

**DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC LAW
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**

PBL5660S: ISSUES IN CRIME & JUSTICE: ORGANISED NON-STATE VIOLENCE IN AFRICA

2015

Conveners: Guy Lamb and Julie Berg

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All Africa House, Room 3.01.2; Kramer Law Building Room 6.32, Middle Campus

Venue: Criminology Seminar Room, Level 6, Kramer Law Building, Middle Campus

Time: Thursdays, 8h00 – 11h00

Course Outline

The vast majority of African countries frequently experience some form of organised violence, such as belligerent street protests, riots, vigilante action or militant labour strikes. In some African countries gangs, violent organised criminal groups, death squads, militias and rebels are active. Some recent examples include: Lethal protest in Egypt following a military coup d'état; the persistent subverting impact of militias and insurgent groups in the eastern provinces of the Democratic Republic of Congo; rhino horn poaching in Southern Africa; the significant destabilisation of areas in Mali, the Central African Republic, Somalia, Nigeria, Darfur and South Sudan due to the actions of insurgent groups; the use of private and armed security organisations in many Africa countries; frequent destructive community protest violence in South Africa; and terrorist actions in West Africa (Boko Haram) and Eastern Africa (Al-Shabaab).

There are essentially four principal lenses that are adopted in the literature on non-state organised violence in Africa, which are: organised crime; terrorism; armed conflict; and weak or failed states. This inter-disciplinary course will provide you with an opportunity to familiarise yourself with, and critically reflect on this literature – the concepts, theories and published research and commentary on organised violence in Africa.

The course will not promote a particular point of view in relation to organised violence, but will seek to understand the origins, trajectories and implications of a range of approaches.

Assessments

Assessments for the course will consist of the following: Two essays of 3 000 words (30%); a research policy paper of 6 000 words (55%); a class presentation (15%).

Essays (30% of final grade)

- Each student will be required to prepare **two essays**, no longer than 3 000 words each (typed, 1.5 spaced, A4 pages with a 12 point font), on any of the stipulated essay topics. These essays should provide a critical commentary on the prescribed readings, take into account previous class discussions, and where appropriate, draw on additional research material. Each essay will be worth 15% of the final grade for the course.
- ***A hard copy of the essays must be submitted, in class, at the start of the session for which the essay topic is assigned.*** An electronic copy of the essay must also be

submitted online onto Vula (<http://www.vula.uct.ac.za>) by 8am on the day on which the essay topic is assigned (or the day before). It is the student's responsibility to ensure that s/he is able to access Vula and to be able to upload essays onto the site.

Research Policy Paper (55% of final grade)

- The research policy paper should be on a topic directly related to organised violence in Africa, approved by one of the course convenors. The paper should also provide an assessment of how the relevant stakeholders should address the organised violence problem that is the focus of the paper.
- Papers should be between 5 000 and 6 000 words (typed, 1.5 spaced, A4 pages with a 12 point font).
- The paper is due on *Monday, 19 October before 16h00.*
- The paper must be submitted online on Vula and a hard copy submitted to Doris Mwambala, Administrative Assistant, Room 6.35, Centre of Criminology, Law Faculty.

Late submissions of essays and the final policy paper are subject to a penalty of 5% per day up to a maximum of five days. Extensions will not normally be approved. Essays and policy papers will not be accepted without a cover sheet, signed plagiarism declaration and a structured reference list.

Class presentation (15% of your final grade)

- Individual class presentations will take place on Thursday, 22 October.
- These presentations will be based on each student's policy paper and should be no longer than 20 minutes in length.

DP requirements: Satisfactory attendance and participation at lectures and submission of all assignments.

Class Schedule

WEEK	THEME	LECTURER
1: 30 July	Seminar 1: Introduction and theoretical framing	Guy Lamb & Julie Berg
2: 6 Aug	Seminar 2: Protest violence and organised state responses	Julie Berg
3: 13 Aug	Seminar 3: Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs)	Julie Berg
4: 20 Aug	Seminar 4: Gangsterism	Don Pinnock
5: 27 Aug	Seminar 5: Insurgents and rebel groups	Laura Freeman
VACATION: 29 August to 6 September		
7: 10 Sept	Seminar 6: Organised crime and protection economies	Mark Shaw
8: 17 Sept	Seminar 7: Organised crime, terrorism and conflict	Mark Shaw
9: TBC	Seminar 8: Organised crime: drugs and drug trafficking	Simon Howell
10: 1 Oct	Seminar 9: Organised crime: poaching and wildlife trafficking	Annette Hübschle
11: 8 Oct	Seminar 10: Xenophobia and xenophobic violence	Guy Lamb & Laura Freeman
12: 15 Oct	Seminar 11: Community justice and vigilantism	Julie Berg
13: 22 Oct	Class presentations	

30 July – Seminar 1: Introduction and theoretical framing
(Guy Lamb & Julie Berg)

This seminar will focus on interrogating the concept of ‘organised non-state violence’. It will set the scene for the remainder of the course, as it will address the various theories and ideas that have informed this concept, such as ‘collective violence’. It will also reflect on the

principal lenses that have been adopted in the literature to study non-state organised violence.

Readings

Brush, S. G. (1996) 'Dynamics of Theory Change in the Social Sciences: Relative Deprivation and Collective Violence'. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 40(4), 523-545.

De la Roche, R. (1996) 'Collective Violence as Social Control'. *Sociological Forum*, 11(1), 97-128.

Kaldor, M. (2012) *New and Old Wars. Organised Violence in a Global Era* (3rd Edition). Cambridge: Polity Press. [Introductory chapter].

Shaw, M. (2009) 'Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks for Organised Violence'. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 3(1), 97-106.

Tilly, C. (2003) *The Politics of Collective Violence*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

6 August – Seminar 2: Protest violence and organised state responses

(Julie Berg)

Most African countries have experienced protest violence in one form or another either in response to the decisions or (in-)actions of government and/or private sector business; external factors (such as food price increases); intra-community dynamics and conflicts; or the outcome of elections. The literature on protest violence suggests that violence at protest events is often the result of a dynamic process resulting from the interaction between the security forces and protestors. The majority view is that if the security forces (police) use force against protestors, then the protestors are likely to respond with violence. Such violence has, for example, emerged within the context of public marches; rallies; demonstrations, looting and labour strikes; and can, for instance, take the form of fighting, assault, sabotage, arson and even armed violence. There is often a leadership component to protest violence, which significantly contributes to protest strategy and orchestration. The historical literature reveals that protest violence is often the origin of other, more coherent forms of organised violence, such as armed insurgency.

Readings

Alexander, P. (2010) 'Rebellion of the Poor: South Africa's Service Delivery Protests – A Preliminary Analysis'. *Review of African Political Economy*, 37(123), 25-40.

Berg, J. & S. Howell (2015) 'Running the Gauntlet: Police Strategies and Responses to Strike Action'. In Hepple, B., Le Roux, R. & S. Sciarra (eds) *Laws Against Strikes: The South African Experience in an International and Comparative Perspective*. FrancoAngeli: Rome, pp. 185-204.

Mkhize, M. (2015) 'Is South Africa's 20 years of Democracy in Crisis? Examining the Impact of Unrest Incidents in Local Protests in the Post-apartheid South Africa'. *African Security Review*, 24(2), 190-206.

Mochizuki, K. (2009) 'Opposition Movements and the Youth in Nigeria's Oil-Producing Area:

An Inquiry into Framing'. In S. Shinichi & K. Makino (eds.) *Protest and Social Movements in the Developing World*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 206-224.

Seddon, D. & L. Zeilig (2005) 'Class & Protest in Africa: New Waves'. *Review of African Political Economy*, 32(103), 9-27.

13 August – Seminar 3: Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs)

(Julie Berg)

Private security companies of various sizes and affiliations operate in virtually every country in Africa, typically providing protection and armed response services to the wealthier segments of the population and the business community. Private security personnel have been implicated in excessive use of force and human rights abuses throughout Africa. Private security companies and personnel in Africa have also been involved in mercenary activities, counter-terrorism training for repressive regimes, attempted coup d'états, as well as anti-piracy operations. Some private security companies and contractors have been implicated in violations of UN arms embargoes. Currently there are lively debates on how to best regulate such companies, particularly in conflict situations.

Readings

Abrahamsen, R. & M. Williams (2008) 'Public/Private, Global/Local: The Changing Contours of Africa's Security Governance'. *Review of African Political Economy*, 118, 539-553.

Clapham, C. (1999) 'African Security Systems: Privatisation and the Scope for Mercenary Activity'. In Mills, G. & J. Stremlau (eds) *The Privatisation of Security in Africa*. Braamfontein: SAIIA, pp. 23-45.

Kwaja, C. (2015) 'From Combat to Non-combat Action: Private Military and Security Companies and Humanitarian Assistance Operations in Darfur, Sudan'. *African Security Review*, 24(2), 153-161.

Musah, A-F. (2002) 'Privatisation of Security, Arms Proliferation and the Process of State Collapse in Africa'. *Development and Change*, 33(5), 911-933.

Ndung'u, I. (2011) 'Human Security and Challenges Related to Private Military and Security Companies in Africa'. In Gumedze, S. (ed) (2011) *Merchants of African Conflict: More than Just a Pound of Flesh*. ISS Monograph 176, pp. 19-34.

20 August – Seminar 4: Gangsterism

(Don Pinnock)

Gangs are typically (but not exclusively) groups comprised of juveniles and young adults, which are predominantly excluded from participation in mainstream economic opportunities, and are drawn from socially disorganised communities. Gangs take many forms, which are influenced by a myriad of environmental conditions. Gang behaviour also varies, but often involves and/or facilitates delinquency and violence, with some gang formations being involved in organised crime. In fact, some theorists suggest that gangs are "the socialisation agents for the graduation of young delinquents to organised crime". In some settings, particularly in slum areas and prisons, gangs have become institutionalised. Gangs operate in most major cities in Africa, engaging in activities ranging from petty crime, extortion and protection rackets to highly organised violent crime. Nonetheless, research

(particularly comparative research) on gangs, gang dynamics and gang activities is under-developed in most African countries, with the exception of South Africa, where this phenomenon has been studied relatively intensively from a variety of disciplines, including criminology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, linguistics and historical studies. The central theme of this seminar will be: What are the underlying causes of adolescent violence and gang formation?

Readings

Shaw, M. (2012) 'Addressing Youth Violence in Cities and Neighbourhoods. In Ward, C., van der Merwe, A. & A. Dawes (eds), *Youth Violence: Sources and Solutions in South Africa*. Cape Town: UCT Press. [Chapter 12]

[Book is a free download here:

https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/2422/Youth_Violence_Sources.pdf?sequence=1]

Moffitt, T. (1993) 'Adolescence-Limited and Life-Course-Persistent Antisocial Behavior: A Developmental Taxonomy'. *Psychological Review*, 100(4), 674-701.

Altbeker, A. (2007) 'A Country Unhinged'. In *A Country at War with Itself: South Africa's Crisis of Crime*. Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball [Chapter 6].

Altbeker, A. (2011) 'Why are we such a Violent People?' *Daily Maverick*, 28 October.

Salo, E. (2006) 'Mans is Ma Soe: Ganging Practises in Manenberg, South Africa and the Ideologies of Masculinity, Gender, and Generational Relations'. In Bay, E. & D. Donham (eds), *States of Violence: Politics, Youth, and Memory in Contemporary Africa*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, pp. 148-178.

Cooper, A. (2009) "'Gevaarlike Transitions': Negotiating Hegemonic Masculinity and Rites of Passage amongst Coloured Boys Awaiting Trial on the Cape Flats'. *Psychology in Society*, 37, 1-17.

Pinnock, D. (2015 forthcoming) *Everyday Violence from Gang Town*. Tafelberg.

27 August – Seminar 5: Insurgents and rebel groups

(Laura Freeman)

Rebellion and insurgency, in various guises, exist in more than half of Africa's states. From terrorist organisations such as Boko Haram and al-Shabaab, to secessionist movements in Western Sahara and Somaliland, to rebel formations in Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Central African Republic (CAR), violence is used to reach political (and other) ends across the continent. In this seminar, we explore and interrogate the three core explanations for rebellion in Africa. The first set of causal explanations focuses on the greed of modern day insurgency. The second centres on the role of identity (ethnicity, religion, clan etc.) and difference in determining conflict. The third focuses on the weakness of the African state.

Readings

- Collier, P. & A. Hoeffler (2004) 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War'. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4), 563-595.
- Ross, M. (2004) 'What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?' *Journal of Peace Research*, 41(3), 337-356.
- Lake, D. & D. Rothchild (1996) 'Containing Fear: The Origins and Management of Ethnic Conflict'. *International Security*, 21(2), 41-75.
- Young, C. (2002) 'Deciphering Disorder in Africa: Is Identity Key?' *World Politics*, 54(4), 532-557.
- Jackson, R. (2002) 'Violent Internal Conflict and the African State: Towards a Framework of Analysis'. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 20(1), 29-52.
- Straus, S. (2010) 'Wars Do End! Changing Patterns of Political Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa'. *African Affairs*, 111(443), 179-201.
- Weinstein, J. (2009) 'Africa's Revolutionary Deficit'. *Foreign Policy* (October 13). Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/13/africas-revolutionary-deficit/>

10 September – Seminar 6: Organised crime and protection economies

(Mark Shaw)

Judged on statements from international and regional organisations and resolutions of the Security Council, organised crime is increasingly of concern in Africa. There is a considerable theoretical literature on organised crime more generally, but comparatively little written on the concept as it applies to Africa. So, can a term that was coined in relation to a phenomenon once seen only as confined to Europe and North America be easily applied to Africa? And, if we are to apply the term, what can we learn from writings on "organised crime" from other places with similar characteristics of weak statehood that are found in Africa? Could organised crime in fact be integral to the process of African state building? Whatever the theoretical route we take, developing an adequate conceptual framework is vital: the issue (however defined) will likely be critical to understand if we are to better analyse Africa and its relations with the wider and increasingly globalised world. The seminar will explore some of the conceptual challenges related to defining the contours of "organised crime" in the African context, and by so doing, suggest some possible alternative approaches.

Readings:

- Levi, M. (2014) 'Thinking about Organised Crime: Structure and Threat'. *RUSI Journal*, 159(1), 6-14.
- Tilly, C. (1985) 'War Making and State Making as Organised Crime'. In Evans, P., Rueschmeyer, D. & T. Skocpol (eds), *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gambetta, D. (1993) *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. [Excerpts]

Volkov, V. (2002) *Violent Entrepreneurs: The Use of Force in the Making of Russian Capitalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. [Excerpts]

Bayart, J-F., Ellis, S. & B. Hibou (1999) *The Criminalisation of the State in Africa*. Oxford: James Currey. [Excerpts]

Ellis, S. & M. Shaw (2015) 'Does Organized Crime Exist in Africa?' *African Affairs*, 114(457).

Shaw, M. (2015) 'Drug Trafficking in Guinea-Bissau, 1998-2014: The Evolution of an Elite Protection Network'. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 53(3).

Shortland, A. & F. Varese (2014) 'The Protectors Choice: An Application of Protection Theory to Somali Piracy'. *British Journal of Criminology*, 54(5), 741-764.

17 September – Seminar 7: Organised crime, terrorism and conflict

(Mark Shaw)

We have explored the concept of organised crime in several seminars. But can the issue of organised crime be linked to issues of conflict, insurgency or terrorism in Africa? That is increasingly the tenure of statements that are made from the capitals of developed countries and from the UN itself. Security Council Resolution 2195 (introduced by Chad and passed in December 2014) explicitly makes the link as does the report (albeit more carefully) that the UN Secretary-General produced in response. But what does this mean in reality? How are these different challenges interwoven? What are the implications for both our understanding of the various concepts and policy responses if indeed there are important connections? The seminar will explore the evidence and conceptual linkages between organised crime, conflict and terrorism. We will then examine in greater detail the case of instability in the greater Sahara region as a case study of a possible example where there is an overlap between all three phenomena.

de Boer, J. & L. Bosetti (2015) *The Crime-Conflict Nexus: State of the Evidence*. Centre for Policy Research, United Nations University, April 2015.

Shelley, L. (2015) *Dirty Entanglements: Corruption, Crime and Terrorism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Excerpts]

Levi, M. (2007) 'Organized Crime and Terrorism'. In Maguire, M., Morgan, R. & R. Reiner (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

UN Security Council (2015) *Report of the Secretary-General on the Threat of Terrorists Benefitting from Transnational Organised Crime*. New York: UN, S/2015/366

Cockayne, J. (2013) 'Chasing Shadows: Strategic Responses to Organised Crime in Conflict-afflicted Situations'. *RUSI Journal*, 158(2), 10-24.

Strazzari, F. (2015) *Azawad and the Rights of Passage: The Role of Illicit Trade in the Logic of Armed Group Formation in Northern Mali*. Oslo: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre.

Reitano, T. & M. Shaw (2015) *Fixing a Fractured States: Breaking the Cycles of Crime, Conflict and Corruption in Mali and the Sahel*. Geneva: The Global Initiative against Transnational Organised Crime.

Shaw, M. & T. Reitano (2014) *The Political Economy of Trade and Trafficking in the Sahara: Instability and Opportunities*. Sahara Knowledge Exchange, Fragility Conflict and Violence Group, World Bank.

DATE TBC – Seminar 8: Organised crime: drugs and drug trafficking
(Simon Howell)

In the past ten years, many South African communities have witnessed a surge in illegal drug use. Concomitant to this increase, the country has also witnessed a) an increase in the number of illegal production facilities (especially with regards to methamphetamine and methqualone [mandrax]), and b) an expansion/entrenchment of distribution networks. While there is a growing literature on the multiple and diverse impacts of illegal drugs on individuals and society, few have specifically engaged with the manner in which the illegal substance economy, as a form of organised crime, operates and continues to flourish in South Africa specifically and Africa more broadly. In this seminar, we will broadly explore how the illegal drug economy has developed, some of the thematic patterns that are emerging from new research, and how this information might be used to more effectively regulate and control drugs on the continent.

Readings

Bybee, A. (2012) 'The Twenty-first Century Expansion of the Transnational Drug Trade in Africa'. *Journal of International Affairs*, 66, 69-86.

Goga, K. (2014) 'The Drug Trade and Governance in Cape Town'. *Institute for Security Studies Paper*, 263, 1-18.

Goredema, C. (2011) 'Drugs and Violent Crime in Southern Africa'. *SADC Law Journal*, 1, 175-188.

Hendricks, G., Savahl, S. & M. Florence (2015) 'Adolescent Peer Pressure, Leisure Boredom, and Substance Use in Low-income Cape Town Communities'. *Social Behaviour and Personality* 43, 99-109.

1 October – Seminar 9: Organised crime: poaching and wildlife trafficking
(Annette Hübschle)

Organised environmental crime presents a multi-layered threat to human security including the extinction of species and irreversible damage to the ecosystem, yet it has been dismissed as a low priority by law enforcers up until recently. Poaching was once considered an opportunistic crime but growing demand for wildlife products has triggered a professionalisation and increasing involvement of "organised crime" in poaching, rendering the illegal wildlife market one of the most significant and lucrative illicit markets in the world. Within the southern African region, the poaching and trafficking of wildlife has increased at a frightening rate over the past decade. The trade in ivory between Africa and Asia is highly organised, and elephant populations have been dramatically reduced in several countries, most notably in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Tanzania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. South Africa has lost close to 4 000 rhinos since poaching numbers surged in 2008. Not only species of charismatic megafauna such as elephants and rhino are affected but cheetahs, pangolins, cycads, abalone, lions and many others have

become the prey of organised poaching and trafficking networks. Both state actors and non-state groups have been gearing up to disrupt illegal supply chains with limited success and unexpected consequences. Responses to wildlife trafficking have become highly militarised while national criminal justice systems have been slow to respond. This seminar will explore the nature and composition of organised environmental crime, and why illegal wildlife markets are proving so difficult to disrupt.

Readings:

Naylor, R. T. (2004) 'The Underworld of Ivory'. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 42, 261-295.

Gao, Y. & S. G. Clark (2014) 'Elephant Ivory Trade in China: Trends and Drivers'. *Biological Conservation*, 180, 23-30.

Bergenas, J. & A. Knight (2015) 'Green Terror: Environmental Crime and Illicit Financing.' *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 35, 119-131.

Duffy, R. (2014) 'Waging a War to Save Biodiversity: The Rise of Militarized Conservation'. *International Affairs*, 90, 819-834.

Basu, G. (2014) 'Concealment, Corruption, and Evasion: A Transaction Cost and Case Analysis of Illicit Supply Chain Activity'. *Journal of Transportation Security*, 1-18.

Students are encouraged to watch their own selection of contributions at the 'Wildlife In Crisis' seminar series, held at UCT in May 2015. Available at: <http://www.globalinitiative.net/wildlife-in-crisis-seminar-summaries/>

8 October – Seminar 10: Xenophobia and xenophobic violence

(Guy Lamb & Laura Freeman)

Across Africa, we see various formations of xenophobia and contestations around citizenship, nationalism, and belonging. Discourses of 'autochthony', 'native', 'citizen', and other insider/outsider distinctions determine access to state resources and political and civil rights. In many cases, this has led to violence – both structural and physical – against (perceived) non-nationals. Identifying these common themes, and understanding similarities and differences between cases, will be the aim of this seminar.

Readings

Jackson, S. (2006) 'Sons of Which Soil? The Language and Politics of Autochthony in Eastern D.R. Congo'. *African Studies Review*, 49(2), 95-123.

Kersting, N. (2009) 'New Nationalism and Xenophobia in Africa – A New Inclination?' *Africa Spectrum*, 44(1), 7-18.

Crush, J. & W. Pendleton (2004) *Regionalizing Xenophobia? Citizen Attitudes to Immigration and Refugee Policy in Southern Africa*. Southern African Migration Project. Cape Town: Idasa.

Nyamnjoh, F. (2006) *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*. London: Zed Books [Chapter 2: "Citizenship, Mobility and Xenophobia in Botswana"].

Everatt, D. (2011) 'Xenophobia, State and Society in South Africa, 2008-2010'. *Politikon*, 38(1), 7-36.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) (2015) 'Three Powerful Myths that Fuel Xenophobia'. *Mail & Guardian* (24 June). Available at: <http://mg.co.za/article/2015-06-24-3-myths-fuelling-xenophobia-in-sa>

Landau, L. (2010) 'Loving the Alien? Citizenship, Law, and the Future in South Africa's Demonic Society'. *African Affairs*, 109(435), 213-230.

15 October – Seminar 11: Community justice and vigilantism

(Julie Berg)

Vigilantism (or community justice or popular justice) has occurred in most African countries with varying degrees of severity. This social phenomenon, which pre-dates the modern state, entails the collective pursuit of: self-defined justice, revenge, the policing of social norms and morality, and/or the meting out of punishment without legal authority. In vigilante episodes, the accused is often denied the opportunity to contest the charges. Judgement and punitive action is usually swift (if not instantaneous), and often results in the assault, injury or killing of those implicated in criminal actions or other transgressions. Vigilantism is prevalent in contexts characterised by the shared perception that crime, insecurity, unexplained events and non-conformist behaviour are drastically undermining social cohesion. This is often combined with weak government control, and/or the perception that government security and law enforcement agencies are inept or corrupt. Vigilante groups may either regard the government (particularly the criminal justice system) as being illegitimate, or the government may implicitly/ clandestinely support the actions of the vigilantes. Vigilante actions have also emanated from, or been fuelled by a breakdown in traditional institutions for resolving disputes, disciplining wrongdoers, and maintaining the overall social order. In addition, vigilante groups in certain areas have been mobilised around issues related to perceived witchcraft.

Readings

Baker, B. (2004) 'Protection from Crime: What is on Offer for Africans?' *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 22(2), 165-188.

Baker, B. (2013) 'Hybridity in Policing: The Case of Ethiopia'. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 45(3), 296-313.

Fourchard, L. (2008) 'A New Name for an Old Practice: Vigilantes in South-Western Nigeria'. *Africa*, 78(1), 16-40.

Heald, S. (2007) 'Controlling Crime and Corruption from Below: *Sungusungu* in Kenya'. *International Relations*, 21(2), 183-199.

Smith, D. (2004) 'The Bakassi Boys: Vigilantism, Violence, and Political Imagination in Nigeria'. *Cultural Anthropology*, 19(3), 429-455.
