



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Beyond institutional blueprints: hybrid security provision and democratic practice in Mali**

Vliet, M.T. van

### **Citation**

Vliet, M. T. van. (2021, April 21). *Beyond institutional blueprints: hybrid security provision and democratic practice in Mali*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3160763>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3160763>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3160763> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Vliet, M.T. van

**Title:** Beyond institutional blueprints: hybrid security provision and democratic practice in Mali

**Issue Date:** 2021-04-21

# **Beyond Institutional Blueprints:**

Hybrid security provision and  
democratic practice in Mali

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van  
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,  
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,  
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties  
te verdedigen op woensdag 21 april 2021  
klokke 16:15 uur

door

Martin Theodoor van Vliet

geboren te Amsterdam  
in 1979

Promotores:

Prof.dr. G.J. Abbink  
Dr. O.B.R.C. van Cranenburgh

Promotiecommissie:

Prof.dr. I.C. van Biezen  
Prof.dr. G. Mann (Columbia University)  
Dr. J.M. Sears (University of Winnipeg)  
Dr. K. van Walraven

## **Table of contents**

---

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>P. 4</b>
<b>Chapter 1</b> Introduction: Theoretical and conceptual framework. Research design and methods.	<b>P. 8</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b> A flagship of democracy turned into a shipwreck of anarchy? An historical analysis of hybrid security provision in Mali, 1960-2012.	<b>P. 53</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b> The party system and democratisation: From one-party dominance to one-coalition dominance, 1990-2012.	<b>P. 78</b>
<b>Chapter 4</b> The legislature and democratisation: An in-depth analysis of the day-to-day functioning of Mali's hybrid legislature, 2007-2009.	<b>P. 100</b>
<b>Chapter 5</b> Decentralisation and democratisation: A long-term anthropological study of a hybrid political institution at the local level, 1999-2009.	<b>P. 121</b>
<b>Chapter 6</b> Multiparty democracy turned into a militiacracy? In the aftermath of the crisis, 2013-2018.	<b>P. 144</b>
<b>Chapter 7</b> General conclusions: Public authority and legitimacy in a heterarchical context	<b>P. 179</b>
<b>List of references</b>	<b>P. 186</b>
<b>Appendices</b>	<b>P. 228</b>
<b>Summary</b>	<b>P. 248</b>
<b>Samenvatting</b>	<b>P. 251</b>

## Acknowledgements

I owe a great deal of gratitude to my promotor Prof. G.J. Abbink, who provided valuable advice and guidance while remaining patient as the completion of this thesis took considerable time. The same goes for my co-promotor Dr. Oda van Cranenburgh, who provided feedback and tangible suggestions during the final stages of my protracted academic journey.

I combined the research for and writing of this dissertation with successive full-time positions with an international Non-Governmental Organisation, the United Nations Department of Peace-Keeping Organisation, and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A special word of appreciation goes to my colleagues at the Africa Department in the Ministry who filled in for me at work as I finalised this thesis.

I am also very grateful to the African Studies Centre in Leiden. Its researchers, visiting fellows, administrative staff and not to forget its incredible library all considerably contributed to the completion of this thesis. I would specifically like to thank Prof. A.J. Dietz for providing me with an office space in the Centre's PhD room and my fellow PhD students at the time – Lotje, Sebastiaan, Michiel and Margot – for the welcome distractions during those long days of academic writing. I am thankful to Maaïke, Gitty, Marieke, Jan and Ella for supporting me with a wide range of contractual, administrative and practical matters related to my academic and policy work. I also benefitted from input and comments provided by Renske Doorenspleet, Lia Nijzink, Nic Cheeseman, Stephen Ellis, Jan-Kees van Donge, Benjamin Soares and Peter Burnell while working on individual academic publications that are part of this thesis. Their encouragement and feedback on individual chapters proved invaluable and enabled me to complete this dissertation. Furthermore, I benefitted from the work of many fellow researchers who published extensively on more recent developments in Mali. I am also much obliged for the support received from a wide variety of people in Mali. The Members of Parliament who took considerable time for lengthy interviews, the many respondents discussing realities of the decentralisation process on the ground and the families who kindly hosted me throughout my research period.

I would like to thank my parents and parents-in-law who regularly hosted our kids, which provided me with several valuable writing retreats over the weekend. At some point, my oldest daughter candidly asked whether I was going to live in the attic forever to work on this book. While I sincerely enjoyed and learned a great deal from this extended academic journey, I am happy to have actually descended from the attic again.

My deepest gratitude goes out to my wife Liesbeth. While a scientific publication surely does not constitute the most romantic expression of love, I nonetheless dedicate this book to her. Finalising this thesis amidst the Covid-pandemic would have simply been impossible without her unwavering support and persistent optimism.

The reason I initially started and eventually finalised this thesis was plain curiosity. I had worked with Malian political elites for quite some years and spent a considerable amount of time studying the implementation of Mali's ambitious decentralisation process at the local level. As a result, I became interested in gaining a better understanding of the functioning of Malian democracy beyond the normative labels and institutional blueprints that prevailed at the time.

Nonetheless, this thesis certainly does not provide a comprehensive analysis of these complex set of dynamics and focuses on a limited number of key aspects only. Particularly in light of the deteriorating situation in Mali and the limited success of international efforts geared towards stabilisation and state building, it is more important than ever to continue investing in research initiatives and knowledge-building in this part of the world.

*The purpose of anthropology is to make the world safe for human differences.*

Ruth Benedict (1887 – 1948)

*For Liesbeth*