THE JOURNAL OF

MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME 60 NUMBER 4 DECEMBER 2022



JOAN RICART-HUGUET

Why do different cultures form and persist? Learning from the case of Makerere University

MOHAMMAD AMIR ANWAR, ELLY OTIENO AND MALTE STEIN

Locked in, logged out: pandemic and ride-hailing in South Africa and Kenya

BARBARA BOMPANI

'The memory of persecution is in our blood': documenting loyalties, identities and motivations to political action in the Ugandan Pentecostal Movement

JEFFREY HAYNES

Revolutionary populism and democracy in Ghana

ERIN ACCAMPO HERN

When do women win in legally plural systems? Evidence from Ghana and Senegal

LINE KUPPENS AND ARNIM LANGER

The role of secondary school teachers in shaping a political culture of ethnicity and ethnic favouritism: the case of Kenya

DENNIS AMEGO KORBLA PENU
Explaining region creation conflicts in Ghana

BUĞRA SÜSLER AND CHRIS ALDEN Turkey and African agency: the role of Islam and commercialism in Turkey's Africa policy

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 & Assessment, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge, CB2 8EA, 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

DECEMBER 2022 NUMBER 4 **ARTICLES** WHY DO DIFFERENT CULTURES FORM AND PERSIST? LEARNING FROM THE CASE OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

VOLUME 60

JOAN RICART-HUGUET 429 LOCKED IN, LOGGED OUT: PANDEMIC AND RIDE-HAILING IN SOUTH AFRICA AND KENYA MOHAMMAD AMIR ANWAR, ELLY OTIENO and MALTE STEIN 457 'THE MEMORY OF PERSECUTION IS IN OUR BLOOD': DOCUMENTING LOYALTIES, IDENTITIES AND MOTIVATIONS TO POLITICAL ACTION IN THE UGANDAN PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT BARBARA BOMPANI

479 REVOLUTIONARY POPULISM AND DEMOCRACY IN **GHANA** JEFFREY HAYNES 503 WHEN DO WOMEN WIN IN LEGALLY PLURAL SYSTEMS?

EVIDENCE FROM GHANA AND SENEGAL ERIN ACCAMPO HERN $5^{2}7$

THE ROLE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN SHAPING A POLITICAL CULTURE OF ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC FAVOURITISM: THE CASE OF KENYA LINE KUPPENS and ARNIM LANGER

EXPLAINING REGION CREATION CONFLICTS IN GHANA DENNIS AMEGO KORBLA PENU 571

TURKEY AND AFRICAN AGENCY: THE ROLE OF ISLAM AND COMMERCIALISM IN TURKEY'S AFRICA POLICY

BUĞRA SÜSLER and CHRIS ALDEN 597

547

REVIEWS

Citizenship as Political Lens: Laws, Loss, and Lived Experiences of Belonging in Africa	
Citizenship in Africa: the law of belonging	
by Bronwen Manby	
Development, (Dual) Citizenship and Its Discontents in Africa: the political economy of belonging to Liberia	
by Robtel Neajai Pailey	
Elizabeth Iams Wellman, Williams College, University of the Witswatersrand and	
University of Memphis	619
The Oxford Handbook of the African Sahel	
by Leonardo A. Villalón	
Barbara M. Cooper, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey	623
Revisiting EU-Africa Relations in a Changing World	
edited by Valeria Fargion and Mamoudou Gazibo	
Mark Langan, King's College London	625
Regime Threats and State Solutions: bureaucratic loyalty and embeddedness in Kenya	
by Mai Hassan	
Emma Elfversson, Uppsala University	627