

# Stephen John Louw

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## QUALIFICATIONS

- 2018 Institute of Directors Southern Africa (IoDSA). Certified Director (Cert.Dir)
- 1990-1999 University of the Witwatersrand.  
PhD, Political Studies. (Graduated 15 April, 1999).  
Thesis title: "Real Democracy and its Critics: Modernity, Socialism, and Uncertain Democracy" – 1990-1999.  
Supervisor: Peter Hudson.
- 1989-1990 University of the Witwatersrand.  
BA Hons, Political Studies.  
Dissertation title: "Afrikaner Nationalism and the Ossewa-Brandwag." First Class (Distinction).  
Supervisor: Prof. Sheila Meintjes.
- 1986-1988 University of the Witwatersrand.  
BA. Major subjects: Legal Theory and Institutions and Political Studies.

## PRIMARY EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

- 2019 Visiting academic, Department of International Relations, University of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates (from September).
- 2010- Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Studies, University of the Witwatersrand.

## OTHER POSITIONS/RELATED EXPERIENCE

- 2015- Academic Board Member, Asia Pacific Association for Gambling Studies. (Appointed July)
- 2015-2018 Non-Executive Director: Gauteng Gambling Board.
- 2009-2010 Member, Gambling Review Commission, Department of Trade and Industry.
- 2003 Visiting scholar, Development Studies Institute (DESTIN), London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) (Jan-March)

## SHORT COURSES

- 2021 After the Arab Spring – Democratic Aspirations and State Failure, University of Copenhagen.
- 2018 Understanding Sports Betting, International Centre for Gaming Regulation, University of Las Vegas, Nevada.

## EDITORSHIPS

- Editor, *Politikon: The South African Journal of Political Studies* (Carfax, London),

2004-2006.

- Review Editor, *Politikon: The South African Journal of Political Studies* (Carfax, London), 1998-2003.
- Member of the Editorial Board, *Africa Perspective*, 1993.

### PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

- South African Association of Political Science (RSA).
- Asia Pacific Association for Gambling Studies (Hong Kong/Macao).
- National Council on Problem Gambling (USA).

### AWARDS

- Shortlisted for the Stephen Ellis Prize, *African Affairs*, for my publication, "African numbers games and gambler motivation: 'Fahfee' in contemporary South Africa." May 2020.

### GRANTS

- Faculty of Humanities *ad hoc* grant in support of research 2019, University of the Witwatersrand (R25,000).
- Faculty of Humanities *ad hoc* grant in support of research 2015, University of the Witwatersrand (R25,000).
- Indo-Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development (IDPAD) award for fieldwork in India and South Africa 2003-2007, Netherlands and New Delhi (€60,000).
- University Research Council award for fieldwork in India 2001, University of the Witwatersrand (R25,000)
- Anderson Capelli Scholarship for sabbatical research in Russia and India 1999, University of the Witwatersrand (R25,000).
- Human Sciences Research Council External Projects Programme Grant – 1996+1997
- Second Prize, Centre for Science Development: Essay Competition – 1993
- University Merit Award for Best Undergraduate Student in Political Studies – 1989
- Human Sciences Research Council Grant – 1989
- University of the Witwatersrand Senior Bursary – 1989
- Edenvale Jubilee Bursary Fund Award – 1987+1988+1989

### PUBLICATIONS

Orchid ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8039-9386>

Web of Science ResearcherID: R-8060-2019

Under preparation:

- Sumptuary regulation and gendered citizenship in the Gulf states.

Submitted for publication:

- "Mission civilisatrice: Thomas Sankara and the 'revolution of mentalities'."

Accredited journals (mostly Scopus and ISI)

- "Numbers games, race, gender, power: Primitive Accumulation in The Black Metropolis," *Safundi: the Journal of South African and American Studies*, 21(1): 30-53, 2020. doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2019.1697415
- "Chinese migrants and underground lotteries in South Africa: negotiating spaces at the cusp of a racial-capitalist order," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 45(1): 49-68, 2019. doi: 10.1080/03057070.2019.1552427
- "Bingosinos, concurrent competence, and functional federalism in South Africa," with Victoria Bronstein, *South African Law Journal*, 135 (3): 549-73, 2018.

<https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC-11539b7933>

- “African numbers games and gambler motivation: ‘Fahfee’ in contemporary South Africa”, *African Affairs*, 117: 109-129, 2018. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adx043
- “Mysterium inequitatis: Truth, elections, autonomy in the Southern African politic,” *Politikon. South African Journal of Political Studies* 33 (2): 221-38, 2006. doi: 10.1080/02589340600884717
- “The Ministry of dry taps? The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and the transition to market-based service provision in South Africa,” *Politeia* 22 (1): 93-118, 2003.
- “In the shadow of the Pharaohs: The militarisation of labour debate and classical marxist theory,” *Economy and Society* 29(2): 239-63, 2000. doi: 10.1080/030851400360488
- “Fin de Siécle Russia: Y2K compliant?,” *South African Journal of International Affairs* 7(1): 157-64, 2000. doi: 10.1080/10220460009545297
- “Unity and development: The stalinist body politic and the classical marxist tradition,” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 27(2): 180-205, 1997. doi: 10.1177/004839319702700202
- “Response to Richard Hudelson,” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 27(2): 209-211, 1997. doi: 10.1177/004839319702700204
- “Palliative marxism or imminent critique: Włodzimierz Brus and the limits to classical marxist political economy,” *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 89: 78-105, 1997. doi: 10.3167/004058197783593506
- “Intellectuals, civil society and the birth of politics in Poland,” *Slavic Almanach* 3(3-4): 177-188, 1995.
- “Conceptual vicissitudes: Socialism and democracy in *Has Socialism Failed?*,” *Politikon*, with Peter Hudson, 19(3): 25-44, 1992. doi.org/10.1080/02589349208704975
- “Marxism leninism, radical democracy and socialism,” *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory* 78: 139-158, 1991.

#### Chapters in books

- “Livelihoods and development: Socio-economic exclusion in Mumbai’s hinterland”, with Parthasarathi Mondal, in T Bunnell; D Parthasarathy and E.C. Thompson (eds.) *Cleavage, Connection and Conflict in Rural, Urban and Contemporary Asia* (Dordrecht: ARI-Springer Asia Series), 2013.
- “The South African Constitution,” with Susan Booysen, *Encyclopaedia of Sub-Saharan Africa* (New York: Charles Scribner’s and Sons / Macmillan), 1998

#### Other publications

- “The evolution of new gambling modes: the regulatory debate in RSA”, with Victoria Bronstein, *The Regulatory Debates Bulletin* (the dti), Edition 7, September 2018.
- “Out of the underground and into the sunlight: Feasibility study on the regulation of illegal lotteries in South Africa, with Abigail Ronald-Louw (Pretoria: National Lotteries Commission), 2018.
- “Socio-Economic Impact of Gambling in South Africa”, with Philip Frankel (Pretoria: National Gambling Board), 2014.
- “Gambling Review Commission Report: ‘Review of South African Gambling Legislation and its Regulation’,” with S Nzimande, C Manny, A Bodasing and A Ludin (Pretoria: DTI), 2011.
- “Presidential Audit on National Mine Safety for the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs and the Office of the State President”, with May Hermanus, CSMI-University of the Witwatersrand, 2009.
- “Jungle Rats: Between the forest and modernity”, with Parthasarathi Mondal, Indo

Dutch Programme on Alternatives in Development (New Delhi: Indian Council of Social Science Research; The Hague: the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research), 2007.

- “Development of models to facilitate the provision of free basic water in rural areas”, with AF Balfour, I Wilson, J de Jager, and DA Still, *Water Research Commission Report* No. 1379/1/05. <http://wrcwebsite.azurewebsites.net/wp-content/uploads/mdocs/1379-1-051.pdf>
- “Smoke and mirrors: The non-profit sector and the national lottery”, *Centre for Civil Society Research Report* 21: 1-36, 2002.
- “Review of the National Lottery: 2000–2007”, with Abigail Ronald-Louw (Pretoria: DTI), 2008.
- “Beware the Shining Path: The future of the SACP,” with Peter Hudson, *Work in Progress* 90: 37-39 (July-August), 1993
- “Discourse theory, Afrikaner Nationalism and the Ossewa-Brandwag,” *S.T.E.T.*, 6(3): 26-29 (November), 1990

#### Conference presentations

- “Resource Dependency, South Africa, and Transformative Social Change: Lessons from the South”, in *Transformative Social Change and Resource Governance in the Gulf of Guinea Countries and Beyond*, March 16-19, 2015, Johannesburg.
- “‘We live and depend on fahfee’: Numbers rackets in contemporary South Africa,” Biennial Conference of the *South African Association of Political Studies* (SAAPS), UNISA, Pretoria, 10-12 Sept, 2014.
- “Indigenous peoples: Development, exclusion, hegemony” (with Parthasarathi Mondal), *South Africa/India: Re-imagining the Disciplines. A Colloquium*, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, May 19-21 2006.
- “Mysterium inequitatis: Truth, elections, autonomy in the Southern African politic,” *19<sup>th</sup> IPSA World Congress*, Durban, 29 June – 4 July, 2003.
- “Tourists and vagabonds: Policy adaptations to globalization,” Inaugural Conference of the *South African Association Of Political Studies* (SAAPS), Durban, 5-7 October, 2001.
- “The Ministry of dry taps? The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and the transition to market-based service provision in South Africa,” *International Symposium on Development Policies for the New Millennium, in Honour of Professor Kirit S. Parikh*, Indira Gandhi Institute of Development Research, Mumbai, 12-14 July, 2000.
- ----- Paper also presented at:
  - *VIII Conference of Africanists: Africa at the Threshold of the New Millennium*, Africa Institute, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 28-30 September, 1999.
  - *Biennial Conference of the South African Political Science Association*, Military Academy, Saldana Bay, 29 June - 2 July, 1999.
- “Path Dependent and Universal Narratives: Exploring the Modalities of Transition in a Global World: Russia and South Africa,” *Biennial Conference of the South African Political Science Association*, Military Academy, Saldana Bay, 29 June - 2 July, 1999
- “Ideological Aspects of Economic Transition: Comparing Russia and South Africa,” *All Russia Conference on Africanists: Africa in a Changing World*, Africa Institute, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1-3 October, 1997.
- “In the Shadow of the Pharaohs: The Militarisation of Labour Debate and Classical Marxist Theory,” *Graduate Student Seminar Series*, University of the Witwatersrand, 6 March, 1997.
- “Democracy and Revolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe,” *History Workshop Teachers Conference: Teaching Democracy in a Divided Classroom*, University of the Witwatersrand, 14 May, 1994.
- “Palliative Marxism or Immanent Critique: Włodzimierz Brus and the Origins of a Post-

Marxist Political Economy,” *Biennial Conference of the Political Studies Association of South Africa*, University of the Orange Free State, 20-22 October, 1993.

- “The Democratic Turn of the SACP,” *South African Communist Party Socialist Intellectuals Forum*, July, 1992.
- “Radical Democracy and Socialism,” *Marxist Theory Conference*, University of the Western Cape, 6-8 September, 1991.
- “Marxism-Leninism, Radical Democracy and Socialism,” *Biennial Conference of the Political Studies Association of South Africa*, Rustenburg, 11-12 October, 1991.

#### Book reviews

- “Review of Amber Murrey, ed. (*A Certain Amount of Madness. The Life, Politics and Legacies of Thomas Sankara*),” *Politikon* 46(3): 360-64. doi: 10.1080/02589346.2019.1642985
- “Review of Arthur MacEwan (*Neo-Liberalism or Democracy: Economic Strategy, Markets, and Alternatives for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*),” *Global Dialogue* 5(2): 29-30, 2000.
- “Review of Haifaa A Jawad (*The Rights of Women in Islam: An Authentic Approach*),” *Politikon* 26(1): 122-25, 1999.
- “Review of Roger East and Jolyon Pontin (*Revolution and Change in Central and Eastern Europe – Revised Edition*),” *South African Journal of International Affairs* 5(2): 146-47, 1998.
- “Review of Janina Frentzel-Zagórska, ed. (*From a One-Party State to Democracy: Transition in Eastern Europe*),” *African Studies* 54(2): 122-24, 1995.
- “Review of Ian Bremmer and Ray Tarras, eds. (*Nations and Politics in the Soviet Successor States*),” *South African Journal of International Affairs* 2(2): 141, 1994.
- “Review of Robert V Daniels (*The End of the Communist Revolution*),” *Politikon* 21(2): 83-85, 1994.
- “Review of Robin Cohen and Harry Goulbourne, eds. (*Democracy and Socialism in Africa*),” *African Studies* 53(1): 157-58, 1994.
- “Review of Alec Nove (*The Economics of Feasible Socialism Revisited*) and Keith Coleman (*Nationalisation: Beyond the Slogans*),” *Transformation – Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 21: 100-04, 1993.
- “Review of Bash Vally (*The Social Contract: The Way Forward?*),” with Bettina von Lieres, *Transformation – Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 20: 102-04, 1992.
- “Review of Robin Blackburn, ed. (*After the Fall: the Failure of Communism and the Future of Socialism*),” *South African Labour Bulletin* 16(6): 82-84, 1992.
- “Review of Howard Barrell (*MK- The ANC's Armed Struggle*),” *Journal for Contemporary History* 16(1): 194-204, 1991.
- “Review of Grahame Thompson (*The Political Economy of the New Right*) and Zillah Eisenstein (*Feminism and Sexual Equality: Crises in Liberal America*),” *Politikon* 19(1): 141-45, 1991.
- “Review of Mokgethi Motlhabi (*Challenge to Apartheid: Towards a Moral National Resistance*),” *Reality* 21(5): 18-20, 1989.

#### Public presentations

- “Voices from Harlem: Primitive capital accumulation, illegal gambling, and black politics in inter-War Harlem,” presented to the International Relations Department and IR Society seminar series, 1 March, 2021.
- “The evolution of federal law in South Africa: Dealing with issues of concurrent competence in the gambling sector”, with Prof. Victoria Bronstein. Presented to The Market Research and Trend Analysis, Chief Directorate of the Consumer and Corporate Regulations Division (CCRD) of the dti, 21 June, 2018.
- “Problem Gambling in South Africa”, Rotary Club of South Africa, Wanders Club, 21 April 2017.

- “What is Socialism”, 702 talk radio show with Benedict Maaga, 21 May, 2003
- “Social Change and Economic Development in post-Independence India,” presented to the *Indian Cultural Centre Public Lecture Series: Consulate General of India*, Johannesburg, 12 May, 2001
- “GEAR: Understanding its Implications for the Development of the Water Supply and Sanitation Sector in South Africa,” presented to the *Department of Water Affairs and Forestry* and the *Mvula Trust*, 26 February, 1998
- “The Impact of the Post-Apartheid Party System on Afrikaner Political and Cultural Organisations in South Africa,” presentation to the *Department of History, Saint Petersburg University*, Saint Petersburg, 11 October, 1997
- “Guidelines for Councillors and Councillor Training,” presentation for the *Department of Local Government, Housing and Land Administration, Mpumalanga Province*, February, 1997
- "Short to Medium Term Scenario Plan for a Changing South Africa," paper presented to *Boehringer Ingelheim Pharmaceutical Company* (with Professor Alf Stadler), 1992