

Network on Intelligence and Security Practices in African Countries ([NISPAC](#))

Annotated bibliography prepared by Carmen Alija Cabero, January 2021

Please send any suggestion or addition to this annotated bibliography to: nispac.team@gmail.com, thank you!

Aalen, Lovise. "Ethiopian state support to insurgency in Southern Sudan from 1962 to 1983: local, regional and global connections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 4 (2014): 626-641.

Aalen analyses primary sources from the Ethiopian Ministry of Defence and the National Archives (UK). The article shows that Ethiopian policy (supplying arms to Southern Sudanese insurgents) was influenced by local concern for state control in Ethiopia's Western region of Gambella, by the regional interests of Middle Eastern powers in the Horn of Africa and by the global context of the Cold War.

Abilova, Olga, and Alexandra Novosseloff. "Demystifying intelligence in UN peace operations: Toward an organizational doctrine." New York: International Peace Institute (2016).

This report is structured in five different sections that address intelligence in UN operations from different perspectives. The authors define the tools for collecting information used by the UN, the structures for analysing information and their limitations. After a thorough analysis, Abilova and Novosseloff provide several recommendations to develop rules, procedures, and a new organizational culture.

Abrahamsen, Rita, and Michael C. Williams. "Public/private, global/local: the changing contours of Africa's security governance." *Review of African Political Economy* 35(118) (2008): 539-553.

This article develops a framework to understand the privatization of security in Africa. The commodification of security is presented as a node of a complex network of security governance. The analysis of private security in Africa is situated in the middle of the current discursive practices of neo-liberal reform that promotes the devolution of authority to the private sector.

Abrahamsen, Rita, and Michael C. Williams. "Security beyond the state: Global security assemblages in international politics." *International Political Sociology* 3, no. 1 (2009): 1-17.

Abrahamsen and Williams develop a re-articulation of the public/private and global/local distinctions and relationships into what they term 'global security assemblages'. The researchers critically analyse these assemblages in Sierra Leone and Nigeria and describe how different agents and normativities interact within the sovereign state and global capital.

Adams, William M. "Geographies of conservation II: Technology, surveillance and conservation by algorithm." *Progress in Human Geography* 43, no. 2 (2019): 337-350.

This report classifies and explores four dimensions of wildlife tracking and surveillance technologies. First it explains how these technologies influence conservation's demarcation and control of space. Second, it explains the development of coercive conservation strategies. Third, the influence in commoditization of nature and fourth the increase of automation of conservation decisions, a trend described here as 'conservation by algorithm'.

Adibe, Raymond, Ejikeme Nwagwu, and Okorie Albert. "Rentierism and security privatisation in the Nigerian petroleum industry: assessment of oil pipeline surveillance and protection contracts." *Review of African Political Economy* 45, no. 156 (2018): 345-353.

This article presents how the privatization of a sector like security can produce several consequences like oil-related attacks by organised groups. Large amount of evidence is provided on the inefficiency of oil pipeline surveillance and protection contracts in Nigeria. The authors call for transparency and democratic management of oil resources in order to improve citizens' access to the nation's oil wealth.

Afeno, Odomovo S. "The Boko Haram uprising and insecurity in Nigeria: intelligence failure or bad governance?" *Conflict Trends* no. 1 (2012): 35-41.

This article firstly analyses the decline in internal security in Nigeria due to armed robbery, political assassinations, arms proliferation, piracy and ethno-religious conflicts and state responses to these. Afeno situates the problem of insecurity in Nigeria within the context of governance and intelligence gathering, with a particular focus on the Boko Haram uprising.

Africa, Sandy, and Johnny Kwadjo. "Changing intelligence dynamics in Africa." University of Birmingham (2009).

This publication, in eight chapters, explains how intelligence raises profound governance challenges in Africa. A major section of the book focuses on four countries (South Africa, Uganda, Kenya and Ghana) showing the interconnection between intelligence and political power in a very detailed way. The book also explores issues like the legal frameworks, the complexity of security threats, the normative context and the culture of excessive secrecy.

Agade, Kennedy Mkutu. "Changes and challenges of the Kenya Police Reserve: the case of Turkana County." *African Studies Review* 58, no. 1 (2015): 199-222.

Agade provides an overview of security challenges in Kenya's rural areas including problems with accountability and arms supervision, which have increased due to the recent discovery of oil, as well as geographical and climate challenges. The article concretely outlines the situation of the Kenya Police Reserve (KPR) and the lack of control by the state. Agade insists on the need of a robust policy, strategy, and budget allocation for KPR to ensure its role as a public good.

Ahire, Philip Terdoo. *Imperial Policing: The Emergence and Role of the Police in Colonial Nigeria, 1860-1960*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press (1991).

This publication gives a historical and sociological analysis of the emergence and role of the police force in colonial Nigeria. Ahire explains how the police in colonial Nigeria was mainly focused on protecting the imperial economy, the preferred political and cultural order. The author concludes that standard accounts of orthodox policing are inaccurate and that the main purpose of the Nigeria Police Force was to subdue indigenous societies and to subordinate them to the political authority of the colonial government.

Albrecht, Peter, and Helene Maria Kyed, eds. "Policing and the Politics of Order-making". Routledge (2014).

This anthology examines the political nature of order-making through policing activities across Africa, Asia and Latin America. The book is based on ethnographic research, and analyses this complex process by focusing on marginalized young men in Haiti, community-policing members and national politicians in Swaziland as well as other actors engaged in policing and politics in eight other countries. What these contexts have in common is that not one

institution monopolizes the means of violence. Albrecht and Kyed analyse the politics at stake in processes of order-making.

Aldrich, Richard J., and John Kasuku. "Escaping from American intelligence: culture, ethnocentrism and the Anglosphere." *International Affairs* 88, no. 5 (2012): 1009-1028.

Aldrich and Kasuku criticise ethnocentrism in the study of intelligence and explore the Chinese and South African conceptions of intelligence to open new avenues of research. The authors argue that future improvement will depend on our ability to recognize the changing nature of the security environment from multiple perspectives. They argue that researchers should pay more attention to individuals, attitudes and cultures rather than organizations.

Alemika, Etannibi. "Crime statistics and information management in Nigerian justice and security systems." In Alemika, Etannibi and Innocent Chukwuna, *Crime and policing in Nigeria: Challenges and options*. NOPRIN, (2004).

Alemika provides a broad overview and analysis of the importance of statistical and information management systems within Nigeria's criminal justice, intelligence and security agencies. The author emphasises that Nigerian criminal justice and security agencies requires legislation to create obligations for data, statistical and information management in public service organizations.

Alemika, Etannibi EO. "Insurgencies in Nigeria: Causes and remedies, the sociological dimension" In Obafemi, Olu and Habu Galadima, *Complex Insurgencies in Nigeria*. *National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies* (2013): 181

The author starts by defining terrorism and discussing the causes, motivations and intentions, and techniques adopted by terrorists. The core of the article analyses the risk of terrorism in Nigeria. Alemika argues that the government needs to introduce appropriate and effective legal framework for the prevention and control of terrorism that guarantees freedom of religion while at the same prohibits the fusion of state and religion in the legislative, judicial and executive functions and institutions of government.

Alemika, Etannibi EO. "Police practice and police research in Africa." *Police Practice and Research: International Journal* 10, no. 5-6 (2009): 483-502.

Alemika analyses the evolution of police forces and the nature of police practices; the features of non-state policing; and the nature and state of police research and

its impact on police policy and practices in Africa. The author provides quantitative data that supports his thesis about the inappropriate practices and insists on the necessity of bridging the gap between police research and police practice.

Alemika, Etannibi EO. "Policing and perceptions of police in Nigeria." *Police Stud.: Int'l Rev. Police Dev.* 11 (1988): 161.

Alemika discusses the contours of policing in Nigeria. A tentative scale for measurement of the public perceptions of the Nigerian police is constructed and the responses of the survey are analysed. The author concludes his study by identifying perennial problems of conduct, corruption and productivity in the Nigerian police. The article recommends that political and economic structures promote policies based on the promotion of fundamental rights, socio-economic justice and legitimate succession to power.

Alexandra, Andrew, Deane-Peter Baker, and Marina Caparini, eds. *Private military and security companies: ethics, policies and civil-military relations*. Routledge, (2009).

This edited volume covers three main fields of enquiry regarding private military and security companies in West Africa: ethics, policies and law, and civil-military relations. The volume follows a comparative approach, and suggests that military forces and their private counterparts could interact alongside a new generation of soldiers shaped by new values.

Alex-Assensoh, Y. "African military history and politics: Coups and ideological incursions, 1900-present." Springer, (2002).

In this book, Alex-Assensoh explains how Africa's former colonial masters like Great Britain or France trained members and leaders of colonial armed forces to be politically non-partisan. Yet, modern-day armed forces on the African continent have become too politicized. The book traces the historical-cum-political evolution of the African armed forces, and what bodes for Africa, where the unending military incursions into partisan politics are concerning.

Anneck, Wendy, and Mmoto Masubelele. "A review of the impact of militarisation: the case of rhino poaching in Kruger National Park, South Africa." *Conservation and Society* 14, no. 3 (2016): 195.

This paper analyses the militarisation of conservation areas. The analysis is developed in relation to the military intervention to inhibit rhino poaching in the

Kruger National Park, South Africa. However, the case of study may be applicable to a wide range of anti-poaching conservation efforts and military options. The authors propose a multi-pronged approach, where all components are strongly implemented, is necessary to combat poaching.

Ashington-Pickett, Robert, Paul Jackson, and Peter Alexander Albrecht. "National security and intelligence reform in Sierra Leone-2000-2003." DIIS (2008).

This book is divided in twelve chapters that address different aspects regarding governance and security sector reform. The publication also addresses other issues like the security and development nexus or civil society's role. The authors argue that the reform experience in Sierra Leona was unique because it was initiated during a time of war and the Intelligence Security Service had an unusual funding structure.

Augé, Axel, and Klaousen Patrick. "Réformer les armées africaines. En quête d'une nouvelle stratégie." KARTHALA Editions, (2010).

This book develops the idea "neither war nor peace" in relation to sub-Saharan Africa. Augé and Patrick state that since the 1990s, security system reform (SSR) has become a prerequisite for economic development and the emergence of stable political structures. However, action by international organizations on SSR has not allowed sub-Saharan Africa to emerge from a state of "neither war nor peace".

Bachmann, Jan. "Governmentality and counterterrorism: Appropriating international security projects in Kenya." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 6, no. 1 (2012): 41-56.

Bachmann examines the role of local agency in challenging external security practices studying the Danish 'Peace, Security and Development Programme'. The author pays attention to the 'social relations' of authoritative programmes, the securitization of Muslim populations, and the subsequent translation of terms like counterterrorism within a governmentality perspective.

Bagayoko, Niagale, Eboe Hutchful, and Robin Luckham. "Hybrid security governance in Africa: rethinking the foundations of security, justice and legitimate public authority." *Conflict, Security & Development* 16, no. 1 (2016): 1-32.

This article, instead of romanticising informal or 'traditional' institutions, suggests that they embed and have power hierarchies. Hybrid security governance does

not work equally well for everyone, least of all for the vulnerable and excluded. The authors insist on the need to develop empirical studies of hybrid security and social, economic and gender inequalities. At the same time, the article asks for a transition towards more locally-based and inclusive systems of public authority in African security governance.

Baker, B., "Policing for Conflict Zones: What Have Local Policing Groups Taught Us?" *International Journal of Security and Development*, 6(1), (2017): 9.

This article uses examples of local policing practices in four sub-Saharan conflicts to show how police capacities decrease or even ceased to be active in times of conflict. The authors consider different patterns of harnessing local capacity to provide policing services and, offer recommendations on how to achieve police effectiveness and reform in challenging conflict environments.

Baker, Bruce. "Multi-choice policing in Africa." *Nordiska Afrikainstitutet*, (2008).

This publication is based on extensive fieldwork in Africa. It offers an exploration of the nature and implications of state and non-state policing across sub-Saharan Africa and, in particular, closely examines the two states of Uganda and Sierra Leone. Baker starts by tracing all the genealogy of policing until contemporary African policing patterns, and finishes by analysing the social consequences and implications of multi-choice policing.

Ball, Nicole, and Dylan Hendrickson. "Trends in security sector reform (SSR): Policy, practice and research." *Policy, practice and research* (2006).

This paper, commissioned by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), explores how recent changes in the international environment since the 9/11 attacks have had a mixed impact on the SSR agenda. These changes are explained in the article and it highlights the importance of understanding which factors affect the influence of research upon policy and practice in SSR.

Ball, Nicole, and Kayode Fayemi, eds. "Security sector governance in Africa: A handbook". *Centre for Democracy & Development*, (2004).

This handbook contains practical tools and guidance on undertaking a process of security-sector transformation consistent with democratic governance principles and a human security agenda. It is intended to assist policy makers and security-sector practitioners both in security organisations and civil authorities charged with managing activities of security organisations.

Banda, Jai, Anton Katz, and Annette Hübschle. "Rights versus justice: issues around extradition and deportation in transnational terrorist cases." *African Security Studies* 14, no. 4 (2005): 59-67.

This article presents how anti-terrorism legislation has changed worldwide as well as international cooperation after the terrorist attack in September 11. The authors show how Africa, even though it has not witnessed many incidents of international terrorism on its soil, has earned a negative image. It has been referred to as the 'breeding ground of terrorism' or the conduit for international terrorists.

Bat, Jean-Pierre, and Nicolas Courtin. "Maintenir l'ordre colonial: Afrique et Madagascar XIXe-XXe siècles." Presses universitaires de Renne (2012).

This book is based on the analysis of unpublished sources from a historical point of view. This research follows the emergence and evolutions of the forms of colonial policing in the colonies of countries like Cameroon, Mauritania and Madagascar in the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the use of counterinsurgency and intelligence techniques. It also includes stories on human level of police officers with singular backgrounds like Inspector Georges Conan or the brothers Xavier and Achille Béraud.

Bat, Jean-Pierre. "Le rôle de la France après les indépendances." *Afrique contemporaine* 3 (2010): 43-52.

Jean-Pierre Bat analyses the French security policy in Africa and demystifies the "Foccart system" through the character of Presidential adviser Jacques Foccart and the African cell of the Élysée. The article explains how through cooperation, military intervention and intelligence, France has kept privileged ties with African countries after decolonization.

Bat, Jean-Pierre. "La fabrique des barbouzes: histoire des réseaux Foccart en Afrique." Nouveau Monde Editions, (2015).

This book explains the hidden face of the history of France since the Liberation, showing how French "barbouzes" (intelligence networks) supported anti-communist activities in Africa during the Cold War. The author shows how the decolonization of Africa was synonymous, for de Gaulle's France, with the anti-communist struggle and the defence of its reserved domain.

Bayart, Jean-François, Stephen Ellis, and Béatrice Hibou. "The criminalization of the state in Africa." Oxford (1999).

This book analyses different aspects that influence in the criminalization of the state in Africa. The authors look at fraud, smuggling, the plundering of natural resources, the privatization of state institutions, the development of an economy of plunder, the growth of private arms, to show how all of these features of public life in Africa can suggest that the State itself is becoming a vehicle for organized criminal activity.

Beek, Jan. "Friend of the Police. Polizei in Nord-Ghana (Upper West Region)." *Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien* 93 (2008).

This article looks at day-to-day practices of police officers in West Africa trying to analyse beyond the idea that the police is an amoral institution of the state with low legitimacy. For example, the author explains the figure of the so-called 'friends of the police', which happens when police officers hand over tasks of their organization to civilian actors. The author finds that public order, in North Ghana, results from the negotiations between officers and different civilian actors who incorporate their social resources and moral beliefs.

Berg, Julie, and Clifford Shearing. "Governing-through-harm and public goods policing." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 679, no. 1 (2018): 72-85.

Berg and Clifford argue that governing harm through crime is not always the most effective way of producing public safety and security and that the production of public safety is not limited to public police forces. This article relies on different case studies of non-crime intervention strategies from the Global South. The authors argue that a new theoretical framing is necessary to better approach these developments.

Berg, Julie, and Clifford Shearing. "The practice of crime prevention: Design principles for more effective security governance." *South African Crime Quarterly* 36 (2011): 23-30.

This publication reviews some of the principal obstacles to effective crime prevention South Africa. These obstacles are related to blaming and punishment. Berg and Clifford propose three design principles to establish crime prevention as a central focus of security governance. These design principles articulate what might be thought of as 'best thinking' rather than 'best practice'.

Berg, Julie, and Elrena van der Spuy. "Challenges for the good governance of security in the Africa context." *Crime Prevention and Community Safety* (2010): 123.

Berg and van der Spuy provide an overview of some of the key challenges confronting state and non-state security systems. They state that the nature of security governance in Africa consists of a diversity of state and non-state, formal and informal entities which makes policing pluralise. The authors show the need to invest in state-building to ensure the state has the capacity to engage with non-state policing, and to draw in and regulate the non-state to contribute meaningfully to security.

Berg, Julie, and Simon Howell. "The private security complex and its regulation in Africa: Select examples from the continent." *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 41, no. 4 (2017): 273-286.

Berg and Howell provide substantial amount of data and evidence from several African countries regarding private security industry and the challenges of their regulatory trends. They insist that it is best to avoid investigating regulation of entities in isolation. The article addresses the need to investigate private security taking into account the systems of power and co-dependency because rapid advances in governance systems are happening in every analysed country.

Berg, Julie. "Private policing in South Africa: the Cape Town city improvement district—pluralisation in practice." *Society in transition* 35, no. 2 (2004): 224-250.

Berg investigates the nature of the Cape Town City Improvement District (CID) Initiative as an example of pluralised policing. The author presents an exhaustive study about the role of private security in the South Africa urban landscape and poses several questions like: How do we ensure that CIDs are run accountable and democratic? How do we ensure good governance of these CIDs?

Berg, Julie. "Seeing like private security: evolving mentalities of public space protection in South Africa." *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 10, no. 3 (2010): 287-301.

This article examines three empirical cases in South Africa. The research shows that private security that operates in public spaces simultaneously retains 'traditional' private security mentalities of loss prevention as well as 'traditional' state policing mentalities of crime control and coercion. The article shows how private security is evolving in its application of diverse policing mentalities and its management and interpretation of public 'space'.

Berg, Julie, and Jean-Pierre Nouveau. "Towards a third phase of regulation: Re-imagining private security in South Africa." *South African Crime Quarterly*, 38 (2011): 23-32.

This work focuses on three challenges to current private security regulatory systems: the increased pluralisation of policing within public spaces; the operation of hidden sectors within the industry; and the nature of criminal abuses perpetuated by the industry. The authors, Berg and Nouveau, reflect on the underlying premises informing the South African legislation and propose a shift in thinking in order to achieve an effective and innovative regulation.

Berridge, William "Under the Shadow of the Regime: The Contradictions of Policing in Sudan, c. 1924-1989." PhD diss., Durham University, (2011).

Berridge analyses the institutional development of the Sudanese police between 1924 and 1989, focusing in particular on its role in governing Sudanese society and its complex relationship with the state and society at large. At the same time, the thesis also demonstrates the agency that the police exercises both as an institution and on behalf of various religious, ethnic and political groups to which they were affiliated.

Blanchard, Emmanuel, Quentin Deluermoz, and Joël Glasman. "La professionnalisation policière en situation coloniale: détournement conceptuel et explorations historiographiques." *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies* 15, no. 2 (2011): 33-53.

The authors explain how the establishment of colonial police forces paralleled the specialisation and professionalization of European and North American police forces. The connection between these territories facilitated the circulation of practices. This article studies communication between new and traditional agents and the relationship between civilian populations and colonial police officers.

Bloch, Jonathan, and Patrick Fitzgerald. "British intelligence and covert action: Africa, Middle East and Europe since 1945." Brandon, (1983).

This book focuses on British intelligence agencies and the part they have played in British foreign and colonial policy. The authors provide an account about different agencies like MI6 and the Government Communications Headquarters and their covert operations in different parts of the world after 1945.

Breckenridge, K. "Biometric State: The Global Politics of Identification and Surveillance in South Africa, 1850 to the Present." Cambridge University Press (2015): 148-150.

Breckenridge traces the origins of biometric identification and registration systems in countries like India, Mexico and South Africa. He shows how the triangular relationship between India, the Witwatersrand and Britain, established the special South African obsession with biometric government. Breckenridge also examines the political effects of biometric registration systems, showing their consequences for the institutions of democracy and authoritarianism.

Bruneau, Thomas C. "Controlling intelligence in new democracies." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 14, no. 3 (2001): 323-341.

As Bruneau states, much of the good material on intelligence and democracy pertains to the established democracies where the main idea is reiterating the need to control the intelligence to strength the democracy. This article tries to demythologize intelligence in new democracies by introducing some key issues in the processes of doing intelligence, and thereby provide a foundation for those who want to initiate control of their intelligence apparatuses.

Bruneau, Thomas C., and Florina Cristiana Cris Matei. "Intelligence in the developing democracies: the quest for transparency and effectiveness." Taylor & Francis, (2010).

This article addresses the need for transparency and effectiveness of intelligence systems in developing democracies. The article begins with a review of the literature on intelligence reform in new democracies. It also discusses the role of intelligence in non-democratic regimes, the legacies from these regimes in transitional democracies, and the challenges involved including the achievements in reforming intelligence in countries like South Africa.

Bruneau, Thomas C., and Kenneth R. Dombroski. "Reforming intelligence: The challenge of control in new democracies." *Center for Civil-Military Relations Publications* (2014).

Bruneau and Dombroski explain the importance of accountability and transparency when reforming intelligence once civilians take control of armed forces in new democracies. The authors use Peter Gill's model for comparative analysis among intelligence services and discuss democratic control

mechanisms linked to four key intelligence activities (collection, analysis, counterintelligence, covert actions).

Caparini, Marina. "Democratic control of intelligence services: containing rogue elephants." Routledge, (2016).

This book presents different reforms in Eastern Europe and in the West in relation to democratic control of the intelligence services. Parliamentary and data protection reforms are also covered. There has been a gap in comparative studies about accountability of intelligence services but Caparini and her collaborators are filling the gap with this volume contributing to international exchange of ideas, approaches and practices.

Cawthra, Gavin, and Robin Luckham, eds. "Governing insecurity: Democratic control of military and security establishments in transitional democracies." Vol. 1. Zed Books, (2003).

Governing Insecurity is one of a three-book series. This book covers security sector transformation in transitional democracies and in conflict-torn societies. Different case studies are presented like Ghana, South Africa and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The main aim pursued by the editors is to determine how to study democratic control of military and security institution and link it to issues of good governance and of security sector transformation.

Châtaigner, Jean-Marc. "La réforme du secteur de sécurité dans les États et sociétés fragiles." *Afrique contemporaine*, 2 (2006): 101-117.

Since the early 1990s, the security fundamentals of aid have gained ground. Châtaigner asks what can be the key conditions for successful security sector reform program in a fragile country? This article attempts to answer the question, by examining the reflections of the international community and by drawing on several examples of past interventions.

Christensen, Maya Mynster, Koen Vlassenroot, Gerhard Anders, Anders Themnér, Henrik Vigh, Mariam Persson, Ruben de Koning et al. "African conflicts and informal power: Big men and networks". Zed Books Ltd., 2012.

The publication compares armed conflicts across a variety of countries (Uganda, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Mali, etc.). The book will cover aspects about socio-political or economic networks along a continuum from formal to informal

environments. The second aspect that is treated in the book is the role of “Big Men” that are considered nodes in networks.

Cline, Lawrence E. "African Regional Intelligence Cooperation: Problems and Prospects." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence* 29, no. 3 (2016): 447-469.

This article examines intelligence sharing efforts in Africa and newly developed sharing structures. The author discusses pan-African intelligence cooperation, regional cooperation, sub regional cooperation, certain North African shortcomings, cooperation with external elements, financing mechanism and political support.

Courtin, Christophe, and François Boko. "Les forces armées en Afrique francophone." Fondation Jean-Jaurès, 284 (2015).

Courtin and Boko present a short piece where they explore and explain the role of the French military in Africa fifty years after the independence of the colonies. The article explains that the military are still at the heart of most of the political crises that Francophone Africa has experienced over the past ten years. In order to understand each case the article develops the classical theories of militarism in Africa and provides an overview of contemporary militarism in Africa.

Courtin, Nicolas, Philippe Hugon, and Sonia Le Gouriellec. "Contours, entours et détours des armées en Afrique." *Afrique contemporaine* 4 (2016): 15-25.

This article takes stock of three major methodological debates: a bottom up versus top down approach, the periodization and historicity of armies, the comparative approach of African armies in order to analyse the role, the place and the nature of the armies in Africa.

D. Chuter, "Understanding Security Sector Reform", *Journal of Security Sector Management*, vol. 4, no 2, (2006), p. 1-21.

In 2006, the Security Sector Reform was considered as an “ill-defined” concept. The article first describes the confusion of much SSR thinking. Second, the author addresses the main issues of SSR and proposes some working definitions. Finally, it sets out what a sensible SSR concept might consist of, taking specific account of the different circumstances that exist in different areas.

Debos, Marielle, and Joël Glasman. "Politique des corps habillés. État, pouvoir et métiers de l'ordre en Afrique." *Politique africaine* 4 (2012): 5-23.

This article explores how the “corps habillés” (i.e. soldiers, gendarmes, police, national guards, border guards, etc.) constitute a central professional field in African state apparatuses since they participate fully in the functioning of the postcolonial state. The authors argue that even though the role of non-state actors in the exercise of violence has attracted growing scholarly attention, the officials in charge of the exercise of state violence remain an object to be explored.

Debos, Marielle. “Le métier des armes au Tchad: le gouvernement de l'entre-guerres”. KARTHALA Editions, 2013.

In this book, Debos presents her investigations in Chad between 204 and 2010 and after 2012 about the use of violence, the use of arms and combatants' lives. The book is divided in seven chapters addressing their fluid loyalties and combatants' trajectories, inter-war government, etc. Using theoretical reflections and ethnographic observations, the book opens up new avenues of analysis on the processes of routinization and professionalization of violence and offers a critical look at "post-conflict" and "state building" policies.

Dehé, Dustin. "Security sector reform and intelligence services in sub-Saharan Africa: capturing the whole picture." *African Security Review* 19, no. 2 (2010): 38-46.

This article analyses security sector reform in sub-Saharan Africa. The author argues that the experience of socialist and autocratic structures has left highly politicised security and intelligence services that are problematic to the kind of civilian oversight that is required in democracies. New challenges like terrorism and narcotics trade have increased the need for effective oversight and security sector reform.

Denys, Catherine, and Vincent Denis. “Polices d’Empires, XVIIIe-XIXe siècles”. Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012.

This book is the result of a collective investigation, bringing together twelve international specialists. This publication intends to show the role of the police as a symbol of colonial domination and its contribution to the emergence of a new mode of colonial management of populations, from the 1750s to the eve of the Great War.

Desgrais, Nicolas, and Le Gouriellec, Sonia. "Stratégies d'extraversion: Les défis de la construction de l'Architecture africaine de paix et de sécurité." *Note de recherche stratégique* 28 (2016).

This publication analyses the reasons that push African States to accept a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis exogenous actors in crisis management in order to understand the current structure of the collective defence system emerging in Africa. Desgrais and Le Gouriellec analyse the concept of extraversion to understand the support mechanisms for the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) of extra-African actors.

Detzner, Sarah. "Modern post-conflict security sector reform in Africa: patterns of success and failure." *African security review* 26, no. 2 (2017): 116-142.

This piece examines recurring patterns of security sector reform implementation failures in post-conflict African programmes featuring substantial external involvement that have been undertaken since the mid-1990s. Detzner shows how these patterns help to understand implementation failures, the mobilisation of domestic political demand for SSR and methods for applying external pressure.

Devlin, Lawrence. "Chief of Station, Congo: Fighting the Cold War in a Hot Zone." *Public Affairs*, (2008).

Larry Devlin writes about his experience as CIA chief of station in Congo, five days after the country had declared its independence when the army had mutinied, and governmental authority had collapsed. Devlin explains how he found himself at the heart of Africa, in the most strategically influential country on the continent at the time.

Dombroski, Kenneth R. "Reforming intelligence: South Africa after apartheid." *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 3 (2006): 43-57.

This paper shows how South Africa has made a remarkable transformation of its intelligence sector from what had been a militarized, and highly repressive, instrument of internal control during the apartheid regime into a more transparent and democratically accountable civilian-led intelligence community designed to inform policy. Dombroski shows that reform of the intelligence sector is a key element of the democratization process and that intelligence reform should begin earlier rather than later in the overall progression of democratization.

Dombroski, Kenneth R. "Transforming Intelligence in South Africa." Published in the Center of Civil-Military Relations. Naval Postgraduate Institute. Monterey. California (2005).

This chapter assesses intelligence sector transformation in South Africa and offers lessons that might be instructive to other democratizing states. The author argues that after more than a decade into transformation process, the long-term effects of these reforms remain uncertain, but several trends have become evident.

Downie, Richard, and Jennifer G. Cooke. "A more strategic US approach to Police Reform in Africa". *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, 2011.

The US has been supporting overseas police as part of Security Sector Reform and democratic institution building. This article present new ideas about how to build a more strategic, coherent long-term vision and sustainable reform. The ideas were developed at the CSIS Africa program in a series of working group discussions to highlight the issue of police in sub-Saharan countries.

Duffy, Rosaleen, and Jasper Humphreys. "I. Poaching, Wildlife Trafficking and Human Security." *Whitehall Papers* 86, no. 1 (2016): 22-37.

This publication examines the most common characterisations of the threat posed by poaching and wildlife trafficking to human security, questioning the extent to which they reflect available evidence of the range of threats that play out on the ground. Duffy and Humphreys studies human impact from different perspectives as well as policy implications. The authors emphasize the importance of local level policies.

Duffy, Rosaleen, Francis Massé, Emile Smidt, Esther Marijnen, Bram Büscher, Judith Verweijen, Maano Ramutsindela, Trishant Simlai, Laure Joanny, and Elizabeth Lunstrum. "Why we must question the militarisation of conservation." *Biological conservation*, 232 (2019): 66-73.

This article engages critically with the militarisation of conservation, identifying and reflecting on the problems it produces for wildlife and for people. The authors synthesises the main themes in emerging critiques of militarised conservation. They highlight the importance of understanding how poaching is defined, the ways that local communities experience militarised conservation, how the militarisation of conservation can contribute to violence; and finally how it fits in with and reflects wider political economic dynamics.

Duffy, Rosaleen, Freya AV St John, Bram Büscher, and Dan Brockington. "The militarization of anti-poaching: undermining long term goals?." *Environmental Conservation* 42, no. 4 (2015): 345-348.

As illegal wildlife trade has become increasingly sophisticated and poaching of wildlife is rising there have been calls for action since the London Declaration, signed in February 2014 by 46 countries. The authors argue that these calls could be counter-productive because they are founded on limited knowledge about poverty and poaching among other aspects.

Duffy, Rosaleen, Freya AV St John, Bram Büscher, and Dan Brockington. "Toward a new understanding of the links between poverty and illegal wildlife hunting." *Conservation Biology* 30, no. 1 (2016): 14-22.

Duffy, Freya, Büscher and Brockington review the academic and policy literature on poaching and illegal wildlife. They place motivations for illegal wildlife hunting within the context of the complex history of how wildlife laws were initially designed. They also consider the nature of poverty and the reasons for economic deprivation to indicate how particular understandings of poverty shape approaches to illegal wildlife hunting. There is a need for a much better understanding of what poverty is and what motivates people to hunt illegally.

Duffy, Rosaleen. "Waging a war to save biodiversity: the rise of militarized conservation." *International Affairs* 90, no. 4 (2014): 819-834.

This article examines the dangers of a 'war for biodiversity'. First, conceptual debates around the war for biodiversity are defined. Second, the article offers an analysis of current trends in militarized forms of anti-poaching and a critical reflection on such approaches via an examination of the historical, economic, social and political creation of poaching as a mode of illegal behaviour. Finally, Duffy traces how a militarized approach to anti-poaching developed out of the production of poaching as a category.

Duffy, Rosaleen. "Killing for conservation: wildlife policy in Zimbabwe." James Currey Ltd, 2000.

This book presents a case study of Zimbabwe that illustrates how the politically controversial policy agenda of wildlife utilization is part of the wider realm of global environmental politics. The book addresses aspects like whether African wildlife is under threat mainly from African people; whether there is a conflict between the ideologies of preservation and conservation or the political neutrality of conservation strategies.

Duncan, Jane. "The rise of the securocrats." The case of South Africa. Auckland Park: Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd (2014).

Securocrats are officials in the security establishment that have the power to influence government policy in their favour. This book illustrates how, when securocrats dominate government decision-making, the democratic life of a country can be threatened. Duncan argues for the importance of keeping the security cluster under democratic control, and broadly accountable to the society.

Dwyer, Maggie. "Peacekeeping abroad, trouble making at home: Mutinies in West Africa." *African Affairs* 114, no. 455 (2015): 206-225.

This article draws attention to those military deployments, which as part of peacekeeping missions have triggered army mutinies in West African countries. It explains how participation in peacekeeping missions created new grievances and a sense of injustice amongst the peacekeepers, which sparked domestic mutinies. The article draws on interviews with former mutineers, including peacekeepers, as well as media reporting, academic writing, and archival research.

Egnell, Robert, and Peter Haldén. "Laudable, ahistorical and overambitious: security sector reform meets state formation theory. Analysis." *Conflict, Security & Development* 9, no. 1 (2009): 27-54.

This paper examines the concept and practice of SSR using theories of the state and state formation within a historical-philosophical perspective. The paper argues that we should be careful of having too high expectations of the possibility of SSR fulfilling its ambitious goals of creating states that are stable, democratic and accountable. Legitimate order and functioning structures are prerequisites for successful democratisation and accountability in the security sector.

Ellis, Stephen. "Mbokodo: security in ANC camps, 1961-1990." *African Affairs* 93, no. 371 (1994): 279-298.

This article summarises what is known about ANC's security apparatus in the 1980s and in particular its response to indiscipline, espionage and widespread criticism in the period 1981-4. It compares this with an earlier wave of unrest in 1967-9. It concludes that the nature of the ANC in exile changed due to the organisation's militarization under the guidance of the South African Communist Party.

Elntib, Stamatis, Zainab Sani Nass, Maria Ioannou, Saskia Ryan, and Paul Christiansen. "Is the public willing to help the Nigerian police during the Boko Haram crisis? A

look at moderating factors." *Journal of police and criminal psychology* 33, no. 1 (2018): 55-62.

This paper sought the opinion of 200 Nigerians on their willingness to cooperate with the police during the Boko Haram crisis. Data was analysed and results indicated a strong association between perceived effectiveness and willingness to report criminal activity about Boko Haram to the police. The article also shows the impact of religion, gender and place of residence on willingness to report.

Fawole, W. A. (2018). "The Illusion of the Post-Colonial State: Governance and Security Challenges in Africa." Lexington Books (2018).

Fawole provides a 'critical epistemological' perspective that helps to understand misconceptions about the post-colonial condition in Africa. The first part of the book is about "colonial rule, disengagement and the post-colonial state," while the second part, deals with "regional examples of illusive post-colonial states." That leads the reader to a comprehensive historical understanding of why African states in the 21st century are still struggling with growth and development.

Fedorowich, Kent. "German espionage and British counter-intelligence in South Africa and Mozambique, 1939–1944." *The Historical Journal* 48, no. 1 (2005): 209-230.

Using British, American, and South African archival sources, this article outlines German espionage activities and British counter-intelligence operations between 1939 and 1944. The article is part of a larger study, and examines three broad themes: the creation of a military intelligence apparatus in wartime in South Africa, the establishment of several British liaison in southern Africa, and an assessment of the working relationship between the South African and British agencies.

Feldstein, Steven. "Do Terrorism Trends in Africa Justify the US Military's Expansion?." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (2018).

This article examines U.S. military expansion in Africa. According to some estimates, over 6,000 U.S. troops are in sub-Saharan countries even though few African insurgencies pose a direct threat to U.S. core interests. The article suggests that civilian efforts are more effective than military actions to prevent extremist groups' mobilization, yet Donald Trump's administration showed no signs of mounting a good civilian-oriented strategy to address the challenges.

Fisher, Jonathan, and David M. Anderson. "Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa." *International Affairs* 91, no. 1 (2015): 131-151.

Fisher and Anderson show how western actors are imposing a 'securitized' and 'militarized' approach to international development upon states in the South. However, the authors argue that many African governments have embraced militarized and authoritarian practices in their state building process and western actors support them with enthusiasm. The authors analyse the securitization moves and strategies regarding donors and development programmes including the new Chinese actions in the African continent.

Fisher, Jonathan. "Mapping 'Regional Security' in the Greater Horn of Africa: Between National Interests and Regional Cooperation." Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2014

This publication presents the interlinked networks of politico-military actors in the Horn of Africa. The article is divided in five different sections. It address firstly the concept of regional security in the Greater Horn of Africa, regional organizations, networks, relations with donors and 'national interests' vs. 'regional interests' through different cases the South Sudan project, the Nile Waters and the Somalia intervention.

Fisher, Jonathan. "Structure, agency and Africa in the international system: donor diplomacy and regional security policy in East Africa since the 1990s." *Conflict, Security & Development* 13, no. 5 (2013): 537-567.

Fisher states that African regimes can secure agency in relations with donors by validating narratives that encourage continued support. To reach this conclusion, the article draws on a range of primary data collected during fieldwork in East Africa, the US and the UK, as well as several informed analysis of 'closed-door' events and roundtables arranged by the author with Western donor officials.

Flower, Ken. "Serving Secretly: An intelligence chief on record: Rhodesia into Zimbabwe, 1964 to 1981". Murray, 1987.

This book tells Flower's experiences as an intelligence chief in the transition from Rhodesia into Zimbabwe. Ken Flower bases his book mainly on intelligence papers that he saved. He describes aspects like fall of Winston Field, the role of America and South America, the guerrilla and the intelligence war in the region.

Franke, Benedikt. "A Pan-African army: The evolution of an idea and its eventual realisation in the African Standby Force." *African Security Studies* 15, no. 4 (2006): 1-16.

This work addresses the idea of a Pan-African army. The author looks at different failures in the past such as the project of an African High Command (AHC) in the early years of decolonisation or the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Defence Commission. Franke argues that the African Union's current initiative to establish an African Standby Force is not a ground-breaking conceptual development.

Franke, Benedikt. "Africa's evolving security architecture and the concept of multi-layered security communities." *Cooperation and Conflict* 43, no. 3 (2008): 313-340.

This article analyses the security architecture of African countries. The author argues that the emergence of this architecture and its institutional layers fit with the concept of multi-layered security communities. This concept helps to explain the increasing prominence of elaborate multi-level security cooperation in the African countries.

Garner, Robert. "Wildlife conservation and the moral status of animals." *Environmental Politics* 3, no. 1 (1994): 114-129.

Garner studies how conservation of wildlife is approached through anthropocentric justifications. Conservation of wildlife is considered as merely a means of furthering human ends. The author argues that practices in wildlife conservation should have ecological and rights approaches that would help to make conservation both morally equitable and more likely to meet its goals.

Gastrow, Peter, and Annette Hübschle. "African perspectives on the international terrorism discourse." *African Security Review* (2010)

This publication seeks to bring the emerging African discourse on terrorism to the attention of African policy- and decision-makers. The authors analyse terrorism and counter-terrorism measures, institutions, coordination with states and regional organisations as well as human and environmental security in Africa.

Gilbert, Emily. "The militarization of climate change." *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 11, no. 1 (2012): 1-14.

There is a growing military interest in climate change. Gilbert briefly reviews the longstanding literature that addresses the linking of environment and security

discourses in certain areas like sub Saharan countries. The author focuses on president Obama's discourses on energy security of the USA. Finally, the author reflects on how energy security emerges as the primary focus for innovation and investment and how the mobilization of climate change is used to re-moralize war and the military.

Glasman, Joël. "«Connaître papier». Métiers de police et État colonial tardif au Togo." *Genèses* 1 (2012): 37-54.

Glasman studies the case of Togo to present how the late colonial state, and its accumulation of bureaucratic standards leading to the valuation of new skills within the professions of order, was able to affect the fate of agents, independently of their individual proportion to meet these standards on a daily basis.

Glasman, Joël. "Les corps habillés: genèse des métiers de police au Togo (1885-1963)." PhD diss., Paris 7, (2011).

Glasman explores the genesis and structure of the "corps habillés" (members of security forces). It is not institutional study nor is this study structured around a teleological reading of the history of police. This article shows how law enforcement institutions were transformed in the 1940s by the process of bureaucratization of the state and this led to a conflict about the skills required in the exercise this profession.

Good, Kenneth. "The presidency of General Ian Khama: The militarization of the Botswana 'miracle'." *African Affairs* 109, no. 435 (2009): 315-324.

This article addresses the militarization and personalization of power in Botswana since 2008. Kenneth Good critically engages with the study of repressive agencies and military personnel that have entered government threatening the rule of law and human rights in Botswana. The author shows how governance and democracy are thus seriously undermined in the country.

Göpfert, Mirco. "Security in Niamey: an anthropological perspective on policing and an act of terrorism in Niger." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 50, no. 1 (2012): 53-74.

This paper analyses Niamey's security landscape from a historical and a spatial perspective. Göpfert argues that for a comprehensive analysis of security, we must decentre our perspective on security construction, and take into account the

inseparability of sociality and security, a fragile balance of trust and acceptable risk. The author uses a case of kidnapping of a French men to illustrate his theory.

Gray, Simon, and Ibikunle Adeakin. "The evolution of Boko Haram: From missionary activism to transnational jihad and the failure of the Nigerian security intelligence agencies." *African Security* 8, no. 3 (2015): 185-211.

This study examines Boko Haram's evolution using a qualitative analysis. Gray and Ibikunle indicate that Boko Haram has undergone four phases of evolution which are linked to Nigeria's security intelligence agencies' strategy and countermeasures. The authors emphasise the failure of military and civilian expertise within the security sector as well as interagency rivalry and a lack of cooperation, cohesion, and oversight.

Grip, Lina. "History never repeats? Imports, impact and control of small arms in Africa." *Contemporary Security Policy* 36, no. 1 (2015): 79-103.

This article contextualizes current debates on small arms and how they relate to the African continent, by revisiting literature in African history from the slave trade to early independence. This review finds that historical conditions and structures are built into Africa's current arms control architecture. External influences on African sub-regional arms control regimes and weapon destruction programmes have contributed to this lasting situation.

Guillaume L, "Africa connection. La criminalité organisée en Afrique", La Manufacture des livres, (2019)

The author is a former police officer who is now a consultant for international organizations, and has brought together university specialists and field consultants to study trafficking in Africa. They shed light on the social and political dynamics that drive trafficking networks in order to understand their material and human organization.

Gwatiwa, Tshepo T. "Intelligence operations as terrorism: Emerging state terrorism in Botswana." *Journal of African Studies and Development* 3, no. 9 (2011): 176-186.

This article uses interviews and other qualitative sources to illustrate how the changing political landscape resulted in the creation of a securitized state controlled by intelligence agencies in Botswana. The article addresses the magnitude of security threats as well as the competence of the intelligence

security outfits. The article finishes making recommendations for structural and operational reform.

Gwatiwa, Tshepo T. "The polemics of security intelligence in Botswana: real or imagined security threats?." *African Security Review* 24, no. 1 (2015): 39-54.

This article discusses the validity of security threats in Botswana and the creation of the Directorate of Intelligence and Security Services (DISS), which has been controversial. The author highlights the politicisation of the DISS, and a shift in domestic threats to national security from the conceptual 'imagined' category to the 'real'. Gwatiwa concludes that Botswana faces different external security threats that warranted the creation of the DISS.

Heather, Randall W. "Intelligence and Counter-insurgency in Kenya, 1952–56." In *Modern Counter-Insurgency*, pp. 77-105. Routledge, (2017).

In this article, Heather studies the British counter-insurgency campaign against the Mau Mau movement in Kenya. It shows that accurate intelligence on the Mau Mau was lacking and that the most important development in the utilization of operational intelligence in Kenya involved the use of captured terrorists against their former comrades.

Henderson, Robert D'A. "South African intelligence under de Klerk." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counter Intelligence* 8, no. 1 (1995): 51-89.

Henderson explores the period of civil violence and anti-government critics when de Klerk's government security forces were accused of actively perpetrating disruptive acts of political violence or assisting the "Third force" in carrying them out within South Africa. The author found several ties between security forces and the ongoing violence.

Henk, Dan. "The Botswana Defence Force and the war against poachers in Southern Africa." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 16, no. 2 (2005): 170-191.

Dan Henk addresses the successful fight against poaching in Botswana. This article identifies some of those challenges and notes how the Botswana Defence Force overcame them, providing an example that may profitably be emulated elsewhere. The article also calls attention to the evolution of military roles and missions in reaction to the novel threats of the post Cold War world.

Herta, Laura M. "Warfare and Human (In)Security in the Horn of Africa." *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai. Studia Europaea* 60, no. 3 (2015): 121.

This article tests certain postulates of Realist and Neorealist thinking in International Relations on the regional configurations in the Horn of Africa. The author states that (Neo)realist, state-centric approaches do not trigger the security of states in the Horn of Africa and that Human Security is a more appropriate framework for analysis.

Hills, Alice. "Policing Africa: internal security and the limits of liberalization, boulder." LAJ: Lynne Rienner Publishers (2000).

Hills argues that the institutional pillars of the post-colonial state remain recognizable. She argues that there was shift in regime understanding of security after independence, but styles of policing have a significant degree of continuity. This book studies the linkage between policing, political order, and institutional capacity and it shows how liberalization and international aid have left most police systems fundamentally unchanged.

Howe, Herbert M. "Ambiguous order: military forces in African states." Lynne Rienner Publishers(2001).

This work examines three potential options for increasing state security in contemporary Africa: regional military groupings, private security companies, and a continent-wide, professional peacekeeping force. Cases studies and assessments are provided. In general, Howe's findings provide an important contribution to the field of Sub-Saharan Africa security.

Hübschle, Annette. "From theory to practice: Exploring the organised crime-terror nexus in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 5, no. 3/4 (2011): 81-95.

This article provides an African perspective on the nexus between organized crime and terror networks in Sub-Saharan Africa. The article includes an overview of the theoretical discourse on the subject and a narrow analysis on the sub-Saharan case. In the end, the empirical findings found no strong empirical links between criminal and terrorist organizations.

Hübschle, Annette. "Security coordination in an illegal market: the transnational trade in rhinoceros horn." *Politikon* 43, no. 2 (2016): 193-214.

This article analyses the security coordinating mechanisms that render illegal transnational flows of rhino horn resilient and difficult to disrupt. The paper focuses on security precautions of illegal market actors at the source and en route to consumer markets. It is argued that there is the need for a deeper

understanding of actors and their relationships to develop regulatory and criminal justice interventions that disrupt illegal markets and transnational flows in the long term.

Hübschle, Annette. "Unholy alliance? Assessing the links between organised criminals and terrorists in Southern Africa." *Institute for Security Studies Papers* 2004, no. 93 (2004): 15-15.

This article investigates the possible links between terrorist groupings and organised criminals in Southern Africa. However, none of the three cases (Hezbollah movement, the group Pagad and Boeremag) examined in the paper could establish a clear linkage between the two phenomena. Indeed, the author argues that there is little political or ideological common ground between terrorists and criminals to sustain such linkages.

Humle, Tatyana, Rosaleen Duffy, David L. Roberts, Christopher Sandbrook, F.A.V. St John, and Robert J. Smith. "Biology's drones: Undermined by fear." *Science* 344, no. 6190 (2014): 1351-1351.

The authors present how the use of drone technology has influenced conservation and law enforcement to combat the surge in elephant and rhino poaching. They transmit the idea that the narratives that describe the current situation in terms of a war between poachers and conservation staff is not accurate since the reality is more complicated. In the end, they give certain recommendations like developing intelligence networks or strengthening the judicial system.

Humphreys, Jasper, and Mike LR Smith. "The 'rhinofication' of South African security." *International Affairs* 90, no. 4 (2014): 795-818.

This paper addresses the rhino-poaching crisis in South Africa. The poaching of wildlife intersects with wider concerns such as border security so the authors have termed this as 'rhinofication' of security. The authors also insist that black people have been excluded from wildlife management. Therefore, while this social chasm persists, the situation will not improve as what is lacking is a political/poaching settlement in the form of a racially inclusive conservation strategy.

Hutchful, Eboe, and Abdoulaye Bathily. "The military and militarism in Africa". Conseil Pour Le Developement De LA (1998).

Hutchful and Abdoulaye study the role of the military in authoritarian regimes in Africa since the military has been central to the current issue of democratisation on the continent. The contributors present what appears in retrospect to be a less clear-cut and more open-ended state of transition, located between the crisis of authoritarianism and the prospect for democracy.

Hutton, Lauren. 'Intelligence and Accountability in Africa', ISS Policy Brief no. 2 (2009).

This policy brief seeks to highlight general trends in enhancing the accountability of intelligence agencies and indicates areas for intervention and advocacy in Africa. Hutton emphasizes that to ensure democratic control and oversight of intelligence agencies in Africa, and to make them fully accountable is one of many steps towards achieving freedom from fear in Africa.

Isumonah, V. Adefemi. "Armed society in the Niger Delta." *Armed Forces & Society* 39, no. 2 (2013): 331-358.

This article addresses the problems of controlling the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) in the Niger Delta of Nigeria. It is argued that the effective control of SALW's proliferation would depend not only on controlling local demand factors but also on the presence of a supply control factor which can affect even nuclear capability.

Jackson, Paul, and Peter Albrecht. "Reconstructing security after conflict: Security Sector Reform in Sierra Leone." Springer (2010).

This book consists of plenty of data from a long-term evaluation and analysis of the UK's involvement in Sierra Leone before and after the conflict which ended in 2002. This publication shows how UK intervention moved from initial involvement through to war fighting and then post-conflict reconstruction. The authors document the bureaucratic politics in the Department for International Development as well as other aspects like legal reforms and access to justice.

Kasuku, John. "Intelligence reform in the post-dictatorial Democratic Republic of Congo: a critical analysis of DRC's intelligence service". Globethics.net (2016).

This book offers a critical analysis of the missions assigned to intelligence agencies during different periods of time in the DRC and it shows that Congolese intelligence services protected Western interests during the Cold War period, when the West was competing with the Soviet Union over the control of the African continent.

Kibati, Bart Joseph. "Memoirs of a Kenyan Spymaster." *Journal of Intelligence History*, no. 18:1, (2019): 110-112.

Bart Joseph Kibati, intelligence agent and deputy director of intelligence of the Kenyan National Intelligence Service, develops this book with humour, irony and very scrupulous to detail to the history. He discusses his life, his experiences, his work as a spy and also about the political and social history of Kenya.

Le Gouriellec, Sonia. "Base militaire à Djibouti: le paradoxe de la puissance japonaise." *Defense Nationale et Securite Collective-Edition Francaise*, no.734 (2010): 88.

This short article studies how Japan, for the first time since 1945, set up a base abroad, in Djibouti. The paper tries to answer whether Japan desires to occupy a more consistent place on the international scene to rebalance its relations with its American partner, and whether this is a gateway to Africa as China seeks to spread its influence in the African continent.

Le Gouriellec, Sonia. "Les organisations combattantes irrégulières du Maghreb." *Stratégique*, no. 2 (2013): 163-182.

This article presents an innovative investigation approach to the organization Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQMI). Le Gouriellec shows that the organization seems more and more Sahelian and she presents and answers new questions. The author studies the Islam currently practiced in Africa, the formation of Muslim identities, their political commitment in Saharo-Sahelian following a more accurate historiography than others have before.

Lemarchand, Rene. "The CIA in Africa: how central? how intelligent?." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 14, no. 3 (1976): 401-426.

Lemarchand presents the role of the C.I.A. in Africa in the context of the post-Watergate era when Americans were told of the involvement of the C.I.A. in Angola, Gabon and Madagascar, etc. This article aims to assess the scope of C.I.A. covert activities in the internal politics of independent African states and to examine their bearing on development strategies.

Lemon, Edward. "Weaponizing Interpol." *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 2 (2019): 15-29.

This article presents how certain autocratic regimes are using Red Notices (a type of arrest request issued through Interpol) to capture their exiled political opponents. Interpol cannot engage in activities of a political or military character and that is increasingly being subverted. Lemon argues that Interpol remains

opaque and lacks accountability for its actions and more needs to be done to prevent the hijacking and weaponizing of Interpol by today's authoritarian regimes.

Leuprecht, Christian, Arthur Cockfield, Pamela Simpson, and Maseeh Haseeb. "Tracking Transnational Terrorist Resourcing Nodes and Networks." *Fla. St. UL Rev.* 46 (2018): 289.

This study collects, codes, analyses, and compares available open-source case law data on transnational terrorist resourcing networks. It tries to answer the question: How are terrorists' networks financed? The analysis reveals cross-border resourcing patterns and usage of financial intermediaries such as banks. This article contributes to the optimization of anti-terrorist resourcing laws, policies, and risk-management practices.

Lind, Jeremy, Patrick Mutahi, and Marjoke Oosterom. "'Killing a mosquito with a hammer': Al-Shabaab violence and state security responses in Kenya." *Peacebuilding* 5, no. 2 (2017): 118-135.

The paper studies the actions carried out by Al-Shabaab in Kenya and the state response to them. The author argues that the internal stress relating to state-led planning of inequality and social order, the use of violence and the external threat of Al-Shabaab, are producing the conditions for insurgency and violence to spread. In this line, Lind et al state that reducing violence and building peace require greater understanding of how violence and security are seen and experienced at the margins.

Lopez, Elisa Lucía. *Stabilizing Mali Project Report "Stabilizing Mali: the challenges to conflict resolution"*, UQAM, (2018)

This report extensively describes the European Union strategic regional approach in the Sahel (its particular laboratory of experimentation). The document explores different aspects of the European Union foreign policy in the area, such as its role in security, development, and governance instruments as well as the EU's support to the G5 Sahel and its Joint Force.

Luckham, Robin. "The Nigerian military a sociological analysis of authority & revolt 1960-1967". Cambridge: At the University Press 402 no. 1 (1971): 173-174.

This book extensively analyses the Nigerian military from a sociological point of view. It covers a concrete period of time in the 1960's and it is structured in three

parts. The first one explains the two military coups in 1966, the second one analyses the military as a social system and the third one addresses the relation between the military and politics.

Luckham, Robin. "The military, militarization and democratization in Africa: A survey of literature and issues." *African Studies Review* 37, no. 2 (1994): 13-75.

Luckham's article addresses how the literature has presented the "third wave" of transitions to democracy in relation to their militaries and political power up until 1994. The author differentiates three debates in the literature and precisely analyses them: the conditions of democracy and civilian control, the role of the military in modernization and the relation between developing countries and the West.

Lund, Christian. "Twilight institutions: Public authority and local politics in Africa". Malden: Blackwell (2007).

This publication reflects on the difficulty in specifying what is "state" in the literature on the state in developing societies, and in particular in Africa. The author suggests that in African countries many institutions have a twilight character since they are not the state but they exercise public authority. Lund studies the political contours of public authority and the political in Africa contributing to shedding light on the literature on the state in developing countries.

Mabele, Mathew Bukhi. "Beyond forceful measures: Tanzania's 'war on poaching' needs diversified strategies more than militarised tactics." *Review of African Political Economy* 44, no. 153 (2017): 487-498.

This publication researches the existing strategies to confront poaching in Tanzania where militarised strategies are clearly becoming dominant. The author, Mabele, recommends more diversified tactics to counter 'poaching' and he suggests that bureaucrats and conservationists have to put more efforts into addressing root causes of poaching rather than focusing exclusively on coercive measures.

Marchal, Roland. "Surveillance et répression en postcolonie." *Politique Africaine* 42 (1991): 40-50.

Marchal draws inspiration from Giddens and Dandeker, and he proposes several avenues of research on repression in contemporary Africa. These avenues are focused on the social history of institutions from the angle of the surveillance

functions: the army, the police, the prisons, while raising the question of the forms of transnationalization of disciplinary techniques. The research provides a more relevant and operational theoretical framework in the field.

Marijnen, Esther, and Judith Verweijen. "Selling green militarization: the discursive (re) production of militarized conservation in the Virunga National Park, Democratic Republic of the Congo." *Geoforum* 75 (2016): 274-285.

This article analyses the militarization of nature conservation in relation to the Virunga National Park, located in the war-ridden east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It demonstrates the current discursive techniques that show continuities with the past but the rise of neoliberal conservation, with its marketization, has induced transformations in the employed discursive techniques. Marijnen and Verweijen present new terms like 'militarization by consumption' or 'green militarization'.

Martin, Michel "Le soldat africain et le politique: essais sur le militarisme en Afrique subsaharienne." Toulouse, *Presse de l'Institut d'études politiques de Toulouse* (1989).

This publication explains how military activism has become a major political factor through conspiracies, mutinies and coup attempts following one another in sub-Saharan Africa. The author provides an analytical contribution to the understanding of the influence of the military on African politics in the 20th century.

Massé, Francis, and Elizabeth Lunstrum. "Accumulation by securitization: Commercial poaching, neoliberal conservation, and the creation of new wildlife frontiers." *Geoforum*, 69 (2016): 227-237.

The authors Masseur and Lunstrum develop the concept 'accumulation by securitization' to name the broader interest in the escalating securitization of conservation practice. The authors illustrate how accumulation by securitization plays out within complex new networks of state and private actors like broader neoliberal conservation and green grabbing.

Maundeni, Zibani. "Vision 2016 and reforming the intelligence in Botswana." *Botswana Society*, 40 (2008): 135-146.

In this article, Maundeni explores the proposal of setting up an enlarged intelligence agency known as the Directorate of Intelligence and Security

presented by the Botswana government. Maundeni, taking into account Vision 2016 as a benchmark, comments on the Intelligence and Security Bill and provides insight that could help future reforms.

McCauley, John F. "Africa's new big man rule? Pentecostalism and patronage in Ghana." *African Affairs* 112, no. 446 (2012): 1-21.

This paper explores why new Pentecostalism emerges in Ghana as an alternative to traditional clientelism, and how big man rule fits in it. The article draws on data collected from patrons and clients, and it shows that Pentecostalism mirrors traditional big man rule by encouraging members to break from their past, to trust leadership, and to commit exclusively to their religious social network. The Pentecostalism is presented as a way to fill voids left by the state and to provide new social networks.

McClanahan, Bill, and Tyler Wall. "'Do some anti-poaching, kill some bad guys, and do some good': man hunting, accumulation, and pacification in African conservation." In Nurse, Angus, White, Rob and Melissa Jarrel *The Geography of Environmental Crime*, pp. 121-147. Palgrave Macmillan, London, (2016).

In this article, McClanahan and Tyler describe the different intersections of capital, poaching, conservation, police, accumulation, and pacification thanks to an analysis of certain contemporary movements in conservationist responses to animal poaching in Africa that have been called a shift towards 'warrior conservation'.

Mesfin, Berouk. "A study of the decision-making process and the strategies of Ethiopia's foreign policy (1974-1991), with Particular Emphasis on Ethio-US Relations." *Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities* 2, no. 1 (2004): 1-44.

This paper examines the structures and patterns of Ethiopian foreign policy during the 1974-1991 period. The article demonstrates that decision-making responsibility in foreign policy during that time was in hands of Mengistu Haile Mariam even though there were specialised government agencies. In addition, the article addresses the relations between the USA and the Horn of Africa.

Mesfin, Berouk. "The establishment and implications of the United States Africa Command: an African perspective." *Institute for Security Studies Papers* 2009, no. 183 (2009): 16.

In this paper, Mesfin depicts his reflections about the latest US security initiative that is AFRICOM. First, the US foreign policy towards Africa is studied. Then AFRICOM is analysed as well as its positive and negative implications for the US and Africa. This paper contributes information to the state of knowledge about issues related to US policy towards Africa and it explores future trends in the relation between the US and Africa.

Mesfin, Berouk. "The architecture and conduct of Intelligence in Ethiopia (1974-1991)." *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (2010): 39-70.

This article elaborately explores the structure and role of Ethiopia's intelligence community between 1974 and 1991. It is divided in four parts. The first part addresses the political dynamics of Ethiopia. The second part surveys the regional threats faced by Ethiopia. The third part describes and evaluates Ethiopia's intelligence services. The fourth part focuses on intelligence carried out by the Military Intelligence Department.

Mesfin, Berouk. "The Horn of Africa security complex." *Regional Security in the post-Cold War Horn of Africa* (2011): 1.

This chapter of the report 'Regional Security in the Post-Cold War Horn of Africa' focuses on the situation of the Horn of Africa applying Buzan's theory of 'security complex'. The author explains that this study is the product of more than ten years of research conducted on the Horn of Africa, drawing on numerous discussions with analysts and top-level decision-makers.

Mogalakwe, Monageng. "An assessment of Botswana's electoral management body to deliver fair elections." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 33, no. 1 (2015): 105-120.

The author, Mogalakwe, evaluates Botswana's general elections from 1965 to 2014. The electoral management body, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), which has to ensure that elections are conducted efficiently and fairly, is also studied. This article reveals that the IEC has neither the authority nor the power to ensure that elections are conducted efficiently and fairly because of the narrow legal and political framework within which the IEC operates.

Mogomotsi, Goemeone EJ, and Patricia Kefilwe Madigele. "Botswana's 'shoot-to-kill' policy as an anti-poaching strategy." *SA Crime Quarterly* 60 (2017).

This contribution discusses the militarization of conservation as a viable conservation policy. The authors compare anti-poaching with the war on terror. The article reviews Botswana's shoot-to-kill policy. With an exploratory methodology, the authors reflect on the effectiveness of Botswana's policy to combat poaching and considers whether it can be adopted by other countries. It concludes with the idea that shoot-to-kill is an effective deterrence to poachers when implemented alongside long-term conservation management interventions.

Morelle, Marie, and Frédéric Le Marcis. "Pour une pensée pluridisciplinaire de la prison en Afrique." *Afrique contemporaine* 1 (2015): 117-129.

This paper is the result of the third meeting of African studies in France. The two authors develop their research on prisons and justice in Africa with a multidisciplinary logic where anthropology and geography collaborate. The anthropologist, Le Marcis, focuses on the issue of access to care and health governance on prison; the geographer, Morelle, has questioned the geography of power within the prison and the movement between working-class neighbourhoods and the prison.

Murphy, James T., and Pádraig Carmody. "Africa's information revolution: technical regimes and production networks in South Africa and Tanzania." New Jersey, John Wiley & Sons, (2015).

The article presents an in-depth examination of the development and economic geographies accompanying the rapid diffusion of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) in Sub-Saharan Africa. It is done through a comparative case study with firms from a manufacturing and service industry in Tanzania and South Africa. The article demonstrates the power of developing integrated conceptual-theoretical frameworks, since it extensively combines perspectives from economic and development geography and science and technology studies.

Murphy, Philip. "Creating a commonwealth intelligence culture: the view from Central Africa 1945–1965." *Intelligence and National Security* 17, no. 3 (2002): 131-162.

This article examines attempts by the British intelligence community to improve the security arrangements of members of both the 'old' and 'new' Commonwealth in the post-war era. The author tries to develop a previous article written by him with greater detail focussing mainly on two questions. First, analysing the context in which the Federal Intelligence and Security Bureau evolved and second,

reconsidering the role of Bob de Quehen (MI5's representative in Central Africa) in the light of last released material. Murphy argues that a complex network of intelligence contacts reaching across the Commonwealth is produced, with opportunities and dangers.

Murray, Elizabeth, Berouk Mesfin, and Stephanie Wolters. "Weak Ugandan democracy, strong regional influence." United States Institute of Peace, (2016).

This report focuses on the characteristics of Ugandan democracy since Yoweri Museveni came to power in 1986 and its influence in the region. In this line, the authors analyse the deployments of the African Union Mission in Somalia, its intervention in the South Sudanese crisis and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This analysis of the international interventions and their drivers offers insight about Uganda's future foreign policy.

Mutahi, Patrick. "Between illegality and legality: (In)security, crime and gangs in Nairobi informal settlements." *South African Crime Quarterly* 37 (2011): 11-18.

This article analyses the informal security market in Nairobi. Mutahi assesses how gangs manoeuvre between legality and illegality in the provision of security. This article argues that there is a need to move away from a traditional interpretation of crime to understand the deeper reasons for its existence. The paper thus advocates for a multi-layered approach to security.

Mutahi, Patrick. "Building a National Intelligence Service for a Democratic Society." *Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies*. (2017)

This report critically examines the nature and effectiveness of the accountability of the intelligence services in Kenya. The publication gives recommendations directed to different institutions like Government, National Intelligence Service or the Parliament. In addition, in the end, several findings are exposed regarding weak internal accountability, not operationalization civilian oversight or the lack of CSO and media engagement.

Nathan, Laurie. "Intelligence bound: the South African Constitution and intelligence services." *International Affairs* 86, no. 1 (2010): 195-210.

This article contributes to filling a gap in the literature on security sector reform. Nathan explores the functions and impact of the South African Constitution in relation to the country's intelligence services. The author shows how the executive, parliament and the intelligence services believe that it is legitimate for

the services to deviate from constitutional provisions because their mandate to identify and counter threats to national security is intended to protect the Constitution.

Nathan, Laurie. "Lighting up the intelligence community: An agenda for intelligence reform in South Africa." *African Security Studies* 18, no. 1 (2009): 91-104.

This article sets out an agenda for intelligence reform in South Africa by presenting the findings of the 2008 Ministerial Review Commission on Intelligence and proposals regarding: adherence to the Constitution, the White Paper on Intelligence, ministerial control and responsibility; the domestic intelligence mandate; intrusive measures; and transparency.

Nigeria Security Network "Nigeria's Private Army: a perception study of private military contractors in the war against Boko Haram". *Remote Control Project Oxford Research Group*, (2016)

The Nigeria Security Network explains what Boko Haram is, as well as its relation to the Nigerian security forces. The report presents a perception study into the use of private military contractors for counter-insurgency. The survey and the social media analyses carried out suggest that the majority of Nigerians support using private military contractors to fight Boko Haram. However, the study also reveals that the population is concerned about the human rights abuses produced with impunity by certain private military companies.

O'Brien, Kevin A. "The South African intelligence services: from apartheid to democracy, 1948-2005." Routledge, (2010).

This book examines the apartheid government's security bureaucracy and other civilian, military and police intelligence structures and operations between 1948 and 2005. It also outlines South Africa's regional relationships and concerns like South-West Africa (Namibia) and its relationship with Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).

O'Brien, Kevin A. "Counter-intelligence for counter-revolutionary warfare: the South African Police Security Branch 1979–1990." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, no. 3 (2001): 27-59.

This paper analyses the South Africa's Security Branch since it presents one of the best examples of the use of counter-intelligence techniques for counter-revolutionary warfare. Among other findings, O'Brien states that by relying far

more heavily on the covert operational intelligence capabilities of the state, the apartheid government brought about its own downfall.

Obuobi, Patrick P. "Evaluating Ghana's Intelligence Oversight Regime." *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* 31, no. 2 (2018): 312-341.

Obuobi evaluates Ghana's intelligence oversight institutions as part of Africa's experience with intelligence reform within the context of Security Sector Reform (SSR) as part of democratization and post-conflict rebuilding. The author explains why the legislation on oversight and accountability of Ghana's intelligence has displayed critical weaknesses.

Odinga, Sobukwe O. "Looking For Leverage: Strategic Resources, Contentious Bargaining, and US-African Security Cooperation." The Graduate Centre, City University of New York (2016).

This dissertation focuses on strategic resources like intelligence liaisons, military agreements, and military interventions in Ethiopia, D.R.C. and Uganda carried out with the US. This work hypothesizes that these strategic resources served as critical bargaining chips in the hands of African leaders as they attempted to capitalize on security alliances with the US. However, these bargaining chips have often imperilled the institutions of African states and the security of their citizens.

Odinga, Sobukwe O. "'We recommend compliance': bargaining and leverage in Ethiopian-US intelligence cooperation." *Review of African Political Economy* 44, no. 153 (2017): 432-448.

In this article, it can be found an assessment of compliance bargaining between Ethiopia and the US over the terms of their intelligence liaison. After that, the article concludes that despite the large power asymmetry between the two countries, Ethiopia routinely did dictate and police the terms of the liaison, while leveraging it as means to acquire political concessions from the US.

Odinga, Sobukwe O. "'The privileged friendship': reassessing the central intelligence agency Operation at Zaire's Kamina Airbase." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 29, no. 4 (2018): 692-715.

This article, thanks to declassified documents, analyses how the CIA funnelled arms to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola through Zaire's Kamina Airbase. The author argues that it is interesting to study this case since

it can be useful to understand the temporary basing agreements that the United States is now establishing throughout Africa.

Othieno, Timothy, and Nhamo Samasuwo. "A critical analysis of Africa's experiments with hybrid missions and security collaboration." *African Security Studies* 16, no. 3 (2007): 25-39.

In this article, Othieno and Samasuwo explains how the United Nations (UN) have been de-monopolising peacekeeping and ceding its 'responsibility to protect' (including financial and military aspects) to either lead states or regional organisations to deal with crises in respective backyards. The researchers try to answer some questions about the current role of the UN, the multilateralism and the future of peacekeeping in Africa.

Park, Noseong, Edoardo Serra, Tom Snitch, and V. S. Subrahmanian. "APE: A data-driven, behavioural model-based anti-poaching engine." *IEEE Transactions on Computational Social Systems* 2, no. 2 (2015): 15-37.

This article focuses on the development of a dynamic programming based algorithm to route the drones and ranger patrols in a game park. The idea consists of modelling animal movement behaviours and poacher behaviour in order to maximize the expected number of animals that are protected with drones and ranger patrols.

Pateman, Roy. "Intelligence agencies in Africa: a preliminary assessment." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 30, no. 4 (1992): 569-585.

Pateman carefully examines what has been published about intelligence collection and national security in Africa until 1992. The author states that all African regimes and liberation movements have established some form of secret state-security apparatus and in many cases with considerable external assistance. This way, foreign intelligence services have been major mechanisms for influencing the internal affairs of African nations.

Pauw, Jacques. "The President's Keepers: Those keeping Zuma in power and out of prison". Tafelberg, (2017).

This book shows the investigations of the journalist Jacques Pauw. It exposes how during Jacob Zuma's presidency, the president's enemies were eliminated and the law-enforcement agencies were purged. The book includes many other

facts (involving spies, cronies, emails leaks, etc.) that shows the democratic deficit in South Africa at the time.

Perrot, Sandrine. "Entrepreneurs de l'insécurité." *Politique africaine* 3 (1999): 60-71.

This article contributes information about the Ugandan army, its engagement in external interventions and its capacity to end internal rebellions. It explores the growing criminalization of the Uganda People's Defence Forces and its regime militarization. The article also explores the resultant concerns of Uganda's neighbouring countries as well as the increasing impact that this criminalization and militarization has on the good image of the "Ugandan exception", especially amongst donors.

Peters, Jimi. "Nigeria's Intelligence System: An Analysis." *Africa Spectrum* (1987): 181-191.

This paper studies the development of intelligence services in Nigeria focusing on two different events that marked the formation of the services. First, the assassination of the Head of State General Murtala Mohammed in February 1976, resulting in the establishment of the "Nigerian Security Organization" (NSO). Secondly, the Nigerian government used the NSO to persecute opponents of the regime, so when the regime was overthrown, the NSO was dismantled and new organizations were created in its place.

Piombo, Jessica. "Civil-military relations in an emerging democracy: South Africa." In *The Routledge Handbook of Civil-military Relations*, pp. 255-272. Routledge, (2013).

Piombo studies the transition from apartheid to democracy attending to relations between civil and military actors and institutions. The author states that during the transition, social and economic issues were taken more into account than the defence sector. This situation created policy and fiscal constraints that shaped the transformation of the structure of civil–military relations in South Africa.

Plaut, Martin, and Paul Holden. "Who Rules South Africa?." Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers (2012).

Plaut and Holden present the situation of post-apartheid South Africa. They depict a nation fighting against unemployment, poor education, widespread corruption, organised crime, poverty, and weak institutions where the battle for power is set to intensify. The authors seek to answer the question: is South Africa destined to

become an unstable country or is there still possibilities of growth and a stable democracy?

Poppe, Julie. "A history of surveillance, commodification and participation in nature conservation: The case of Park "W", Burkina Faso." *Afriche e Orientali* (2010).

This paper develops a multiple-voiced ethnographical study on nature conservation based on a historical overview of nature conservation in Burkina Faso. It is shown that the history of nature conservation in Burkina Faso is slightly different to other developing countries whose measures evolve over time. Poppe shows how conservation in Burkina Faso has continuities with the past, since the exploitation of wildlife through hunting tourism is present, as well as community participation; and conservation is based on exclusion, surveillance and repressive measures.

Powell, Nathaniel K. "Battling instability? The recurring logic of French military interventions in Africa." *African Security* 10, no. 1 (2017): 47-72.

This paper examines continuities in the logic of postcolonial French military activism in Africa. It examines the history of major French interventions in Africa. With this historical perspective, Powell evaluates the strategy and prospects of current French efforts in the Sahel and he argues that French policy has largely failed in its stabilization goals. Principally, this has occurred because it has strengthened the very factors at the source of the instability that France has aimed to contain.

Powell, Nathaniel K. "The "Cuba of the West"? France's Cold War in Zaïre, 1977–1978." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 18, no. 2 (2016): 64-96.

This article discusses French support for Zaïrian dictator Mobutu Sese Seko during the Shaba crises in the 1970's. The paper shows that the large Cuban military presence in Angola fuelled concerns among French leaders, and that French policymakers were drawn to Mobutu because they saw him as a bulwark against Communist expansion in Central Africa. Nevertheless, Powell shows how Mobutu himself, successfully exploited French fears to gain French support.

Purdeková, Andrea. "'Even if I am not here, there are so many eyes': surveillance and state reach in Rwanda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 49, no. 3 (2011): 475-497.

This article explores the nature of the state in post-genocide Rwanda, and its effects on decentralisation and popular participation. In this line, Purdeková presents Rwanda as a case of a 'strong' African state. She finally suggests an increasing penetration of state in terms of surveillance and control over voice at the local level.

Ramutsindela, Maano. "Wildlife crime and state security in South(ern) Africa: an overview of developments." *Politikon* 43, no. 2 (2016): 159-171.

This paper analyses the changing meanings of the poacher and their relations to security during the Cold War and in post-apartheid South Africa. The author sustains that these historical moments reveal the relevance of the regional context for the linkage between poaching and security and they influence the evolution of poaching as a security code that varies across time.

Rousseau, Nicky. "Counter-Revolutionary Warfare: the Soweto Intelligence Unit and Southern Itineraries." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 6 (2014): 1343-1361.

This contribution explores the Soweto Intelligence Unit (SIU) and its actions in Botswana, Swaziland and other liberation movement bases during the 1980s since the Truth and Reconciliation Commission brought to light its practices. In this line, it is showed how the SIU provided a way of exploring the multiple intersections of regional struggles and modes of belonging.

Ruteere, Mutuma, and Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle. "Democratizing security or decentralizing repression? The ambiguities of community policing in Kenya." *African Affairs* 102, no. 409 (2003): 587-604.

This article addresses the different community policing projects that have been implemented in Kenya. The paper analyses the two civil society organisations involved in cooperation with police: Nairobi Central Business District Association (NCBDA) and the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC). In the conclusion it is argued that community policing in Kenya has contributed to the maintenance of social inequality and the undemocratic ordering of society.

Ruteere, Mutuma. "Security and human rights in the new constitutional order in Kenya." In G.Murunga, D. Okello and A. Sjogren (eds) *Kenya: The struggle for a new constitutional order*. London, UK: Zed Books, (2014): 163-179

In this article, Mutuma Ruteere recalls that security has been the justification for violations of human rights and security organs have been at the service of the government in Kenya. The article argues that the post-2010 constitutional order, with its strong focus on human rights, provides the basis for rethinking the governing of security and reconfiguring security agencies.

Ruteere, Mutuma. "Governing Security from Below: Community-Led Security Mechanisms in Urban East Africa." *The African Review* 44, no. 1 (2017): 1-26.

This article provides an introduction to four studies on local level security governance in the urban areas of four East African countries. The studies show that the pre-eminent position of the state in security has changed and security is now governed through a network of nodes. In this form of governance, the line between public and private security actors is blurred since each of the actors influence and shape each other.

Sandbrook, Chris. "The social implications of using drones for biodiversity conservation." *Ambio* 44, no. 4 (2015): 636-647.

This paper reviews the possible social impacts of using drones for conservation such as the implications for safety, privacy, psychological wellbeing, data security, and so forth. The author sustains that that negative social impacts should be of concern for conservation because conservation should follow good ethical practice and negative social impacts could undermine conservation effectiveness in the long term. The paper includes recommendations for empirical research to this effect.

Sanders, James. "Apartheid's friends: the rise and fall of South Africa's secret service." John Murray Pubs Limited, 2006.

Sanders studies classified documents and interviews ex-operatives of intelligence services since 1997 and he provides a complete picture of the Intelligence Service, inside South Africa and overseas. He covers different topics like state-sponsored murder; US influence in elections, weapons supply to Argentina during the Falklands War, and so forth. The book is an important contribution to the South African and international history of the secret service.

Schreier, Fred, and Marina Caparini. "Privatising security: Law, practice and governance of private military and security companies." Geneva: DCAF, (2005).

Schreier and Caparini elaborate on a detailed and comprehensive document that tackles the advantages and disadvantages posed by private military and security companies (PMCs and PSCs) and its influence in security governance from a pragmatic point of view. The paper is structured in six different sections that lead to the discussion about the deficiencies in the governance of PMCs and PSCs and the several options for their effective regulation.

Shaw, Mark, and Julian Rademeyer. "A flawed war: rethinking 'green militarisation' in the Kruger National Park." *Politikon* 43, no. 2 (2016): 173-192.

Shaw and Rademeyer draw on both a historical analysis of wildlife conservation in South Africa and the experience of other countries in Africa in countering wildlife poaching to analyse the concept of "green militarisation". The authors argue that the term 'green militarisation' runs the risk of simplifying what is in reality a complex and more contested issue. They state that it is required to draw on a better understanding of processes of political and institutional change outside of the immediate conservation discussion.

Shiraz, Zakia. "Drugs and Dirty Wars: intelligence cooperation in the global South." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 10 (2013): 1749-1766.

Shiraz, in this article, states that Intelligence is a subject dominated by an Anglospheric lexicon. She argues that what is required is a re-examination of intelligence cooperation based on activity 'beyond the Anglosphere' to redefine what intelligence is in the global South and explore the texture of South–South cooperation. This article offers an alternative model of intelligence liaison focused on opportunistic cooperation in the context of drugs and dirty wars.

Shortland, Anja, and Federico Varese. "State-building, informal governance and organised crime: the case of Somali piracy." *Political Studies* 64, no. 4 (2016): 811-831.

The authors argue that groups like gangs, clans, insurgencies, etc. are, like states, and constitute other forms of governance. The article focuses on the case of Somali piracy and it shows clan elders and Islamist militias facilitated piracy by protecting hijacked ships and resolving conflicts within and between pirate groups. Piracy protection can be thought of as part of a continuum of protection arrangements that goes from mafias to legitimate states. The article's concluding findings have important implications for the debate on state-building and organised crime.

Simonsen, Sven Gunnar. "Building "National" Armies — Building Nations? Determinants of Success for Postintervention Integration Efforts." *Armed Forces & Society* 33, no. 4 (2007): 571-590.

Simonsen surveys recent cases of internationalized state building in post intervention or post — (ethnic) conflict societies looking at the role of military forces integrating a country's diverse population. The article, after an exhaustive analysis, shows that an ethnically representative army may "tie up" capabilities in ways that reduce the likelihood of military intervention in politics or (ethnic) violence perpetrated by military personnel.

Sirrs, Owen L. "The Egyptian Intelligence Service: A History of the Mukhabarat, 1910-2009." Routledge, (2010).

This book explores the Egyptian Intelligence Service practices during the last century. The author, argues that studying Egypt's intelligence community is necessary to the understanding of Egypt's modern history, regime stability and human rights record. In this same line, it is argued that intelligence agencies are pivotal to understanding the nature of many Arab regimes and their decision-making processes. This book fills a clear gap in the intelligence literature of Egypt.

Smith, M. L. R., and Jasper Humphreys. "The Poaching Paradox: Why South Africa's 'Rhino Wars' Shine a Harsh Spotlight on Security and Conservation". Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015.

The main focus of this paper is to examine the effectiveness of the counter poaching strategy in the 'rhino wars' (combatted in a military fashion, or criminalised and handled by the police). The authors also discuss the key social process and political issues surrounding rhino poaching in South Africa, especially those aspects in relation to the polarising debate about the campaign to legalise the sale of rhino horn.

Snitch, Tom. "How drones can deliver tangible benefits to ordinary people in Africa." *The Conversation* (2015)

This brief article talks about the future possibilities of the use of drones in Africa. It presents the different practical applications in the medical field, agriculture, tourism, and to protect the environment. It also presents different barriers to approval like the regulatory capacity of states.

Stapleton, Timothy Joseph. "African police and soldiers in colonial Zimbabwe, 1923-80." Vol. 50. University Rochester Press, 2011.

Stapleton makes use of archival documents, period newspapers, and oral interviews in order to develop a complete evaluation of the ambiguous experience of black security personnel, police, and soldiers in white-ruled Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) from 1923 through independence and majority rule in 1980.

Steinberg, Jonny, and Monique Marks. "The labyrinth of Jewish security arrangements in Johannesburg: Thinking through a paradox about security." *British Journal of Criminology* 54, no. 2 (2013): 244-259.

In this paper, the authors explore how the South African Jewish community began to provide security after the end of apartheid. The authors, when documenting these initiatives, found the paradox that when taking charge of their own security, organized Jewry felt the tug of a broader South African citizenship. The authors also show that security triggers feelings of discomfort when it is traded for money or when it is hoarded by an exclusive group. Thus, it becomes a resource in the construction of feelings of patriotism and national identity.

Steinberg, Jonny. "Policing, state power, and the transition from apartheid to democracy: A new perspective." *African Affairs* 113, no. 451 (2014): 173-191.

Steinberg, in this article, offers a different perspective on policing in South Africa. He argues that scholarship on post-apartheid policing has been too preoccupied by continuities with the apartheid era. However, the author states that what has changed most since the end of apartheid is the relationship between policing and political order. Hence, the accounts of continuity need to draw attention on the politics of the here and now.

Straus, Scott. "Wars do end! Changing patterns of political violence in sub-Saharan Africa." *African Affairs* 111, no. 443 (2012): 179-201.

This article presents the idea that the character of warfare has changed. Straus states that contemporary wars are typically small-scale but other forms of political violence (electoral violence or violence over access to livelihood resources) that receive less attention in the academic literature are increasing. The author explains how the geo-political shifts since the end of the Cold War are leading to the changing frequency and character of warfare in sub-Saharan Africa.

Tankebe, Justice. "Colonialism, legitimization, and policing in Ghana." *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 36, no. 1 (2008): 67-84.

This article discusses the issues of police legitimization, and of the 'quality of policing' in colonial and post-colonial policing in Ghana. Tankebe emphasises the importance of history to understand the contemporary quality of policing in Ghana since a transformation is necessary to address and overcome the challenges that are posed by the contemporary liberal-democratic political environment.

Tendi, Blessing-Miles. "Ideology, civilian authority and the Zimbabwean military." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 39, no. 4 (2013): 829-843.

This article analyses the Zimbabwean military, the role of the Zimbabwe's Joint Operations Command, Zimbabwe Defence Forces and the commander Vitalis Zvinvashe in 2002, and its threat to civilian authority. The article demonstrates that some military elites' allegiance to Mugabe and ideological commitment to ZANU-PF rule must be seen as unstable and contradictory.

Tendi, Blessing-Miles. "State intelligence and the politics of Zimbabwe's presidential succession." *African Affairs* 115, no. 459 (2016): 203-224.

This article examines the role of state intelligence in Zimbabwean political struggles. It shows that the Military Intelligence, supported Mnangagwa in the succession conflict, placed Joice Mujuru under surveillance and tried to destroy her. On the contrary, the civilian intelligence institution conducted a surveillance operation against Mnangagwa to support Joice Mujuru. The article widens scholarship on the security sector's political interventions in Zimbabwean politics, and shows the gendered dimensions of surveillance.

Theunissen, Christopher. "Managing intelligence in an age of knowledge." *African Security Studies* 8, no. 3 (1999): 3-11.

The author defines the contemporary era as the age of knowledge. Theunissen examines the impact of efficient management of information and intelligence on decision and policy-making as a primary determinant as a state power in the age of knowledge. The article includes several recommendations for government actions in the field of intelligence.

Thriot, Céline. "La place des militaires dans les régimes post-transition d'Afrique subsaharienne: la difficile resectorisation." *Revue internationale de politique comparée* 15, no. 1 (2008): 15-34.

This article explains how the political transitions in the 1990s took place under military control and with conservative strategies. It further shows how the political foundations of the transitional regimes, are still largely neo-patrimonial, and the difficulty in separating the political and military spheres since the use of force remains a political resource, and the military continues to occupy a role beyond the barracks.

Thom, William G. "African wars: A defence intelligence perspective." *African Historical Review*, 44:1 (2011): 145-146

The author – an experienced senior U.S. intelligence officer as well as from the perspective of a defence analyst and senior Africa specialist in the U.S. Defence Intelligence Agency – provides insights into specific wars with valuable wide-ranging impressions. The publication elaborately tracks seventeen different conflicts ranging from postcolonial insurgency in Rhodesia to ongoing strife in the Horn of Africa.

Thomas, Martin. "Colonial states as intelligence states: Security policing and the limits of colonial rule in France's Muslim territories, 1920–40." *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 28, no. 6 (2005): 1033-1060.

This paper suggests that a more catholic vision of the parameters and purpose of state intelligence gathering could help our understanding of how colonial states endured. Thomas says that those same agencies of the colonial state that amassed information about indigenous populations also sought to control the movement of knowledge within local society in order to mould popular opinion, and shape the views of influential elites. He thus conceptualises colonial states as 'intelligence states'.

Thomas, Martin. "Empires of intelligence: security services and colonial disorder after 1914." Los Angeles, University of California Press, (2008).

This book contains the first study of colonial intelligence services to use declassified reports. Thomas presents that colonial control in the British and French empires depended on an elaborate security apparatus. He shows the crucial role of intelligence gathering in maintaining imperial control in the years before decolonization.

Thomas, Martin. "Intelligence Providers and the Fabric of the Late Colonial State." In *Elites and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 11-35. Palgrave Macmillan, London, (2011).

How did Great Britain and France, the largest imperial powers of the early twentieth century, cope with mounting anticolonial nationalism in the Arab world? What linked domestic opponents and foreign challengers in the Middle East and North Africa - Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Iraq, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Egypt - as inhabitants attempted to overthrow the European colonial order? What strategies did the British and French adopt in the face of these threats? "Empires of Intelligence",

Tjønneland, Elling N., Chris Albertyn, Garth le Pere, Kari Heggstad, and Brendan Vickers. "Promoting defence management and security sector reform in Southern Africa. An assessment of SADSEM's achievements, impacts and future challenges." *CMI Michelsen Institute* (2009).

This report assesses the situation of the Southern African Defence and Security Management Network (SADSEM) since it was launched in 2000 to enhance democratic governance and the effectiveness of defence and security functions in Southern Africa. The report shows that SADSEM is an initiative with an impressive record of different activities such as training programmes, diploma and masters courses in security studies and security sector governance in several countries.

Townsend, Chris. "Civil-military relations in Tunisia and Libya through the Arab spring." *Journal of Defense Resources Management* 6, no. 2 (2015): 5.

This paper analyses the role of civil-military relations in Tunisia and Libya attending to the different outcomes of the Arab-spring in these two countries. The author explores the state of civil-military relations before, during, and after the Arab spring and demonstrates the importance of international military education and training efforts in developing countries as a hedge against instability.

Touchard, Laurent. "Des murs et des hommes: sécuriser les frontières africaines au XXI^e siècle", *Focus stratégique*, no. 85 (2018)

In this article, the author studies African borders and shows how internal borders can be used to fuel confrontations through trafficking, contraband and corruption. In this line, strategies to avoid this, are presented such as traditional means or

new innovative technologies. The author emphasizes the role of security forces when cooperating on a national and international level.

Tsholofelo, Lesego. "A Critical Evaluation of the Intelligence Oversight Regime in Botswana", MA Thesis, Brunel University, (2014)

This dissertation looks at the inception of the DISS (Directorate of Intelligence and Security Services) in the context of the inherent challenges posed by secret intelligence services within democracies. It critically evaluates the oversight regime in place and the perceptions about security intelligence as they obtain in Botswana. It finds that even though the country's oversight mechanisms cover the five main oversight principles they are not sufficient for the Intelligence Community operating within a modern democracy.

Tubiana, J., and C. Gramizzi. "Lost in trans-nation: Tubu and other armed groups and smugglers along Libya's southern border." Rapport, Small Arms Survey, Genève (2018).

This report presents how armed groups along Libya's southern border are developing and how Europe contributes to destabilizing dynamics in the country. The authors explore aspects such as the role of Tubu militias before and since the fall of the Qaddafi regime, the roles of Chadian and Sudanese combatants in the border, changes in migrant smuggling and drug trafficking; and data of regional weapons flows.

Van Wieringen, K. "The African Traditional Authority and Violent Conflict Nexus: Traditional authorities trapped in the middle between a warring state, radical armed groups and clashing communities in Central Mali." Master's thesis, 2018.

This Master's Thesis is a through work about the link of traditional authority and violent conflict in the African continent. The author argues that traditional authorities have been in a difficult position between the state, radical armed groups, and inter-communal violence. In this line, this thesis identifies, analyses and theorizes the ways in which traditional authorities in Central Mali have affected and been affected by these conflict dynamics.

Ward, Catherine L., Lillian Artz, Julie Berg, Floretta Boonzaier, Sarah Crawford-Browne, Andrew Dawes, Donald Foster et al. "Violence, violence prevention, and safety: A research agenda for South Africa." *SAMJ: South African Medical Journal* 102, no. 4 (2012): 215-218.

Ward et al research the complex problems derived from violence in in South Africa. In the paper, two key meta-questions are presented: violence must be understood better to develop effective interventions; and intervention research is necessary. In this regard, a research agenda to address violence is proposed.

Warner, Jason. "Complements or competitors? The African standby force, The African capacity for immediate response to crises, and the future of rapid reaction forces in Africa." *African Security* 8, no. 1 (2015): 56-73.

This article offers overviews of the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises and the African Standby Force. In the end, it is objectively argued that the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises is a laudable stopgap measure for continental rapid-deployment capabilities until the more bureaucratically complex African Standby Force is fully operationalized. Rather than undermining the African Standby Force, the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises is instead highly complementary.

Wilén, Nina. "From Foe to Friend? Army integration after war in Burundi, Rwanda and the Congo." *International peacekeeping* 23, no. 1 (2016): 79-106.

This article studies the processes of integration of rebel and government forces in three armies in Africa after war. Through a comparative case study approach, the author evaluates how successful these different processes have been and their effects on the peacebuilding processes. The author finds that professionalization, socialization, welfare-provision and political education are used to promote integration.

Williams, Paul D. "Building the Somali National Army: Anatomy of a failure, 2008–2018." *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2019): 1-26.

In this paper, it is showed how the initiatives of security force assistance to build an effective Somali National Army (SNA) failed because of political, contextual and operational challenges. For example, there was an asymmetry between international actors and Somali elites, a lack of donor coordination, negative effects of clan dynamics, the war in the middle of the project building and the severe capability gaps afflicting the SNA.

Yihun, Belete Belachew. "Ethiopia's Reactions to the Somali Threat, 1957-1974." In *ASA 2013 Annual Meeting Paper*. (2013).

This paper analyses the reactions of Ethiopia in how the country perceived the threats emanating from Somalia since the birth of the Republic on 1 July 1963. The author explains Somalia's plan of territorial aggrandizement and Ethiopia's apprehension regarding the possible implications that this would entail on its national integrity.

Yihun, Belete Belachew. "Ethiopian foreign policy and the Ogaden War: the shift from "containment" to "destabilization," 1977–1991." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 4 (2014): 677-691.

This article uses untapped archival materials from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and it charts the Ethiopian response to Somali invasion in 1977. Yihun particularly focuses on the clandestine operations by the military regime of the Derg to weaken and destabilize the Republic of Somalia. In the paper it is argued that the defeat of the Somalian army would be the beginning of the collapse of the Somali state, and the destabilization of the entire region of the Horn of Africa.