# THE JOURNAL OF

# MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

**VOLUME 60 NUMBER | MARCH 2022** 



#### WILLIAM HATUNGIMANA

How people appraise their government: corruption perception of police and political legitimacy in Africa

#### ILMARI KÄIHKÖ

'Once a combatant, always a combatant'? Revisiting assumptions about Liberian former combatant networks

#### KIERAN MITTON

'A Game of Pain': youth marginalisation and the gangs of Freetown

FODAY KAMARA, GELEJIMAH ALFRED MOKUWA AND PAUL RICHARDS Keeping Ebola at bay: public authority and ceremonial competence in rural Sierra Leone

LAUREN CARRUTH AND LAHRA SMITH Building one's own house: power and escape for Ethiopian women through international migration

#### TIM ZAJONTZ

'Win-win' contested: negotiating the privatisation of Africa's Freedom Railway with the 'Chinese of today'

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



## THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

#### **EDITORS**

EBENEZER OBADARE, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC, USA; email: eobadare@cfr.org

Book Review Editor. PEG MURRAY-EVANS, Department of Politics, University of York, Heslington, York YO10 5DD, UK; email: peg.murray-evans@york.ac.uk

Managing Editor: CAROLINE VALOIS, School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Arts Faculty Building, The Scores, St Andrews, Fife, KY16 9AX, Scotland, UK; email: jmas@cambridge.org

#### **EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD**

WALE ADEBANWI, University of Oxford JOSEPH AYEE, MountCrest University College, Ghana CATHERINE BOONE, London School of Economics 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 RITA KIKI EDOZIE, Michigan State University 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, SAIS, 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, I 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 60, 2022, is £441 net (US \$756 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions, £82 (US \$131) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the *Journal* is for their personal use. Single parts cost £127 (US \$221 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. The electronic only price available to institutional subscribers is £360 (US \$611 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, I 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/2019/\$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 60 MARCH 2022 NUMBER 1 **ARTICLES** HOW PEOPLE APPRAISE THEIR GOVERNMENT: CORRUPTION PERCEPTION OF POLICE AND POLITICAL LEGITIMACY IN AFRICA WILLIAM HATUNGIMANA 1 'ONCE A COMBATANT, ALWAYS A COMBATANT'? REVISITING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT LIBERIAN FORMER COMBATANT NETWORKS Ilmari Käihkö 23 'A GAME OF PAIN': YOUTH MARGINALISATION AND THE GANGS OF FREETOWN KIERAN MITTON 45 KEEPING EBOLA AT BAY: PUBLIC AUTHORITY AND CEREMONIAL COMPETENCE IN RURAL SIERRA LEONE FODAY KAMARA, GELEJIMAH ALFRED MOKUWA and 65 PAUL RICHARDS BUILDING ONE'S OWN HOUSE: POWER AND ESCAPE FOR ETHIOPIAN WOMEN THROUGH INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION LAUREN CARRUTH and LAHRA SMITH 85 'WIN-WIN' CONTESTED: NEGOTIATING THE PRIVATISATION OF AFRICA'S FREEDOM RAILWAY WITH THE 'CHINESE OF TODAY' TIM ZAJONTZ 111 REVIEWS Arbitrary States: social control and modern authoritarianism in Museveni's Uganda by Rebecca Tapscott Adventino Banjwa, Makerere University 135 Constraining Dictatorship: from personalized rule to institutionalized regimes by Anne Meng Andrew Wojtanik, University of California - Berkeley 136 France's Wars in Chad: military intervention and decolonization in Africa by Nathaniel K. Powell Moudwe Daga, SOAS, University of London 137

Undoing Coups: the African Union and post-coup intervention in Madagascar by Antonia Witt Jens Herpolsheimer, Leipzig University	139
Salafism and Political Order in Africa	
by SEBASTIAN ELISCHER Jannis Saalfeld, <i>University of Duisburg-Essen</i>	140
Street Sounds: listening to everyday life in modern Egypt	
by ZIAD FAHMY Jonathan H. Shannon, <i>The City University of New York</i>	142
Kwame Nkrumah: visions of liberation	
by Jeffrey S. Ahlman Mark Langan, <i>King's College London</i>	143
ERRATUM	
POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN AFRICA: LEADERS AND DEVELOPMENT SOUTH OF THE SAHARA BY GIOVANNI CARBONE & ALESSANDRO PELLEGATA CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2020. PP. 386. \$99.99 (HBK). – ERRATUM	
Ujjwal Krishna	147