

THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

0022-278X

VOLUME 56 NUMBER 3 SEPTEMBER 2018



JOANNY BÉLAIR

Land investments in Tanzania: assessing the role of state brokers

SARA DE SIMONE

Playing the 'fragile state' card: the SPLM and state extraversion in South Sudan

TIM GLAWION AND LOTJE DE VRIES

Ruptures revoked: why the Central African Republic's unprecedented crisis has not altered deep-seated patterns of governance

KINGSLEY L. MADUEKE

Routing ethnic violence in a divided city: walking in the footsteps of armed mobs in Jos, Nigeria

MARCEL PARET

Beyond post-apartheid politics? Cleavages, protest and elections in South Africa

CLAUDE IGUMA WAKENGE, DENNIS DIJKZEUL
AND KOEN VLASSENROOT

Regulating the old game of smuggling? Coltan mining, trade and reforms in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

A QUARTERLY SURVEY OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS
& RELATED TOPICS IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICA
EDITED BY EBENEZER OBADARE AND IAN TAYLOR

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X18000344> Published online by Cambridge University Press

THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

EDITORS

EBENEZER OBADARE, Department of Sociology, The University of Kansas, 1415 Jayhawk Blvd., 716 Fraser Hall, Lawrence, KS 66045-7540, USA; email: obadare@ku.edu

IAN TAYLOR, School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Arts Faculty Building, The Scores, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9AX, Scotland, UK; email: jmas@st-andrews.ac.uk

Book Review Editor: KIM DIONNE, University of California, Riverside, 2214 Watkins Hall, Department of Political Science, 900 University Avenue, Riverside, CA 92521, USA; email: kdionne@ucr.edu

Associate Editor: MAGGIE DWYER, Centre of African Studies, Chrystal Macmillan Building, 15A George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9CD, UK; email: jmas@cambridge.org

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

WALE ADEBANWI, *University of Oxford*
JOSEPH AYE, *MountCrest University College, Ghana*
CATHERINE BOONE, *London School of Economics*
MICHAEL BRATTON, *Michigan State University*
BRENDA CHALFIN, *University of Florida*
CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM, *University of Cambridge*
SCARLETT CORNELISSEN, *University of Stellenbosch*
ASHLEY CURRIER, *University of Cincinnati*
ROSALEEN DUFFY, *University of Sheffield*
ULF ENGEL, *University of Leipzig*
PIERRE ENGLEBERT, *Pomona College*
HARRI ENGLUND, *University of Cambridge*
LIU HAIFANG, *Peking University*
VINCENT FOUCHER, *Université de Bordeaux*
PETER LEWIS, *S&IS, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC*

TERRENCE LYONS, *George Mason University*
KENNETH MENKHAUS, *Davidson College*
RENU MODI, *University of Mumbai*
EMEBET MULUGETA, *University of Addis Ababa*
PAUL NUGENT, *University of Edinburgh*
DAMARIS PARSITAU, *Egerton University*
WILL RENO, *Northwestern University*
LYNN SCHLER, *Ben-Gurion University of the Negev*
KJETIL TRONVOLL, *University of Oslo*
DZODZI TSIKATA, *University of Ghana*
BOLA UDEGBE, *University of Ibadan*
LEONARDO VILLALÓN, *University of Florida*
NICOLAS VAN DE WALLE, *Cornell University*
ELKE ZUERN, *Sarah Lawrence College*

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The Journal of Modern African Studies (ISSN: 0022-278x) is published quarterly by Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK. Journals Fulfillment Department, Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA and 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia.

The subscription price (which includes postage by air where appropriate, plus electronic access to institutional subscribers) of volume 56, 2018, is £378 net (US \$649 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions, £67 (US \$108) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the *Journal* is for their personal use. Single parts cost £106 (US \$184 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. The electronic only price available to institutional subscribers is £324 (US \$550 in USA, Canada and Mexico). Four parts form a volume. EU subscribers (outside the UK) who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country's rate. VAT registered subscribers should provide their VAT registration number.

Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be placed with a bookseller or subscription agent or sent to the publishers (in the USA, Canada and Mexico to the American Branch). Japanese prices for institutions are available from Kinokuniya Company Ltd, P.O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 156, Japan.

Copies of the *Journal* for subscribers in the USA, Canada and Mexico are sent by air to New York to arrive with minimum delay. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices.

Postmaster: send address changes in USA, Canada and Mexico to *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 1 Liberty Plaza, Floor 20, New York, NY 10006, USA.

Claims for missing issues will only be considered if made immediately on receipt of the subsequent issue.

Internet Access

This journal is included in the Cambridge Journals Online service which can be found at cambridge.org/moa. For further information on other Press titles access cambridge.org

Copying

This journal is registered with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. Organisations in the USA who are also registered with C.C.C. may therefore copy material (beyond the limits permitted by sections 107 and 108 of US copyright law) subject to payment to C.C.C. of the per copy fee of \$12.00. Code 0022-278x/2018/\$12.00. This consent does not extend to multiple copying for promotional or commercial purposes. ISI Tear Sheet Service, 3501 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104, USA, is authorised to supply single copies of separate articles for private use only. Organisations authorised by the Copyright Licensing Agency may also copy material subject to the usual conditions. *For all other use*, permission should be sought from Cambridge or the American Branch of Cambridge University Press.

THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME 56

SEPTEMBER 2018

NUMBER 3

ARTICLES

- LAND INVESTMENTS IN TANZANIA: ASSESSING THE
ROLE OF STATE BROKERS
JOANNY BÉLAIR 371
- PLAYING THE 'FRAGILE STATE' CARD: THE SPLM AND
STATE EXTRAVERSION IN SOUTH SUDAN
SARA DE SIMONE 395
- RUPTURES REVOKED: WHY THE CENTRAL AFRICAN
REPUBLIC'S UNPRECEDENTED CRISIS HAS NOT
ALTERED DEEP-SEATED PATTERNS OF GOVERNANCE
TIM GLAWION and LOTJE DE VRIES 421
- ROUTING ETHNIC VIOLENCE IN A DIVIDED CITY:
WALKING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF ARMED MOBS IN JOS,
NIGERIA
KINGSLEY L. MADUEKE 443
- BEYOND POST-APARTHEID POLITICS? CLEAVAGES,
PROTEST AND ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA
MARCEL PARET 471
- REGULATING THE OLD GAME OF SMUGGLING? COLTAN
MINING, TRADE AND REFORMS IN THE DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
CLAUDE IGUMA WAKENGE, DENNIS DIJKZEUL and
KOEN VLASSENROOT 497

REVIEWS

- Money for Votes: The Causes and Consequences of Electoral Clientelism in Africa* by ERIC
KRAMON
Jeff Conroy-Krutz, *Michigan State University* 523
- Taken for a Ride: Grounding Neoliberalism, Precarious Labour, and Public Transport in an
African Metropolis* by MATTEO RIZZO
Jennifer Hart, *Wayne State University* 524
- The Bible, the Bullet and the Ballot: Zimbabwe: The Impact of Christian Protest in Sociopolitical
Transformation, ca. 1900-ca. 2000* by FABULOUS MOYO
Lovemore Togarasei, *University of Botswana* 525
- The Horn of Africa: State Formation and Decay* by CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM
John Markakis, *University of Crete (retired)* 526

<i>Arts of Being Yorùbá: Divination, Allegory, Tragedy, Proverb, Panegyric</i> by ADÉLÉKÈ ADÈKÓ Brian C. Smithson, <i>Duke University</i>	528
<i>Privately Empowered: Expressing Feminism in Islam in Northern Nigerian Fiction</i> by SHIRIN EDWIN Wendy Laura Belcher, <i>Princeton University</i>	529
<i>The Good Holiday: Development, Tourism and the Politics of Benevolence in Mozambique</i> by JÓÃO AFONSO BAPTISTA Crystal Biruk, <i>Oberlin College</i>	530
<i>Global Geopolitical Power and African Political and Economic Institutions: When Elephants Fight</i> by JOHN JAMES QUINN Ross Harvey, <i>South African Institute of International Affairs, University of Cape Town</i>	532
<i>Nigeria's Niger Delta: Militancy, Amnesty, and the Postamnesty Environment</i> by SABELLA OGBOBODE ABIDDE A. Carl Levan, <i>American University</i>	534
<i>Building a Peaceful Nation: Julius Nyerere and the Establishment of Sovereignty in Tanzania, 1960–1964</i> by PAUL BJERK Luke Melchiorre, <i>Universidad de Los Andes, Bogota</i>	535
<i>Marriage Without Borders: Transnational Spouses in Neoliberal Senegal</i> by DINAH HANNAFORD Caroline Melly, <i>Smith college</i>	537
<i>Reparations for Slavery and the Slave Trade: A Transnational and Comparative History</i> by ANA LUCIA ARAUJO Elliot Ross, <i>Columbia University</i>	538