. On that day, I acted as resource person to the organisation in its reflection exercise and after its outcome, I coordinated the write up of a Manifesto which was made public on 28th October 2009 on the occasion of the International Creole Day. The Manifesto is entitled ‘Lidanite Kreol Dan Linite’ (Kreol Identity in Unity). My study will analyse the content of the Manifesto which is divided into four main sections. The first section gives the Message of the President and a description of the ‘citizen voice’ (parol sitwayen) of the Creoles within the Republic of Mauritius. The second section spells out the mission, principles and advocacy of the organisation and the Declaration of 28th October 2008. The third section describes the structure, responsibility and role of its members. The fourth section elaborates a program for Creole consciousness. From my standpoint, this Manifesto is a roadmap to the Creoles. But as any map is not the territory but just an indication of the route, it requires, therefore, conviction and political acumen for the Creole activist to find his/her way in an asymmetrical power relationship.

Eric Hahonou, Pourquoi pas nous? Emancipation politique et citoyenneté des femmes gando au Bénin
Eric Hahonou, Roskilde University, Denmark

Cet article explore la question de l’émancipation politique des femmes gando au Nord du Bénin. En m’appuyant sur la définition de Kabeer [2001, p. 19], je proposerai ici de désigner par cette notion « le processus par lequel des individus ou des groupes acquièrent une représentation politique et partant, la capacité de participer à la décision publique, capacité qui leur était auparavant déniée. » Cette acceptation se référant à une situation passée, je commencerai par décrire les incidences du statut social de certains groupes vis-à-vis des espaces publics dans les traditions politiques ou cultures politiques africaines en général. Quels sont les groupes politiquement marginalisés ? Quelles idéologies fondent les inégalités observables ? Comment cette marginalisation se manifeste-t-elle ? Je m’attacherai par la suite à décrire les changements observés et à en analyser les déterminants. La première partie de cet article examine la place des esclaves (les Gando) dans la culture politique du Borgou et celle des jeunes femmes gando dans les espaces politiques. Dans une seconde partie est retracée l’évolution générale de la participation politique féminine au Bénin à partir de données statistiques et décrite la façon dont des jeunes femmes gando ont émergé politiquement à la faveur des élections municipales et locales de 2008. La dernière partie, met en lumière les conditions particulières de cette émergence en insistant sur l’opportunitisme de ces jeunes politiciennes qui ont su profiter de leurs identités multiples et du cadre favorable créé par les projets de développement pour assurer leur promotion dans les instances décisionnelles locales. La conclusion
Born in 1941 of a mother of African descent and a father of Indian descent, Sylvio Michel grew up in a poor family of eight. For his secondary level, he attended the newly set up Eden College of S. Balgobin up to Form V and at in Form VI, following his desire for priesthood, he was admitted to the elite Saint-Esprit College. In 1961, he was sent to the prestigious Séminaire Français in Rome, Italy, for his training and to do philosophy and theology at the Pontifical Gregorian University. During his studies, he encountered the history of slavery in libraries. In 1966, he gave up his studies for priesthood and his homecoming coincided with the fierce electoral campaign that led Mauritius to bloody violence erupted on the eve of the proclamation of independence. He began to work among the descendant of enslaved Africans with the setting up, in 1968, of the Organisations Fraternelles, a non-violent federation of NGOs aiming at helping families injured by the ethnic violence. As an activist and a political leader, he has fought for reparations to the Chagossians expatriated from their homeland by the British Government in 1982; the official use of Creole language at the MBC (1999); at schools and colleges (2011); the proclamation of 1st February public holiday (2001); the protection of the Le Morne mountain, now a World Heritage site (2009) and the setting up of a Truth and Justice Commission. He has been awarded the title of Grant Officer of the Sky and Key by the Mauritian Government which he returned following a police attempt to arrest him on a hunger strike issue at Le Morne. On the context of the 50th anniversary of independence, on 4th of March 2018, Le Défi Media Group granted him an award in the category ‘Combat pour les Grandes Causes’. Michel is the author of Esclaves et résistants (1998a) and L’Organisation Fraternelle. Noir sur Blanc (1998b); Premiers pas d’une diaspora africaine vers les réparations (2017).
PANEL 2: THE ENDURING STIGMA OF SLAVE ORIGINS
Chair: Olivette Otele (University of Bath Spa)

**The consequences of slavery heritage on memory, identity and human rights in Kenya**
Patrick O. Abungu, the National Museums of Kenya, Fort Jesus Museum & World Heritage Site, Kenya

In present Kenya, even after the official abolition of slave trade in 1907, the colonial administration and subsequent post-colonial governments failed to recognize freed slaves as part of the Kenyan citizens. The earlier colonial administration’s declaration of Kenya as a state of forty-two (42) sub-communities deliberately excluded the people of slave descent, and after independence, successive post-colonial administrations in the country have not made much effort to correct this act of social exclusion of this group of the citizenry. The prevailing state of affairs has worked well for the enslavers whose wish to ensure the forgetting of this past dark history is enhanced by this arbitrary classification of who a Kenyan is, or not is in place. On the other hand, an oblivious support of the status quo by the descendants of the former slaves through silence to avoid the inherent shame associated with slave history has not helped the situation either. While some sites associated with memories of slave trade and slavery such as Rabai, Frere Town and Shimoni are gazettement as national monuments by the government, the process is superficial due to lack of implementation of relevant laws to safeguard and properly manage the same. The sites suffer from neglect, and perpetual encroachment by individuals go unchecked. This presentation argues that the act of exclusion by the Kenyan government and silence by both the descendants of the victims and the perpetrators has led to the dispossession of the people with slave ancestry of their national identity, hence, people of slave descent in Kenya have lost, or have very limited opportunities to basic human rights such as access to education, employment and land ownership.

After slavery, the emancipation strategies of the Makoa, their stigmatization and the persistence of servile practices in western Madagascar.
Klara Boyer-Rossol, research associate at the University Mohamed VI, Rabat, Morocco

During the 2000s, some inhabitants of the West coast of Madagascar continued to transmit the memories of their ancestors born in Mozambique and who have been deported into the Big Island, where they became « Makoa » or « Masombika ». During the nineteenth century, several hundred thousands East African captives were imported into Madagascar and have been locally enslaved. The expansion of slavery in nineteenth century Madagascar not only concerned the Highlands but also the Sakalava societies in the West, where the Makoa were numerous. The Makoa formed a very heterogeneous group, experiencing various forms of exploitation and various modes of emancipation. In West Madagascar, their liberation, decreed by the government of Antananarivo (1877) or legally proclaimed by the colonial power (1896), came from outside the sakalava society. From an ideological point of view, the Makoa remained slaves or people without kinship. In the West, the emancipation of slaves was not a legal act but rather a slow process of integration into the Sakalava kinship. The ex Makoa slaves conducted different strategies to constitute themselves as kinship groups. They relied on the kinship Sakalava model
while preserving makoa cultural specificities (in particular the use of a Bantu language). The Makoa had to negotiate with the Sakalava, in particular with the ancient kings and queens, to access to a full recognition of their new social status, that implied the access to land, the founding of familial tombs, and the owning of herds of zebu. During the French colonial period, the emancipated Makoa took advantage of the former agricultural slave labor to accumulate resources, they converted into zebu value, and carried out matrimonial alliances strategies. Through the matrimonial alliances, the descendants of Makoa slaves may have known in the West Sakalava societies a greater social mobility than in Imerina Highlands, where endogamy prevailed in the various statutory groups. However, this process of integration implied that the foreign and servile origins of the new kinship members were forgotten or denied, causing the rupture of the link between the descendants of slaves, and their ancestors. The stigmatization of the Makoa led the majority of them to change their name, rejecting a Makoa stigmatized identity. The name of Makoa is currently used in Madagascar to describe a person alleged to be a very dark color, or as a synonym of slave. During the post-abolition time, relationships of subjection have been maintained between descendants of East-African slaves and their powerful former masters (as Arab-Swahili slave traders or Sakalava kings and queens), for whom they continued to perform domestic or ritual tasks. In recent years, descendants of Makoa slaves refused to perform these tasks anymore. However, servile practices are persisting in some places in West Madagascar, where descendants of Makoa slaves are still buried at the feet of the masters.

We are not “sons of the people”. Post slavery, origins and citizenship rights in contemporary Chad.
Valerio Colosio, University of Sussex – Università di Milano-Bicocca, UK and Italy

This paper explores the legacies of slavery in a context (the Guéra region, in central Chad) where slave labour was not massively exploited, but all local groups were considered as potential slaves and, therefore, under the threat of violent enslavement. Guéra was a sort of “reservoir” of slaves for the neighbouring Wadai sultanate, whose warriors used to regularly attack the region and capture captives among the scattered groups of local farmers. Here, after the colonial abolition of slavery, the opportunities for previously enslaved people and the social dynamics related to it were different than in areas inhabited by former slave-holders. The abolition of slave trade and the block of slave raids meant that local people were not under the threat of raids. Moreover, as there was not a clear slave-holder group inhabiting Guéra, for former slaves was easier to integrate in the local social context. As French colonial government pushed Guéra people to increase farming activities (previously neglected because of the slave-raids), most of the slave descendants found convenient to unite under a canton chief recognized by the colonial government and settle as farmers. This led to the creation of an ethnonym, Yalnas, meaning “the sons of the people” in local Arabic and regrouping various people with an unclear past under the authority of the “Yalnas canton chief”. Thanks to this recognition, Yalnas secured farming land and an official voice in the colonial administrative system. Former captives and slaves could join the canton and settle without threats or limitation of their rights. However, the label Yalnas has a negative connotation, as it implicitly assumes that the people described by it are united only by the lack of a known past. In the last thirty years,
the reduction of available land and the demographic growth are increasing the competition for resources all over Sahel. Guéra farmers, mainly the descendants of decentralized groups raided by Wadai sultanate’s warriors, remains among the more vulnerable actors in this growing competition. In this context, the label of Yalnas matters and the right of Yalnas – especially their access to land - have been questioned. Nowadays, all the groups called as Yalnas refuse this label and try to create alternative narratives that demonstrate their “real” origins. This paper describes the trajectory of a Yalnas canton in the Guéra region, from its recognition by the colonial government under the label “Yalnas” until the recent attacks on their rights and the consequent claim of a different name, in the 2000s. It shows how, in a former slave reservoir, the abolition had a strong impact, as it radically changed the social landscape and offered different venues for integration to previously enslaved people. However, the legacies of the past have never been fully erased and can easily be brought back in the local political arena.

**PANEL 3: KEYNOTE ADDRESSES & DEBATE ON AFRICAN ABOLITIONISM AND ANTI-SLAVERY**

Chair: Benedetta Rossi (University of Birmingham, UK)

**Biram Dah Abeid**

Biram Dah Abeid was born in 1965 to a freed small business owner father and enslaved mother in the region of Trarza. From an early age, he started to fight discrimination and slavery, for instance through the ‘National African Movement’ and ‘SOS Slaves’. He has obtained a master’s degree in History, trained as a Lawyer in Senegal and Mauritania and conducted research about slavery. In 2008, he founded the ‘Initiative for the Resurgence of the Abolitionist Movement’, an organization committed to eradicating slavery in Mauritania by raising public awareness about the abject character of slavery and educating slaves about their rights. Furthermore he challenges to government to enforce the national laws and international conventions against slavery. In 2013, Biram received the Front Line Award for Human Rights Defenders at Risk, the 2013 UN Human Rights Award. Moreover he was on the list of the 100 most influential people in world of Time Magazine in 2017. In 2014 ran on human rights agenda as an opposition candidate in the Mauritanian presidential election, but lost to the incumbent Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz.

**Ali Bouzou**

Ali Bouzou was born in 1969 in Tahoua from a Tuareg mother and father, from the Alabak and Tchintabaraden departments respectively. In these areas slavery is rampant. After his primary and secondary education, Bouzou went to Libya and Algeria to search for ways and means to increase democracy and fight slavery practices. When he returned to Niger in 1993, he was asked to join the office of the Timidria section in Tahoua. After a long analysis of the situation, he proposed to the members of the National Executive Board of Timidria to establish a Timidria Youth Club, of which he was elected president. In March 1995, a month before the signing of the peace agreement with the Tuareg rebellion in Niger on 24 April 1995, he was appointed Rapporteur of a committee assigned to meet the authorities of the 3rd Republic of Niger, including the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Speakers of the National Assembly, the Minister of the Interior, the Traditional Chieftaincy Association and other political leaders, to assert the rights of the black Tuareg communities of Azawagh. In 2006, he was elected Secretary
General of the Niamey branch office. From 2010 to 2015 he was Deputy Secretary General of the National Executive Board of Timidria, and from 2015 to date he functions as Secretary General of BEN Timidria.

**Ibrahim Ag Idbaltanat**

Ibrahim Ag Idbaltanat was born in a pastoral community of the Ichidenharane noirs de Ménaka, Mali. He studied biology at l’Ecole Normale Supérieure de Bamako, but stopped to help his family. After working on international NGO projects in the area and visiting Burkina Faso, he created the NGO GARI in 1987, which set out to offer small communities in the region access to education to provide alternative views on servants and servile labour. To achieve this, one of the first actions was to build a school in Intedeyné. Furthermore, the NGO GARI aimed to give a voice to the voiceless, especially the descendants of slaves and other strata for which access to international aid was difficult due to local political hierarchies. In 2006 Ibrahim created Temedt, an organization that focuses on the consolidation of peace, the promotion of development, the protection of human rights, a peaceful change of society and the cultural development of communities, thus giving a voice to the Touareg communities in northern Mali. Since its creation, Temedt has contributed to 150 slave releases. Ibrahim has also been involved in the empowerment of women through giving them access to micro credit and decision-making processes in the region of Menaka. In 2008 Ibrahim was elected Innovative Social Ashoka. He was the recipient of the Antislavery International Award in 2012, to honour and recognize his fight for the eradication of hereditary slavery in Mali. In 2014 Ibrahim was awarded the UNESCO-Madanjeet Singh Prize for the Promotion of Tolerance and Non-Violence in recognition of his fight for the return of peace and the defence of human rights, especially for those of slave ancestry.

**Moses Binoga**

Moses Binoga holds a degree in Social Sciences from Makerere University in Uganda, with a major in Sociology and Literature. After graduating, he took up a career as a Police Officer and has been serving in the Uganda Police Force ever since. He has risen through the ranks up to his current rank of Commissioner of the Police. He has received several trainings in Police work, including the field of Command, Investigations, Crime Intelligence, Counter terrorism, Counter human trafficking and Child protection. Since 2013 Moses has been working as National Coordinator for the Prevention of Trafficking in Persons in Uganda. He has participated in several national and international conferences and workshops related to counter terrorism, trafficking persons, migrant smuggling and child protection. In 2015 he was named Hero Acting to End Modern Slavery in recognition of his efforts to combat this crime.

**PANEL 4: THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN**

**Chair: Preben Kaarlsholm (University of Roskilde, Denmark)**

**The gender dimensions of slavery in the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius**

Ramola Ramtohul, University of Mauritius

This paper analyses the gender dynamics in the evolution of the forms of slavery in the Indian Ocean Island of Mauritius. Mauritius has long been known as a ‘sugar island’ which has thrived on the exploitation of slave labour. Different forms of slavery have
existed on the island, from the historical forms, namely chattel slavery and the indentured worker system which was another form of slavery, to the more contemporary forms of slavery ranging from child prostitution to the exploitation of migrant labour in present times. In this paper, I argue that the different forms of slavery, from historical to contemporary, have all carried a gender dimension, such that men and women experienced slavery differently. The paper also shows that the strong patriarchal culture prevalent in Mauritius which has attributed an inferior status to women, works towards ensuring that women experience slavery differently and more intensely than men.

**Forced marriage in times of armed conflict – A form of sexual slavery?**
Hannah Baumeister, Middlesex University Mauritius

Slavery was the first human rights issue to arouse wide international concern. Yet it still continues today. Slavery persists in its traditional form as forced labour, and contemporary forms of slavery such as sexual slavery are a serious problem that needs to be addressed and understood in order to effectively abolish slavery. This presentation will raise awareness about, and contribute to a better understanding of, a specific form of sexual slavery; forced marriage in times of armed conflict. It will be discussed why forced marriages are perpetrated in times of war and, more importantly, whether its categorisation as a form of sexual slavery is adequately. It will be argued that the categorisation of forced marriage as a form of sexual slavery highlights the seriousness of forced marriage. However, it overemphasises the sexual elements of forced marriages and creates a fragmentation of the elements of forced marriage into different forms of slavery. Moreover, (ex-)forced wives are unlikely to self-identify with that label. Recognising forced marriage in times of armed conflict as a distinct human rights violation instead would reflect the conduct’s distinctive and multifaceted nature. It would recognise forced marriage as an “interrelated, whole conduct”. Naming forced marriage “provid[es] a single name for the larger overarching harm associated with a particular collection of offences and therefore capturing, in one definition, harm that other […] terms do not adequately or fully capture.”

**African women in Greece: a case study**
Irene Kamaratou, University of Birmingham, UK

Over the last few years of the “refugee crisis” many African women have migrated to Greece in order to find a better future. Some of these women have been subject to gender-based violence during their journey, mainly at the hands of smugglers and/or other abusers in the country of destination. The lack of accommodation and general care of refugees in Europe, combined with the closure of borders and the increased need for smugglers has led to increased levels of violence and insecurity (Freedman, 2016). It seems that less attention is paid to African women despite the fact that the vast majority of them has faced abuse. Furthermore, they usually do not access the services provided by various NGO’s,

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1 Valérie Oosterveld, ‘Forced Marriage and the Special Court for Sierra Leone: Legal Advances and Conceptual Difficulties’ (2011) 2 JIHLS 127, 142.
2 Oosterveld (n 2) 144.
often abuse alcohol and work as prostitutes in order to survive. This presentation aims to discuss the plight of African immigrant women in Greece. We are going to focus on whether African women gain asylum or not, how they integrate in Greek society and what are their personal stories. Last but not least, two case studies of women that faced abuse will be presented and analyzed.

PANEL 5: BONDED MIGRANT LABOUR, PAST AND PRESENT
Chair: Klara Boyer-Rossol, research associate at the University Mohamed VI, Rabat, Morocco

The changing faces of servitude: From slavery and indenture to postmodern labour in the Western Indian Ocean
Preben Kaarsholm, University of Roskilde, Denmark

With a point of departure in research on freed slaves from Mozambique and indentured labourers from India and Mauritius coming to South Africa in the late nineteenth century, my paper discusses transformations in the forms of bonded migrant labour. First, the paper discusses what the difference between slavery and indenture meant for the labouring subjects living through the transition, and examines continuities in the sourcing of labour from particular geographical regions and social and political environments. The paper maps out in particular notions of citizenship that were employed by ‘liberated Africans’ and ‘expired’ indenture labourers in their aspirations for recognition and rights of belonging. Secondly, the paper looks into forms of bonded transnational migrant labour that have followed upon indenture in the 20th and 21st centuries. My argument is that ‘slavery’ does not represent a specific and well-delimited form of servitude situated in a historical past - by contrast contemporary forms of ‘post-modern labour’, contracted through international agents, in many ways represent a throw-back to the past, thus problematizing assumptions of progressive development. This applies not least to the graduations in residential and citizenship rights that are made available to more recent generations of transnational contract labourers, and to informal and illegal importations of overseas labour. My paper discusses some of the upheavals this has caused for established forms of trade union organisation, which have been focussed predominantly on local and national, rather than globalised labour market dynamics.

Nineteenth Century Indentured Laborers and Today’s Foreign Labor in Mauritius: Any Similarity?
Deepa Gokulsing, Verena Tandrayen-Ragoobur, Priyanka Gopall and Yashna Damry, University of Mauritius

The Chinese and Indian diasporas are strongly linked to the small island economy of Mauritius. Through globalization and increased competition on the world markets, the significance of both Chinese and Indian diasporas have increased and thus intensified trade and investment flows as well as movement of workers. In the nineteenth century, after the abolition of slavery, indentured workers from India, China, Africa and South East Asia replaced slaves as a source of cheap labor for the sugar plantations in Mauritius. The sugar plantations depended, for the success and profitability of cheap, plentiful and
coercible labor. The economy at that time was centered on sugar production, which helped in the diversification and growth of the economy. Today, Mauritius has transformed itself from a sugar economy into a country with one of the highest per capita incomes among African countries. Despite this remarkable performance, the small island economy is facing severe economic challenges as the bases of its development are rapidly changing. Increasing labor costs in recent years have eroded the competitiveness of the textile industry and the phasing out of preferential market access have been detrimental to the clothing sector with the closure of many factories and dismissal of female local workers. To enable the process of development, Mauritius has had recourse to foreign workers in a number of sectors. The presence of foreign labour has flourished in the last decades; coming primarily from Bangladesh, India, China and Philippines among others. In fact, Mauritius has been deemed a ‘high migration state’, largely on account of the size of its Diaspora, but also due to the combination of in- and out-migration. Hence, with the pressures of globalisation, the role of Diasporas presents a unique set of opportunities not only for the country of residence but also the country of origin. The objective of the paper is to investigate the pull and push factors that contribute to the increasing number of foreign workers and their present livelihood in Mauritius. Our study focuses on a survey 550 male and female foreign workers working in the textile and clothing industries. First, we examine the factors that have pushed them to migrate for work in Mauritius. Second, we make an assessment of their remuneration, working conditions and livelihood of the migrant workers. We differentiate across those foreign workers coming from Bangladesh, Madagascar, India and China. Third, we conclude with the relevant policies and strategies to be put in place in order to cater for the welfare of foreign workers in Mauritius.

When Legacies of ‘Old’ Slavery and Methods of Resisting ‘New’ Slavery Overlap: The Banta of Sierra Leone
Emma Christopher, University of New South Wales, Sidney, Australia

This paper will look at the ways in which slavery has been fought and survived across two centuries by one small ‘ethnic group’, the Banta people of Sierra Leone. Created by the separation of some Temne people who had fled in search of safety from slave raiders, they subsequently found themselves in acute danger once more in the post-1808 era of slave trading. Their numbers decimated by the Mende incursions, and by the voracity of the slave trade at Gallinas, they were eventually so defeated that their surviving peoples assimilated into the Mende both through force and out of necessity. They have not been safe from enslavement even in more recent times, however. The chiefdoms that comprise the Bantaland were badly destroyed in the Sierra Leone civil war of 1991-2002, and villages report having lost between 1/3 and half of their children and teenagers, plus some adults, especially young women, when the rebel armies swept through. These kidnap victims became child soldiers, ‘bush wives’ and often, for the girls, both. The kamajor defence forces and the Sierra Leonean army also committed atrocities of similar types, often taking very young girls as forced sexual partners. All sides used child soldiers. In this paper I will look at the ways that local secret societies—not just the Poro and Bundu but also very specific local societies like the Menda and the Hema—have played a role in fighting enslavement, sustaining those who suffer the misfortune of being enslaved, and promote the reintegration of those who return from enslavement. These operate in ways
that would often not even be contemplated or considered by outsiders. The Banta have been always been held to have, for example, heightened supernatural powers. These were much called on during the civil war by people in the surrounding chiefdoms as well as in their own: the Banta’s proud tradition of assisting men’s virility taking on a more violent, less sexual meaning during wartime. Similarly the Bundu society’s rushed initiations in the face of danger—thus ushering the girls into womanhood—might seem of little importance to outsiders, but had a crucial role to the Banta themselves. Since uninitiated girls (as opposed to initiated women) who gave birth after being raped/forced into ‘bush marriage’, would, (however unintentionally and unwillingly) break the ultimate taboo and never be able to be reintegrated into society as a full adult, these hasty initiations can be seen as a heartbreaking admission of vulnerability in the face of such violence. Yet they also, of course, show strength and fierce determination to survive, and illustrate the hope that one-day their girls and women might return and be able to take their rightful place once more. The herbal medicine remedies contained in the initiation rituals—known to have survived in Cuba in diaspora for two hundred years—also speak to a determination to face the unthinkable, to equip their girls to survive whatever life might become. I will seek to explore, then, not just how these culture-based societies try to stand against slavery, but what this might tell us about how and why some of these rituals were kept alive by enslaved persons two centuries ago. I will ask what, if anything, anti-slavery campaigners can learn from these cultural defenses, enacted in a setting in which western-style exhortations to self-determination often seem opaque.

**PANEL 6: HISTORICAL SLAVERY: THE PAST OF THE PRESENT?**

Chair : Myriam Cottias (CNRS, France)

**The instability of freedom: freeing slaves and their posterity in Mozambique before abolition**

Eugénia Rodrigues, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal

African societies in the territory of present-day Mozambique recognized various forms of dependency, including slavery. Specific circumstances brought vulnerable persons into situations of destitution and exploitation. Most of the enslaved individuals sold themselves or were sold by their families in times of famine, while others were captives of war. The Portuguese settlers in Mozambique, focused along the Zambezi River and some coastal areas, also used African practices of enslavement to obtain manpower. These slaves were employed in commerce, agriculture, services, and armies, according to a gender division of work. However, what was often, according to African institutions, a temporary enslavement became definitive, extending significantly the number of enslaved people. Before the legal abolition of slavery, the paths to freedom recognized by Portuguese law consisted of manumission letters, wills and baptisms. While the last two instruments were based mostly on the will of the master, the letters of manumission could also be bought by the slaves. In any case, manumission practices were not just a matter between the slave and his master: they involved the mediation of the state by the public notary or the church via the ecclesiastical record of the instrument of freedom. Portuguese documentation suggests that manumissions were rare at least until the earlier nineteenth century and they expressed gender imbalance options of the slaves’ owners. Scholarship on slave
manumission in Mozambique is very scarce; this paper represents an initial attempt to analyze manumission as a path to freedom and their meanings in colonial Mozambique. Drawing from some instruments to free the slaves, such as testaments and letters of manumission, this paper shows that the freedom recognized to them and their posterity was uncertain and instable. It was often conditional as well as it could be disputed by the heirs of the slaves’ owners.

**Pawn child labourers in cocoa exports in the Winneba districts of colonial Ghana 1874-1920**
Valerie Delali Adjoh-Davoh and Kwame Osei-Kwarteng, University of Cape Coast, Ghana

This paper focuses on pawn children as an important source of labour in producing huge amounts of cocoa between 1874 and 1920, when Gold Coast was the principal producer of cocoa. The thrust of the work is that market forces after abolition of domestic slavery in 1874 together with the introduction of cocoa in the 1890s intensified the use of pawned children in production and export of cocoa in the Winneba Districts of Colonial Ghana until 1920. The Colonial government declared the abolition of all forms of slavery in the Gold Coast in 1874 but the former slave holders wanted compensation from the slaves which led to the pawnning of children. As a result the anti-slavery committee in the Gold Coast had reported that pawnning intensified rather than declined after abolition of domestic slavery. The paper seeks to address the labour shortage or the early colonial labour problem which resulted from abolition of domestic slavery. It examines how the people of colonial Ghana and the Winneba District in particular handled the transition from slavery to wage labour. In addition, it examines Colonial government response to the use of children in cocoa production, and it gives understanding to present use of children in cocoa production in Ghana and the International Labour Organisation’s attempt to eliminate the worst forms of child labour in developing countries by 2016. Academic literature on pawn child labour in the Colonial Ghana is lacking. The existing literature on pawnship has often discussed pawnship as a means of mobilizing labour. In spite of this, the proponents of the concept of pawnship have focused on the gendering and the use of women pawn. Therefore this paper will contribute to the discourse on abolition of slavery, the practice of pawnship after abolition and generally to labour history in colonial historical studies.

“The Intercontinental Slavery Museum: Perspectives and Politics”
Benigna Zimba, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane & Editora Khanysa, Mozambique

The setting up of an Intercontinental Slavery Museum in Mauritius was one of the key recommendations of the Mauritius Truth and Justice Commission. In 2011. Despite much enthusiasm for this endeavor, the Museum has not yet materialized seven years later. Some of the issues that impede progress of this Museum is discussed by the conceptor of the Museum Project.
Slavery in Tanzanian narratives of statehood
Felicitas Becker, Ghent University, Belgium

Tanzania’s government was one of the most assertively modernizing and modernist in post-colonial Africa, but over the years it has become clearer that there are many oral, popular competitors to the official, modernist and developmentalist, discourse. Different understandings of the history of slavery form part of this dissension. While slavery is treated as obsolete, part of a dismal and long since overcome past, in official versions (if it is mentioned at all), it has remained more evocative in oral and insurgent discourses. A striking aspect of these vernacular narratives is that they are to some extent differentiated by religion. For Christians, as Maddox and Kongola have shown, it is safe to position slavery and the slave trade as a historic ill that Christianisation, and indeed colonization, helped overcome, feeding into a quasi-salvific narrative of the emergence of the Tanzanian state. More or less implicitly, this view attributes slavery to Arab/Muslim ‘outsiders’ sidelined by Christian colonialists. For Muslims, the intellectual manoeuvres around the history of slavery are different and more complicated, as they involve overlapping yet distinct categories of Arabs, Muslims, and slavers/slave traders. Coastal Muslims in particular see the perceived scapegoating of Muslims for slavery as adding insult to injury, compounding their marginalization within a Christian-dominated polity. Bridging these perceptions is bound to be difficult, but it may also be helpful to diffuse tensions between the religious communities.

Mobilising ‘slave testimonies’ on internal African slavery: layered authorities of the written for African anti-slavery cases
Lotte Pelckmans, Copenhagen University, Denmark

Contemporary anti-slavery activists -both international anti-slavery organisations (Miers 2003) and internal African anti-slavery movements (Pelckmans & Hahonou 2011; Pelckmans & Hardung 2016)- have to bring in ‘evidence’, when filing a legal case against slavery. In this paper, I examine the role of African ‘slave testimonies’ as used in and produced for use in their anti-slavery court trials today. Writing or telling one’s personal life history is not part of a tradition of locally produced oral histories of slaves and slave descendants in Africa. What counts as evidence in a western, legal tradition of constitutional law in courts, is actually a virtually inexistent genre among (often illiterate) non-elites. The judicial and documentary aspects of court trials are geared at establishing consensual truths with specific narrative conventions (written testimony, I and eye witnessing, translation to court language), aesthetic forms (linear narrative, absence of silences, doubts) and implementation through specific instruments (court hearings, juries, witnesses, financial indemnities, etc). The product of the ‘slave testimony’, is the result of a process of trial and error, consisting of the repeated telling and reshaping of the ’slave’ story within a proposed ideological legal framework, often directed by ‘distant others’ such as judges, activists and the like. How does the process of trial and error alter the conception of self as well as the perception of opportunity/empowerment
for persons with slave status or slave descent? How do such testimonies streamline emotions and gendered experiences of freedom? The paper will focus on the archives of Anti-slavery international, London (up to 2012) who cooperated with diverse anti-slavery movements in the Sahel region. This will be combined with the archives of the organisation of Timidria in Niger, for example on the case of Hadijatou Mani (Duffy 2009, Rossi 2015). The ‘slave testimonies’ will be analysed as literary representations of (post-)slavery experiences. The focus is on the interconnections and exchanges between ‘slave narratives’ and paternalist ideals of emancipation as produced and remembered in ‘slave testimonies’. Thus, such ‘slave testimonies’ are important sites of power and memory from where to study the emotional, ethical and symbolic struggle of people with ‘slave status’ or of slave descent to get a voice. As such, these testimonies open a window on ‘Politics of Memory’ (Araujo 2012); ‘memoryscapes’ (Argenti & Rosenthaler 2006) and the ‘sequestering’ or ‘memorialisation’ of both internal and transatlantic slavery on the African continent (Schramm 2011, Holsey 2008, Shaw 2002).
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