

‘Living with wilderness’ -or the production of displacement cultures under enduring political insecurity in Chad-

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Abstract

This is a paper about the ‘subjects’ of enduring political insecurity as is the situation in Chad, a country in Central Africa that has been subject to civil war since the first years of independence. Ethnographic insights show the social and cultural dynamics of living with endemic political insecurity. This is not just a description of the current volatile situation in Chad that is marked by geographical displacement, disownment, marginalisation and political repression, but the paper takes a historical perspective, emphasizing the enduring repression and the way this consecutively has become deeply engrained into the social fabric, especially the effect this has on people’s identities and feelings of belonging. Uncertainty has become the norm and is perhaps no longer seen as deviant. (Vigh 2008) A new political culture, informed by fear and survival has been internalised by the people in our research. This political culture is characterised by strong hegemonic oppositions between ethnic groups, in language, and religion. Navigating these oppositions informs feelings of insecurity that can be depicted as displacement culture, not only are people forced to be on the move for many periods in their lives, they also feel displaced from certainties that traditional and modern institutions should provide them with, as traditional institutions are under pressure and modern institutions adhere to discriminative logics of the state and of politicised ethnicity. To emphasize the continuum of, as well as variations in, insecurity we present the stories of two generations of people from southern and central Chad, to take us 40 years back in history. We question whether we could frame what happens to the social fabric in its long term engagement with political insecurity, as producing a ‘displacement culture’. And aim to establish how such an understanding will be fruitful to our understanding of societies marked by chronic political insecurity.

Introduction

In Chad an often heard reference to government agents like the police, customs and the government more in general is *‘Les Sauvages’*. ‘The wild (people)’ refers to the feeling that the brutal acting by these agents is influenced by their inability to read and write, that they are only knowing and acting upon their culture of violence. The statement is obviously generalizing but becomes so real as the common man experiences that there is no justice for them in their own country. It is an expression by those feeling repressed by the state and not feeling represented by the clan of people in power. This feeling is enduring.

‘Displacement is an exile of older certitudes of meaning, a possibly permanent sojourn in the wilderness.’ (Miriam Hirsch referring to migration as displacement 1994: 7, referring to Krupnik 1983)

How does ‘living in the wilderness’ (not a reference to Chad as a *Heart of Darkness*, but as a permanent move away from older certitudes) or the feeling of being ruled by ‘les sauvages’ affect people on the long term? Does one need to adapt to the culture of wild men to survive an enduring wilderness?

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In this paper we try to understand the impact of long term or chronic political insecurity on people in Chad, where since 1965 civil wars determine the political landscape. Theories of war and conflict often focus on that which is contested, the resources that the conflicting parties fight about. Although these are valuable foci ? in this paper we would like to concentrate on the subjects of these wars and conflicts. Schlee (2004) argues for a theory in which the question is 'who fights whom?' and how this leads to boundary making, to patterns of identification. In this process of new identification he argues historical patterns should be taken into consideration and an eye for processes of in- and exclusion are central. We will go one step further by asking how people identify in the oppositions a war or conflict creates in society. These situations are often defined as traumatic for people who suffer from oppression or who have to choose against their own will. People are manoeuvred in situations in which they are confronted with choicless choices, though choices nevertheless. We agree with Scheper-Hughes (2008) that people have a 'talent for life' in these difficult situations, but these talents do not mean that they will not experience their situation as being problematic. In the oppositions a war creates, in terms of dominance of those in power, which can take the form of ethnic, religious or language domination people who belong to the non-hegemonic groups are confronted with many dilemmas. They can be forced to make shifts in their identity/identification for survival (Both, forthcoming). People might no longer feel protected in these circumstances by the ruling elites, whose identities direct decisions. These decisions might not be in the realm of the identities of most of the victims of political insecurities. It might lead them into feelings of insecurity, and as feeling displaced. Thus displacement in times of war and in a situation of chronic political insecurity does not per se refer to geographical displacement (though this may be related as geographical displacement also confronts people with new identification processes), but especially to feelings of displacement, as a mental state. The feeling of displacement created by non-protection. , a displacement from the institutions that should in normal circumstances provide for security, for feelings of belonging but rather provide the potentiality of repression as a continuity. In situations of war this may be the relation to the state and state institutions, but it might also be the institutions that provide for a form of belonging, like ethnic identity (the clan, family), language, religion. On the one hand this may lead to new patterns of identification or it may lead to reinforcement of old patterns of identification, depending on the choices, the patterns of navigation that people choose or that are left open for them to choose (cf. Cerulo 1997). These thoughts lead us to question how the social process of war (cf. Richards 2005, Cramer 2006), lead to situations of political insecurity that inform new processes of identification that on their turn inform people's feelings/cultures of displacement.

These feelings of displacement seem to be very strong among people who expect protection from the state, the civil servants and their families, or those who are in leading positions in governance like the village chiefs but who have become totally disillusioned with the state. The stories we present are both of people who are on retirement now and who have lived more than forty years of political repression and insecurity, and also of their children who are the educated youth with or without jobs of today. These stories are the starting point in this paper that is not only a story about Chadian people living through extremely difficult circumstances but it is as well a search for a way to describe war dynamics from the subject's perspective. The people's stories presented in this paper were shared with the authors of this paper during their various stays in Chad after 2002 till now. These life histories have partly been stored in archives as treasuries without a clear destination. It is with the introduction to the concept of displacement economies as developed by Amanda Hammar (cf. Hammar *et al* 2010) that we started to situate the stories.

In a way our search for rightly 'reading our archives' can build upon what Vigh has described as 'crisis as context'; acknowledging that crisis, rather than an event, has become the social environment for many in today's world, crisis as continuity, within which people try to shape their lives. (Vigh 2008) At the same time, we should acknowledge that crisis exists in different forms in different localized and globalized contexts. This article is an attempt to understand better the

political crisis in Chad. A crisis that leads to displacement foremost, physically as well as mentally. Estrangement of the state is a very important feature of the 'crisis' in Chad. Our quest for an understanding of displaced identities and displacement cultures has only just started, and we hope this will help to make comprehensible the ongoing tension under the Chadian surface, that informs the daily traumatic dynamics of Chadian society.

Chadian's history of political insecurity, the creation of the wilderness

Chadian political culture can be compared to the working of roots; it has the characteristics that were described by Deleuze and Guattari (1976) in their unique contribution 'Rhizome' (cf. de Bruijn 2008). The Chadian State functions under the surface. By this we do not only mean the secret service, the police forces etc. that function as guardians for the State, but more the structure of the state in the people, its subjects. Thus a rhizome of control and fear creeps through society. Everybody feels controlled and can control. At the same time everyone can lose its position in a day (whether by coup (in case of those in power), by unlawful arrest, torture by those who feel protected enough by the state to take justice in their own hands, or the destruction of one's property by the state overnight. This infuses feelings of fear and of insecurity that can often not be explained by observed reality, but often only come to the surface in intimate reflections on daily life. Later the opposition of this State, the rebel forces, became part of the rhizomes, although the entanglement of the rhizomes made them appearing from time to time to the surface, they became visible in violence and repression (cf. De Bruijn & van Dijk 2007, Selih *et al.*). These periods of severe repression and underground tensions alternated over the past 50 years. The civil war that started in 1965 knew different periods of rebellion, relatively stable (repressive) governments, e.g. under Malloum in the 1970s and under Habré in the 1980s, and under President Déby in the 1990s. These periods of relative calm were always threatened by rebellions, as the last one culminated in February 2008, when N'djamena was attacked from the East. And it were these periods of relative calm that were characterised (and are characterised) by 'invisible' repression, leading to a society of fear.²

The dynamics of the civil war have led to clear oppositions in society, first of all between the haves and the have-nots. Those who belong to the people in power and associate with them can share in the resources that are at the basis of that power. Those who do not belong to these powerful groups are deprived of a good life. In Chad today the various civil wars have led to the coming to power of people who are considered 'northerners' and who are associated with the Muslim belief. With them Arabic has become one of the governance languages next to French, which is the language of the former colonizer. This structure of power where the ascribed hegemony is in the hands of northerners, Arabic speakers and Muslims, is a total turn from the situation as it had taken form under the French colonial regime. The French considered southern Chad as the economic heart of the country and their economic politics, and their education policy largely created this base. The opposition North-South was reinforced during the colonial regime but predated by the long history of slave raiding by northern kingdoms in southern Chad. The powerbase in the first years after independence was in the hands of the educated elites from the South, who considered the south as their economic base. These were mainly Christians and basically French speakers.

Since 2003 Chad started exploiting oil resources that are basically found in the southern part of the country. This has given a new turn to these dichotomist politics. The discussions about the exploitation of the oil were embedded in the North-South oppositions, and the government being perceived as northern they had to meander with the streams of the international politics that used the oil as a tool for 'real' development in Chad. After the contract with the World Bank was broken by the Chadian government, President Idriss Déby, the door was open to reintroduce the rhetoric of war. As the rebels were threatening Déby's power from the east the oil money was used with

² The anthropology of fear is a newly appearing field. This paper contributes to the development of the anthropology of fear (cf. Linke & Smith, 2009)

(unsaid) consent of IMF and WB, for the acquirement of weapons and reinforcement of the military. This could however not stop the rebels from attacking N'djamena in 2006 and 2008, again adding to the creation of the wilderness.....

Added to the oppositions as embedded in geography, religion, language and ethnicity, was the rhetoric of development, and underdevelopment, oil rich and oil poor, etc. Although these oppositions are a simplification of reality, they have become an acting element in society and do play an important role in the identification processes that we observed in the life histories of young and old we have recorded. The reality on the ground after the 2008 attacks in N'djamena were an actualisation of these oppositions as it came to the fore when both Mirjam and Jonna visited N'Djamena in different periods in 2008, 2009 and 2010.

Case studies

'Have you seen N'djamena already? Everything has changed', was the main comment Jonna heard from her friends and strangers when she visited N'djamena, the capital city of Chad, after 3 years of absence, in December 2010. Her friends referred to the huge infrastructural changes that had taken place in N'djamena since President Idriss Deby had been able to get hold of the oil money. To realise these changes Deby had chased away many people from their houses and taken the land. This was all done under the prerequisite of modernising the city and part of the development programme that was financed by the oil money, but it was rumoured in N'djamena that it was an action to chase away rebels and to punish those who had supported them, as Mirjam observed and heard during her visit in April 2008. More irrational even seemed the canal dug around N'djamena for protection.

The statement, the way it was repeated without emotion or excitement by everyone, felt rather forced and empty. Expressing how an increasing part of the population feels estranged of the political elite that is able to use state land and their access to state-resources (oil) to build small palaces and buy expensive, shiny new cars that increasingly give N'djamena a surrealistic outlook. Little further inquiry would emphasize the worries people felt behind this surface of 'development'; things were not so well and poor people are increasingly forced to leave the city as the cost of living is becoming too high and many small (informal) businesses had been forcefully removed from the streets. The visible economic divide of grandeur versus poverty only aggravates long and enduring historical divides between rulers and subjects, built on the foundation of perceptions of moral and technical inequality between North and South and a total disrespect for human life.

People in Chad feel continuously estranged: from the political choices made, from the system that governs them. The estrangement has cultural-historical and religious roots that are re-enforced in the current political-economical configuration. Estrangement, the ultimate displacement with regards to the other and even oneself, are experienced and expressed by two generations of people from southern Chad, combined with feelings of inferiority.

Elders from southern and central Chad

'We are strangers in the South, in our villages. Our houses are destroyed, our customs are destroyed. The intimidations. All since the war. Before 1978 you would not find a child from southerners in N'Djamena. The children did well in school or they studied in Europe. At this moment it is war, *c'est la souffrance!* (...) As to become someone in life freedom is essential. Freedom and security are essential. But what can we do? It is not easy.' (Interview with two community Chiefs in Chagoua, N'djamena, 9 September 2007.

These statements reflect the feeling of marginalization of people from the Mandoul region in which

the conflict between cattle-herders and farmers have been on the rise since the 1990's and created both economical as well as political insecurity for southern farmers. Increasingly nomads and other cattle-herders seek greener pastures in the South of Chad. In the process, the herders are perceived as brutal, letting their cattle destroy a year's yield in a few minutes. The herders themselves carry arms and the local population perceives them as bandits (from the North), paid by high politicians and military to guard their personal large troupes of cattle. When Chadian farmers seek justice, after armed confrontation or destroyed fields, they are unable to redress the situation, experiencing that the local government and justice systems are completely on the side of the government-armed herders; as such those places are lived and governed as wilderness.

The two community chiefs, who now live in N'djamena and who represent their community's from Mandoul in southern Chad, lived miserably these days. Once a soldier in the government army when it was still dominated by people from the south, one of chiefs had now resorted to traditional healing as a source of income. While the other chief mostly resorted to drinking, both in quite miserable, dirty parts of town. Once belonging to the people in power, they now felt to belong to the extremely marginalized. The feeling of political repression and neglect was deeply embodied in their gestures, mimics and speech, their poverty so visible, all in front of their extended family offspring.

Their deeply felt marginalization was enhanced by what they perceived as continuity. They drew a direct line with their experience in the early 1980's, when the South became a fierce battleground of civil war between southern and northern factions, after which a group of largely illiterate, former Habré fighters took over all the local administrative posts (Toingar 2006). Southerners felt estranged in their own territories. They placed their current experience : armed confrontations between farmers and nomads, increasing since the 1990's, in direct line of continuation of being without voice, repressed, unable to claim their rights; hence the feeling of being made strangers in the south. Life in the capital was equally a challenge, the political insecurity not less as the following shows:

Just one week after Jonna left N'djamena, on February 2, 2008, a few days of heavy fighting traumatized a new generation in N'djamena. Adolescents who had never heard *la musique de N'Djamena* before (bullets rushing over the city, through houses)³, were now in the midst of a new episode of violence. While many young domestic workers aged 11 to 19 who formed the core of previous informants Jonna used to work with fled N'Djamena with the assistance of 'parents', the more mature friends were exposed to the renewed face of cruelty, of violence between different factions (the state and its rebels) both of which never had had their interest in mind. Dead bodies were smelling and exploding in February's heat on the streets of N'Djamena in 2008 the images still vivid for friends 3 years later.

As if this episode of violence was not enough another form of violence followed. President Deby took this moment of opposition to his power as a point to crush the rebellion by destroying people's houses and neighborhoods where as the rumor went supporters of the rebels or even the rebels themselves lived. Deby presented this act as a way forward to modernize the city. In the neighborhood of Sabangali a large number of houses along the banks of the river Chari were destroyed. Mirjam observed the ruins in April 2008, when they were showed to her by Khalil one of the professors of University who collaborates in our research. He is a highly educated linguist, professor and former rector of the University of N'djamena. He is one of the former opponents of Habré, and supported Deby's regime in exile when he organized the rebellion from Maiduguri in Nigeria. Coming from central Chad, the Guera where the civil war started in 1965, he had lived the various episodes of the civil war in all its violence and his family is really affected (cf. de Bruijn & van Dijk 2007). Under Deby, initially supported by Khalil's family, they were later as well confronted with violence against the people from central Chad and thus joined the opposition again, though never very active. Apparently he was also considered by the State as being part of the

3 Referring to 'music' as an attribute to N'djamena, shows that people perceive coup-attempts and their related battles in the capital as re-occurring and ever a possibility. The same music (the sound of bullets) became a famous ringtone on the mobile phones of young people in N'djamena. (observations Mirjam 2008)

opposition, or probably it was just that the land on the banks of the river were too well situated to leave it to the common man. In December 2009 it appeared that a hotel was under construction at that site; A hotel for rich tourists and businessmen, to enjoy the 'beauty' of Chad. Khalil explained that they had formed a group of deprived owners who were trying to get compensation. Anno 2011 this compensation never came. Khalil hopes for the better, but he knows that his fortune, the house in which he invested all his dearly earned small salary, was brutally expropriated by the state. His expectations of protection were completely destroyed. This is only one example of the thousands of people who had to rent a dilapidated house after this vague of strange violence of the State.

Livelihood threatening physical dislocation and another cumulative estrangement from the heavily militarized government in power, whose complete disregard for human rights became once more evident to the elderly and the young. The chiefs, the professor and the youth (in the next case-study) are not simply victims. That would be too easy an explanation for the chaos of their lives. With these cases however we emphasize how different historical layers of political insecurity become experienced as continuity, as enduring and chronic and as deeply affecting one's identity as 'citizen' of Chad. Feelings of belonging in the south were under pressure as a purposeful attempt to destroy their culture, was experienced by the chiefs, while they obviously presented themselves as being equally turned into second-hand citizens in the capital. Just like Khalil and others with him who did support Deby when he came to power, but no longer could identify with his politics of violence.

Reproduction of feelings of non-belonging in a new generation.

In the study of youth in Africa it is proposed that younger, new generations have better capacities to deal with 'disorder and ruin' as they grow up in that environment and come to perceive it as normal. (Finnstrom 2006, 224, referring to Merleau-Ponty 1964:23). A thorough assessment of the younger generation, the mature children of the civil servants we refer to, does not confirm this expectation. Displacement and estrangement as part of life is articulated by this generation as well.

About the coup attempt of 2008 in N'Djamena - the second rebel attack on the Chadian capital within two years- Debos states: 'Déby's victory does not solve any problem and the crisis [of insecurity] is definitely not over'. (Debos 2008: 240).

For two consecutive years many of Jonna's friends did not feel that planning for the future made any sense in Chad, as they expressed daily. Many personal decisions were postponed. Fatalism was a common sentiment. While most women fled to Cameroon or southern Chad in the days of the coup attempt, many young men stayed behind. Three Chadian friends, whom she met in Paris in 2009, felt the need to design a computer game to educate the world about the choiceless choices one has to make in the midst of returning battles fought in N'Djamena. All of them had stayed behind in the city to protect family property or were kept in their office. They were witness to many cruelties.

In 2010 a sense of division, marginality and aggravating poverty had become more evident for most young people. These friends had matured, so had our discussions. While daily life could be full of laughter, sharing with friends and alliances between youth of different ethnicity and religion took shape, the space for breathing was limited. The air remained charged with prejudices between north and south, a persisting and renewed social division, perhaps simplified but once again so alive and so real for these friends of a new generation of Chadians. Southern and central youth felt dislocated, with regard to the government as well as its institutions and in reference to the visible rapidly wealth-accumulating new elite on N'djamena's streets.

'*Nous sommes des étrangères chez nous*' two highly educated friends from south and central Chad comment as we move in their car in the evening passing the place of grandeur that is prepared for the celebration of 50 years of independence. It shocked them to see such expenditures of the

state, compared to the poverty most people experience. One of them is appointed as the attorney general for a remote northern town that can only be reached by use of risky, dusty and distant roads. Nevertheless the state has not provided him with a car, to do his work. They are convinced this is because they do not belong to '*les vrais tchadiennes*' as other attorney generals receive a car and two guards to assure them in their difficult job. The expression about not belonging to the 'real' Chadiens is an expression often used by the second friend, struggling hard to find a job in his field. As he has been specialized in a field of public administration that just one other person in Chad has, he had expected to be 'integrated' into the civil services long ago. More than three years now he is waiting, lobbying and paying bribes, knowing very well that merits do not count in this country; for this government only nepotism or heavy payment does.

In the neighborhood where he lives, increasingly close relatives to the current president are constructing colorful palaces on what is known to be state ground, the palaces surrounded by high walls decorated with immense satellites. Both in the search of a job, as well as in living in his neighborhood he is confronted with who seem to be the real citizens in Chad. It hurts-*ca fait mal*- he often comments. In the neighboring constructions of palaces, a bricklayer, a boy from the south has recently been seriously maltreated⁴, which has altered his interactions with his northern neighbors. Pre-judices and constructions of the other as being violent and barbarian, as they relate to the invasion of N'Djamena by illiterate war-traumatized northern soldiers in the 1980's and 1990's, are reinforced on a daily basis. "I used to stay and chat with them [the neighbors] in the afternoon, but since that incident happened (with the boy) I only greet them from afar and told my family-members not to go to the neighbors anymore." This is a very common incident illustrating the way educated youth in N'Djamena are confronted with and interpret inequality, injustice and prejudice on a daily basis that reinforces their geographical and social navigation in N'djamena. In the case of Tahir this example, together with some other experiences influences who he considers to be able to be friends or hospitable neighbors and where he moves and does not move to in his own quarter of town and in the larger city. This division often simplified in terms of north and south, gains new meaning in their daily lives, through new layers of experienced marginalization.

Thus a lived experience of North-South antagonism is not only confined to the life-histories of the elderly, the first civil servants in independent Chad, but also to the stories of the new generation of educated southern youth or those from the central regions, who are struggling for inclusion.

Feelings of dislocation and unsettledness within one's own country are strong, for the elderly, who had been exposed to so many cumulative experiences of political and economical marginalisation and for the youth, who increasingly compare themselves with the images from other countries, with access to mobile phones and links to friends in the (internet)diaspora.

As such the existence of a shared displacement culture seems especially at stake for a new generation of youth. Their life- histories incorporate dimensions of a divided past as well as build upon new contradictions that become part of their being in this rapidly globalizing country where oil brings in new layers of marginalisation that are weighing heavily on the shoulders of youth. Division between haves and have-nots is increasing. Feelings of inferiority and superiority are exploited in daily interaction between youth. As is so much evident for example in the way close friends are (im-)mobile navigate the city as well as social relations (Both *fc*). For the elderly there is a memory of a past that was different. They have as well an explanation of the war that is at least linked to their own memories. Their values are not based on a life that was lived only in the wilderness; they once had the experience of the civilized. The youth therefore are inclined to share the experience of wilderness in a different way, at least together. If this indeed leads to shared

4 This was not considered as an incident, it so often occurred that young workers from the south of Chad who were working in northern households as domestic workers faced abuse, related to their inferior status as domestic workers and as Christians in Muslim households. Northern employers who got away with such abuse (in some cases resulting to death) were labelled '*les intouchables*' by southerners. However, this is not to say that domestic workers in southern households were treated well. For further discussion see Both, thesis 2008.

values and norms, to a shared memory, is a question that needs further research. It is clear that in their lives compared to those of their parents repertoires of mobility and friendship are altered, and social horizons continuously becoming bleaker.

Conclusion/discussion

This paper cannot yet have a clear conclusion. The complex experiences and sentiments of people raise concern and at the same time still remain hard to interpret. This definitely probes for further research, especially the transference of the countries divided history and dynamics of estrangement to new generations of 'citizens'. Youth's own interpretations, experiences, choices and positioning within these political insecurities need much more attention. This would allow a more thorough discussion of the idea whether the youth and elderly indeed share values and norms and live a culture of displacement, as a mental state of being. We could add so many more stories but the stories that are equally complex and distressing. In a follow up of this research we should include the youth of the 'other side', and understand their experience with this wilderness that might be an opportunity, as well. In the following we enumerate some elements that we could label as being the shared characteristics in a culture of displacement.

Experiencing layers of marginalisation

Elders experience a continuity of repression and marginalisation. The importance of cattle for certain groups, marginalises the southern farmers as a consequence of drought and the unequal distribution of power. The state/institutions, local governors and justice systems function as systems of repression in this context.

Oil money and its distribution re-enforces older lines of division that in the perception of marginalised peoples is easily explained by referring to the division between North and South. These are only two layers of marginalisation and repression mentioned. In practise, in being cumulatively exposed to such experiences over time, people's norms and values, expectations and social horizons are constantly slightly altered, over the long run, these smaller and bigger shocks lead to displacement of one's norms and perceptions, one's cultural perspectives that no longer give guidance or are hard to maintain in daily life. This is not to say that people in the process become like the wild people themselves, but that psychological survival is necessarily shaped towards reinforcing categories of in- and exclusion, with far reaching consequences for how future society takes shape.

Feelings of not belonging

The continuous re-invention of older social and cultural divisions that goes back to slave-raiding and colonial times are dividing a new generation of youth. Educated youth nowadays mix most in international companies and to a lesser extend in the civil service, on the workplace, while it allows for friendship between individuals from different ethnic groups, it does not seem to transpire to collective levels, prejudices remain prevalent, 'othering' a continual practice, by youth from South as well as North. Ethnicity and religion play a role in the state's mechanisms of in- and exclusion, causing the majority of youth to be disattached, literally experiencing everyday, through different incidents to 'not belong' (as citizen), continuously involuntarily made into strangers. (Vigh 2008: 21) To overcome this feeling of estrangement, of not-belonging; sometimes a shift in religion or an approach to 'arabization' in dress, speech, culture is embraced by (young) little educated women as the only mover towards upwards social mobility, a move that is sometimes deeply disapproved by elders from their communities. It can be seen as a strategy of creating belonging. (Both *fc.*) Foremost people are constantly confronted with their estrangement of the state, or the state's estrangement from them. Not belonging to the real Chadians, 'feeling pain' - '*ca fait mal*' in daily confrontations for educated youth is a clear indication of not belonging. Many groups and

individuals experience displacement within systems, state institutions and with regard to basic human rights and the right to justice.

Frustration and fear

The 'wilderness' in Chad especially took shape when uneducated and desert-war traumatized rebels took power at different points in history. Up to today, despite some improvements made, the threat that comes from the military informs the scapes of fear in daily life. Reason does not seem to count in such a context, thus with reason one does not win, only with connections or ideology, or a lot of money. Despite the fact that many of those who represent the state seem perhaps no longer illiterate, but incapable of doing their job leads to frustration, the fact that most soldiers and police use their guns for robbery and crime at night in N'djamena and along international roads, remains a fear-inducing factor. The boundary between the status of military and combatant remains blurred, reflecting simply different phases in the lives of men in arms. Interestingly, servicemen, who are former rebels, do not talk about their reintegration into the regular army as a radical change but rather as a new episode in their trajectory marked by violence (Debos 2008: 236). Additionally: "Despite constitutional change and multiparty-ism, the country remains under the control of a former 'military leader who has swapped khaki for boubou or danshiki'" (*Africa Confidential*, 1997). 'Instability remains endemic.'" (Roy & Massey 2001: 2).

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