



Science Meeting – Scientific Report

Proposal Title: *ABORNE Workshop on “Bewildering Borders” - Transnational Conservation and Resource Governance in Africa*

Application Reference N°: 5009

1) Summary

The Workshop on “Bewildering Borders” – Transnational Conservation and Resource Governance in Africa was held in conjunction with the Department for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna and the Commission for Development Research at the Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research, from Friday 27th to Saturday 28th September 2013 with an excursion and roundtable discussion of a planned publication to a former border post in a lake shared by Austria and Hungary (Neusiedlersee) on Sunday 29th.

The ABORNE Workshop brought together academic researchers and practitioners from governance institutions in Europe, Africa, and North America. With its focused overall theme the workshop aimed at creating a forum in which researchers and practitioners could reflect on the past and ongoing successes and shortcomings of specific examples of transnational conservation efforts in Africa. It was also meant to probe into the rationale behind the resource governance model of opening up transboundary conservation areas through dedicated land use for wilderness tourism. Philosophical aspects connected to the age-old dichotomy between nature and culture were likewise under academic scrutiny. Most importantly, the discussions between scholars from a variety of different academic fields and practitioners actually involved in the designing and implementation of transfrontier conservation zones were welcome contributions towards a better understanding of processes of inclusion and exclusion. Sometimes quite tense yet always constructive exchanges developed into a fruitful dialogue on the potentials and limits of re-spatialization efforts in African borderlands for local communities. This said, the discourse did not stop short to question certain construction of “community” now remnant in the developmental discourse. Thus, the dimension of power was a recurring theme, in such a way as to enquire how nature conservation may contribute to a revised and hopefully improved distribution of all possible benefits from transfrontier areas.

2) Description of the scientific content of and discussions at the event

The Opening Ceremony on Friday morning was held on the premises of the Commission for Development Research at the Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research. Following the Welcome Address by **Prof. Wolfgang Kraus**, Head of the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology and **Prof. Andreas Obrecht**, Head of the Commission for Development Research at the Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research (the actual physical host of the Workshop Friday and Saturday sessions), the organizers of the workshop **Dr. Manuela Zips-Mairitsch** and **Prof. Werner Zips** welcomed the participants and spoke on the idea behind and the aims of the Workshop agenda.

Prof. David B. Coplan set the tone for the critical purpose of the Workshop by highlighting land policies in Southern Africa as not directed towards empowerment of people living in the concerned borderlands. His presentation “Rebordering Africa, but not for Africans: Transfrontier Conservancy Areas, Tourism, and the Land” dealt with historical ways of land appropriation in settler colonies under the pretext that indigenous people were not making efficient use of it or maximizing its economic potential. He reviewed the transnational conservation agenda as a potential new masking of such 'modernizing' legal measures to transform communal to individual titles. Transfrontier parks and conservation areas, heralded as vectors of economic development, employment, and cross-border reconciliation and integration, may, in his view, revive a 'progressive', 'eco-tourism and conservation' oriented version of the old 'efficient use' argument to appropriate land and its resources along border areas. He warned that the gap between promises of economic betterment and the “hidden agenda” may contribute to conflicts, alienation, and resistance.

Wolfgang Zeller's talk examined the idea that Africans simply have to live with what they inherited from colonial boundary-making. His presentation “State Formation and Boundary Making in Africa - From a Poorly Tailored Suit to Transnational Spaces” emphasized current scholarship on the historical and present agency of Africans in the establishment and daily life realities of boundaries on their continent. He gave an adequate overview for the first general session on transfrontier conservation as a new form of ‘transnational governmentality’, which tends to create economically viable zones for eco-tourism vs. “less useful” hinterlands that become even further neglected.

In the following presentation, **Prof. Paul Nugent** analyzed a case of 'regional integration from below' on the example of the Senegambian Borderlands. He referred to Boubacar Barry's observation emphasized at the occasion of the ABORNE Workshop in St. Louis, Senegal, about the historical integrity of the greater Senegambian region. The conservation and shared natural resources aspect may be related to the connective qualities of the Senegal and Gambia river systems that moved people, goods and ideas across time and through space. His paper focused on the Casamance region of Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. He elaborated how access to land, water resources and forests has been mediated by the creation of colonial borders and their reinforcement after independence. His key point highlighted that while governments have generally regarded the resources in question as zero-sum, and have tended to impose barriers to shared resource use, border populations have found ways and means of doing so. The paper brought an empirical perspective on agency in resource-rich border areas that Wolfgang Zeller before had talked about on a more abstract, general level.

Prof. Georg Klute presented a talk on “Africa's future environment: concepts of appropriation and conservation of nature“. He sought to contribute to the general context of the workshop by reminding

the participants of the (importance of the) epistemic division of the world into the spheres of “nature” and “culture”, as the very dichotomist divide characterizing “modern” thinking since the time of enlightenment. He used the empirical example of a particular wildlife reserve in Ethiopia (Afar) and a natural reserve in Northern Niger to elaborate into the nature-culture distinction as a spatial delineation: culture on one side, nature on the other. Therefore, national parks are separated from the realm of human culture. He provided empirical results of an ongoing study, how different stakeholders in national parks conceptualize their respective notions of ‘nature’ as historical narratives. According to their divergent “ownership” of these histories, conservation means different things for different people. Klute suggested that such (historical) power divisions may explain why the grand visions of peace parks sometimes fail to materialize as intended.

Prof. Gregor Dobler opened the afternoon session after the lunch break with a talk that picked up on the discussions following the morning session that brought a critical evaluation of the merits of peace parks or transfrontier parks for local populations. He reviewed scholarly accounts and NGO literature that views peace parks as potential biopolitical strategies to subject marginalised populations. His empirical focus, however shifted to transboundary resource use in the Etosha park and the Kunene waters scheme, both situated in Northern Namibia. Some of the problems, he emphasized pointedly were: ‘selective lobbyism’ by outsiders with good intentions (and connections); ‘project implementation from above’, ‘expertocracy coupled with departmentalisation’, and the intricacies of multi-level conservation governance as ‘problem of levels of decision-making’.

Dr. Andrew Dunn, as a representative of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) adopted an entirely different tone with his presentation of difficulties and the IUCN’s struggle for conservation resolutions in the problematic transboundary conservation areas of Nigeria and Cameroon. His presentation “Transboundary Conservation between Cross River National Park, Nigeria, and Takamanda National Park, Cameroon, including an overview of the IUCN WCPA Transboundary Conservation Specialist Group” provided unusual insights in the actual politics of conservation governance, particularly in a region where eco-tourism is no preferred option of government institutions.

Prof. Pierre Englebert reformulated Dobler’s critical analysis into the question “Peace Parks? Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas and Conflict in Africa.” Using quantitative research methods his presentation (based on data prepared with his colleague Natalie G. Dennis) inquired into the relationship between Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) and conflict in Africa. Using a large conflict data set covering the period 1997-2012, he found that conflicts produce fewer combat fatalities in TFCAs than elsewhere, possibly because of remoteness among other reasons still to be identified. Yet, the statistics found more civilian fatalities from conflict in TFCA areas, an effect which correlates with even greater civilian deaths in border areas in general. In both instances of battle and civilian deaths, the so called “peace parks” of Southern Africa perform better. Supported by further data the study presented by Englebert comes to the preliminary finding that by and large, a peaceful context in a particular border area may function as a prerequisite for the development of TFCAs. This would contradict the overall impression given by the “masterplan” that TFCAs themselves lead to peaceful environment.

A lively discussion followed that made good use of the unique opportunity of exchange between policy and project coordinators and scholars. The representatives of the African Union Border Programme, **Ambassador Diarra** and ECOWAS, **Kinza Jawara-N’Jai** as well as the Senior Project Manager **Mamadou Diarrassouba** from German Cooperation (GIZ) took very active part in the discussions, especially in the context of regional comparisons of transfrontier conservation areas between Southern and West Africa.

The final session on Friday, 27th September assembled three papers on the impact of conservation through one or the other form of game reserves or parks on indigenous peoples. **Prof. Sidsel Saugestad** generalized the problem nature vs. culture of conservation without people, sometimes coined as “fortress conservation” to the creation of internal borders. Her topical presentation “Borders within States – Differentiation in the name of non-discrimination” focused particularly on the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). Its delimitations were established by the colonial system in 1961 and originally proclaimed to protect a population within the boundaries. Her paper took the well-documented Botswana High Court decision of 2006 on the of San peoples from the CKGR as a starting point to scrutinize the creation of internal borders and their effects on local (resettled) residents. The paper examined the lack of adequate management plans including and in fact involving the beneficiaries of the Botswana High Court judgment. She highlighted that the physical boundaries still serve both the purpose to decide over inclusion or exclusion of individuals and communities.

The focus on the impact of eviction-based conservation was reiterated in the following presentation by **Dr. Justin Kenrick** from the influential and highly dedicated NGO Forest Peoples Programme (FPP). His paper “From imposed borders to self-determined byelaws, the Ogiek of Mt Elgon navigate eviction-based conservation” focused on the struggle of the Ogiek in the Mt. Elgon region and the support of such NGOs as FPP. Since the presenter is currently himself Policy Advisor for Africa at this particular NGO his interesting presentation covered the academic interest along the more activist approach of advocacy anthropology.

In the final Friday presentation **Edith Neubauer, MA** presented the findings of her Master’s thesis delivered at the Vienna Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology. Her talk on “The Transnational Governmentality of Landscape Planning and the ‘Bondage’ of the Baka people in South-East Cameroon” used the example of the Baka of South-East Cameroon to analyze the tension between sustainable development on the one hand and the obligation of the state to safeguard indigenous rights on the other hand. She referred to the concept of Governmentality of Michel Foucault and further elaborated by James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta in the form of “Transnational Governmentality” to critically review the government practices, which are deployed by the Cameroonian state to ensure conservation and sustainable development on the one hand and the integration/assimilation of indigenous peoples on the other. She argued that the conservation strategy in South East Cameroon in combination with the non-recognition of the legal concept of Indigeneity by the Cameroonian state and the pejorative connotation of the term “Pygmies”, not only brings about various kinds of discrimination against the Baka communities but even the hardening of a social practice termed “Bondage” by the African Commission’s Working Group on Indigenous Populations/Communities.

As the subject matter of indigenous rights and their legal protection promised, discussions after this session were extraordinarily active, given a long day of intense academic exchange. Again the representatives from African institutions and the German Cooperation contributed their views of the subject and explicitly mentioned their interest in further developing a forum for such evaluations from a scholarly border studies perspective and the practitioner views of necessary and in some West African countries urgent issues for nature and biodiversity protection. The overall consensus after some quite heated debates may perhaps be characterized as an awareness of not playing biodiversity against cultural diversity.

The morning session on Saturday the 28th September started with **Stephan Hochleithner, MA** and his historical perspective on the establishment of the Virunga National Park (Parc National Albert). His

paper coauthored by Stephanie Arzberger discussed the consequences of (transboundary) nature conservation as historically more often than not based on the logics of colonial governance. He emphasized that the enclosed land had very often previously been used as commons by communities, as the empirical example of the genesis of the Virunga National Park (formerly Parc National Albert), situated in the borderlands of DR Congo's eastern North-Kivu province, proved. The paper used archival research on Belgian colonial documents, individual archives and existing literature, to retrace the establishment of the Parc National Albert (PNA). He argued, that its establishment can be qualified as primitive accumulation in a Marxian framework.

Prof. William Miles followed up with a fascinating case study on the Combat of climate change and desertification in the Niger-Nigeria borderlands that he researched over a long period of time. With the imperative “Stop the Sahara!” he pointed to earlier efforts in vain that sought a row of trees will make the difference. His humorous approach to the subject quickly changed to the seriousness involved in the joint Governmental efforts of Nigeria and Niger to tackle the mutual ecological challenge. Most significant among these are the Nigeria-Niger Trans-boundary Ecosystem Management Project, whose aim is to promote an integrated and sustainable ecosystem that will thereby enhance livelihoods within the shared borderlands. He argued, however, that the implementation of this Trans-boundary Ecosystem Management Project appears problematic. Challenges include non-exhaustingly: top-down management procedures, inconsistency of government policies, neglect of indigenous knowledge, use of inappropriate technology, and inadequate raising of environmental consciousness among the rural poor. He concluded that the Nigerian-Nigérien borderlands are not yet at a stage where a comparable kind of “Peace Park” is being envisioned.

It was left for **Aboubakr Tandia, MA** the convener and co-organizer of the last ABORNE Workshop in St. Louis to provide the final presentation to the Workshop. With his talk on “Transfrontier Green governance in a context of border regime ambivalence: the Transfrontier Biosphere Reserve (TBR) of Jawling and Djoudj in the Senegal River Valley”, he focused on the ‘cross-border cooperation/governance’ or ‘local integration’ approach to regional integration in Africa. He argued that transfrontier cooperation is often presented as a discourse and a practice of postcolonial counter-hegemony or decolonization of African borders and border regimes. His critique took on “green governance” in border areas as potential forms of neocolonialism rather than decolonization. On the empirical example of the river Valley of Senegal, this ambivalence of postcolonial or de-colonial political experiences, according to his paper may be reflected in the involvement and pressure of national government elites, and local government elites to some extent, and the calculations around global and local opportunities (UNESCO heritage protection policy, global agribusiness inflows, market opportunities and bilateral geopolitics of ‘rival-association’, unequal political economic opportunities and decentralization / local governance systems across the border, etc.). He criticized that the institutional design and discourse of green governance through the transfrontier biosphere park has not been effectively open to local communities and their much-localized challenges of daily livelihoods making in its operational aspect. Thus, the conservation regime appears to rely on ‘transitional modes of governance’ that often enough create new imbalances concerning ‘benefits’ for and ‘ownership’ of local communities.

The following discussion took up a great deal of the earlier reflections on the mismatch between the discourse on decolonization through conservation and its apparent neglect in fully involving the people(s) on the ground. However, part of the discussion focused on the difficult issue of determining the local stakeholders and the question “who or what is a community”.

3) **Assessment of the results and impact of the event on the future directions of the field**

The Vienna Workshop succeeded to further enhance the knowledge transfer between the academic network ABORNE and the field of policy makers. It therefore followed up on earlier endeavours of Conferences and Workshops to bridge the gap between empirical scholarship and the governance sector, particularly meetings in South Africa and Senegal. It was able to build on existing structures by generating the support of the African Union Border Programme (AUBP) as well as the German government's development agency GIZ. It must be emphasised that Ambassador **Aguibou Diarrah**, Head of the AUBP, and **Mamadou Diarrassouba**, Senior Project Manager at the GIZ African Union Office to Support to the African Union Border Programme were among the high profile participant discussants from the policy sector which was complemented also by **Kinza Jawara N'Jai**, Principal Programme Officer and Head of Division of the Cross-Border Cooperation at the ECOWAS COMMISSION. Fortunately it was also possible to invite **Andrew Dunn** from the international conservation NGO International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), which is quite clearly among the most influential facilitators and stakeholders in transfrontier conservation policies. Finally, two discussants from the Commission for Development Research at the Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research and the Austrian Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Environment, as representatives from the host country completed the participant policymakers.

The format of the Workshop asked for short presentations of 15 minutes in a consecutive 3-4 papers session followed by ample time for discussions. The reason for this format was the aim to provide critical space for an outline of an intended edited volume on the subject. A special feedback session on the Workshop and a possible future publication looked into the requirements for such an effort and confirmed the well-received program with its fresh focus on borderlands as emerging conservation areas and the development policies lurking behind the active "bewildering" of these spaces with (wild) animals, plants and protection management. The excursion to the former lake-side border post between Hungary and Austria on Saturday the 28th afternoon provided the physical and time space to further look into publication strategies. It also allowed for planning of follow-up activities by individual participants.

Concerning the planned volume of published papers, the first option is to submit a volume proposal to the ABORNE Palgrave Macmillan series. The volume intends to break with the usual perspective on transfrontier conservation as mere governance, ecological and economic feasibility problems. The clear outcome of the lively participation in the Workshop was an in depth social scientists' perspective on the historical accumulation process of capital invested in lands on African soil from colonialism until the declaration of postcolonial transboundary areas. These discussion did not leave out any level of capital accumulation from social, cultural, economic to symbolic, the latter specifically centred on the emergence of nature protection as a requirement for reasonable ("now coined sustainable") development. Therefore, the idea behind the publication is to make good use of the broad-based knowledge of experts who are interested in border phenomena on the African continent and ask them for an evaluation of border transformation through governance efforts directed towards the protection of natural biodiversity and wildlife. This perspective shall include the historical and contemporary impact of large tracts of land becoming reserved for Wildlife (and in fact, in most past cases for European settlers). The contributors to the planned volume will be asked to pay special attention to the adequate involvement or, empirically, rather non-involvement of local communities, particularly indigenous

peoples who were often pushed towards state boundaries until recent times. Historically accumulated relations of power, exposed by unilateral forms of exclusion from areas once “nationalised” as parks or conservation zones are targeted by the analysis of forms of exclusion and, perhaps emerging forms of inclusion and participatory governance. In this regard, the exploitation of ‘ethnic’ cultures and indeed ethnicity as such should also be explored. ‘Living Museums’ (i.e. local people representing and, in fact, ‘staging’ their cultural peculiarities) and other forms of an increasing commodification and display of cultures in spatially confined/dedicated locations where they are allowed to exist are of specific interest in this regard.

The key question(s) for the planned volume may then be: Is it really a new vision of protection of wildlife and biodiversity that stands behind transfrontier conservation and under which conditions may such a vision indeed contribute to the decolonization agenda by transforming national borders in Africa. The contributions should also focus on the potential of transfrontier and/or Peace Parks in their proclaimed aim to generate new viable forms of natural resource management. With a critical social science approach on the sometimes hidden or artfully covered power relations the analysis shall take the discourses of “wilderness protection” in the interest of mankind into account. In particular the question, how some of the new governance idioms attempt to lure away from the benefits of the powerful and the possible disadvantages for less connected local communities – in many cases those people referred to by the notion of “borderlanders”. The livelihood goals of borderland residents are not just about the trickle-down of visible economic benefits to the broader constituency, but also about the recognition of local identities, the respect for divergent histories and cultural concepts of authority and of due process in opinion- and will-formation. Effective participation, and, perhaps most importantly, legal guarantees to secure land rights and natural resources are thus to be taken into account as key elements for a sound basis of conservation governance.

One of the most important concerns in this regard is the inclusion and adequate participation of local communities, including indigenous peoples, who lived on many of these territories and used their resources for their livelihood. This aspect, marginalized in earlier attempts of nature protection, which somehow condoned the human interests – at least those of the less advantaged local communities – should be fore-grounded in the planned publication. Given the wide range of African borderland experts involved intentionally in the Workshop the publication should, in our view, refrain from over-standardization and should allow for the academic freedom sometimes absent from too quantitative, i.e. economist approaches towards the implementation process of nature governance. The general (social scientist) evaluation of an increasingly powerful concept for the transformation of borders in the interest of ecotourism requires not only specialists in conservation issues, but more broadly specialists in the emergence, steering and social effects of borders as such.

4) Annexes 4a) and 4b): Programme of the meeting and full list of speakers and participants

Annex 4a: Programme of the meeting

Friday, 27th September 2013	
10:00 AM	Welcome remarks from
	Rudolf Richter (Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Vienna)
	Wolfgang Kraus (Head of the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna)
	Andreas Obrecht (Head of the Commission for Development Research at the OeAD)
	Werner Zips & Manuela Zips-Mairitsch (Organizers ABORNE Workshop, University of Vienna)
10:45 AM	David Coplan: <i>"Rebordering Africa, but not for Africans: Transfrontier Conservancy Areas, Tourism, and the Land"</i>
11:00 AM	Wolfgang Zeller: <i>"State Formation and Boundary Making in Africa - From a Poorly Tailored Suit to Transnational Spaces"</i>
11:15 AM	Paul Nugent: <i>"Tension between State Interests in facilitating the Flow of People, Goods and Animals and the Impulse to Restrict and Regulate"</i>
11:30 AM	Georg Klute: <i>"Africa's Future Environment: Concepts of Appropriation and Conservation of 'Nature'"</i>
11:45 AM	Coffee break
12:00 PM	Discussion
1:00 PM	Lunch
2:00 PM	Gregor Dobler: <i>"Why do peace parks fail to bring peace? Some lessons from previous cases of conservation and cross-boundary resource use"</i>
2:15 PM	Andrew Dunn: <i>"Transboundary Conservation between Cross River National Park, Nigeria, and Takamanda National Park, Cameroon, including an overview of the IUCN WCPA Transboundary Conservation Specialist Group"</i>
2:30 PM	Pierre Englebert: <i>"Peace Parks? Trans-Frontier Conservation Areas and Conflict in Africa"</i>
2:45 PM	Discussion
3:45 PM	Coffee break
4:15 PM	Sidsel Saugestad: <i>"Borders within States; Differentiation in the Name of Non-discrimination"</i>
4:30 PM	Justin Kenrick: <i>"From imposed borders to self-determined byelaws, the Ogiek of Mt Elgon navigate eviction-based conservation"</i>
4:45 PM	Edith Neubauer: <i>"The Transnational Governmentality of Landscape Planning and the 'Bondage' of the Baka people in South-East Cameroon"</i>
5:00 PM	Discussion
6:00 PM	End
7:30 PM	Dinner

Saturday, 28th September 2013	
10:00 AM	Stephan Hochleithner: <i>"Primitive Accumulation through Nature Conservation: A historical perspective on the establishment of the Virunga National Park (Parc National Albert)"</i>
10:15 AM	William Miles: <i>"Stop the Sahara!' Combatting Climate Change and Desertification in the Niger-Nigeria Borderlands"</i>
10:30 AM	Tandia Aboubakr: <i>"Transfrontier Green governance in a context of border regime ambivalence: the Transfrontier Biosphere Reserve (TBR) of Jawling and Djoudj in the Senegal River Valley"</i>
10:45 AM	Discussion
11:45 AM	Coffee break
12:00 PM	Closing Discussion
1:00 PM	End
2:00 PM	Leaving Vienna for Excursion
4:00 PM	Site visit: Border crossing between Austria and Hungary where the Pan European Picnic took place in 1989
6:00 PM	Dinner and informal round table on the planned publication and further networking

Annex 4b: Full list of speakers and participants

Prof. David Coplan

Professor of Social Anthropology and head of Department of Social Anthropology at University of Witwatersrand

Ambassador Aguibou Diarrah

African Union Commission, Peace and Security Department / African Union Border Programme (AUBP)

Mamadou Diarrassouba

GIZ-African Union Office, Senior Project Manager, Support to the African Union Border Programme

Prof. Gregor Dobler

Professor at the Institute of Ethnologie, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

Andrew Dunn, MSc

IUCN World Commission on Protected Areas, Transboundary Conservation Specialist Group Coordinator for West and Central African Region

Prof. Pierre Englebert

Professor of African Politics and International Relations Program Coordinator at Pomona College

Stephan Hochleithner, MA

Research Assistant at the Department of Geography, University of Zurich; PhD Candidate at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna

Kinza Jawara-N'Jai

Principal Programme Officer and Head of Division of the Cross-Border Cooperation at the ECOWAS COMMISSION

Dr. Justin Kenrick

Policy Advisor for Africa at Forest Peoples Programme (FPP)

Olivia Klimm, MA

PhD Candidate at the Institute of Ethnologie, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg

Prof. Georg Klute

Professor at the Institute of Ethnologie at the University of Bayreuth

Prof. Wolfgang Kraus

Head of the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna

Dr. Karla Krieger

Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Environment and Water Management, Austria

Prof. William Miles

Professor of Political Science at the Northeastern University

Edith Neubauer, MA

PhD Candidate at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna

Prof. Paul Nugent

Director of African Studies; Professor of Comparative African History at the University of Edinburgh

Prof. Andreas Obrecht

Head of the Commission for Development Research at the Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research

Prof. Sidsel Saugestad

Professor in Social Anthropology at the University of Tromsø

Aboubakr Tandia, MA

Ph.D. candidate at the Faculty of Law and Political Science at the Gaston Berger University Saint-Louis

Prof. Jean-Pierre Warnier

Centre d'études africaines

Wolfgang Zeller, MSc

ABORNE Coordinator, Teaching Fellow in African Studies at the University of Edinburgh

Dr. Manuela Zips-Mairitsch

Lecturer at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna

Prof. Mag. DDr. Werner Zips

Professor of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna