THE JOURNAL OF

MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME 58 NUMBER 2 JUNE 2020



HEIDI BROOKS

'This democracy is killing us': perceptions of rights and democracy in the South African Police Service

RICHARD GRANT, PÁDRAIG CARMODY AND JAMES T. MURPHY

A green transition in South Africa? Sociotechnical experimentation in the Atlantis Special Economic Zone

VASABJIT BANERJEE AND

CAROLYN E. HOLMES

Checking trust: observing social capital at the individual level

ZIAD KOUSSA

The politics of public land dispossession in Egypt: 1975–2011 and beyond

NIKLAS HULTIN AND TONE SOMMERFELT Anticipatory tribalism: accusatory politics in the 'New Gambia'

NEIL SOUTHERN

The pitfalls of power sharing in a new democracy: the case of the National Party in South Africa

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

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: 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, 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 57, 2019, is £397 net (US \$682 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions, £71 (US \$114) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the Journal is for their personal use. Single parts cost £111 (US \$194 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. The electronic only price available to institutional subscribers is £341 (US \$578 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 58 JUNE 2020 NUMBER 2 **ARTICLES** 'THIS DEMOCRACY IS KILLING US': PERCEPTIONS OF RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE HEIDI BROOKS 165 A GREEN TRANSITION IN SOUTH AFRICA? SOCIOTECHNICAL EXPERIMENTATION IN THE ATLANTIS SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONE RICHARD GRANT, PÁDRAIG CARMODY and JAMES T. MURPHY 189 CHECKING TRUST: OBSERVING SOCIAL CAPITAL AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL VASABJIT BANERJEE and CAROLYN E. HOLMES 213 THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC LAND DISPOSSESSION IN EGYPT: 1975-2011 AND BEYOND ZIAD KOUSSA 235 ANTICIPATORY TRIBALISM: ACCUSATORY POLITICS IN THE 'NEW GAMBIA' NIKLAS HULTIN and TONE SOMMERFELT 257 THE PITFALLS OF POWER SHARING IN A NEW DEMOCRACY: THE CASE OF THE NATIONAL PARTY IN SOUTH AFRICA 281 NEIL SOUTHERN REVIEWS Kenyan, Christian, Queer: religion, LGBT activism, and arts of resistance in Africa by Adriaan van Klinken Matthew Thomann, University of Memphis 301 Politics and Violence in Burundi: the language of truth in an emerging state by Aidan Russell Jack Palmer, University of Leeds 302 Contradictions of Democracy: vigilantism and rights in post-apartheid South Africa by NICHOLAS RUSH SMITH Tessa Diphoorn, Utrecht University 304 Power and the Presidency in Kenya: the Jomo Kenyatta years by Anais Angelo Ken Ochieng' Opalo, Georgetown University 305

development in rural Tanzania	
306	
308	
310	
311	
312	