

# THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

0022-278X

VOLUME 55 NUMBER 1 MARCH 2017



JUDITH VERWEIJEN AND  
JUSTINE BRABANT

*Cows and guns. Cattle-related conflict and armed violence in Fizi and Itombwe, eastern DR Congo*

JOSEPH ASUNKA

*Non-discretionary resource allocation as political investment: evidence from Ghana*

DINA REFKI, DIANA ABBAS, BILGE AVCI,  
EUNHYOUNG KIM, IRIS BERGER AND  
SUE FAERMAN

*Erosion and transformation in the ecology of gender: women's political representation and gender relations in the Ugandan parliament*

JEP STOCKMANS AND KAREN BÜSCHER  
*A spatial reading of urban political-religious conflict: contested urban landscapes in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

HEIDI BROOKS

*The mass movement and public policy: discourses of participatory democracy in post-1994 South Africa*

MAHIR ŞAUL

*The migrant in a plotted adventure: Self-realisation and moral obligation in African stories from Istanbul*

A QUARTERLY SURVEY OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS  
& RELATED TOPICS IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICA  
EDITED BY PAUL NUGENT AND LEONARDO A. VILLALÓN

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X16000963> Published online by Cambridge University Press

# THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

## EDITORS

PAUL NUGENT, Centre of African Studies, Chrystal Macmillan Building, 15A George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9CD, UK

LEONARDO A. VILLALÓN, Center for African Studies & Dept of Political Science, The University of Florida, PO Box 115560, Gainesville, FL 32611-5560, USA; email: jmas@cambridge.org

*Book Review Editor:* Elliott Green, Department of International Development, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, UK; e-mail: E.D.Green@lse.ac.uk

*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

KOJO AMANOR, *University of Ghana*

JOSEPH AYEE, *MountCrest University College, Ghana*

CATHERINE BOONE, *London School of Economics*

MICHAEL BRATTON, *Michigan State University*

BRENDA CHALFIN, *University of Florida*

ROSALEEN DUFFY, *University of Sheffield*

PIERRE ENGLEBERT, *Pomona College*

HARRI ENGLUND, *University of Cambridge*

JAMES FERGUSON, *Stanford University*

VINCENT FOUCHER, *Université de Bordeaux*

JEFFREY HERBST, *Colgate University*

PETER LEWIS, *SAIS, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC*

TERRENCE LYONS, *George Mason University*

KENNETH MENKHAUS, *Davidson College*

LUNGISILE NTSEBEZA, *University of Cape Town*

FRANCIS NYAMNJOH, *University of Cape Town*

EBENEZER OBADARE, *University of Kansas*

WILL RENO, *Northwestern University*

KJETIL TRONVOLL, *University of Oslo*

DENIS M. TULL, *German Institute for International Affairs and Security, Berlin*

NICOLAS VAN DE WALLE, *Cornell University*

JANKEES VAN DONGE, *Afrikastudiecentrum Leiden*

## 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 55, 2017, is £360 net (US \$618 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions, £63 (US \$102) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the *Journal* is for their personal use. Single parts cost £101 (US \$175 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. The electronic only price available to institutional subscribers is £308 (US \$523 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](http://cambridge.org/moa). For further information on other Press titles access [cambridge.org](http://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/2017/\$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 55

MARCH 2017

NUMBER 1

## ARTICLES

- COWS AND GUNS. CATTLE-RELATED CONFLICT AND ARMED VIOLENCE IN FIZI AND ITOMBWE, EASTERN DR CONGO  
JUDITH VERWEIJEN and JUSTINE BRABANT 1
- NON-DISCRETIONARY RESOURCE ALLOCATION AS POLITICAL INVESTMENT: EVIDENCE FROM GHANA  
JOSEPH ASUNKA 29
- EROSION AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE ECOLOGY OF GENDER: WOMEN'S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION AND GENDER RELATIONS IN THE UGANDAN PARLIAMENT  
DINA REFKI, DIANA ABAS, BILGE AVCI, EUNHYOUNG KIM, IRIS BERGER and SUE FAERMAN 55
- A SPATIAL READING OF URBAN POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS CONFLICT: CONTESTED URBAN LANDSCAPES IN ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA  
JEP STOCKMANS and KAREN BÜSCHER 79
- THE MASS MOVEMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY: DISCOURSES OF PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY IN POST-1994 SOUTH AFRICA  
HEIDI BROOKS 105
- THE MIGRANT IN A PLOTTED ADVENTURE: SELF-REALISATION AND MORAL OBLIGATION IN AFRICAN STORIES FROM ISTANBUL  
MAHIR ŞAUL 129

## REVIEWS

- Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*  
by NIC CHEESEMAN  
Ken Ochieng' Opalo, *Georgetown University* 155
- Africa's Long Road since Independence: The Many Histories of a Continent*  
by KEITH SOMERVILLE  
Raphael Chijioko Njoku, *Idaho State University* 157
- Healthcare Policy in Africa: Institutions and Politics from Colonialism to the Present*  
by JEAN-GERMAIN GROS  
Abel Chikanda, *University of Kansas* 158

<i>Gender and the Political Economy of Conflict in Africa: The Persistence of Violence</i> by MEREDITH TURSHEM Jennie E. Burnet, <i>Georgia State University</i>	159
<i>Africa's Social Cleavages and Democratization: Colonial, Postcolonial, and Multiparty Era</i> by DOUGLAS KIMEMIA Akanmu G. Adebayo, <i>Kennesaw State University</i>	161
<i>Shi'i Cosmopolitanisms in Africa: Senegalese Migration and Religious Conversion in Senegal</i> by MARA LEICHTMAN Laura L. Cochrane, <i>Central Michigan University</i>	163
<i>Humor, Silence and Civil Society in Nigeria</i> by EBENEZER OBADARE Moses Metumara Duruji, <i>Covenant University, Nigeria</i>	164
<i>Histoire du politique au Congo-Kinshasa</i> by GAUTHIER DE VILLERS Christoph Vogel, <i>University of Zurich</i>	165
<i>Mobilizing Transnational Gender Politics in Post-Genocide Rwanda</i> by RIRHANDU MAGEZA-BARTHEL Erin Jessee, <i>Scottish Oral History Centre, University of Strathclyde</i>	166
<i>Ethnicity, Democracy and Citizenship in Africa: Political Marginalization of Kenya's Nubians</i> by SAMANTHA BALATON-CHRIMES Hassan J. Ndzovu, <i>Moi University</i>	168
<i>The Experiment Must Continue: Medical Research and Ethics in East Africa, 1940–2014</i> by MELISSA GRABOYES Georgina Pearson, <i>St George's, University of London</i>	170
<i>Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi</i> edited by GÉRARD PRUNIER and ÉLOI FICQUET Jon Abbink, <i>African Studies Centre, Leiden</i>	171
<i>The Struggling State: Nationalism, Mass-Militarisation, and the Education of Eritrea</i> by JENNIFER RIGGAN Abdulkader Saleh Mohammad, <i>International Law and Policy Institute, Oslo</i>	173