



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Conflict (im)mobiles : biographies of mobility along the Ubangi River in Central Africa

Wilson Janssens, M.C.

Citation

Wilson Janssens, M. C. (2019, September 11). *Conflict (im)mobiles : biographies of mobility along the Ubangi River in Central Africa*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/77742>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/77742>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/77742> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Wilson Janssens, M.C.

Title: Conflict (im)mobiles : biographies of mobility along the Ubangi River in Central Africa

Issue Date: 2019-09-11

Conflict (im)mobiles

Biographies of mobility along the Ubangi River in Central Africa

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 11 september 2019
klokke 16.15 uur

door
Maria Catherina Wilson Janssens
geboren te Bogotá, Colombia in 1983

Promotores:

Prof.dr. M.E. de Bruijn

Prof.dr. M.P.G.M. Mous

Promotiecommissie:

Prof.dr. M.L.J.C. Schrover

Prof.dr. M.J. Rowlands (University College London)

Dr. S. Ayimpam

Artworks:

Front: Detail from *Une ville flottante* (Sapin Makengele, 2017)

Back: *Gbalikouma* or *La débrouille* (Didier Kassai, 2017)

*Maman Clémentine, mpo na maki ya moto opesaki ngai mbala ya liboso tokutanaki.
Papa Henry Azunda, ndenge oyambaki biso maboko polele na Libenge.
Pour Juliette et ta force de vivre.
Sapin, mpo na kolakisa ngai nzela.*

--

To Maman Clémentine, who gave me two lukewarm eggs the first time we met.
To Papa Henry Azunda, who received us with open arms in Libenge.
To Juliette and your strength to live.
To Sapin, who led the way

... and to all the conflict mobiles flowing around the world.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	5
Acknowledgements	10
List of maps and figures	12
List of appendices.....	14
Glossary.....	15
Acronyms.....	19
Chapter I. Introduction	25
1) On rivers and moving people	25
2) Mobility and refugee-ness.....	27
3) Duress.....	32
4) Social becoming and vital conjunctures	36
5) Historiography and the biographic method	38
6) Research questions and chapters.....	40
Part One	45
Chapter II. Conceptualizing a transboundary and multi-sited field	46
1) Introduction.....	46
2) Un-bordering	48
3) Digi-scapes.....	55
4) The Seleka coup.....	56
5) The two riverbanks of the Ubangi	59
a) The Sud-Ubangi	59
b) Libenge: The jewel in the jungle.....	67
c) Bangui.....	76
6) The Anti-Balaka and the media	84
a) The rise of an acephalous group	84
b) Playing the G-card	86

c)	Black December	87
d)	Cannibalism and churnalism	88
7)	F(ol)lowing networks	90
a)	Kinshasa	90
b)	Brazzaville	94
c)	Cameroon and N'Djaména: Fleeing the Anti-Balaka	98
d)	Rebellion and revolution	101
Chapter III. Nomadic minds and moving methods.....		105
1)	Introduction	105
2)	Mobile methods: Multi-sited ethnography and travelling	107
3)	Opening up to senses and emotions	112
a)	From Bangui 'la coquette' to Bangui 'la roquette'	113
b)	Visuals	116
c)	Painting performance	117
4)	Gaining trust	119
a)	'Bê ti mo a de awè?'	119
b)	Ethical considerations	122
5)	Producing knowledge together: Co-creation	125
a)	Acknowledging the researched as researcher	125
b)	On Matsutake	127
c)	The walls of the university	129
Chapter IV. A history of mobility in a transborder region		131
1)	Introduction	131
2)	Dictatorship and democracy: The first decades after independence	134
3)	The turbulent 1990s	140
a)	Hope	140
b)	1996–1997	141

c)	Paranoia.....	146
4)	Deep water: More violence and new dictatorships	149
a)	The Congo wars	150
b)	Coup bid and the Banyamouleugue	154
c)	La 'Bozizie'	158
d)	Odjani: The third war.....	165
5)	Movement, violence and borders	168
a)	The longue durée	168
b)	Pre-colonial times.....	170
c)	Intruders and explorers.....	171
d)	Belgian Congo and the Afrique Équatoriale Française (AEF).....	174
Part Two	180
Chapter V. On moving and being stuck	181
1)	Introduction.....	181
2)	The coup's aftermath	182
a)	To flee or not to flee.....	182
b)	The breakdown of the social fabric: Personal feuds	185
c)	Memories and duress.....	187
3)	Crossing the Ubangi.....	190
a)	Escaping encampment	191
b)	A tedious and never-ending journey.....	198
4)	Urban jungle	203
a)	Arriving in Kinshasa	203
b)	Challenge of housing: Being moved around.....	204
c)	Moving in the city.....	206
d)	Food and stuckedness.....	208
5)	Moving on.....	212

a)	Being a refugee in Brazzaville	212
b)	Freedom	214
6)	Moving back and the fear of losing face	216
a)	Enduring	216
b)	Going back to Bangui.....	218
Chapter VI. Quest of becoming: The refugee-student and the school of life.....		220
1)	Introduction.....	220
2)	Coming of age in CAR	221
a)	Euloge	221
b)	Le Firmin	222
3)	Promises of education.....	224
a)	Higher education and patrimonial networks	226
b)	The refugee	228
4)	Kinshasa, a school.....	233
a)	Duress.....	233
b)	<i>La débrouille</i> : Surviving the urban jungle.....	237
5)	Adulthood.....	244
Chapter VII. Engagement and everyday politics		248
1)	Introduction.....	248
2)	Student leader turns refugee leader	248
a)	Inspiration.....	248
b)	Emplacement.....	252
3)	<i>Souci pour la communauté</i>	254
a)	Pillar I : Protection	255
b)	Pillar II : <i>Le social</i>	263
c)	Pillar III : Health care	264
4)	Formal and everyday politics.....	274

a) CAR Minister of Reconciliation’s official visit to Kinshasa.....	274
b) Language use: The power and hollowness of words	277
c) Doing politics outside one’s country	278
d) Networks : Playing different cards	280
Chapter VIII. Freedom, revolution, and creativity	283
1) Introduction.....	283
2) Continuity: Escaping the fraternal yoke	283
3) <i>‘Nous avons un esprit révolutionnaire’</i>	287
4) <i>‘La création est un atout majeur’</i>	290
Part Three	298
Chapter IX. Conflict mobiles and immobiles	299
1) Categorizing moving people	299
a) Ambivalent refugee-ness.....	299
b) The humanitarian caravan.....	302
2) Final note	305
References	310
Samenvatting in het Nederlands	331
Summary in English	336
Résumé en Français	340
Author’s biography.....	345
Appendix I.....	346
Appendix II.....	347
Appendix III.....	348
Appendix IV	350

Acknowledgements

Kobwaka libanga (name-dropping) is omnipresent in Congolese music. Musicians can drop up to a hundred names in one song. Dedications are woven into the lyrics and are missed if absent. My first *libanga* goes to Mirjam De Bruijn, who guided me for over six years, inside and outside academia, especially in moments of personal duress. Never objecting to supporting out-of-the-box ideas, Mirjam encouraged me to believe in my academic capacities. She guided me into the path of ethnography as a philosophy of life—meaning that it is not something we merely do, but who we are. On this path, generosity, acknowledgement, time, open-mindedness, and human compassion are the drivers of knowledge. I wish to never deviate from this path, especially in these times in which quantity threatens to overwhelm quality.

This thesis would not exist were it not for the time and stories people shared with me. *Singuila na ala* Arnold, Max, Gildas, Rodrigue, Ephraïm, Mario, Osée, Papa Afrique and the inhabitants of *La maison blanche*—*mbi ke guirisa ala apé! Matondo* Papa Henri Azunda, Yaya Rico, and those I cannot mention by name.

It takes a village to raise a child, so the saying goes. Likewise, it takes many hands and heads to write a thesis. The support and supervision of Maarten Mous was essential to activating my writing mode, we have walked a long path together. My CTD colleagues were part of all the ups and downs during this process—in particular, Inge Ligtoet and Jonna Both. All other CTD members, in all the programme's constituencies throughout the years, contributed as well: Inge Butter, Leonor Faber-Jonker, Adamou Amadou, Souleyman Abdoulaye Adoum, Sjoerd Sijsma, Boukary Sangaré, Eefje Gilbert, Lotte Pelckmans, Meike De Goede, Ruben van Gaalen and Croquemort. Michiel van Groesen's guidance, despite the thematic challenges and unorthodox methodological practices, was crucial.

Many helped me find the way, in Kinshasa: Sapin Makengele, Aristote Makala, and the Bondeko community in Kinshasa (Mère Kapaya, my dear friends Baudry and Ya Pathy, and the boys that I have seen grow throughout the years), team N'Djili: Clara Devlieger (who introduced me to this part of the city); Triphe Kialungila; and Christian Zushi among others. Père Bona, Papa Madjelo, Papa Debo, Maman Clémentine, and Maman Denise's family in Gemena, as well as CDI-Bwamanda's representative Frère Martin Mbwise. *Grazzie* to Soeur Marguerite and Soeur Aurora for their warm welcome and love in Libenge. Maman Véro (RIP), Lokole team (*Asante* Muharabu, Maman Béa, Gaylord, HK, and Angela), Thierry, Jean-Didier, Clément Ndjate, and AT. The *motards* Vasco, Mapamboli, and Prince drove us on challenging Ubanguian roads. Guido Van Heugten and Ioannis

Malamas (UNHCR) facilitated the plane trip when I carried a growing belly. Francesca Marian was the first one to take me across the river on a pirogue; I retain warm memories of those weeks spent together.

Feeling at home in Bangui was made possible through the hospitality and generosity of Juliette and Peguy. Papa Dimanche, among many others, taught me Sango. Alain and Sylvestre showed me how to navigate the city. All of them became good friends and great conversation partners. They were joined by the Anthropology Department at the University of Bangui, CD Ngouflo and his students, Crépin, Wilfriend, and Marie-Louise, and by Didier Kassaï and Pacôme Pabandji. A thought for Jina, of whom I have lost track.

Before fieldwork there is preparing for fieldwork. Père Marcel Henrix (RIP) and Theodore Trefon guided me in the first steps; they were later joined by Marie-Soleil Frère. Other friends and colleagues participated too: Sara de Wit, Sophie Feyder, Loes Oudenhuisen, Margot Luyckfasseel; the family Van Dijk–De Bruijn: Han, Annigje, Gosse, and Mette, who allowed me to hold an office in their home; and the ASC team, in particular Ella Verkaik, Jos Damen, Marieke van Winden, and Maaïke Westra. Joris Schapendonk encouraged me to embrace mobility. Lotje De Vries and Klaas van Walraven invited me to take part in a workshop in Libreville in 2018. The connections formed there gave me the last thrust of motivation to conclude the writing. In the final stretch, Ruadhan Hayes acted as a guardian angel. Lucie Bailly translated the summary to French—*merci!* And my two paranymphs, Inge and Leonor, who advised me on last decisions.

Family and friends are also part of the village . At times I shared my thoughts with them; at others their just being there sufficed. *Dank je wel mama* for all the times you took care of the kids. *Dank je wel* Oluyinka and Clevon for being family and giving me the hours to work on my dreams. *Dank zus, gracias papá, Ori, Juanis. Gracias* Erikah y Camilo, for the warm homecomings. *Libanga ya suka eza mpo na yo, Sapin. Merci pour ta patience, pour ce dernier repas la nuit quand je devais soumettre cette thèse. Matondo mpo na kofungolela ngai porte ya mokili ya sika.*

List of maps and figures

Figure 1	Map area of research: ‘From Bangui to Kinshasa’	22
Figure 2	The Central African Republic	23
Figure 3	The Democratic Republic of the Congo	24
Figure 4	Panorama of the Ubangi River	25
Figure 5	Still taken from a short video of crossing the Ubangi River on a pirogue	25
Figure 6	CAR twins.....	37
Figure 7	<i>Région inconnue</i> or Unknown region	48
Figure 8	Colonial Africa in 1913.....	49
Figure 9	Cameroon 1914-1916.....	50
Figure 10	Roads and highways	51
Figure 11	Congo Basin	52
Figure 12	Equatorial Africa	53
Figure 13	Language maps	54
Figure 14	Connectivity in Gemena	61
Figure 15	Entrance Quartier Lac Ndumda.....	62
Figure 16	Sunset on the Ubangi	63
Figure 17	Call box in Zongo	64
Figure 18	Still life water bottle, palm wine cup, and notebook.....	65
Figure 19	Papa Henri and Libenge Airport	70
Figure 20	Pape Henri and the Lamplighter.....	70
Figure 21	Pan-African University in Libenge	71
Figure 22	The proliferation of NGOs in Libenge.....	72
Figure 23	Evolution of Libenge’s airport	74
Figure 24	Map of Bangui	76
Figure 25	Genocide headlines	86
Figure 26	Map of Kinshasa	92
Figure 27	Kinkole	93
Figure 28	Mpila.....	97
Figure 29	Number of CAR refugees in neighbouring countries.....	99
Figure 30	‘Blaise Compaoré dégage’	103
Figure 31	‘L’entretien’	105
Figure 32	Walking with Max and Tezman	109

Figure 33	The ride-along method.....	111
Figure 34	The two towers.....	117
Figure 35	Painting performance Libenge Histoire.....	118
Figure 36	The intricate rose.....	129
Figure 37	Yaya Rico’s handwoven bottle wraps.....	131
Figure 38	Le siècle de la gloire.....	136
Figure 39	Le dernier voyage du Roi Léopard.....	145
Figure 40	Combined timeline CAR – DR Congo.....	149
Figure 41	Pan-African University of Libenge.....	151
Figure 42	Violent memories of Chadian intervention in DR Congo.....	151
Figure 43	Bombed hangar at Libenge Airport.....	153
Figure 44	P.S.T. (Les Points Sexuellement Transmissibles).....	160
Figure 45	Émile’s visiting card.....	162
Figure 46	Detail drawing ‘Congo 1960–1965’.....	177
Figure 47	Excerpt ‘Tempête sur Bangui’.....	181
Figure 48	‘Students need electricity in order to study’.....	185
Figure 49	Destroyed and looted house in Ouango.....	189
Figure 50	Entrance to the Mole refugee camp.....	192
Figure 51	Boyabu crossroads.....	193
Figure 52	World Cup programme.....	196
Figure 53	Nkoyi beer label.....	242
Figure 54	YES WE KIN.....	243
Figure 55	Student leader turns refugee leader.....	254
Figure 56	The refugee card.....	257
Figure 57	Theft and its leftovers.....	259
Figure 58	Bob Marley on the outside kitchen wall.....	262
Figure 59	Funeral in Kitambo cemetery.....	263
Figure 60	Local wheelchair.....	268
Figure 61	UNHCR vehicle.....	270
Figure 62	Threading colours.....	271
Figure 63	Esatis becomes a slam poet.....	292
Figure 64	Collage ‘ <i>La creation est un atout majeur</i> ’.....	294

List of appendices

- Appendix I *Requête* (Letter by Le Firmin), 2 December 2014
- Appendix II *Doléances* (Grievances regarding study opportunities), 20 August 2014
- Appendix III *Remerciement et doléances* (first letter by the newly elected CAR refugee community), 27 January 2014
- Appendix IV *Informations et dénonciations* (name not in database), 4 February 2015

Glossary

Arrondissement	City district; administrative unit of the city (legacy of French colonial rule). The Congolese (DRC) use ‘commune’ (legacy of Belgian colonial rule) instead.
Baleinières	Lit. whaleboats. Locally crafted wooden boats that travel long distances on the rivers in the Congo Basin.
Banguissois	Inhabitants of Bangui
Banyamoullengue	Jean-Pierre Bemba’s ALC rebel troops in CAR
Bozizie	Derogatory term that refers to François Bozizé’s presidential rule in CAR (2003–2013)
Capoeira	Afrobrazilian self-defence sport (or dance) with historical links to slavery. During a ‘roda’ (circle of capoeira), two <i>capoeiristas</i> (those who play capoeira) face one another in the circle while the others stand around watching and clapping. Besides the physical training, this self-defence group sport enhances the <i>capoeiristas’</i> sense of self-discipline, respect, solidarity, loyalty to the group, and self-control. According to the Kinoin <i>capoeiristas</i> , it also teaches them how to deal with adversity.
Cash Grant	Monthly money allowance supplied to the refugees living in camps by the WFP. It was introduced in the second half of 2014 and replaced the monthly food distribution, allowing the refugees to choose and diversify their daily menu.
Centro	Nickname for people from CAR
Chef de quartier	Administrative unit
Churnalism	Term coined by BBC journalist Wakeem Zakir. A form of journalism that relies on recycling press releases and agency copy and which involves little or no independent reporting or attempt at verification. Churnalism is also the result of increasing pressures of time and cost demands for journalists.

Cité	In contrast to the <i>ville</i> , the city centre, the <i>cit�</i> is composed of the popular residential neighbourhoods where most of the Kinois live. The <i>ville – cit�</i> distinction is a residue from the racist policies of the colonial period. At the time the <i>ville</i> was inhabited by the Belgian <i>colons</i> , while the <i>cit�</i> was allocated to the Africans.
Commune	City district; administrative unit of the city (legacy of Belgian colonial rule). The CAR, Congolese (Brazzaville), and Chadians use <i>arrondissement</i> instead (legacy of French colonial rule).
Congolit�	‘Congolese-ness’, or being Congolese. This term emerged during the 2006 DRC elections period and encapsulated at the time an exclusionary definition of national authenticity. The meaning of <i>congolit�</i> has now expanded to incorporate the affirmation of autochthonic origins and the expression of Congolese collective experience.
D�brouille	The art of fending for oneself; juggling livelihoods and getting by.
Dongolais	Inhabitants of Dongo
Eid-El-Fitr	Celebration at the end of the Muslim fasting period of Ramadan
ERUKIN	�quipe d’encadrement des r�fugi�s urbains de Kinshasa. A Congolese NGO that works with urban refugees in Kinshasa and which had a partnership with the UNHCR at the time of research.
�volu�s	Western-educated Congolese in Belgian Congo
Glissement	Manoeuvre to prolong the presidential term beyond the second mandate
Kambili	Heated palm oil replacing gasoline
Kinois	Inhabitants of Kinshasa
Kuluna	Urban youth gangs operating in Kinshasa. <i>Kuluna</i> are feared for their violence.

Lingala	One of the four national languages of DR Congo. It is widely spoken in the west of the country and is the vernacular of Kinshasa.
Mindele	Plural of <i>mundele</i>
Mundele	Lingala term used to designate white people (and non-African foreigners more broadly)
Operation Likofi	Police operation targeting gangs in Kinshasa
Operation Mbata ya Bakolo	Police operation targeting undocumented foreigners in Brazzaville (mainly Congolese from DR Congo) in 2014
Operation Sangaris	French military operation in CAR (December 2013 – October 2016)
Parlement Debout	An informal parliament in Kinshasa constituted of people who, after work or during free time, discuss politics on Kinshasa's street corners
Pirogue	Dug-out wooden canoe used to navigate on the rivers and lakes in Central Africa
PK5	Muslim neighbourhood in Bangui, also known as 5 kilo. Famous for housing the largest market of Bangui.
Pondu	Cassava leaves. A national dish in different Central African countries. <i>Pondu</i> (in Lingala) is a Congolese dish that consists of pounded cassava leaves cooked in palm oil. It is eaten on a daily basis. Even if prepared differently (often with peanut butter), the cassava leaves are also on the daily menu in CAR, where they are named <i>ngundja</i> in Sango. Other names include <i>sombe</i> (Swahili) and <i>saka-saka</i> (Kikongo).
Poto	Lingala colloquialism for Europe and the West in general
Sango	Official language in CAR (together with French)
Sape	Acronym for société des ambianceurs et personnes élégantes. The <i>sape</i> is a cultural movement in both Congos, composed of <i>sapeurs</i> or Congolese dandies. By dressing up (there are different styles ranging from classic and elegant to extravagant) and buying expensive

clothing, the *sapeurs* defy societal rules and transform failure into apparent victory. *Sape* was turned into a verb, *saper*, which means to be conscious about one's clothes and to dress well.

Seleka	Rebel coalition in CAR that toppled Bozizé in a coup d'état on March 2013
Talimbi	Water spirits and sorcerers in the CAR imaginary
Wewa	Motorbike used as a motor-taxi in Kinshasa. <i>Wewa</i> means 'you' in the Luba language. It is believed that when the diamond-digging business declined in the Kasai, where the Luba people originate, many moved to Kinshasa in search of work and opportunities. They ended up driving motorbikes. Potential clients would hail them: 'You!' or ' <i>Wewa!</i> ' This pronoun became a metonym.
Zairianization	Confiscation of enterprises owned by foreigners for the benefit of Congolese nationals under Mobutu
Zaraguinas	' <i>Coupeurs de route</i> ' (lit. road cutters), or road bandits

Acronyms

AEF	Afrique équatoriale française
AFDL	Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre
AGR	(or IGA) Activités génératrices de revenus
ALC	Armée de Libération du Congo
APRD	Armée Populaire pour la Restauration de la Démocratie
AT	Administrateur du Territoire
BINUCA	Bureau Intégré de l'organisation des Nations Unies en centrafrique
BONUCA	Bureau d'appui des Nations Unies pour la consolidation de la paix en République Centrafricaine
CAR	Central African Republic
CEMAC	Communauté économique et monétaire de l'Afrique centrale
CNR	Commission Nationale pour les Réfugiés
CNS	Conférence Nationale Souveraine
COCORA	Coalition Citoyenne d'Opposition aux Rebelles Armés
CPJP	Convention des Patriotes pour la Justice et la Paix
CTD	Connecting in Times of Duress
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DRC	(or DR Congo) Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Office
EUFOR	EUFOR RCA European Union Military Operation in the Central African Republic
ERUKIN	Équipe d'encadrement des réfugiés urbains de Kinshasa
FAC	Forces Armées Congolaises (under Laurent-Désiré Kabila)
FACA	Forces Armées Centrafricaines
FAR	Forces Armées Rwandaises
FARDC	Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo
FATEB	Faculté de Théologie Évangélique de Bangui
FAZ	Forces Armées Zaïroises
FC	Franc Congolais

FCFA	Franc de la Communauté Financière en Afrique
FDPC	Front Démocratique du Peuple Centrafricain
FOMAC	Force Multinationale de l'Afrique Centrale
FOMUC	Force Multinationale en Centrafrique
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGA	(or AGR) Income-Generating Activities
ISP	Institut Supérieur Pédagogique
M23	Mouvement du 23 mars
MESAN	Mouvement pour l'évolution sociale de l'Afrique noire
MINURCA	Mission des Nations Unies en République Centrafricaine
MINUSCA	Mission multidimensionnelle intégrée des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation en République centrafricaine
MISAB	Mission Interafricaine de Surveillance des Accords de Bangui
MISCA	Mission Internationale de Soutien à la Centrafrique Sous Conduite Africaine
MLC	Mouvement pour la Libération du Congo
MLPC	Mouvement pour la Libération du Peuple Centrafricain
MONUC	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (up until June 2010)
MONUSCO	United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (From July 2010 onwards)
MWRG	Matsutake Worlds Research Group
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ONATRA	Office National des Transports publicly owned Congolese company which operates railways, ports, and river transport.
PAM	(or WFP) Programme Alimentaire Mondiale
RC	Republic of Congo (colloquially known as Congo-Brazzaville)
RFI	Radio France Internationale
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RVA	Regie des voies aériennes
TVC	Titre de Voyage Conventionnel, or the refugee travel document

UDPS	Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social
UFDR	Union des Forces Démocratiques pour le Rassemblement
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WFP	(or PAM) World Food Programme

From Bangui to Kinshasa

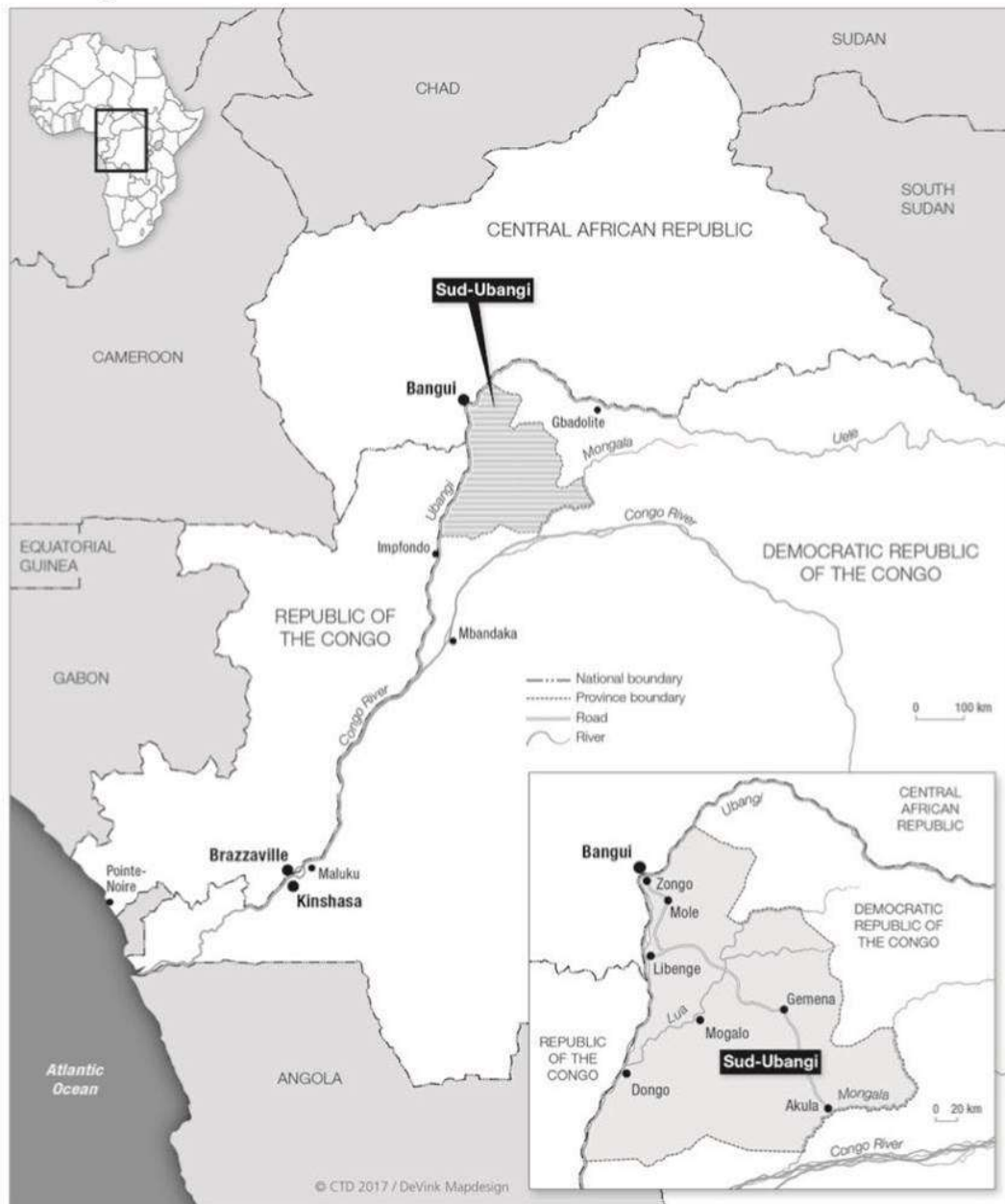


Figure 1 Map area of research: 'From Bangui to Kinshasa'
Map produced in collaboration with the cartographer Nel De Vink (2017)



Figure 2 The Central African Republic¹

¹ © Nations Online Project (accessed 1 June 2019)



Figure 3 The Democratic Republic of the Congo²

² © Nations Online Project (accessed 1 June 2019)