Abstracts, week 15

Africa
Abstract: There is increasing international concern about the growth of organized crime in Africa. Important criminal organizations and professional criminals are present in Africa, but the authors argue that the term "organized crime" is not a very useful description of their activity, since what we are actually witnessing is a reformulation of politics and crime into networks that transcend the state/non-state boundary in ways that are hardly subsumed in standard concepts of organized crime. Similar processes are taking place in various parts of the world, and thus African countries are not exceptional in this regard. The process, however, does take particular forms in Africa that arise out of the histories of individual countries. The article describes the evolution in countries as diverse as Libya, Guinea-Bissau, and Zimbabwe of a market for protection, as business people, legitimate and otherwise, seek protection for their activities and their personnel. This market for protection is created by making private arrangements, often with state officials working in private capacities. The implications are profound: they could amount to a new mode of governance connecting Africa to international markets and institutions in which the distinctions between licit and illicit economic activity become difficult to detect. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract] http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/457/505.abstract (Restricted access)

Burundi
Abstract: On 24 April 2015, Burundi’s ruling party Conseil national pour la défense de la démocratie-Forces pour la défense de la démocratie (CNDD-FDD) designated incumbent President Pierre Nkurunziza as its candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections, despite the fact that he had already completed two terms in office. This announcement triggered a series of demonstrations in Bujumbura, Burundi’s capital city. Two months later, the country experienced several weeks of violent confrontation between the police and primarily young urban protesters, a failed coup d’état, and repeated delays of the elections. Despite international pressure and mediation, no genuine political dialogue between supporters and opponents of President Nkurunziza’s third term took place. This briefing sheds light on the trigger of the violence as well as the longer-term context of the ongoing crisis in Burundi. Notes, ref. [ASC Leiden abstract] http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/457/624.short (Restricted access)

Ghana
Abstract: This article presents new theoretical and empirical insights into democratization in Africa, using the typology developed by John Higley and Michael Burton to understand elite interaction in Ghana. Social network analysis (SNA) is used to test the main proposition of the Higley/Burton theory, namely that a "liberal democracy is impossible without a consensually united elite". Empirical evidence is provided from a unique data set that maps the interaction patterns between Members of Parliament elected to the Ghanaian legislature in 2012. The article shows that MPs in Ghana form a dense and strongly interconnected network bridging ethnic and party cleavages, and that MPs from different parties have developed a measure of trust in one another. These findings not only support Higley and Burton’s claim that elite integration is conducive to stable democracy, but also point to new directions in African Studies by demonstrating the capacity of actor-centric approaches to explain processes of democratization in countries that lack the classic structural preconditions for consolidation. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract] http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/457/529.abstract (Restricted access)
Kenya
Abstract: The Netherlands has had a special relationship with Kenya in the field of foreign trade and development cooperation since the 1950s (Kazimierczuk 2015). At a more private level, it is also recognized that the Kenyan diaspora are well equipped to transfer Dutch knowledge and entrepreneurship across the cultural divide back to counterparts in their country of origin (Kinuthia and Akinyoade 2012). With this background, the ASC (African Studies Centre Leiden), VSO (Voluntary Service Overseas) and KDCN (Kenyan Diaspora Community in the Netherlands) with the support of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs organized a volunteer project titled "Maximizing the value of the Kenyan diaspora". This infosheet reports on the experiences of the twelve volunteers, selected from the Kenyan diaspora community (KDCN) in the Netherlands, who were recruited for their professional expertise to work and share knowledge with Kenyan businesses and organizations, each of whom spent three or six months with host organizations, contributing to diverse developmental activities related to their professional expertise, skill and experience. [ASC Leiden abstract]
http://hdl.handle.net/1887/38703

Liberia
Abstract: The literature on the "new global land grab" has to date been preoccupied with macro and theoretical studies, resulting in a lack of in-depth local studies. This article uses a Liberian case study and quasi-anthropological methods to address this imbalance. In Liberia, historical confrontations over resource access that are tied to issues of land ownership have been given new life by the interjection of a Malaysian palm oil corporation. Elders, as the biggest potential losers in the confiscation of land, have successfully linked themselves to NGOs and transnational advocacy campaigns that publicize land grabbing and pressure for international standards and compliance. At the same time, young men who largely came of age during the civil war have been rendered invisible and palpably frustrated. In exploring the generational divide that has characterized the Sime Darby plantation, the article not only reveals that land grabbing has its supporters as well as its detractors, but also unmasks the role that NGO advocacy networks play in local politics and in shaping the narratives that the wider world hears about the response of African communities to new development trends. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/455/185.abstract (Restricted access)

Maghreb
Abstract: De la Tunisie où le brasier s'est enflammé, en passant par l'Égypte et la Lybie qui ont également radié leurs dirigeants de la carte géopolitique, ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le 'Printemps arabe', né à l'hiver 2010-2011, ne cesse d'étonner par les conséquences politico-sociales qu'il continue d'engendrer. Dans ce livre plusieurs écrivains et intellectuels d'horizons géographiques divers questionnent une réalité qui désormais fait partie du paysage intellectuel au moins autant que des enjeux stratégiques de pouvoir. [Résumé ASC Leiden]

Mali
Abstract: In 2012 Mali faced a crisis disrupting nearly twenty years of democratization, a coup and rebel insurgency. This article investigates policy priorities amongst rural Malians living on the border of state and rebel-controlled territory during the crisis. While academic and policy-making communities have focused largely on Mali's recent and sudden regime and territorial breakdown, the villagers defined the crisis in terms of their unmet needs for public services and infrastructure amidst high food and water insecurity. Concern for the sudden "juridical state" breakdown, the
collapse of the democratic regime, was trumped by the focus on long-term "empirical state" breakdown. Using recent Afrobarometer data on diverse dimensions of empirical statehood, the authors show that the problem of rural neglect emphasized by seminal scholars is persistent not only across Mali, but also across many African countries. The tendency of academics and policy makers to focus on the immediate or more volatile political problems of the coup and rebel insurgency facing the Malian state, while important, risks understating and underestimating the power of slow-moving crises of daily life that are more important to rural citizens. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/457/598.abstract (Restricted access)

Morocco

Abstract: Dans ce volume collectif trente écrivains, cinéastes et intellectuels marocains commentent sur les attentats des 7, 8 et 9 et la manifestation du 11 janvier 2015 à Paris (France). " 'Ce qui nous somme', ici, n'est pas ce que nous sommes. Comprendre: ce qui nous met en demeure [...] ne relève donc pas d'une identité. C'est-à-dire, disons-le clairement, d'une religion. L'islam, en l'occurrence, au nom duquel nous serions sommés de répondre du meurtre. Ce qui nous somme, ce sont des raisons, des convictions, des visions, aussi différentes les unes des autres que le sont les auteurs qui ont écrit, chacun, comme on pense: seul, librement."
[Résumé ASC Leiden]

Niger

Abstract: In contrast to similar organizations in its neighbouring countries, Niger's domestic Salafi associations have remained peaceful and apolitical. Drawing on historical institutionalist scholarship and on recent conceptualizations of the state as a religious actor, this article examines how the Nigerien state has tried to regulate religious practices since Seyni Kountché's military coup in 1974. It argues that the institutional regulation of religious practices is one important variable that accounts for Niger's deviant trajectory. During Niger's autocratic period (1974-91), the government established the Association islamique du Niger (AIN) as the sole legal authority regulating access to Niger's Friday prayer mosques. Committed to peaceful and apolitical interpretations of the Koran, the AIN confined access to Niger's religious sphere to local clerics and Sufi brotherhoods. After the breakdown of autocratic rule in 1991, the AIN served as a religious advisory body. Salafi associations could assemble freely but had to abide by certain criteria. Confronted with the prospect of Islamic violence in 2000, the Nigerien state intervened in Niger's religious sphere in several ways. Among other initiatives, the government began to resurrect a more rigorous system of religious supervision in order to monitor religious practices on an ongoing basis. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/457/577.abstract (Restricted access)

Nigeria

Abstract: This paper critiques the rise of Dangote Cement plc to become the dominant player in the Nigerian cement industry. Although the close relationship between the company's founder, Aliko Dangote, and subsequent Nigerian governments has been an important factor in this success story, the authors argue that it is not the only explanatory variable. Dangote's entrepreneurial skills and understanding of the Nigerian political and economic environment enabled him to proactively predict and exploit the rapid increase in demand for cement in the country. The reluctance of most multinational cement companies to increase their investments in Nigeria - a consequence of the ever increasing international scrutiny of business ethics especially in corruption prone countries - also helped reduce the competition and investment risks for Dangote Cement. [Book abstract]
Nigeria
Abstract: This chapter presents a case study of what is arguably the biggest foreign involvement in Nigerian agriculture to date: the Shonga Farms experiment in Kwara State. In 2005, the expulsion of white farmers from Zimbabwe provided a unique opportunity for the governor of Kwara State to bring in experienced farmers into the State, in order to develop and modernize the local agricultural sector. Kwara State guaranteed loans to thirteen Zimbabwean farmers and the project was centred around three clusters of farming activities: mixed farming, poultry farming and dairy farming. The authors critically examine this scheme to reduce the potential minefields for foreign investors in African agriculture and enhance the utility value of such investments for both the foreign investors and the concerned African countries. Bibliogr. [ASC Leiden abstract]
http://www.asclibrary.nl/docs/401676315.pdf

Nigeria
Abstract: This book, covering crime victimization in Nigeria in the year 2012, is based on the sixth annual national crime survey conducted by CLEEN Foundation, a Nigerian not-for-profit NGO. The report covers several areas investigated in the survey, such as the incidence and pattern of crime victimization in 2012, domestic and sexual violence, informal policing, insurgency and terrorism, police crime and intelligence, corruption, road safety, and human rights. Contents: Criminal victimization and criminal justice administration in Nigeria (Etannibi E.O. Alemika); Criminal victimization and fear of crime in Nigeria: 2012 (Raphael Mbaegbu); Patterns of criminal victimization in Nigeria: 2005-2012 (Moses U. Ikoh & 'Kemi Okenyodo); Domestic and sexual violence (Titilayo C. Orisaremi and Chigozirim Odinkalu); Human rights violation in Nigeria (Blessing Abiri and Barbara Maigari); Informal policing and protection ('Kemi Okenyodo and Chisom Ugwu); Road safety and traffic violation (Nengak Daniel Gondyi and Raphael Mbaegbu); Insurgency and terrorism in Nigeria (Etannibi E.O. Alemika and Val Ahmadu); Crime survey and police crime intelligence in Nigeria (Solomon E. Arase). [ASC Leiden abstract]

Northeast Africa
Abstract: The two regions with the greatest incidence of maritime piracy in Africa, the Horn of Africa and the Gulf of Guinea, are also known for the low quality of the institutions underlying their political economies. This article investigates how institutions in these areas shape and constrain the sophisticated maritime piracy syndicates and their behaviour. Engaging with the literature on state failure and maritime piracy, the authors argue that norms and institutions constrain even criminal organizations like piracy groups, which often mimic and are embedded in the licit economy. In the Horn of Africa, pirates take structural and ideational cues from the licit economy and are constrained by the informal regulations that govern clan groups, rent-based economic activities, and collective security arrangements in Somalia. In West Africa, sophisticated piracy both preys upon and arises from the formal economy, specifically the international oil industry. As a result, piracy networks often mirror and draw from both the formal institutions in Nigeria used to regulate and protect oil production, and those engaged in oil production, processing, distribution, and transportation. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/457/555.abstract (Restricted access)
**Rwanda**

Abstract: In Rwanda, information and communication management is an important political weapon used by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) to protect its hold on power. The RPF has developed a coherent and comprehensive narrative on the past, present, and future of the country and its citizens, and tightly policing this "truth" is an essential ingredient of its political strategy. On 1 October 2014, the BBC aired a television documentary entitled 'Rwandaís Untold Story'. It offered a view very different from the RPF's narrative, one that questioned its democratic credentials and human rights record. This briefing analyses what was at stake in the ensuing struggle between the Rwandan government and the BBC, as well as the strategies deployed.

Notes, ref. [ASC Leiden abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/457/637.short (Restricted access)

**South Africa**

Abstract: There is an increasing sense in South Africa that the settlement reached in 1994 was not so much the foundation of a new order as a holding operation, keeping in abeyance a host of unresolved issues in regard to economic distribution and race relations. Concealed beneath the ANC's continued electoral dominance is a diminution of its authority and, indeed, of the authority of a host of the new order's institutions. In April 2014, academics from across Europe, North America and South Africa came together at the University of Oxford to probe the nature of the South African settlement 20 years on from its founding election. This part special issue represents a snippet of the analyses that emerged from this conference, occurring on the eve of South Africa's fifth national democratic contest. How successfully have democratic institutions been able to shift long-standing structural features in society? How have the aspirations of those who fought for liberation and equality fared relative to those of the 40 per cent of the population born since 1994, who have no experience of minority rule? Contributions: South Africa in transition: introduction (Jason Robinson, Jonny Steinberg, David Simon); Constitutional courts as democratic consolidators: insights from South Africa after 20 years (Theunis Roux); Understanding the resurgence of traditional authorities in post-apartheid South Africa (Andrew Ainslie, Thembela Kepe); Transcending the past and reimagining the future of the South African University (Adam Habib); The era of ineluctability? Post-apartheid South Africa after 20 years of democratic elections (David Everatt); Apartheid's afterlives: violence, policing and the South African State (Gary Kynoch); The culture of illegal abortion in South Africa (Rebecca Hodes); Twenty years of social cohesion and nation-building in South Africa (Caryn Abrahams). Notes, ref., sum. [ASC Leiden abstract]
http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cjss20/42/1 (Restricted access)

**South Africa**

Abstract: This article attempts to understand how print cultures servicing different language communities fuel nationalisms that are not coterminous with a nation state. In the tradition of scholars like Benedict Anderson, it examines the connections between nationalism and print culture, but with reference to a single important event: violence at the Marikana mine. These events constituted the largest act of lethal force against civilians in the post-apartheid era. The South African press in three languages, Afrikaans, isiZulu, and English, covered the violence that erupted at the Lonmin mine in Marikana in mid-August 2012. Using original translations of daily newspapers and quantitative content analysis, the article assesses the differences among the various print media outlets covering the event. It finds that news coverage varied significantly according to the language medium in three ways: attribution of action, portrayal of sympathy and blame, and inclusion of political and economic coverage in the aftermath of the violence. These variations in coverage coincided with differences between reading publics divided by race, class, and location. The article argues that the English-language bias of most media analysis misses
key points of contestation that occur in different media, both within South Africa, and throughout the post-colonial world. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/455/271.abstract (Restricted access)

South Africa
Abstract: This article examines the rise of gatekeeper politics within the ANC, drawing on an analysis of ANC discussion documents, key informant interviews with senior party officials, and interviews and observations from the ANC's centenary policy conference. On the basis of this material, the author identifies the symptoms and consequences of gatekeeper politics, including the growth of patronage networks, crony capitalism, and bitter factional struggles within the party. He argues that, rather than resembling some uniquely "African" form of political aberration and breakdown, gatekeeper politics should be viewed within a broader spectrum of patronage politics evident elsewhere in the world, because it is intrinsically bound up with the development of capitalism. Political leaders who occupy positions of authority in the party or public service act as gatekeepers by regulating access to the resources and opportunities that they control. A volatile politics of inclusion and exclusion emerges and provokes bitter factional struggles within the ANC as rival elites compete for power. The rise of gatekeeper politics undermines both the organizational integrity of the ANC and its capacity to deliver on its electoral mandate. It can also depoliticize social injustice in post-apartheid South Africa by co-opting popular struggles over access to resources that might otherwise challenge the political status quo. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/455/226.abstract (Restricted access)

South Africa
Abstract: This special issue of the 'South African Journal of International Affairs' is dedicated to Professor Gerrit Olivier for his contribution to the discipline of International Relations over more than five decades. As he celebrated his 80th birthday in 2015, a group of his former students and other colleagues, prompted by Koos (Jay) van Wyk of Pittsburg State University, Kansas (USA), pay tribute to Olivier with seven articles reflecting the wide reach of his academic interests and contributions. Content: The weak domestic base of South Africa’s good global citizenship (Deon Geldenhuys); South Africa as an emerging power: from label to ‘status consistency’? (Maxi Schoeman); Third time lucky? Establishing diplomatic relations between Russia and South Africa (Irina Filatova); The evolution of EU-South Africa relations: What influence on Africa? (Lorenzo Fioramonti, John Kotsopoulos); The foreign policy and diplomatic attributes of a developmental state: South Africa as case study (Chris Landsberg, Costa Georgihiou); Cultural diplomacy: Should South Africa give it a try? (Costa A. Georgihiou); The role of African Union law in integrating Africa (Michèle E. Olivier). [ASC Leiden abstract]http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rsaj20/22/4 (Restricted access)

Tanzania
Abstract: This article analyses the political economy of the Bus Rapid Transit project implemented in Dar es Salaam between 2002 and 2014. It discusses the recent rapid growth of Bus Rapid Transit systems and the vested interests of the actors promoting them as a "win-win" solution to tackle the crisis of public transport in developing countries. The article discredits such "win-win" narratives by showing what some Tanzanian actors stood to lose from the implementation of the Dar es Salaam Rapid Transit scheme and their capacity to resist the project. It analyses tensions over the inclusion of the current public transport workforce, employment destruction, displacement of current paratransit operators, compensation, and the affordability of the new service. The article argues that slow implementation of the transport system was rooted in the
tepid commitment to the project by the Tanzanian government. In turn, this lack of political will can be explained by domestic politics, and in particular the government's attempt to respond to the priorities of the World Bank without alienating local actors, some of whom wield considerable electoral power. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/455/249.abstract (Restricted access)

West Africa
Peacekeeping abroad, trouble making at home: mutinies in West Africa / Maggie Dwyer. - In:
Abstract: This article draws attention to a trend in which military deployments as part of peacekeeping missions have triggered army mutinies in some countries in West Africa. It explains how participation in peacekeeping missions created new material grievances and a sense of injustice amongst the peacekeepers, which under certain conditions sparked domestic mutinies. These uprisings in West Africa follow a history of military disobedience in the region, and the article places them in the context of long-standing tensions within military organizations. Mutinies often symbolize and intensify divisions within armed forces, which can lead to further instability even after the mutiny is resolved. Therefore, it is important for those interested in building and maintaining effective militaries to understand the ways in which deployments and peacekeeping participation can contribute to unrest within the armed forces. The article draws on interviews with former mutineers, including peacekeepers, and other military personnel in West Africa, as well as media reporting, including public statements made by mutineers, academic writing, and archival research. Notes, ref., sum. [Journal abstract]
http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/114/455/206.abstract (Restricted access)

West Africa
Abstract: This book relates praxis to policy and vice versa in West Africa, where security sector governance is under serious stress. The various authors situate security sector governance within the political context; the social context: discussing the cultural traditions of the past influencing the current culture of the security sector, including the intelligence structures (human and technology) in place; the economic context: the youth bulge, and reliance on external assistance. Most of the authors refer to ECOWAS which has now assumed responsibility for the collective security of all its fifteen member states. Contents: Foreword (Major-General (Rtd.) Ishola Williams); Introduction: waging peace in West Africa: a good practices guide to security interventions in conflict situations (Abdul Raufu Mustapha); Governance of safety & security in Burkina Faso (Abdoul Karim Saidou); Security sector reforms and conflict management in Ghana: a comparative study of Yendi and Hohoe crises (Ziblim Iddi); Security sector governance in Liberia (Thomas Jaye); Conflicts and security sector governance in Mali (Chigozirim Odinkalu-Okoro & Abena Valley-Abioye); Security sector governance in Niger (Rahmane Idrissa); When protectors become aggressors: conflict and security sector governance in Nigeria (Hussaini Abdu); Security sector governance and conflict in Sierra Leone (1991-2007) (Osman Gbla). [ASC Leiden abstract]

West Africa
Abstract: This study addresses the variety and trends of organised crime in West Africa, the impact of organised crime on peace, stability, development and the rule of law, transnational linkages of organised crime, and linkages between state institutions/politics and organised crime. Chapters concentrate on organised crime and governance in West Africa (Etannibi E.O. Alemika),
the Gulf of Guinea with a focus on Nigeria (Moses U. Ikoh), The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau and Senegal (Alioune Badara Gueye); Mano River Union member countries (Alphaeus Koroma); and Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger (Daouda Diallo Boubacar). In the conclusion the editor addresses new ways of fighting organised crime. [ASC Leiden abstract]