

# List of Publications | Dr Franzisca Zanker

## Monograph

- (2018) Legitimacy in Peacebuilding: Rethinking Civil Society Involvement in Peace Negotiations, Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution; Abingdon: Routledge

## Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

- (2024) “When There is No Migration, the Whole Region Has a Problem”: The Political Priorities of Migration Policies in West Africa, *African Human Mobility Review*, 10(2), pp. 9-28.
- (2023) A typology of resistance: the ‘hot potato’ of European return in West Africa, *Territory, Politics, Governance*, online first: 27 April 2023.
- (2022) Protective exclusion as a postcolonial strategy: Rethinking deportations and sovereignty in the Gambia, *Security Dialogue*, 53 (5), pp 475- 493 (with Judith Altrogge).
- (2022) The (in)formality of mobility in the ECOWAS region: The paradoxes of free movement, *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 29 (2), pp. 187-205 (with Kwaku Arhin-Sam, Amanda Bisong, Leonie Jegen and Harouna Mounkaila).
- (2022) No hope for the ‘foreigners’: The conflation of refugees and migrants in South Africa, *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 20 (2) pp.253-265 (with Khangelani Moyo).
- (2021) Who is watching? Refugee protection during a pandemic - responses from Uganda and South Africa, *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9 (37) pp. 1-19 (with Khangelani Moyo and Kalyango Ronald Sebba).
- (2019) The Political Influence of Return: From Diaspora to Libyan Transit Returnees, *International Migration*, 57(4), pp. 167-180 (with Judith Altrogge).
- (2019) Managing or Restricting Movement? Diverging Approaches of African and European Migration Governance, *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7(17), pp. 1-18.
- (2017) Moving Beyond Hybridity: The Multi-Scalar Adaptation of Community Policing in Liberia, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 11(2), pp.166-185.
- (2015) Power, Peace, and Space in Africa: Revisiting Territorial Power-sharing, *African Affairs*, 114, 454, pp.72-91 (with Claudia Simons and Andreas Mehler).
- (2014) Legitimate Representation: Civil Society Actors in Peace Negotiations Revisited, *International Negotiation*, 19, 1, pp.62 – 88.
- (2013) Power-sharing in Africa’s war zones: how important is the local level? *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 51, 4, pp.681-706 (with Claudia Simons, Andreas Mehler and Denis Tull).

## Other Articles and Book Chapters

- (2023). Eurozentrismus. in: Marcel Berlinghoff, Birgit Glorius and J. Olaf Kleist et al. (eds), *Handbuch der Flucht- und Flüchtlingsforschung*. Baden-Baden, Nomos.

- (2023). Westafrika. in: Marcel Berlinghoff, Birgit Glorius and J. Olaf Kleist et al. (eds), *Handbuch der Flucht- und Flüchtlingsforschung*. Baden-Baden, Nomos. (with Laura Lambert)
- (2023) Beyond the Eurocentric Gaze: Refugee and migration governance in Africa, in: Adeoye O. Akinola and Jesper Bjarnesen (eds), *Worlds Apart?: Perspectives on Africa-EU Migration*, Sunnyside: Fanele pp. 96-114
- (2023) Der Status des Flüchtlings als politisches Konstrukt, in: Jochen Oltmer, Marcel Berlinghoff, Franck Düvell, Ulrike Krause and Andreas Pott (eds), *Report Globale Flucht 2023*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag, pp. 140-150 (with Khangelani Moyo).
- (2020) The Corona Virus and Migration Governance in South Africa: Business as Usual? *Africa Spectrum*, 55, 1, pp. 100–112 (with Khangelani Moyo).
- (2019) Responding to the Backway: The Migrant Crisis and the Gambia, in: Veronica Fynn Bruey and Steven W. Bender (eds) *Deadly Voyages: Migrant Journeys across the Globe*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 19-36 (with Niklas Hultin).
- (2019) Liberia, in: Jon Abbink, Victor Adetula, Andreas Mehler and Henning Melber (eds), *Africa Yearbook Volume 15*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, pp. 112- 126.
- (2019) The Consequences of Power Sharing at the Local Level, in: Caroline Hartzell and Andreas Mehler (eds) *Power Sharing and Power Relations After Civil War*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 67 – 88 (with Claudia Simons, Andreas Mehler and Denis Tull).
- (2018) Territorialisation in Post-Conflict Contexts: Claims to Space and Conflict Management, in: Ulf Engel, Marc Boeckler and Detlef Müller-Mahn (eds), *Spatial Practices Territory, Border and Infrastructure in Africa*, Leiden: Brill Publishers, pp. 80-94 (with Andreas Mehler).
- (2018) Liberia in: Jon Abbink, Victor Adetula, Andreas Mehler and Henning Melber (eds), *Africa Yearbook Volume 14*. Leiden: Brill Publishers, pp. 113- 121.
- (2017) The Politics of EU and African Migration Governance: From Rhetoric to Practice, *ABI Working Paper Series No.5*. Freiburg.
- (2014) Questioning the Local in Peacebuilding, *Working Papers of the Priority Programme 1448 of the German Research Foundation*, 10 (with Claudia Simons).
- (2013) Legitimate representation in mediation processes: Civil society involvement in Liberia and Kenya, *Mediation Arguments*, 1, pp.1-20.
- (2012) Finding the Cases that Fit: Methodological Challenges in Peace Research, *GIGA Working Paper*, No. 189, March 2012, Hamburg: GIGA (with Claudia Simons).
- (2011) Intervention in der Côte d'Ivoire: a recipe for disaster, in: Margret Johannsen, Bruno Schoch, Corinna Hauswedell, Tobias Debiel and Christiane Fröhlich (eds), *Friedensgutachten 2011*, Berlin: Lit-Verlag, pp.248-261 (in German) (with Andreas Mehler).
- (2010) Integration as Conflict Prevention: Possibilities and Limitations in the experience of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, *Security & Human Rights*, 21, 3, pp. 220-232.

## Working Papers and Policy Briefs

- (2024) [Contested Mobility Norms in Africa](#), Berlin: Heinrich Boell Foundation (with Amanda Bisong)
- (2023) [The political stakes of refugee-hosting in Africa](#), Forschung DSF no 62; Osnabrück: Deutsche Stiftung Friedensforschung
- (2022) [Political Stakes of Refugee Protection in Uganda](#), Freiburg: Arnold-Bergstraesser Institute (with Ronald Kalyango Sebba)
- (2022) [The Economic Community of West African States](#) Migration Control Website (with Leonie Jegen).
- (2021) [Effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on refugees and their protection in Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe](#). ABI Working Paper 18, Freiburg: ABI (with Nadine Segadlo, Ulrike Krause and Hannah Edler)
- (2021) “[Everyone was overwhelmed by the fears and the panic of the unknown disease](#)”. [Kenyan Refugee Protection and the COVID-19 Pandemic](#). IMIS Working Paper 10, Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) der Universität Osnabrück. Osnabrück: IMIS. (with Nadine Segadlo, Ulrike Krause and Hannah Edler)
- (2020) [Political Contestations within South African Migration Governance](#), Freiburg: Arnold-Bergstraesser Institute (with Khangelani Moyo)
- (2020) [Free movement in West Africa: Juxtapositions and Divergent Interests](#), MEDAM Policy Brief 2020/1 (with Amanda Bisong, Kwaku Arhin-Sam and Leonie Jegen)
- (2020) [Chapter 4: The political economy of migration governance in West Africa](#), 2020 MEDAM *Assessment Report* (with Leonie Jegen)
- (2020) [Gambia](#), Migration Control website (with Judith Altrogge).
- (2019) [Challenges in EU African Migration Cooperation: West African Perspectives on Forced Return](#); MEDAM Policy Brief 2019/5 ([en français](#)) (with Judith Altrogge, Kwaku Arhin-Sam, and Leonie Jegen)
- (2019) [The Political Economy of Migration Governance in the Gambia](#) Freiburg: Arnold-Bergstraesser Institute (with Judith Altrogge).
- (2019) [Nigeria at a crossroads: The political stakes of migration governance](#), MEDAM Policy Brief 2019/4 (with Kwaku Arhin-Sam)
- (2019) [European dominance of migration policy in Niger: On a fait les filles avant la mère](#), MEDAM Policy Brief 2019/3 ([en français](#)) (with Leonie Jegen).
- (2018) [The Gambia: a haven for refugees?](#) in: *Forced Migration Review*, 57, pp. 74- 76.
- (2018) Women in Peace and Transition Processes: Liberia (2003-2011), Case Study. Geneva: Inclusive Peace and Transition Initiative (The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), April 2018.
- (2017) [The Politics of Migration Governance in the Gambia](#). Freiburg: Arnold Bergstraesser Institute, October (with Judith Altrogge).

- (2016) Die Migrationspolitik der EU in Afrika braucht einen Richtungswechsel, *GIGA Focus Afrika*, 6, December (in German) (with Sebastian Prediger).
- (2015) A Decade of Police Reform in Liberia: Perceptions, Challenges and Ways Ahead, *SSR 2.0 Brief*, Issue No. 4, September, Ontario: Centre for Security Governance
- (2015) The Ebola Outbreak in Comparison: Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, *GIGA Focus International Edition* English, 03/2015, Hamburg: GIGA (with Katharina Heitz Tokpa and Andrea Kaufmann).
- (2014) 'Monrovia is not Liberia': A Rocky Path towards Decentralisation, *Conflict Trends*, 3, 10-16
- (2014) Liberia: Broader Participation in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and Implementation 2003 - 2011. Case study written for the Project: *Broader Participation in Peace and Transition Negotiations*, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies
- (2006) Contribution to 'Northern Uganda: Peace at Last? Report for the Period July-December 2006', Kampala: Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (Contributor)

### Op-Eds

- (2024) [Zum Scheitern verurteilt](#), 404, *iz3w*, August 2024 (in German)
- (2024) [Outsourcing Asylum to African States? An endeavour destined to fail](#), June 2024, Externalizing Asylum
- (2024) [Why deportation is not an easy migration policy solution](#), May 2024, Netzwerk Fluchtforschung (with Judith Altrogge)
- (2024) [Free movement in west Africa: three countries leaving ECOWAS could face migration hurdles](#), February 2024, *The Conversation* (with Leonie Jegen & Amanda Bisong)
- (2023) [Too many nerds in one room: Theories, theorization, and deconstructing categories](#), June 2023, AMMODI Blog (With Paolo Gaibazzi)
- (2023) [African migration to Europe: forced returns run into resistance](#), May 2023, *The Conversation*
- (2023) [Tunisia: President's offensive statements targeted black migrants - with widespread fallout](#), March 2023, *The Conversation* (with Nermin Abbasi) (available [in French](#))
- (2022) [Free movement in West Africa: the culture of mobility still matters despite challenges](#), August 2022, *The Conversation* (with Amanda Bisong and Leonie Jegen)
- (2022) [Plans for offshoring refugee protection undermine human dignity, African political interests, and international norms](#), February 2022; *Migration Control*
- (2021), [Südafrika: Gestrandet am Kap der guten Hoffnung](#), 385, *iz3w*, July 2021 (in German)
- (2021) ["Nowhere to be found": Three Decades of UNHCR in South Africa](#), March 2021, *Völkerrechtsblog*

- (2020) [COVID-19 and Refugees and Asylum Seekers in South Africa](#), July 2020, *Fluchtforschungsblog* (with Khangelani Moyo) (also available in German)
- (2020) [South Africa's xenophobic agenda is impeding its coronavirus response](#), April 2020, *African Arguments* (with Khangelani Moyo)
- (2020) [The tiny African country making a big case against Myanmar](#), February 2020, *The Lowy Institute* (with Antje Missbach)
- (2019) [Why return from Europe is causing problems for The Gambia](#), November 2019, *The Conversation* (with Judith Altrogge).
- (2019) [Spirited away: The fading importance of resettlement in the emergency transit mechanism in Rwanda](#), October 2019, *ECPDM Guest Blog* (with Leonie Jegen).
- (2019) [Op-ed: Libya: Humanitarian Solutions Won't Solve Political Problems](#), September 2019, *European Council on Refugee and Exile (ECRE)* (with Leonie Jegen).
- (2017) [Returning migrants to The Gambia: the political, social and economic costs](#), October 2017, *The Conversation*
- (2017) [Wahl ist ein Gradmesser für die Reformbereitschaft](#), August 2017, *Badische Zeitung* (in German).
- (2017) [Flüchtlingskrise in Afrika. Das größte Flüchtlingslager der Welt in Kenia soll geschlossen werden](#), February 2017, *Badische Zeitung* (in German).
- (2017) [Weg vom Eurozentrismus! Ein Plädoyer für eine nachhaltige EU-Migrationspolitik in Afrika](#), January 2017, *Netzwerk Flüchtlingsforschung*, (in German) (with Sebastian Prediger).
- (2017) [Legale Wege öffnen](#), *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, January 2017, translated and reprinted in [The Guardian](#) and [Le Monde](#).
- (2016) [Europe's migration "partnerships" with Africa need a new direction in 2017](#), December 2016, *The Conversation* (with Sebastian Prediger).
- (2015) [Power, peace, and space in Africa](#), July 2015, *Democracy in Africa*

## Reviews

- (2023) Review of 'Palimpsest' by Doris Salcedo, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 36 (2), 307-310.
- (2022) Book review essay: African perspectives on migration: Re-centering Southern Africa, *Migration Studies*, 10 (2), 282-337.
- (2020) Book review: Deviant Destinations: Zimbabwe and North to South Migration, *ALMA Reviews Blog*, July 2020.

(2018) Book review: Whose Peace? Local Ownership and United Nations Peacekeeping, *Perspectives on Politics*, 16, 1, pp. 286-287.

(2014) Book review: Why Peace Fails: The causes and prevention of civil war recurrence, *African Affairs*, 113, 451, 324-326.