

BOOK REVIEWS

Mohamed Gamal Abdelmonem. 2015. *The Architecture of Home in Cairo: Socio-Spatial Practice of the Hawari's Everyday Life*. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. 349 pp.

A reviewer commended the medieval scholar Steven Runciman for giving obscure emperors and generals “their mansions in history.” Mohamed Gamal Abdelmonem has done the same for Cairo’s old neighborhoods or *hawari* (singular: *harah*). His work consists of three sections: sociological and anthropological definitions of “home,” a history and description of the remaining old neighborhoods of Cairo from the pivotal invasion of Napoleon (1798) to the present, and finally thoughts on what direction contemporary architects might effectively take in preserving the city’s several old districts and cautiously building anew in them.

Laymen often find themselves adrift when trying to navigate the books of architects, puzzled by examinations of engineering aspects of building homes and public buildings, while at the same time marveling at the designs of some of the creative minds of our age. In the first section of Abdelmonem’s work, however, we have the rare spectacle of an architect uneasily attempting to the marshes of sociological and anthropological theories of home, not all of which coexist peacefully together. While the author no doubt believes these theories provide a necessary theoretical foundation for what follows, I suggest most readers merely scan this section of the book and proceed to the history of the *hawari* and Abdelmonem’s description of his fieldwork, which form the heart of the narrative.

When the Arabs arrived in already-ancient Egypt in 641 CE, preferring “the sea of the desert” to the Mediterranean, they made an entirely new start with capitals in al-Fustat (in the environs of modern Cairo) and later Cairo (founded 969 CE), turning away from the Alexandria of the Ptolomies, Cleopatra, and the Eastern Roman Empire. What did they do with this new beginning? Modern Cairo has sprawled to encompass the pre-Arab Roman citadel of Babylon (no relation to the city in Iraq) and even the pyramids at Giza, but Abdelmonem wishes to steer clear of all these prior Egypts and concentrate on the extant old neighborhoods east of the Nile. He describes *hawari* characterized by high population density, a strong sense of community extending across centuries, architectural forms which have evolved (from large mansions to multi-family units, from forms accommodating the seclusion of women to a world where the woman has emerged from the home) but not been obliterated, and socio-spatial practice stressing the use of local public spaces as part of “home,” where wedding receptions, funeral gatherings, and daily social interaction take place. Despite government neglect and disparagement in the 19th and 20th centuries, these neighborhoods have endured, indeed experienced renewed growth, and many of their residents refuse to live anywhere else. On many lanes a de facto time-share arrangement has even come into being in which first-floor offices and workshops dominate during the day and local residents reclaim the public spaces during the late afternoon and evening. The government opening up of some formerly dead-end alleys has improved access to the old districts, while failing to dent community solidarity. Government support and renovation of historic mansions has permitted a daily inflow of tourists who are nevertheless studiously ignored by residents, except for those running

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/pdfs/v16i2a7.pdf>

souvenir shops. It would have been interesting to compare the *hawari* of Cairo with similarly antique neighborhoods in Alexandria, Egypt's second city, but that tome must await the efforts of an Alexandrian architect with a similar devotion to his city (there is only one mention of Alexandria in Abdelmonem's entire book).

In the final section of his book Abdelmonem asks why modern architects fail in Cairo and what directions they should take in nurturing and maintaining the *hawari*, which have shown such resilience and durability, even weathering changes in class composition, influxes of migrant workers from rural areas, and international planning and government guidance of dubious value. He argues convincingly that contemporary architects must eschew the imperative to display virtuosity and individual prowess in favor of a community-based approach which improves sanitation and services (a challenge for all of Cairo, not merely its old districts), renovates historic structures which are still in use, maintains the provision of public space which is also a part of the neighborhood concept of home, and provides new small to medium-scale residential housing consistent with traditional forms. In the *hawari*, the architecture of home is the architecture of a community. Not least among the contributions of this book is its focus on architecture which reflects and emerges from everyday urban life and evolving social values, as opposed to a narrative focusing on residences of the elite or massive public structures.

Kenneth W. Meyer, *Western Washington University*

Rowland Abiodun. 2014. *Yoruba Art and Language: Seeking the African in African Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 386pp.

Faced with the methodological gridlock embedded in the discipline of art history, African scholars and their Africanist counterparts have continuously struggled in their effort to analyze aspects of the material and visual cultures of Africa. The problem is compounded by the often prescriptive Eurocentric models that thrive in formal analysis. It is obvious, however, that such methodological constraints have failed to check the essence of the work/s created within many cultures in Africa. Thus, Abiodun bring to bear these methodological issues. With a robust research career that spans over four decades, Rowland Abiodun has consistently advocated for the inclusion of the language of the people when their art is being studied. He lucidly articulates that idea, using the Yoruba aesthetic thought and language embedded in the *oriki* (praise or citation poetry) as valid exemplars.

Taken as his goal, he venture to explore new holistic perspectives for the critical interpretation of African art as exemplified by the interpretations of the visual and verbal arts among the Yoruba people of West Africa. He contends that such an approach will facilitate his enumeration of the cultural meanings and themes that have been overlooked and even forgotten in African art studies. Throughout the nine chapters of his book he clearly enunciates this idea, and supports it with actual examples of art works.

The first chapter explores the Yoruba concept and principle of "individuality and otherness" in *ori* (this consists of both *ori-inu* and *ori-ode*, physical/spiritual attributes of the head). Abiodun goes on in the second chapter to discuss the wide range of visual and verbal *oriki* (construed as art forms) that are central to or connected with *ase* (the primordial life force

that inheres in all objects of consciousness, authority and power). The third chapter relies on much of the *oriki* of Osun to understanding the art forms that help in defining and illuminating the character of the *Orisa* (Osun is one of the most powerful and influential Yoruba *Orisas*). He uses verses from *ifa* to carry out an in-depth formal and contextual analysis of an *agere-ifa* (the container for keeping the *ikin*, the sixteen sacred divination palm nuts, with the horse motif) in the fourth chapter. For the fifth chapter, Abiodun examines Yoruba dress as a form of *oriki*, articulating how clothes define the status of the wearers. The gamut of Yoruba dress speaks volumes of the wearers, especially their religious and social statuses. The meaning and place of photography in Yoruba culture, especially as it relates to the *oriki* and *asa* of *ako* (the second burial effigies in Owo) form discussion of the sixth chapter. Chapter seven reviews the state of knowledge of selected terra cotta and bronzes from the ancient Yoruba city of Ile Ife, and offer new insights through the use of *oriki*. The eighth chapter addresses some major aesthetic concepts in Yoruba art and thought, using *oriki*, while the ninth chapter explores the Yoruba definition of style through time, using the work of selected artists such as “Olowe of Ise.” Abiodun compares the work of Olowe with other artists, such as the “master of the Fowler” *agere-ifa* (from a later period), through the use of the verbal and visual *oriki*. He vacillates between these artists and show how their works relates to Yoruba art and thought. He maintain that “*oriki* is immediately important as an efficient means of capturing moments or nuggets of history that provide an indispensable body of research material for reconstructing artistic values” (p. 307), which is a necessary art historical methodology.

Throughout the book, especially with regards to the interpretation of the visual and verbal arts, Abiodun adopts the Yoruba *oriki* as a tool that offer the best analysis of the art forms and their uses within the religious and social contexts of the society. According to him, “any serious attempt to conduct art historical research in a traditionally oral society like the Yoruba must take their rich tradition of *oriki* into consideration” (p. 23). Imbibing such characteristics, it is the hope that a better and more nuanced understanding of the art work will be facilitated; anything short of this would continuously, albeit erroneously give an inconclusive or incomplete understanding of the work under interrogation. And the central argument posited by Abiodun is that it is impossible to appreciate or even articulate the complexities and depth of the Yoruba artistic imagination, stylistic conventions and critical discourse without recourse to that vast body of visual and verbal text embedded within the *oriki*. It should be stressed that Abiodun implies that it would be immensely beneficial to the cause of sound African art research and scholarship if the proper indigenous names were employed in the identification of the art works instead of the current practice of putting them in parenthesis or omitting them altogether.

Throughout the book, the significance of the *oriki* in the Yoruba imagination has been shown to permeate religious and social aspects of Yoruba society. Despite the fear that the book might be difficult to access by a wide range of researcher, scholars, and students because of the heavy use of Yoruba words, the inclusion of a companion website with audio clips of Yoruba language go a long way to help the reader grasp the integral connection between art and language in Yoruba culture. Therefore, the book will be invaluable to scholars and students of Yoruba culture, language and visual art.

Ndubuisi C. Ezeoluomba, *University of Florida*

Chanfi Ahmed. 2015. *West African 'ulama' and Salafism in Mecca and Medina: Jawab al-Ifriqi—The Response of the African*. Lieden and Boston: Brill. 214pp.

Chanfi Ahmed's *West African Ulama and Salafism in Mecca and Medina jawab al-Ifriqi* presents a critical approach into the study of what could be termed as the encroachment of *Wahabbism* in present West Africa in general and Nigeria, Mali, and Mauritania in particular. The colonial invasion of Mauritania, Mali, Senegal, Niger, and Nigeria led to the migration of some prominent scholars to Mecca and Medina, which they considered as safer places to practice their religion in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of these *Ullamas* had earlier had some informal contacts with the teachings and doctrines of Muhammad bn Abdulwahab, whom the Sa'ud family adopted as an official spiritual guide. Chanfi therefore, gives detailed information on the first set of migrants to Mecca and Medina, their interpretation of *Hijra*, and *Jihad*, and a description of the routes they followed in the cause of the migration and the factors that led to it.

In chapter two, the author attempts to present some of the forerunners of the influential African teachers at the Mosque of the Prophet in Madina, citing prominent amongst them Fullani Shaykh, Alfa Hashim al-Futi (of Mali extraction to be precise), and Shaykh Muhammad Abdullahi b. Mahmud al-Madani. Their wealth of Islamic knowledge has indeed boosted Islamic scholarship both at home and abroad, and a good number of their students helped in spreading the *Salafiyya da'awah* in the West African sub-region.

Consequently, after the official establishment of the Al-Sa'ud dynasty in 1925-26, education was given the top most priority, which led to the establishment of public schools, universities, and colleges by the royalty, in addition to quite a large number of private schools (*madaris ahliyya*). Chapter three, therefore, examines the contributions of the first set of teachers in these public schools such as Shaykh Abdurrahman al-Ifriqi and Shaykh Hammad al-Ansari of African extraction. Shaykh Abdurrahman al-Ifriqi, for instance, was sent to *Yanbu*, a settlement near Medina, to propagate *Wahabism* among the Bedouin tribes.

After the successful establishment of public schools and the subsequent graduation of its students, special centers for learning were established in Mecca and Medina with a view to producing competent students who could handle the task of Islamic propagation properly. Chapter four discusses the role played by two prominent West African scholars, Shaykh Abdurrahman al-Ifriqi and Shaykh Hammad al-Ansari, both of whom taught at *Dar al-Hadith* and *Ma'had al-Riyad al-Ilmi*.

Chapter five centers on the role played by two prominent sons of West Africa, teachers of the third generation, who served as administrators and teachers at the first Islamic University in Saudi Arabia. The key personalities discussed in this chapter are Shaykh 'Umar Fallata (of northern Nigerian extraction from Gombe State) and Shaykh Ab-Wuld Ukhtur (Muhammad al-Amin al-Jakanil-Shanqiti)

The two aforementioned scholars have indeed played a great role in the establishment of and teaching in *Dar al-Hadith* and *Ma'had al-Riyad al-Ilmi*. They also exhibited a high level of maturity in teaching at the Islamic University of Medina. Chapter six discusses the history and evolution of this university with a view to studying its unique role in the training of missionaries who spread across the West African sub-region in propagating the teachings of *Wahabiyya-Slafiyya* especially outside Saudi Arabia.

Chapter seven addresses the issue of *tarjama* (biography or biographical notice) and *tarjama dhatiyya* (autobiography) in the Islamic tradition. Shaykh ‘Umar Fallata wrote a biography of his teacher in the person of Shaykh AbdulRahman al-Ifriqi, while Shaykh Atiyya Salim wrote on Shaykh Muhammad al-Amin al-Shanqiti. One important observation made by Chanfi in this chapter is that biographies and autobiographies were seen by some contemporary Islamic scholars as an “invention of the western cultural tradition associated with the discovery of the individual and individualism in the West” (p. 11). Citing the works of the duo al-Fallati and Salim clearly indicate the impact of the scholar’s life on his students that fascinates him to write on him. Shaykh ‘Umar Fallati writes “the biographies of important personalities are a school for future generations” (p. 11). Chanfi also opined that the best translation of *tarjama* is “biographical note”. Even though the *tarjama* “might be an inaccurate and imperfect reflection of person’s life, it is nevertheless a key to explain his activities and accomplishments to coming generations” (p. 12).

Yusuf Abdullahi Yusuf, *University of Jos*

Akíntúndé Akínyemí. 2015. *Orature and Yorùbá Riddles*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 280 pp.

Unlike other genres of African orature the riddle has not attracted much in-depth research. Even in the context of Yorùbá culture, which has inspired groundbreaking, book-length studies on several individual genres of the oral tradition—on *ijálá* (hunters’ poetry), *oríkì* (praise poetry), *òwe* (proverbs), and Ifá divination poetry, to name just a few—the riddle has been somewhat neglected, even though it has been discussed in overviews such as Olatúndé O. Olatúnjì’s *Features of Yoruba Oral Poetry* (1984) as well as in a number of individual articles. The first full-length study of riddles in any African society, *Orature and Yorùbá Riddles* thus represents a most welcome and important contribution to research on African oral literatures. Unlike earlier discussions of the Yorùbá riddle, which concentrate on formal features, Akínyemí, drawing on a wealth of examples, specifically addresses the content of riddles, their various performative contexts, social functions, and relevance up to the present time. The book bespeaks the author’s vast linguistic and cultural knowledge, which enables him to provide a comprehensive overview of Yorùbá riddling.

The introduction situates the book with respect to previous research on orature, especially in Africa, but also “as part of an urgent need to document and make accessible endangered global verbal arts before they disappear without record” (p. 5). Chapter 1 discusses definitions of the riddle and their applicability to Yorùbá riddles, which are classified into three main categories: the so-called simple riddle, the dilemma tale-riddle, and the song riddle. The author addresses the place of riddles in Yorùbá society and provides a review of previous literature on the Yorùbá riddle. In a comparatively short section, which is flawed by incomplete referencing, semiotics is introduced as the theoretical frame for the analysis of the different types of riddles in the following chapters. Chapter 2 focuses on *àlò àpamò*, which the author translates as “regular riddles.” Moving beyond structural aspects, the author deals with the aesthetic expression of the Yorùbá worldview in such riddles as well as with their social function, discussing a great number of specific riddles on a vast range of topics. Chapter 3 examines the

form and function of so-called tale-riddles, which may be rendered entirely in either poetry or prose but also in a combination of both. The author distinguishes between two types of tale-riddles in Yorùbá, those based on the Ifá corpus, which are used to affirm the status quo; and those not based on Ifá, which problematize the status quo and comprise *àlò ìjàpá*, the well-known tortoise trickster tales. Chapter 4 deals with the form and function of *àrò*, song riddles, which comprise sequences of question/answer pairs and are performed by groups, either antiphonally or, less commonly, synchronously. Chapter 5 addresses the contemporary use of riddles in terms of both the creation of new riddles and the employment of riddles in written literature and other media such as newspapers, radio, TV, and the Internet. Chapter 6 reiterates the role of riddling and other oral genres in the enculturation and socialization of the young.

Examples of riddles and riddling include quite a number of full versions of texts, sometimes in the context of oral performances as a whole. While this is expedient in illustrating the scope of riddling in Yorùbá culture as well as the interconnectedness of riddles with other oral genres, some of the examples are, in proportion to the analysis, rather too lengthy. Some of the examples are presented both in the original Yorùbá version and in English translation, which is extremely useful. It might have been preferable to present a smaller number of examples in order to be able to include all original Yorùbá versions, if not in the main text, then in the endnotes. The author's extremely careful representation of the Yorùbá examples, including his competent attention to correct tone-marking, is highly laudable and represents one of the strengths of the book.

Though generally relevant, the theoretical framework proposed in chapter 1 is not coherently related to the analysis of riddles in the following chapters. While some parts of the discussion might have been more clearly focused and the argument is slightly repetitive with regard to its insistence on issues such as the role of orature with regard to education, the book nevertheless provides a fascinating and comprehensive discussion of the culture of riddling in Yorùbá society as well as valuable insights into a vast range of aspects of Yorùbá culture from an unusual perspective.

Anja Oed, *Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, Germany*

Evelyn Amony. 2015. *I Am Evelyn Amony: Reclaiming My Life from the Lord's Resistance Army*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 181 pp.

This book is a collection of transcribed audio book entries by Evelyn Amony, a Ugandan woman who was abducted as a teenager and eventually forced to marry Joseph Kony, the leader of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). The book provides factual details about the inner workings of the LRA, but reads like a gripping novel. The story is not only about when Amony is in the LRA; rather, it describes her life as a young girl in school and concludes by giving the reader a view into the difficulties of daily civilian life during and after the war in Uganda.

Amony explains that she is not sharing her story for academics or Western audiences, but instead for Ugandans, specifically for her family, so they may understand what life was like for her when she was with the LRA. However, this book is one of the most detailed published accounts of life inside an armed group, describing initiation rituals, rules for members of the group, and even the language LRA members shared. Amony writes as if speaking to a friend,

directing the reader to imagine being in her situation. The book is a feminist analysis that highlights the importance of examining the experiences of women during war to get a more accurate understanding of the conflict.

One of the key themes of the book is that the war in Uganda, like most wars, has been complex and messy. Despite the terrible acts of violence that occurred during the war, the people who took part in it are human. In the book's introduction, a scholar of the Ugandan war and the LRA, Erin Baines, writes that Amony's stories, "beg readers to suspend judgment for a time." Atrocities were committed on all sides of this war, and while it would be easy for Amony to blame the LRA for her pain, she claims that her troubles did not start with them. The book forces readers to recognize the limitations in the dominant narratives about the war in Uganda and the LRA.

The majority of Amony's stories involve pain, both physical and emotional, yet interspersed throughout her pain are small acts of kindness from others. These mixed experiences highlight the complexity of how people live and act during war. This dynamic of pain and kindness is especially dominant in Amony's descriptions of the notorious Joseph Kony. During one of her most challenging periods traveling through the bush, she says the only person who was kind to her was Kony. However, soon after, Kony forced her to be his wife, despite the fact that she was only fourteen years old (and other members of the LRA objected). Evelyn became pregnant after her first night of sexual relations with Kony. As a newborn her child became ill, and Kony refused to help her bring their child to the hospital. Kony's disregard for their child, and the fact that he tells Evelyn he does not love her, is a painful blow to her, reminding the reader of the mixed and very human feelings she has towards Kony. Kony brings in the senior LRA elders to mediate their disagreement about taking their child to the hospital, and to Kony's surprise they side with Evelyn. In contrast to this experience, there are other times when Kony saves Evelyn's life or forces others to treat her better. In one of her final meetings with Kony, Evelyn acknowledges the fact that Kony took care of her for longer than her own parents.

In Amony's story, the reader watches her grow up in the LRA. One prominent topic in her narratives is the experience of motherhood. She views motherhood from two angles: her experience as a young woman forced into the role, and also as a young woman who longs for her own mother. Throughout her time in the bush, Evelyn remembers her mother at home as her protector and so, within the LRA, she names a different protector, her gun, after her mother. During the course of the book Evelyn must deal with both two painful losses: the loss of her own child and the loss of her mother.

Amony's life after she leaves the LRA and returns to her village continues to be difficult, and she is demonized in the news and in daily life for having been Kony's wife. Despite leaving combat, Amony's life at home remains part of her war experience. Amony still is able to end the book with a hopeful tone speaking about her work providing counseling for women who shared her experiences and had children in the LRA.

This book is unique when compared with other books about conflict and armed groups because it is an open first-hand account of life during war and living with an armed group, that does not try to present a specific theory, but instead lets the author's experience lead the reader to her own conclusions. *I am Evelyn Amony* provides in-depth knowledge about the LRA,

highlights the importance of examining women's experiences during conflict, and illustrates the complexities of human behavior during war.

Phoebe Donnelly, *Tufts University*

Giulia Bonacci. 2015. *Exodus! Heirs and Pioneers, Rastafari Return to Ethiopia*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press. 482 pp.

Bonacci examines the journey of groups of Rastafari to Ethiopia as "returnees," an ongoing process for approximately fifty years. The terms heirs and pioneers of the title refer to a central point of Bonacci's analysis: that is, "two identificatory terms used by Jamaicans living in Shashemene, Ethiopia are simultaneous and concurrent" and "[they] reflect the tensions and contradictions of black identity and the diaspora experience." The latter term helps to describe the aspect of the experience relating to how one prepares the ways for those coming later, while the first term describes the point of view of one notable community member, Noel Dyer (p. 9).

Bonacci combines interviews with an analysis of music and lyrics, religious texts, legal documents and maps, and histories and other scholarship from various academic disciplines, especially history, anthropology, and religious studies. Archives consulted were mostly in English, Amharic, and Oromo, with a few in French and Italian.

In section one Bonacci focuses on the ideological and social roots of the return to Ethiopia, describing various approaches and beliefs regarding the back to Africa movement, covering analysis of the Bible (especially the books of Exodus and Psalms), and of various political and religious organizations. Among the topics discussed are Black Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and various spaces and itineraries of return, including lesser frequently discussed locations (e.g., Haiti). Considerable space is devoted to Marcus Garvey and the UNIA, offering fresh insights into his life and work by contextualizing his efforts with significant events. Bonacci respects religion, yet is not shy in describing information that may be controversial or even counter to some belief systems or that may challenge interpretations and reputations of even revered figures—for instance, Garvey's critique of Haile Selassie I and critiques of Garvey by some of his U.S. contemporaries (e.g., W. E. B. Du Bois). A chapter detailing the sources and nuances of Ethiopianism helpfully brings together diverse sources explaining how and why Ethiopia came to represent the many powerful qualities it signifies today for Rastafari and persons of African descent with attention to the USA, the Caribbean, and southern Africa. Bonacci explores how various histories were written/situated, describes the international Ethiopian Church and the foundation of Zion Cities, and probes challenging issues including relationships with the Ethiopian state and race/color in the Ethiopian context. She also details preparatory steps to the return to Shashemene, including the impact of the Italo-Ethiopian war on solidifying solidarity between Africans and the Afro-descended (e.g., the African American pilot John Robinson), the foundation of the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF), and the role of Haile Selassie I, including his 1961 visit to Jamaica and the Caribbean, and the mid-twentieth land grant of Shashemene.

Part two of Bonacci's book focuses on the Rastafari movement and the return to Ethiopia, describing the various senses of the term return, including thinkers who emphasized a spiritual/religious/philosophical/metaphorical interpretation of return. Bonacci spends one

chapter specifically focusing on Jamaica and the sociohistorical conditions that led to the development of the Rastafari noting, as appropriate, various social/class/color distinctions, and early semi-official, semi-governmental missions to Africa to explore various emigration possibilities. She also profiles the role of non-Jamaican returnees, especially those from Trinidad, Barbados, the USA, and the UK.

In the final part of her book, Bonacci focuses on exploring who are “true” Ethiopians in Shashemene, detailing realities in Shashemene, in Ethiopia, and in Africa. For instance, the author explores how identity has changed and developed over the decades, and how the children of returnees view themselves in comparison to how their parents viewed themselves. Furthermore, Bonacci looks at how non-Rastafari locals view the Rastafari, and more generally how Ethiopians and Africans view the Shashemene returnees. She demonstrates the issues are complex ones; and language, religion, history, economics, land, and politics are among the factors that play roles in this complexity.

In sum, Bonacci’s book represents a significant contribution which brings together many strands across multiple historiographies, and across time and space. One could argue that there could be more emphasis on the contexts of independence, especially those of Ghana (1957) and Jamaica (1962), and on how economic and political conditions of the 1970s Jamaica impacted emigration. Although Rastafari in Jamaica are minute in numbers, the group has inspired significant attention, reflecting the power of the ideas, including the music (e.g., reggae), people (e.g., Howell and Marley), food and lifestyle (ital/livity), and spirituality. Bonacci’s book offers readers a wealth of information to enable a better understanding of the enduring power of the return to Ethiopia and of the Rastafari.

Grant J. Rich, *American Psychological Association, Juneau, Alaska*
Joan Black, *Ultimate Purpose, Ontario, Canada*

Richard Bourne. 2015. *Nigeria: A New History of a Turbulent Century*. London: Zed Books. 320 pp.

Nigeria’s history is a complex subject which has often been exploited by some pedantic scholars and writers of different ilk and perspectives. The complexity of historical documentation of the country’s political and socio-economic development has its roots in the diversity of sources of information that could be accessed by prospective historians or historiographers as well as the contrarities in values and beliefs that they seek to project in their narratives. Thus, no historical rendition is value-neutral. Even the best of history has a measure or a modicum of values which are the underpinnings of any of such documentary accounts.

Richard Bourne’s book is a detailed and sequential reportage of the historical development of Nigeria spanning a century since its evolution as a political entity beginning with periods preceding its amalgamation by the colonial administration in 1914 and up to 2015 when an opposition party successfully dislodged the ruling political party through an electoral contest for the first time in the country’s history. The book currently stands as the most extensive documentation on Nigeria covering a century of its existence, thereby being more informative in outlook than other publications on the country. By giving an up-to-date account on Nigeria’s development across different historical epochs, the book luridly presents the pre-colonial,

colonial, and post-colonial challenges of development, which together have helped in shaping the constitutional and political realities of the country. While the author did not claim to understand Nigeria because of its many ethnicities and perspectives coupled with its contested past and statistics, he is of the belief that his book would “elucidate, as fairly and readable as possible, a story that began with a colonial merger and bring it up to date.”

The book is broadly divided into five sections with the first four sections having nineteen chapters while the fifth section is titled “Reflections.” The author’s “Afterword” contains concluding remarks. Section 1 (chapters one to six) analyzes the issues and events surrounding the 1914 amalgamation of the protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria with the Lagos colony, the abolition of the independent Egba Kingdom, the gallant role of Nigerian soldiers in the First World War, the struggles of Governor Lugard with opponents, the effects of the Second World War on the global economy and the growth of assertive nationalism in Nigeria as the country was progressively acquiring a new importance in the strategic global scheme of Britain in the war years.

Section 2 (chapters seven to eleven) highlights the series of political processes that were thrown up by certain key and impactful events from 1939-1964 as they affected Nigeria’s domestic and international politics. This section elaborates on the strategic importance of Nigeria in the war years, the consequent political change that was complicated by the emergent divisive regionalism and subsequently, the establishment of regional governments which were both precursors of political independence in 1960 as well as the post –independence crises that followed thereafter. Section 3 (chapters twelve to fifteen) is a narration of the political crises from 1964 to 1989 in post-independent Nigeria including military coups, civil war, the failure and fall of the second republic, and the inception of a new military era in the country. Section 4 (chapters sixteen to nineteen) covers political events from 1989 to 2014, which include the botched attempt at democratization under Babangida’s military administration, the disastrous Abacha years, the return of democracy and Obasanjo, the ascension of Yar’Adua, Jonathan, and threats in the Niger Delta coupled with the terrorist onslaught in the northeast of the country. Section 5, in which the author provides some reflections on such themes as “politics as business,” “Ethnicity and religion,” “Oil, inequity and poverty,” and “One Nigeria” shows that he has some understanding of the concrete and objective existential realities of the long-suffering citizens of Nigeria. The “Afterword” is a closing account of the new stage of civility in Nigeria’s politics evident in the post-election conduct of President Jonathan who, having lost in his bid to remain in office for another term, did not allow his defeat at the presidential polls in March 2015 to precipitate any violent reaction by his supporters.

This book obviously has its strong points. It could actually be considered a balanced account of Nigeria’s political-cum-economic history even though it has its weak points too. Its exposé on the hypocrisy of the colonial system and its pretensions to civilizing the colonized people would present the author as an objective and courageous scholar. It was pointed out that the British rebuilt a prison in Lagos colony in 1885 with 16,000 Pounds at a time when the colony was spending only 700 Pounds on education (p. 6) The resentment the colonial authorities bore towards the educated southern Nigerians especially of the Yoruba and Igbo ethnicities was clearly depicted by the author as a prominent trend in the policies of all the colonial administrations of Frederick Lugard(1914-1919), Hugh Clifford(1919-1925) and Donald

Cameron(1931-1935) until Bernard Bourdillon (1935-1943) came on board from with a friendlier disposition to the educated professionals than his predecessors (pp. 27-41) His narrative on the country's recent history up to the 2015 presidential election is impressively analytical as it is a reportorial of factual data, thereby acquitting the author of any prejudice (pp. 156-239).

Although this book would appear to be largely objective in its analyses and almost value-neutral, the claim that "without the British there would never have been a 'Nigeria'" (p. 4) is absolutely repugnant. The statement in question is too loose and open to all forms of misconception which might not be the intention of the author. The description of Nigeria's centenary history as "turbulent" as conveyed by the book's title, aside from being a product of the author's perspective, which influenced his narrative and tilted his analytical prism towards historical facts that fit his theory, could be considered as a value-laden assessment to some extent. The meaning of the acronym NEPA is National Electric Power Authority not Nigerian Electricity Power Agency (p. xxi).

Regardless of the few critical comments, this book is a well-researched, factual and systematically arranged historical treatise on Nigeria's political and socio-economic development covering a century of its existence. The language of its presentation is lucid and devoid of academic obscurantism that often robs scholarship of its substance. Richard Bourne has written an up-to-date and authoritative history of Nigeria from the standpoint of all the turbulent events that shaped the country's political and socio-economic development, which every Nigerian and African scholar as well as those with interest in the political and economic histories of developing societies across countries of the world, would find very informative and useful as a source material.

John Olushola Magbadelo, *Centre for African & Asian Studies, Abuja, Nigeria*

Nic Cheeseman. 2015. *Democracy in Africa, Successes, Failures and the Struggle for Political Reform*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 247 pp.

Nic Cheeseman's democracy in Africa paints a complete picture of Africa's democratic travails, challenges, and failure, situating such within its fragmented political trajectories. The book is divided into an introduction and six chapters, with each chapter producing narrow beams of light which culminates in a total illumination of Africa's democratic travails and the way forward.

The introduction explains Africa's attempt at the democratization process and the success stories that have emerged from her democratization narrative, namely Botswana and Mauritius. The introduction discussed the struggle between democratization and autocratization, implying that this struggle lies clearly within the costs of repression and reform. Africa's first attempt at democracy in the post-colonial period, suffered a major setback with the outbreak of the civil wars in the DRC and Nigeria. The Cold War also undermined international support for democratization, as both the United States and the Soviet Union proved willing to sacrifice democracy on the altar of their own national security. The introduction of the one-party state, championed by Tanzania's Nyerere, whose view of multi-party politics was not only politically dangerous, but unnecessary and "un-African" (p. 40) and military rule were the grim outcomes Africa's first democratic experiment. The practice of military rule and politics without

politicians as was practiced in Nigeria during the era of military rule came with its own barrage of problems, as it closed up the political space and created a huge gap between the rulers and the ruled.

Chapter 2 introduces the reader to the cultures of resistance in Uganda, the influence of the patronage system in Nigeria, and the politics of reciprocity in Kenya, which simultaneously drew on established practices and established them (p. 64). However, this politics of reciprocity was destructive at best. Entered into this equation is the politics of fear, which flew on the wings of sorcery and witchcraft employed by political leaders and subjects alike to attack real and perceived enemies. Caught in the struggle for the campaign of democracy were civil society groups, particularly the church and the trade unions that constantly battled between compromise, mediation and outright rejection of the state of affairs at the time. This was also not lost on Islam, as the Sufi brotherhood in Senegal and President Leopold Senghor developed socio-economic and political alliances to legitimate their activities.

Chapters 3 and 4 were concerned about the struggle for democracy, the end of the Cold War, and economic decline that triggered African democratization and engaged various patterns of democratic transitions that were embarked upon by African states. It also concerned the era of externally managed transitions which engaged international actors in efforts to reform African democracy and led to an active role in democracy promotion. With the reintroduction of elections, as espoused in Chapter 5, incumbents capitalized on the advantage of the incumbency to negotiate their continued hold on power and sometimes deploying the full range of the presidential arsenal available to them. The usage of this weapon, which oftentimes led to political exclusion, was inadvertently countered by the resilience or cooptation of the opposition, depending on the political beat, which dictated the dance of the opposition. The politics of fear, the politics of belonging and the use of violence by militia and street gangs are part of the broader strategies employed by political leaders to maintain power. Chapter six and the conclusions focused on the consolidation of democratic dividends and the design of robust and democratic architecture that will be resistant to ethno-regional and patrimonial fissures and will constructively manage heterogeneity and guarantee stability in the African political space.

The book is logically structured. It made use of appropriate methodological precincts to support its purpose. In addition, the author demonstrated profound familiarity with past and contemporary events in African history. However, there were factual and chronological errors in the book, such as when the author erroneously made a mistake regarding the title and year of Chinua Achebe's masterpiece novel, *Things Fall Apart* (p. 69). Also, there was an inaccurate naming of the premier of Nigeria's northern region; Samuel Akintola was described as the premier of the Northern region (p. 45), rather than Ahmadu Bello. Likewise, there were subtle grammatical errors (pp. 121, 135), which could have been corrected by more careful editing. These errors, however, do not take the shine away from the book. It is a worthy read that treats contemporary African issues with exactness, precision, and clarity.

Ajala Olufisayo, *University of Ilorin*

Syl Cheney-Coker. 2014. *Sacred River*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 425 pp.

Syl Cheney-Coker's novel *Sacred River* narrates the story of a postcolonial West African nation fictionalized as Kissi. The novel fits easily into the post-independence disillusionment novel canon along with Achebe's *A Man of the People*, Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, and wa Thiong'o's *Wizard of the Crow*. Weaving multiple sub-plots with a plethora of distinct characters who have to come to terms with the various implications of a degenerating nation, the novel is structured in a way that the reader vacillates between different temporalities, cosmologies and aesthetics.

The novel covers two phases of Kissi's government with the history of the resettlement of freed slaves in the background. The first phase is that of the democratically elected president, Tankor Satani, whose government extends to seventeen years of dictatorship, prebendalism, embezzlement, and other forms of corruption. Tankor Satani is obsessed with the idea of his own immortality inspired by recurrent visions of Haiti's old King Henri Christophe. Seeking to fulfill this vision, Tankor Satani ignores the fact of the democratic root of his government and turns himself into an emperor, using state revenue to enrich himself. For instance, he erects the Xanadu, an edifice symbolic of his supposed immortality and power, with resources from the national treasury. Tankor Satani, however, ends tragically, as it seems he is either abandoned or misdirected by the apparition of Christophe, the embodiment of his ambition and greed. After his demise, the new military government, led by General Dan Doggo, raises the people's hope at the beginning, but ends up a recycled version of the earlier regime's corruption and abuse of power. Dan Doggo's nonchalance has failed to prevent the nation from plunging into a devastating period of insurgency and war, a consummation of the accumulated years of mis-governance. The war turns the country into a field of blood, in which killing, looting, sexual violence, recruitment of child soldiers, and economic benefit to rebel leaders and foreign business concerns and governments cripple the country even more. A new government comes into power by the end of war.

In the weave of this national narrative is the sub-plot of the love story of Theodore Iskander, a philosophy professor, and Habiba Mouskuda, a former prostitute. Though not officially married, their love binds them together as a happy and productive couple. Their story provides an alternative allegorical narrative that could have been the national story, one of progress in the midst of regression and degeneration, of courageous love by which wide differences are reconciled—class, education, personal history, culture, race, and religion.

Cheney-Coker's style of writing is quite experimental. There is an effortless blend of realism and fantasy, making the novel pass easily for magical realism against the author's aversion to the term in connection with African writing (p. vii). The novel's foregrounding of apparitions, sorcery, dreams and visions, mythological and folkloric elements, and superstitious symbolisms along with historical data, socio-political commentary, and realism of the everyday has produced a novel that leads the reader across multiple paradigms. The novelist's vast knowledge of world history, literature, music, African and classical mythologies, philosophy, geography, and the environment, color the novel through allusions that place the text in a postcolonial conversation with other texts. Readers, for instance, encounter titles like "The Unbearable Loneliness of Being Chief Justice," "The River Between," "Madmen and Specialists," "A Man of the People," "The Beasts of No Nation," and "The Children of

Sisyphus” among others, which evoke such intertextualities. Tankor Satani’s symbolic Xanadu is another example of such allusions. Hybridizations also feature prominently in the novel such as in the syncretization of religion, miscegenation, cultural fusions, and linguistic code-switching. Cheney-Coker’s experiment sees him playing with time by the way in which the narrative easily moves between the present, the past and the future. He also applies his poetic prowess to the use of language in the novel. One comes across romantic expressions like “watching the waning sun disappear into the embrace of a September evening” (p. 1).

A challenge to the reader, however, especially if nation is ignored as the central character, would be the large number of characters and the author’s constant detour to such characters’ backstories, even minor characters, thus creating a sense of rupture in the flow of narration. The novel’s omniscient narrative approach, which allows for easy switch in narrative perspectives, also works subtly against the smoothness of narration by permitting excessive authorial comments and conscious explanations to non-African readers. On a whole, however, Cheney-Coker succeeds in retelling the complex story of African societies struggling to survive as modern nation-states cursed with the history of colonialism, ethnic suspicions, self-centered and incompetent leadership, neo-colonialism, and global capitalism that work against the development of Africa as compressed symbolically by the war.

Douglas E. Kaze, *Rhodes University*

Jonathan O. Chimakonam (ed.). 2015. *Atuolu Omalu: Some Unanswered Questions in African Philosophy*. Maryland, MD: University Press of America. 315 pp.

Atuolu Omalu: Some Unanswered Questions in African Philosophy is a contemporary compilation of African philosophy that builds more layers onto the framework of African philosophy that has been previously set. Jonathan Chimakonam, the editor, specializes in the fields of metaphysics and existentialism. The contributors to the book are mostly professors of philosophy on the African continent. Many also specialize in metaphysics, while some specialize in ethics and epistemology. Because of the areas of specialization of the contributors, this book is a technical and well-researched volume that includes fourteen chapters on various aspects of African philosophy. There are chapters dedicated to the main fields of ethics, history of philosophy, metaphysics, epistemology, and logic. There are also chapters on philosophical problems where African philosophers are taking the lead, which include: culture of philosophy, cultural imperialism, tradition and democracy, decolonization, and the future of African philosophy. Together, the chapters paint a holistic and useful view of African philosophy. The only addition that could be made is for philosophy in art, aesthetics and images relation to meaning. A more detailed look into some of the chapters will highlight the authors’ rigor, and show that this book is accessible for the novice in philosophy, as well as providing new insight for the experienced philosopher.

In the first chapter, “Dating and Periodization Questions in African Philosophy,” Chimakonam articulates a timeline and the relevant frames of thought during each period. This is an interesting piece because it is on the history of African philosophy. This is field where little is written about from 1960 forward, so it is a much-anticipated article and it lives up to expectations. He posits an early period of African philosophy where authors who were

excavating African philosophy from “the raw materials of African culture” (p. 13). This was tied to debates about the value and rationality of Africans in combating the ideas of Lucien Levy-Bruhl who described Africans as pre-logical. The middle period of African philosophy deconstructs theories of culture as philosophy in the early period. During the middle period African Sage philosophy became popular, whereby authors cited those in society who were given authority on knowledge. This appeal to authority, according to Chimakonam, is more universal than using the culture as philosophy because culture can have relative elements within in. And the later period of African philosophy relies on the idea of Batholomew Abanduka that the correct place of philosophy is within the synthesis of the individual and universal, and it shows the connection between them. The synthesis, or more detailed look into the fields of philosophy is now warranted and needed, and it is the methodology that this volume uses by focusing now on the sub-fields within philosophy.

Epistemology and logic are given considerable weight in the volume, with Chimakonam and Uduma laying out arguments on opposing sides of the debate. Uduma argues that there are no cultural specific logics because the existence of logic presupposes the existence of culture, or there would not be the possibility of culture without logic because logic is necessary for language and therefore for culture as well. This justifies a logic that is universal and not area specific as he says Chimakonam and others argue for. Chimakonam argues for the universal and relative nature of African philosophy and logic. He states:

To exclude African philosophy from the universal idea of philosophy is to kill it. On another hand, to embrace totally the universal characteristics of philosophy having abandoned and neglected the development and use of tool of logic in African tradition which seems to be the agitations of the Universalists will kill African Philosophy (p. 103).

He says it is not possible for there to be African philosophy at all if there is not some relativity within the field. This is only one example of the many themes within their robust debate. They also write about the connection of culture to philosophy more directly, and write about ethics and ontologies.

By incorporating many sub-fields within philosophy overall the authors and editor are successful in compiling a complete book on contemporary written African philosophy. It can be a technical read at times, but the volume’s contributors lay out the previous debates fully in their chapters, and each has a nuanced take on how to organize the previous debates. This book implies the emergence of more books on these topics, and hopefully to be included in the future of the field is the incorporation of more sub-genres. The authors leave you excited by their methodology, and wanting for continued studies along this path.

Chelsi Dimm, *University of California Los Angeles*

Brenda Cooper and Robert Morrell (eds.). 2014. *Africa-Centred Knowledges: Crossing Fields and Worlds*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey. 211 pp.

The authors of this collection are engaged in what is, at heart, a serious ethical project: examining the effects of “powerful knowledge” on what we know and how we come to know it. In other words, all challenge the reader to examine how it is that some forms of knowledge come to be legitimized, and what might be lost or gained in that process, and for whom.

The idea that knowledge is politically contingent is, of course, not new. What is refreshing about Morrell and Cooper’s volume, however, is firstly the very wide range of disciplinary backgrounds brought to bear on the issue by contributors who are all based on the African continent. Secondly, the volume makes a deliberate attempt to avoid the binaries that debates over so-called “universal” versus “indigenous” knowledge have tended to create. This tendency to operate in binaries, as Lesley Green notes in her excellent chapter, has meant that “The debate inevitably breaks down. The arguments back and forth tend to trade accusations and counter-accusations in a moral argument in which the ‘good’ and the ‘bad’ — as conventionally associated with ‘the West’ and ‘the rest’ — are transposed.” (p. 39). The editors do not fall into this trap; instead, they rebut both Euro- and Afro-centric approaches to knowledge, and call for a recognition of the fact that, structurally, these two seemingly opposed positions are very similar in that both seek to judge and value knowledge by a monolithic standard. Morrell and Cooper thus call for recognition of the multiplicity, and for the possibility of “Africa-centred knowledges” (p. 3), in the plural rather than Afro-centric knowledge in the singular. By this, they mean knowledges that are “entangled, contextual, and contingent” (p. 3), that do not seek to reify binaries but instead recognize that different knowledges might better fit different situations, and that once knowledge becomes entangled in African realities it has the potential to be Africa-centered, regardless of where it originated. In other words, they call for a rejection of binaries and the recognition of multiplicity and relatedness.

Structurally, the book is divided into two sections. The first half provides the theoretical and conceptual scaffolding for the volume, in that the pieces explore epistemological struggles, and the second half is more context-driven, in that the contributors apply the tools and concepts to varied spaces. It is worth noting, however, that, despite this, both halves of the volume entangle theory and practice. It seems likely that this is a deliberate response to the tendency within social science globally to consider Africa to be a space from which data is extracted and to which externally generated theory is applied, rather than a space that develops its own theoretical positions. This volume successfully overturns that assumption.

In the first half of the book, following an introduction by Morrell and Cooper that makes the case for multiplicity and relatedness in African-centred epistemologies, Lansana Keita provides a historical overview of the ways in which a particular way of knowing, based largely in the technological, became considered to be a universal truth such that Africa was considered lacking. In the following chapter, Lesley Green dismantles the indigenous knowledge debate and points to the post-humanities as a space where contemporary scholarship could try to move beyond its conventional divides, including the divide between the scientific and the humanistic. Signe Arnfred then considers the ways in which development discourse is gendered, and the ways in which this in turn drives policy. Bill Ashcroft explores notions of temporality at play in

African fiction; Brenda Cooper considers forms of classification; and Mbugua wa Mungai examines the politics of popular culture and music.

In the second half, this focus on the epistemological underpinnings of varied contexts is applied to the question, “research for what?” In other words, what to what purposes is research put, and by whom? Paterson et al. consider the effects of the dominance of the statistical model in fisheries research and examine alternatives; Rivett et al. interrogate the discipline of information technology; and Smit et al. consider urban planning. Akosua Adomako Ampofo and Michael Okyerefo explore charismatic churches, Linda Cooper and Lucia Thesen examine the induction of postgraduate students into research genres, and Leadus Madzima considers personhood in a Shona context.

The book thus contains a huge diversity of subject matter, which is drawn together by a common interrogation of dominant ways of knowing and a quest for holding open alternatives. Whilst the authors are not necessarily always in agreement with one another, this reflects the book’s commitment to multiplicity. It is a book to be recommended to any reader interested in moving beyond the tired binaries of “western” versus “indigenous” knowledge.

Shannon Morreira, *University of Cape Town*

Helen Dancer. 2015. *Women, Land and Justice in Tanzania*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey. 191 pp.

This book examines women’s involvement in land issues in Tanzania. It begins with the identification of the *shamba*, a small parcel of land where legal battles took place. With case studies, the author highlights the regions that land pressure is prevalent, namely Arusha, Kagera, Kilimanjaro, Lindi, and Mbeya. Notable stakeholders in the issues of land dispossession and commodification are the government, investors, villagers, and individuals. However, in most cases, the villagers and individuals are left at the receiving end while government and investors have the upper hand.

In chapter two, the author situates women’s claims to land in Tanzania’s statutory framework by explaining that land issues are inseparable from those of marriage and inheritance especially when gender comes into play. It shows how women are crucial stakeholders in family stability. No doubt, Tanzania has successfully enacted land related laws that protect the interest of women, namely the Law of Marriage Act of 1971, the land Acts of 1999, and the Land Disputes Court Act of 2002, which were inspired by socio-political change and crises in the legal system as well as the apparent marketization of land. A remarkable achievement was the formation of the Gender Land Task Force (GLTF) by women’s civil society groups in 1997, which sought to void sale of land by a spouse without the other’s consent among others (p. 51). The foregoing affirms the assertion by Razavi (2007) that customary rights determine land accessibility in sub-Saharan Africa so much so that land is a vehicle for women’s inclusion to prevent dispossession. The National Land Forum also advocates for women’s participation in land matters. Also, the Land (Amendment) Act of 2004 emphasizes the need to investigate the existence of a spouse to protect a spouse’s position against mortgaging without consent (p. 55).

Chapter three presents cases of Arusha women who witnessed ejection by a male relative. The first case study concerns dispute between a widow and her brother-in-law who sold land without her consent. Before Furaha filed a suit at the ward tribunal, he had already beaten her over the land, thereby portraying violence against women who challenge gender inequality in land acquisition. After proceedings and a site visit by the tribunal, it ruled in favor of the widow, Furaha. In another case, Elizabeth filed a suit challenging her husband's son who took her land and prayed the court to request the husband to apportion her part of the land based on the role she played as wife and mother of the children. The author reveals that parties with vested interests usually become more hostile when women adopt a litigation strategy, with the aim of intimidating the litigants through violence. By implication, the land courts are helpless in preventing harassment as they lack jurisdiction to issue non-molestation orders. The book reveals that corruption is a problem in the judicial system where court files are declared missing and only to be found after bribes are paid (p. 97). This puts the credibility of the judiciary in doubt. It also reveals that corruption is not peculiar to Nigeria as presented by some scholars.

Chapter four identifies specifically the processes of justice delivery by land courts hinged on legal principles of natural justice. The fact that ward tribunal members say prayers before starting each day's work shows that they believe in the omnipotence of God. But an issue not extensively discussed by the author is that the spiritual dimension to land dispute resolution affirms the saying that "spiritual" governs the physical world and that is why people engage in spiritism to influence court decisions. Notably, evidence is gathered in three ways, namely witness testimony, documentary evidence, and a site visit (p. 110). Interestingly, parties are usually given the right to provide oral evidence, call witnesses, and also cross-examine, thereby facilitating the delivery of justice after a hearing. The issues presented here are admissible in law and conflict resolution generally.

Arguably, a gender-mainstreaming approach is the only way to make land court processes people-centered. From the case studies, courts have been able to uphold matrimonial efforts of land ownership by ruling in favor of wives whose husbands undermined their consent before selling, while the society expects high professionalism from lawyers and judges in justice delivery by ensuring equal rights for women. In conclusion, the book addresses the existing legal provisions, deficiencies and achievements of gender equity in land allocation. The author has demonstrated the relevance of land courts to management of *shamba* disputes in Tanzania. The book is highly valuable to scholars in conflict studies, law, international studies, diplomacy, development studies and anthropology.

Reference:

Razavi, S. 2007. "Liberalisation and the Debates on Women's Access to Land." *Third World Quarterly*, 28 (8): 1479-1500.

Rosemary Ifeanyi Okah, *University of Ibadan*

Clementine Deliss and Yvette Mutumba (eds.). 2015. *El Hadji Sy: Painting, Performance, Politics*. Zurich/Berlin: Diaphanes. 408 pp.

The catalogue *El Hadji Sy: Painting, Performance, Politics* accompanies the Senegalese artist El Hadji Sy's exhibition at the Weltkulturen Museum in Frankfurt, Germany, curated by Clémentine Deliss, Yvette Mutumba, Philippe Pirotte, and Sy himself. Written in English and German, the catalogue examines Sy's multiple roles as artist, curator, and cultural activist. The inclusion of Sy as a curator points not only to an intervention performed by the artist within the show, in which he placed objects from the museum's collection in dialogue with his own work, but to a broader methodological approach. The artist's voice is foregrounded through two interviews, and the authors draw from extensive conversations with Sy in their essays.

Deliss' introduction foregrounds Sy's history with the museum: in the mid-1980s, the Weltkulteren Museum commissioned Sy and German linguist Friedrich Axt to purchase contemporary Senegalese art for its collection, an endeavor that led to the trilingual *Anthology of Contemporary Senegalese Art* in 1989. Sy, in Senegal, and Axt, in Germany, worked in close partnership. They amassed a significant archive and collection of Sy's works in Germany, which Sy lent to the museum after Axt's death in 2010. This loan, Deliss acknowledges, prompted the retrospective.

El Hadji Sy (b. 1954, Dakar) was educated at the national art school École des Beaux-Arts in Dakar, but soon rebelled against poet-president Léopold Senghor's state-sanctioned art based on Négritude. Sy began painting with his feet in the 1970s, and joined the enigmatic performance collective Laboratoire AGIT'ART. He also ran Tenq, a project space in the Dakar artists' colony Village des Arts in the early 1980s, which ended abruptly when the government demolished the settlement. He has curated multiple exhibitions, and continues to organize workshops and participate in various collectives in addition to his painting practice. In Sy's interview with Julia Grosse in the catalogue, he touches upon these aspects of his artistic activities.

Following these introductory texts, Pirotte situates Sy's paintings within his various modes of artistic practice. Deliss, who has worked closely with Sy before, centers her second essay on her personal experiences with Sy and Laboratoire AGIT'ART in Senegal and England, and her involvement in Sy's 1996 revival of Tenq. Hans Belting's interview with the artist focuses on Sy's ambivalent relationship with Senghor and the Senegalese art establishment.

Mutumba's and Mamadou Diouf's essays ground Sy's practice in sociopolitical and cultural contexts. Mutumba positions Sy and Axt's curatorial collaboration within 1980s German and Senegalese cultural politics. Diouf argues for the placement of Sy's work in relation to the cultural policies of Senghor's successor Abdou Diouf since the president retracted government funding to the arts sector, which led to both increased artistic freedom and heightened government antagonism.

Manon Schwich contributes the final essay and a chronological biography, which points to weaknesses in the catalogue's scholarship. For example, the biography suggests that Sy has an ongoing collage practice, which the essays never mention. Additionally, the catalogue illustrates a plethora of art objects, but the essays and interviews circle around the same subjects and works. The text is punctuated by long sections of images, including paintings, performances, photographs of Sy at work, images from workshops organized by the artist, reprinted

manifestos, and Senegalese newspaper reviews. This selection gives the reader a visual understanding of the many aspects of Sy's practice, and provides an excellent visual archive of Sy's artistic activities in Africa and Europe. However, the reader is given almost no information about what was actually on view in the exhibition.

Although each author focuses on different elements of Sy's practice, underlying themes can be easily discerned: the idea of movement in his work; the collaborative and social nature of his curatorial and artistic activities; his experimental approach to media; and his ambivalence towards Senghor's cultural legacy. The predominant subject, however, is Sy's history with the Weltkulturen Museum, and Sy and Axt's collaborations. Through the continuous presence of Europe, the catalogue insists on the internationalism of Sy's work, and its underlying two-way gaze allows the institution to reflect on its history and role as a European ethnographic museum that also collects and exhibits contemporary African art. Yet, Sy's relationship with the museum and Axt are overemphasized at the expense of Sy's collaborations on the continent. For example, Sy's part in Huit Facettes, an artists' collective that conducted workshops in a rural village, is inadequately examined. While there are some gaps in the scholarship, the essays, images, and documents in *El Hadji Sy: Painting, Performance, Politics* present a compelling view of Sy's work and artistic activities.

Rebecca Wolff, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Elizabeth A. Eldredge. 2015. *Kingdoms and Chieftains of Southeastern Africa: Oral Traditions and History, 1400-1830*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press. 438 pp.

Elizabeth Eldredge's *Kingdoms and Chieftains of Southeastern Africa* is a valuable addition to an extensive corpus of writings examining indigenous state formation across the southern Bantu world. Its central premise lies in the assertion that minor chiefdoms incorporated into expanding kingdoms maintained distinct identities. While the upheavals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries resulted in the imposition of overarching loyalties to more powerful states, minor chiefdoms retained social practices that delineated discursive distinctions from hegemonic narratives.

Eldredge begins her study with two chapters outlining the historical merits of oral tradition. This methodological excursus is largely a recapitulation of points made in her previous monograph, *The Creation of the Zulu Kingdom, 1815-1828: War, Shaka, and the Consolidation of Power* (Cambridge, 2014). In both works, she argues that transcribed oral traditions remain an essential source for any discussion of indigenous political organization. While adding nothing new, it provides a useful summary of arguments made by Africanists for the historical validity of oral sources over the course of several decades. She then proceeds with an analysis of Portuguese shipwreck survivor accounts to demonstrate the existence of complex indigenous polities throughout the southeastern coast from as far back as the sixteenth century. Further interactions between Europeans and indigenes around Delagoa Bay are examined before the book enters very familiar territory by charting the various migrations and political reconfigurations that gripped southeastern Africa during the *Mfecane*. Ecological stresses coupled with long periods of drought eventually triggered a protracted struggle for resources that fundamentally recast southern Africa's ethno-political landscape. However, Eldredge

contends that the crushing violence deployed by warrior kings like Shaka produced political submission rather than cultural homogenization. This is borne out by the discrepancies Eldredge has painstakingly traced out in compiled oral traditions. Here, she firmly disagrees with Carolyn Hamilton's contention that Shaka successfully altered the genealogies of minor polities in order to construct a culturally uniform Zulu nation. Oral traditions did not just fuse separate fragments into uniform political communities. They were also deployed to maintain deeper diverse histories. Rulers of major kingdoms relied primarily on their own kin groups to lead their armies and administer their realms. Subordinate chiefdoms were often left intact so long as they displayed loyalty to their suzerain. The autonomy of minor lineages remained contingent on the ability of their leaders to broker deals with more powerful entities. European colonial establishments were of marginal concern to these webs of interaction, and white populations did not play a major role in southern Bantu affairs before 1830.

This monograph might be read as something of a companion piece to Eldredge's previous work on southern Bantu politics. Her chapters charting Zulu expansion and Sotho consolidation provide much additional detail, but little new insight. Yet, her analysis of a hitherto neglected form of survival during an era of armed conflict makes an interesting contribution nonetheless. Eldredge contends that social dislocation did not necessarily lead to the dissolution sub-national entities. Minor lineages deployed a combination of inherited practices, rituals, and ceremonies that held their respective units together. Those who could not flee to found rival political amalgamations of their own submitted to the superior force of more successful adversaries while maintaining traditions that sustained separate cultural identities. Initial displays of conformity were the result of compulsion rather than national cohesion. Reconciliation to larger political formations centered on kingdoms and ruling dynasties would not come until much later.

Mesrob Vartavarian, *University of Southern California*

James Ferguson. 2015. *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 280 pp.

In recent years, there has been a growing push to give cash directly to the poor. James Ferguson's *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution* is situated within this broader movement towards what he calls "Welfare 2.0": social assistance programs based on the "appealingly simple device of directly providing poor people with . . . cash payments" (p. 119). Ferguson provides a significant contribution to a growing area of social theory and practice, ably summarizing the conceptual bases of this movement, reviewing recent empirical evidence, and describing broader possibilities of new forms and mechanisms of distribution.

Ferguson's central contribution is in describing how these "new" distribution schemes may shift popular ideas about the obligations and rights of states and citizens and open up "a new form of progressive political practice" (p. 189). The non-contributory transfers that Ferguson discusses—unconditional cash transfers and basic income grants—are particularly significant in that they decouple social benefits from labor and various forms of conditionality (p. 12). In so doing, they move beyond "the old European 'social' state" model, with its imagined "world of breadwinners and their dependents," a world which cannot "be meaningfully mapped onto

social settings more often characterized by mass structural unemployment, ‘informal’ livelihoods, and highly fluid domestic groups” (pp. 18-19). This shift has profound implications for how we conceive of the state’s role, transforming ideas of state obligations from managing labor supply, discouraging dependency, and encouraging certain forms of gendered family composition, to simply distributing what is a “rightful share” of citizens. This change in tone, from “welfare” and moralism to “rights” has profound implications for the dignity it bestows upon individuals and for relations between state and society. In highlighting the significance of this movement, Ferguson eschews neither state nor market, addressing head-on the dualism that plagues thinking about distributive politics. He brings to the discussion a voice of compassion reason, seeing these transfers as market mechanisms to address underlying structural inequalities that neither the invisible hand nor “traditional” (European) welfare systems can achieve with the same efficiency or respect for the recipient.

While these “new kinds of distributive politics” are certainly “simultaneously exciting and deserving of critical scrutiny” (p. 14), however, Ferguson’s reflections do not go far enough in scrutinizing the practical and conceptual limitations of the new politics of distribution. This is especially true with regard to the institutional and fiscal requirements of such programs, issues of fairness related to the exclusionary nature of citizenship, and the fundamentally political and contentious nature of distribution. First, by focusing on two middle-income countries (South Africa and Namibia), Ferguson fails to fully address the institutional and fiscal capacity constraints to introducing direct transfer programs in most of the developing world. These programs minimally require state and institutional capacity and a progressive tax base in order to be effective and sustainable. While Ferguson acknowledges this, he does not sufficiently address these capacity constraints, though retains a desire to extend discussion of the possibilities of new mechanisms of distribution “in southern Africa and beyond” (p. xii). In moving back and forth from the particular to the general, his “series of ‘reflections’” (p. xiv), while informative of the shifts occurring in two countries in southern Africa, serve to highlight the need for further reflection in more difficult political, institutional, and fiscal contexts. This is necessary in order to make broad statements about the exciting possibilities of new distributive mechanisms.

Second, Ferguson insufficiently addresses the conceptual and practical issues of fairness relating to non-universal programs, as well as “universal” programs that are predicated on the intrinsically exclusionary concept of citizenship. New challenges arise with respect to defining membership in a community and the “legitimate” recipients of cash transfers. If transfers represent “a proper share of things to be distributed to those who ought to have them” (p. 49), the question remains as to who “ought” to have the shares of a society. Ferguson is not able to come any closer to an answer to “the key unanswered question” of “*how*—how a wealth of which all ought to have at least some share can in fact be meaningfully shared” (pp. 188-89). Noting these exclusionary elements “that bedevil all welfare states” (p. 18), Ferguson simply conceives of distributive justice “within a global frame,” as part of “an emerging norm of global citizenship” (p. 59). However, this does not lend itself to “the global political space that we all inhabit today” (p. 59), while Ferguson himself notes that “simply expanding the nation-state ideal of citizenship to ‘the global level’ is not, in the absence of a world state, a real solution” (p. 216). Thus subdued, he does not engage in a serious discussion of the limitations and challenges

of extending norms of citizenship, leaving his vision to be a narrowly conceptual one.

Finally, Ferguson insufficiently addresses the inequalities and political and social conflicts that can arise with non-universal programs of distribution. Distribution is, above all, political. Direct cash transfers allow a state to “provide highly visible and very effective support . . . to its electoral base . . . even in the absence of jobs” (pp. 9-10). While a useful political tool, there is a risk that such tools are open to manipulation rather than representing a new vision of citizenship or rights. In discussing the potential for political or social conflict, Ferguson paints a rather rosy picture without considering potential challenges and conflicts in this regard. By focusing on the unique context of southern Africa, where programs are apparently “not a particularly contentious or embattled feature of the political landscape” (p. 9), the discussion of social and political conflicts that accompany systems of distribution is stunted.

Acknowledging these limitations, Ferguson’s reflections are hedged in the language of caveat: he suggests that he is not intending to respond to the challenges of “the new politics of distribution” or to fully address the practical limitations of implementation of the related mechanisms. While *Give a Man a Fish* is an important contribution to the broader discussion of the politics of distribution, a full reckoning of this topic should reasonably be expected to address the limitations and the risks of such politics, as well as the possibilities. Ultimately, Ferguson cannot be faulted for staying true to his word, quoting Lewis Henry Morgan, that “although the subject has been inadequately treated, its importance at least has been shown” (p. 216).

Vanessa van den Boogaard, *University of Toronto*

Sandra Grady. 2015. *Improvised Adolescence: Somali Bantu Teenage Refugees in America*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. 158 pp.

In *Improvised Adolescence*, Sandra Grady, a University of Pennsylvania folklore PhD, examines the lives of teenagers from Southern Somalia who, after time in East African refugee camps, now adapt to city life in the U.S. Midwest. Grady draws from her own fieldwork as well as scholarship from anthropology (e.g., Janice Boddy, Mary Douglas, David Lancy), ethnohistory (Lee Cassanelli), history of religions (Mircea Eliade), sociology (e.g., Pierre Bourdieu, Erving Goffman), folklore (Alan Dundes), and occasionally, psychology/psychiatry (e.g., Erik Erikson, G. Stanley Hall). The result is an engagingly written, thoughtful text on cultural immersion, the refugee experience, identity, and youth. Her book would make excellent reading for professionals in refugee resettlement agencies, and in courses on lifespan development, adolescence, the anthropology of childhood/youth, multicultural education, family, media, and gender studies, and related disciplines.

Grady begins with a thought-provoking story about a day-long field trip to a local skating rink by the teenage migrant and refugee students at the Welcome Center, an institutional school setting devoted to assisting these English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) students. Her thick, rich descriptions of the students’ encounter with the ice (*baraf*), coupled with excellent photographs, offer an excellent introduction to the types of issues experienced by these refugees. For instance, she describes how the girls worked to preserve cultural traditions in dress that were acceptable to their communities and families, while adapting, altering, and, to use the word of the book’s

title, improvising, new identities, by adding elements in clothing popular among their non-refugee U.S.-born age peers. In one example, Grady describes how one girl tripped three times over her black underskirt before consenting to fasten it above her ankles, in the process revealing the bottom of the jeans she also wore.

The book then provides description of the Somali Bantu, also offering a regional history, including discussion of political events in Somalia that led to the Horn of Africa Diaspora. In Somalia, the Somali Bantu typically are agriculturalists living in Southern Somalia between the Juba and Shebelle rivers. Historically, these diverse groups had moved from the coast to more inland areas of Somalia. Under the Italian colonial system, many Somali Bantu were forced to work on Italian plantations, though over time, the Bantu resisted, ultimately possessing land and becoming farm owners. These descriptions of the group are bound to be controversial, given the topics, though Grady is aware of the various political views/interpretations offered over the years. On the whole, given the space available, the author provides a reasonable, measured account, suitable especially for readers whose interests in the book are primarily in identity and youth, but whose experiences with Somali/Somali Bantu culture may be negligible. Among the scholars discussed are Kenneth Menkhaus, Lee Cassanelli, and Catherine Besteman. Grady emphasizes that the Somali Bantu are in large part a socially constructed amalgam of various previously existing groups from Somalia and its environs. As part of the UN resettlement programs, the term was used to help create methods to serve these minorities/factions. Grady offers an overview of some of the issues with the term, including possible advantages, such as better serving a group that includes speakers primarily of two different languages, af-Maay and Kizigua, but one wishes she also had discussed some of the potential drawbacks in greater detail; for instance, what are the risks of using the term Somali Bantu and distinguishing this group(s) from other Somalis? Do such terms promote replication of the problematic social conditions in Somalia that led to civil war in the first place? Do the current generation of teenage refugees in the U.S. Midwest create identities that divide rather than unite all Horn of Africa refugees?

Grady's fieldwork involved sixteen months of ethnographic research (p. 19), beginning in 2007-2008, initially at the English-language learner center. She followed students during the school year and summer, attended classes with them regularly, and observed in the lunchrooms, playground, and administrative offices. Additionally, she became a regular visitor to the nearby public housing project, where many students lived. She conducted many interviews with the students' parents, relying mostly on her Swahili and English, with help from teenage interpreters.

The book's chapters provide various lenses into the ways these teenage refugees construct/adapt identities that reflect/create their selves both as Somali Bantu and as 21st century Midwestern U.S. teenagers. One chapter examines the community context, a village within a U.S. city. Grady describes ethnic shopping malls and restaurants, as well as interior decorating techniques that reflect hybrid identity through material culture including cultural products, both U.S. and African-made. Another chapter discusses traditional approaches to becoming an adult, with special attention to rites of passage. Here Grady cites well-known work by Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner, but she also cites medical literature and even Freud in her discussions of what she politically terms FGC (Female Genital Cutting). Chapter 3 discusses

media's role, particularly in gender socialization. Grady offers wonderful descriptions of group viewings of a Nigerian Nollywood film and World Wrestling Entertainment, discussing how these media influence new identities for these recent U.S. arrivals. Another chapter focuses on education, noting the direct instruction techniques of most U.S. schools, coupled with demands for certain test scores, often lead to culture clash, frustration, and unfilled dreams. Chapter 6 examines wedding rituals, offering a fascinating case study of how communities and youth combine old and new to create successful, positive adult identities in a Midwest U.S. context. In sum, Grady has emphasized three aspects of identity (group cultural identity, gender, and status within the life cycle), and her work has led to the important finding that education completion and marriage are two important emerging paths to financial independence and adulthood. Building on work by psychologists James Coté and Anton Allahaar, the author argues that when adults' identity is ambiguous, adolescents require especially dogged determination to discover and achieve their goals. To conclude, Grady's worthwhile book should find an audience above and beyond those solely focused on the Horn of Africa and its Diaspora.

Omar Ahmed, *Tempe, Arizona*

Grant J. Rich, *American Psychological Association, Juneau, Alaska*

Maia Green. 2014. *The Development State: Aid, Culture and Civil Society in Tanzania*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey. 217 pp.

Offering a broad canvas of the historical state of development in Tanzania, author Maia Green tracks the external and ultimately national interventions that have attempted to respond to the volatility and social consequences of economic development. Her central argument is that "development in Tanzania is a modality through which state, culture and society are organized" (p. 13). And she suggests that the trajectory of interventions initiated at the beginning of the 20th century have resulted in a distinct contrast between "forced development from above" and individual enterprise-driven growth still reliant on material support. As a social anthropologist, Green's engagement with development and social reform in Tanzania spans over two decades. And her practical field work, study, and consultancies have informed her pursuit to explore the effects of international development on Tanzania, not specifically for their efficiency or design, but rather the impact it has had on society.

Chapter one defines a development state as that which generally has a weak track record of economic and social development, and is materially and ideologically sustained through development relations. This results in dependency on large aid transfers offered by powerful donor organizations which ultimately have a very broad influence on the national institutions. Chapter one also places Tanzania in situ, historically and in relation to external control. Initially under the supervision of the League of Nations, but under the direct authority of German East Africa and later Britain, Tanganyika gained independence by December 1961. But the policies of the colonial powers remained in effect, policies such as agricultural modernization, development of co-operatives and community development. These concepts transitioned nicely into the socialist agenda led by the first President, Joseph Nyerere. A vertical strategy of development would come to symbolize the national development structure in Tanzania.

Policies designed by and resources accessed from the national government would be enforced by local governments and implemented by local communities. Green ends chapter one by pointing out that from the period of colonialism to Cold War socialism to the modern day neoliberal political and economic workplace, it is the “local as the agent and object of development endeavors” that remains central.

The book then sets out to expand on the implications of a village as a unit of development action and responsibility. For local communities to authentically engage they must see the personal value but also sense they are part of the decision-making and wider political and market structures. And for NGOs or local civic societies to organize, they need funds and a strategy. Frequently, these factors are largely controlled by the international development industry, a structure that “is perpetually being reformulated.” Green’s description of the increase and capacity of local community groups to effectively motivate change at the village level is a helpful assessment of the impact of the vertical development strategy.

Development, as a process of economic and social advancement, may have its roots in the verticality of historical structures, but it is also finding new iterations. Green ends the book with two chapters that describe a modernization of development in the form of cultural entrepreneurship and a pursuit to become members of a middle class. To counterbalance the threat that witchcraft has on modernization, Green points out the emergence of an industry of anti-witchcraft practitioners. What once existed in ambiguous spaces and largely practiced by itinerant individuals has now evolved into a widely open and publicized sector of community life. Rebranded and offering other traditional services, these purifiers of witches are now offering widely used entrepreneurial services. The second example of socio-economic transformation has been stimulated by the national agenda. Through the availability of credit institutions and the proliferation of savings and credit cooperatives, there is a momentum towards individuals attaining middle-class status and the nation achieving middle income status by 2025. Individual and national ambitions are practically redefining development as they pursue capitalist structures. Twenty five years after the end of socialist policies, Tanzania stands at the threshold of a “new development incarnation.”

This book is very helpful in understanding the multifaceted subject of developmental aid in a country that was once seen as one of the poorest in the world. Although it alludes to the project development trajectory from implementation to impact, it is really trying to get to the impact of the impact; how does a culture, even a country, respond to interventions (intentional or otherwise) that attempt to reduce poverty. At times the density of the language can be a distraction. But the reader will always sense an authoritative voice, and an informed and experienced viewpoint.

Ted Horwood, *The Salvation Army*

Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, and Dzodzi Tsikata (eds.). 2015. *Africa’s Land Rush: Rural Livelihoods and Agrarian Change*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey. 204 pp.

Recent large-scale land acquisitions are traceable to the colonial era. They continued under the guise of state driven agricultural development in the independence period, structural adjustment programs from the mid-1980s, and through the emergence of political and business

elites made possible with the financialization of capital in the 1990s. Recently, the large scale commercialization of agriculture was used by governments, investors, and donors alike as a convincing argument to solve myriad developmental challenges thrown up with the configuration of global food, finance and energy crises that peaked in 2007/8.

This anthology provides up to date political economy perspectives of large-scale cases of land acquisitions in eight African countries (Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, and South Africa). It analyses what the land related interests of a range of powerful state and non-state actors actually mean for people on the receiving end. The themes of the chapters include the role of the state, the implications for long term agrarian transformation, rural livelihoods, food security, social differentiation, and land-related struggles. The dominant message is of a variety of context specific positive and negative outcomes and a debunking of leading conceptualizations. Thus, such deals are not only externally driven; they are not particularly pro- poor; they do not result especially in a burgeoning rural proletariat; they do not translate easily to narratives of “investors” winning and “local people” losing, and they are generally not only the result of negotiations between global investors and unscrupulous domestic politicians. On the contrary, large scale land deals comprise complex webs of global, private, local, and state level actors and institutions whose uneven trajectories can only be understood through in-depth context specific, multi scalar analysis.

However, despite the heterogeneity of processes evident across the countries, a number of central features do stand out: A drive towards privatization, the commodification of natural resources, and processes of social differentiation. Overall, the book makes for compelling but not altogether comforting reading. Many African land deals have faltered, and just 1.7 percent of large-scale leased land in Africa was actually under production in 2013 (pp. 10-15).

A clear finding is that although small holders comprise a heterogeneous group, they generally face more serious challenges. Many come to comprise “hybrid classes of labour,” that are enmeshed and institutionally shackled to the bottom of global trading processes and commodity value chains. Although the dearth of baseline studies makes it difficult to evaluate socio-economic outcomes it is still apparent that positive projections are rarely realized. Thus, the outlooks for most small holders are, to varying degrees, combinations of uncertainty, insecurity, loss of access to resources, and hardship. Meanwhile, contrasting logics between large-scale capitalist monoculture production systems and small-holder organization means that there is little synergy or transfer of technology and knowledge. On the positive side however, there is some evidence that such deals can spark nearby urban growth as demands for consumption, infrastructure, employment, and services increase.

The role of the state in land deals is expectedly far from uniform. State behavior is shaped by broader domestic governance structures (for example whether decentralized, federal, emerging liberal democratic, or relatively authoritarian). Further, outcomes depend on levels of accountability that also vary greatly from country to country, as does the extent of negotiability, congruity, and consistency between communities and different state institutions responsible for various aspects of land deals (titling, formalization, levels of participation and consultation, questions of compensation etc.).

Community reactions to large-scale foreign control over land are also context dependent. They range from support, over protest, to criminal acts against investor property. Reactions are subsequently shaped by the process of acquisitions, the scope of opportunities, how change is experienced, the extent of alternatives, and resources available. Here, Kenya exemplifies an extreme case where loss of land became ethnicized by the political elite who pitted smallholders against pastoralists in the national election campaign resulting in violent clashes and loss of life.

The editors' strong introduction contextualizes and theorizes very well the detailed country studies and provides valuable broader generalizations that complement the individual, empirically rich case studies. This volume shows clearly that such deals are not only not solving, but often exasperating numerous and serious developmental challenges that African countries already face. This gives cause for concern related both to the many relevant themes the book takes up but also pertaining to many others outside its immediate orbit. This includes the impact such deals are having on democratization processes and how they will influence the future directions of African politics. The findings of this volume should send alarm bells ringing on desks across the world of anyone remotely interested in these crucial topics.

Paul Stacey, *University of Copenhagen*

Lawrence Hamilton. 2014. *Freedom is Power: Liberty Through Political Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 231 pp.

Theorizing about democratic practice has continued to excite political theorists across the ages and space since the evolution of the modern state system. The difficulty of replicating in modern state setting the model of direct representation of the small Greek city state in which democratic theory cum practice had its origins has continued to necessitate the enunciation of democratic theories that would suit the requirements of modern democratic societies. Needless to say that there is no unanimity of opinion among political theorists on how democracy should be practiced in modern democratic societies, a situation that explains why there are different variants of democratic system of government across the world. It remains a settled fact that every country in the world is a veritable laboratory for the discovery of democratic principles and workshop for the construction of democratic machinery.

This book by Lawrence Hamilton is another bold attempt at presenting a theory of political representation that he believes would contribute to democratic practice in South Africa through the empowerment of the classes and groups, which the political representatives supposedly represent. According to the author, the objective of the book was to provide an answer to the question on whether South Africans had become free twenty years after apartheid. The dialectics on freedom and liberty are deeply explicated through a critical examination of the nature and character of political representation which the South African post-apartheid system has thrown-up in the last twenty years. Making liberal use of South African history, politics, and economics, the author presents what would appear to be an answer to the practical question regarding freedom not only in South Africa now but also in other places and times.

In the introductory pages, the author highlights the essence of the book by situating the theoretical import of the concept of representation and its linkage with freedom in the South African context within the broader scholarly renditions of ancient and modern political

theorists, and thereafter presents panoply of related arguments of each of the book's chapters. Chapter one, "Freedom from Politics," is an expository portrayal of the concept of freedom as a widely misunderstood one, which the author deeply critiqued as "negative freedom" because it sees freedom as being attainable outside politics. The second chapter, "Freedom Through Politics," argues that the contestations and conflicts of interest among different classes and groups in political societies are requisite safeguards for freedom. The treatise on power, domination, and human needs and the intricacies of representative democracy which the third chapter presents, clearly reveals the complex nature of politics in which the locus of power to determine the needs of the citizens could reside in either the political representatives or in some exogenous entities that informally control the political representatives. Chapter four presents "Real Modern Freedom" as one that entails the possession of power to overcome obstacles, determine who governs, resist the disciplining power of the state, and establish meaningful control over political representatives. The linkage between freedom and representation and the theoretical import of same in explicating the current socio-economic and political challenges of South Africa are the concerns of chapter five. Chapter six is an inquisition on whether or not political representatives' performance should be judged or questioned against the backdrop of the country's macroeconomic performance and policies. The concluding pages elaborated on the salient arguments of the book and identified four main institutional arrangements that could keep states of domination to a minimum as: district assemblies, a revitalized conciliar system, updated tribune of the plebs, and constitutional revision and safeguards.

The central argument of the author is that power ensures positive political representation that guarantees citizens' freedom. Empowerment according to him implies the ability of citizens to change unwanted power relations perceived to be responsible for their subjection to a state of domination (p. 107). But, our author did not show how such empowerment could be attained by supposedly disempowered persons or group of persons who desire to change the power relations that incapacitate and dominate them. As causal variable for instigating change in power relations, "empowerment" connotes a form of bestowal of virtues of power, which in real life situation is a paradox that the wielders of power would do things that undermine the subsisting power relations to the advantage of the subjugated class or group of citizens. It is in this sense that the author's recommended four institutional arrangements for putting political representatives in check should be held suspect. If anything, these so-called institutional arrangements would lead to the creation of new centers of power and new structures of domination which might further alienate the larger percentage of citizens. The excessive premium placed on the structure of representation by our author led him to conclude that additional institutions should be put in place to upgrade the quality of representation (pp. 201-05). But, it is the institutionalization of the culture of representation that ought to be emphasized in political theorizing.

Overall, the book is intellectually stimulating, and its arguments are lucid and persuasively convincing. The author deploys historical analysis of relevant literature systematically to evolve a theory of political representation through empirical observation of the socio-economic and political realities of South Africa. The book is a worthy piece that should be read by scholars in the fields of political science, political theory, and public administration and other related disciplines.

John Olushola Magbadelo, *Centre for African and Asian Studies, Abuja, Nigeria*

Abdulai Iddrisu. 2013. *Contesting Islam in Africa: Homegrown Wahhabism and Muslim Identity in Northern Ghana, 1920–2010*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press. 279 pp.

The return of graduates from Saudi Arabia brought the establishment of a strong Wahhabi awareness in many Sub-Saharan countries in Africa where there is an already established Sufi followership leading to many intra-religious conflicts. Abdulai Iddrisu captured the scene in northern Ghana where tension usually emerged between the followers of the Wahhabi (Salafy) strict Sunni Islam and the Sufi, often resulting in conflicts. Wahhabism, founded in Saudi Arabia in the eighteenth century, could be traced to Muhammad Ibn Abdul-Wahhab advocating for a return to the Qur'an and Sunna by emphasizing the Tawhid (absolute monotheism) to straighten the Islamic creed rather than *fiqh* (jurisprudence) (p. 5). The emergence of the Wahhabi movement in Ghana dates to the 1940s, and it became popular in the 1960s through the effort of Al-Hajj Yusuf Soalih Afa Ajoura (1890-2004).

The spread of the Sufi orders (*tariqa*) in Africa began with the Qadiriyya *tariqa* when Shaykh Sidi Muhammad al-Kunta became its spiritual guide in the fifteenth century. The eighteenth century witnessed an increase of the Qadiriyya *tariqa* in West Africa through the effort of the Kunta family. The Tijaniyya *tariqa* emerged in the nineteenth century through the effort of Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani (d. 1835). Two prominent shaykhs contributed to the spread of Tijaniyya in West Africa: the Senegalese Shaykh Al-Hajj Umar (d. 1784) and Shaykh Ibrahim Abdullahi Niasse (d. 1975). Shaykh al-Hajj Umar introduced the Tijaniyya *tariqa* into Hausaland, and through the Hausa diaspora it spread into Ghana and other places, mostly by traders (p. 36). By the end of the nineteenth century, Tijaniyya had become popular in Salaga Ghana, a prominent trading center. The war in 1892 dispersed many Muslim traders and scholars in Salaga. According to Jack Goody and Ivor Wilks (1968), it was also the major cause for the spread of Islam especially Tijaniyya across Ghana (p. 40).

Shaykh al-Hajj Umar ibn Abi Bakri al-Salghawi (1854-1934) played a significant role in the spread of Tijaniyya across Ghana. Many Islamic scholars today refer to him as a teacher or motivator. There have been two earlier attempts at reform in northern Ghana. The first was that of al-Hajj Umar Abi Bakri al-Salghawi. According to al-Salghawi, Islamic scholars in Salaga “cheated and cared only for the unbelievers, glorifying the heathen elements of society,” therefore consider them hypocrites (p. 46). The second attempt for Islamic reform in northern Ghana was made by two personalities, Alhaji Bakri of Salaga and Mahdi Musa. Bakri's initial intention was to follow Prophet Muhammad's example and establish a Muslim state in Gonja. He started the struggle but left for Mecca, and on coming back found that the British had already occupied Ghana. He retired and engaged with teaching the Qur'an in Salaga. Mahdi Musa was a Fulani from northern Nigeria with links to the Sudanese Mahdi tradition. He began a call to Muslims for a return to the Qur'an and Sunna in 1904, but there was no evidence connecting him with Wahhabism (p. 51).

This was the kind of world in which Afa Ajoura, the scholar at the center of this work, grew up and traveled widely in the areas of Alhaji Bakri's and Mahdi Musa's influence. Ajoura learned about the debates and discourse of al-Hajj Umar having studied briefly under him. Ajoura also noticed how itinerant mallams moved with their family, books and pupils who

learn the Qur'an from them. Ajoura concluded that in order to reform the Muslims in Ghana, Islamic educational reform was paramount. The period 1935–1950s witnessed widespread Qur'anic schools in northern Ghana such as Anbariyya, Nuriyya, Nahda, Nurul Islam, Huduiyya, Hidayya, etc, which is the reason most Muslims in Salaga speak Arabic (p. 80).

Iddrisu traced the emergence of the Munchere community in northern Ghana under the leadership of Afa Ajoura whose main aim was to fight un-Islamic practices among the Muslims under mostly his students and those returnee Wahhabi ulama who prefer to be called *Salaf* meaning “those who adhere to the teachings of the first three generations of Muslims and who profess God’s unity” (p. 97). This Munchere community is referred to as *Munkirun* by the Tijaniyya followers, meaning rejecters or those who cannot overlook wrong. Afa Ajoura and his community fight against Islamic mysticism and preach the Tawhid, i.e. absolute monotheism. The main target of attack is the Tijaniyya who according to Ajoura had introduced innovations in the practice of Islam; therefore, the need to change it by reintroducing “true Islamic teachings” from the perspectives of the Qur'an and Sunna. Ajoura not only built a mosque to promote his teachings but also masterminded the takeover of many mosques as avenues of preaching as the Izala had done years back in Nigeria.

The followers of Tijaniyya known as Nawun-Nyeriba (“those who can see God”) viewed the activities of Afa Ajoura and his followers as a threat to their own beliefs, which was the reason for the many years of intra-religious tension. The two visits of Shaykh Ibrahim Niasse (Khalifa of Shaykh Ahmad Tijani) in 1951 and 1953 intensified the practice of Tijaniyya in Ghana. Tijani followers believe that the Shaykh reduced the path to Allah through his assumption of the position of *Qutb al-Ghawth* (Savior of the Age), a divine election to lead humankind through mystic power as was emphasized by Ahmad Tijani himself (p. 107). By this position, Niasse claimed to be an intermediary between man and God. The cardinal teaching of Ibrahim Niasse includes the *Ru'ya*, the claim that Shaykh Ahmad Tijani saw Prophet Muhammad in broad daylight. Second is the *Hadrat* indicating that during the performance of *Wurdi* especially the seventh recitation of the *Jawharat al-Kamal*, the Holy Prophet, the Four Guided Caliphs, and Shaykh Tijani are present (p. 110). The practices of *wird* and *wazifa* form part of the debate that attracted the young and elderly, and both male and female, married and unmarried. People walk on the streets while counting rosaries and reciting *salat al-Fatih* or other prayers either glorifying God and praising the Prophet or great personalities of the Tijaniyya. To some extent, these activities determine Muslimness in Ghana (p. 117). The Munchere on the other hand condemned this demonstration of religious piety and label it blasphemy and *bid'a*, thus considering the Qur'an and Sunna as the only foundations of Islam that deserves attention from Muslims. Iddrisu stressed that these arguments were discussed everywhere in mosques, funeral, preaching sessions, Friday sermons, wedding *walima*, etc leading to clashes in 1966, 1967, and in 1968.

Iddrisu is of the opinion that Afa Ajoura adopted a new approach in his struggle against the Tijaniyya by emphasizing Islamic education through the establishment of the Anbariyya Islamic Institute that draws pupils and students from different backgrounds. Anbariyya took the lead and even provided the Islamic University of Medina with many students (p. 131). The school was first financed by the local community and later by Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. Therefore, by the 1970s the Tijaniyya seems to have lost its struggle against Afa

Ajoura in Ghana. The author was able to connect the spread of Islamic education in line with the Saudi Wahhabi doctrine fueled by the return of graduates from the Islamic University of Medina and the influx of Islamic books that promote the Salafy ideology into Ghana and the decline of Tijaniyya in Ghana (p. 208).

Dauda Abubakar, *University of Jos*

Rachel Jean-Baptiste. 2014. *Conjugal Rights: Marriage, Sexuality, and Urban Life in Colonial Libreville, Gabon*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 301 pp.

Published as part of Ohio University Press' New African Histories Series, *Conjugal Rights: Marriage, Sexuality, and Urban Life in Colonial Libreville, Gabon* by Rachel Jean-Baptiste, Associate Professor at the University of California-Davis, traces conjugal rights in Libreville from 1849 to the end of colonialism in 1960. The book's title, *Conjugal* is a bit misleading. Jean-Baptiste's book is not restricted to the history of conjugal rights and pre-marital and extramarital sexual relationships in colonial Gabon. The book also deals with additional aspects of social history including meanings of gender, the process of urbanization, and the development of French colonial social and legal policies. Indeed, one of the book's most important findings is that colonial Libreville was not gendered male but that rather women had opportunities to assert economic, and to a lesser extent political, power.

Jean Baptiste found the arrival of Europeans greatly impacted the marriage patterns and sexual lives of Gabon's indigenous population in numerous ways. Most Frenchmen living in the colony took a "native wife," typically having children and living together as a family. The majority of African women entering into such interracial relationships were either ethnically Mpongwe or bi-racial, making it difficult for Mpongwe or bi-racial men to find wives. The French colonial government also regulated African sexuality as a component of urban planning and the building of their colonial state. In doing so the French discouraged polygamy, regulated bridewealth payments (including the creation of a loan fund to assist young men in accumulating enough assets for bridewealth payments), and indirectly created a sexual economy of prostitution.

One of the impressive aspects of this work is the limited historiography on colonial Gabon for the author to draw upon. As such, Jean-Baptiste had to be creative in melding together archival research in Gabon, France, Senegal, Italy, and the United States with nearly sixty oral history interviews conducted in Gabon. The combined use of both oral history and court records allowed the author to relay to her readers dozens of fascinating stories which effectively illustrated the points being argued.

Two minor criticisms: I question the author's categorization of the Gabonese colonial capital of Libreville as "urban" given that its population during these years was less than 8,000 and the author uses phrases such as "thin population density" (p. 55) and "low population density" (p. 59) to describe the city. For this reason I am skeptical of the applicability of findings from Libreville to much larger African cities such as Cape Town, Johannesburg, Dakar, Lagos, or Mombasa as well as the author's apparent desire to place this scholarship into the genre of studies of African urban history. Secondly, the introduction of *Conjugal Rights* is a dry

“dissertation-esque” historiographical overview, which I fear may lose the attention of potential readers. This would be a shame because the rest of the book is colorfully written and engaging.

Conjugal Rights will be of interest to scholars of gender, sexuality, race/ethnicity, colonialism, and potentially urban development. I highly recommend the course adoption of this book in undergraduate African history courses (just skip assigning the introduction!).

Phil Muehlenbeck, *George Washington University*

Eric T. Jennings. 2015. *Free French Africa in World War II: The African Resistance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 300 pp.

Few topics have received more attention from historians than World War II. Despite the vastness of this body of literature, the economic, political, and military contributions of Africans to the war effort on both sides remains unappreciated, misunderstood, and unknown. This is mostly a problem of sources. Not only did few African soldiers leave behind memoirs, and limited opportunities exist for historians to conduct oral histories given the average life expectancy of African veterans, but also few memorials to African soldiers were built and colonial documents disguised the African contribution to the war in vague statistics. Over the last two decades, however, research by Gregory Mann, Nancy Lawler, and Olly Owen among others has begun to shed light on the role of Africans in the World War II.

This monograph is an exhaustively researched and meticulously documented addition to this growing corpus of revisionary scholarship. Eric T. Jennings, professor of history, University of Toronto, explores the contribution of French Equatorial Africa (FEA) and Cameroon to the Gaullist cause between 1940 and 1943. During these years, Jennings argues, the Gaullist movement drew its military and institutional strength from Central Africa. Cameroon and FEA provided Charles de Gaulle with the legitimacy, territories, and human and material resources needed to transform Free France from an exiled movement into a fully functioning government.

Jennings divides his monograph into three parts that measure how Africans contributed to the cause of Free France, as well as the different ways in which Free France mattered to Africans. Part one explains why FEA and Cameroon rallied behind Free France in 1940, Free French Africa’s growing pains, and the external and internal threats the Gaullists encountered. Jennings suggests these two colonies joined the Gaullist movement primarily because of their geographical proximity to British Africa and economic concerns about their exports. Part two investigates the experience of FEA and Cameroonian soldiers and the racism they encountered. Jennings shows how African troops became effective agents of Gaullist imperialism, despite glaring equipment shortages, vulnerable home-front defenses, lack of adequate desert transportation, and blatant discrimination. Part three analyzes how wartime mobilization of resources, especially of rubber and gold, and the ensuing economic transformations brought about by Allied demand for these raw materials from Central Africa affected the lives of Africans in Cameroon and FEA. While rubber played an important role in the Allied war strategy and gold mining ensured Free France’s financial autonomy, resource extraction and other forms of labor, like road construction, negatively impacted the lives of Africans who were regularly subjected to forced labor, harsh working conditions, carding, and censorship. An epilogue traces the collective memory of Free France’s African heritage. Whether it was

remembered as the heyday of colonialism by French settlers in Douala or a disappointment by African soldiers who did not receive the awards or compensation they felt they deserved Jennings demonstrates that the collective memory of Free French Africa was highly flexible.

Written by a historian for other historians, Jennings lays almost no contextual ground for newcomers to the topic. Neophytes will lament the absence of chapter that explains both the European context as well as France's colonial history in Cameroon and FEA prior to 1940. From a scholarly perspective, Jennings' monograph could have been improved if he had employed a comparative framework that explored how the experiences of Africans living under Free France in Central Africa compared to and differed from those Africans living under Vichy rule in West Africa. Furthermore, while Jennings successfully examines the experiences of Africans in Cameroon and FEA, he could have paid more attention to how Central Africans felt about Free France on an emotional or ideological level.

Drawing upon archival research conducted in Cameroon, Congo, Senegal, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, Jennings successfully recovers the African perspective and re-centers the history of Free France in Central Africa. Hopefully other historians of World War II will follow suit.

Dana Bronson, *Simmons College*

Morten Jerven. 2015. *Africa: Why Economists Get It Wrong*. London: Zed Books. 160 pp.

In his incisive book *Africa: Why Economists Get It Wrong*, Morten Jerven provides a critical analysis of the economic development literature on Africa. Jerven writes it for the non-specialist to promote critical engagement with economics. His provocative, yet persuasive, thesis is that the literature on Africa's chronic growth failure is misguided as it often uses ahistorical methods and relies on poor data, among other problems.

In Chapter 1, Jerven argues much of the development literature has misunderstood the nature of African economic growth. Regression-oriented attempts to explain Africa's lower growth tended to use the low average growth from around the 1980s, failing to consider and explain the much higher growth in the 1960s, early 1970s, and late 1990s. Thus, he argues, the search to explain the "Africa dummy" variable is misguided. He also critiques a variety of explanations for the continent's slow growth, including "dependency on aid," "deficient public services," "bad policies," and "bad governance" (pp. 33-39).

Chapter 2 looks at economists' attempts to use history to explain current variations in income between African countries. Jerven argues that, given weaknesses in datasets in terms of reliability, accuracy, and volatility in income figures, there may be "very little variation in estimates of GDP per capita today that actually needs explaining" (p. 56). He then proceeds to critique three prominent historical explanations: (1) initial conditions, such as geography and technology, (2) ethnicity in the form of ethnic fractionalization, and (3) the link between settlers and institutions. Overall, he suggests greater nuance and humility are needed in economists' endeavors to address the role of history.

Jerven discusses per capita income increases in Africa before, during, and after the colonial period in Chapter 3. He argues that understanding growth as recurring and episodic is more useful for policy than assuming consistently low growth. Once states are evaluated on this

standard, he suggests it is better for policy “to think of African states as relatively fragile and particularly vulnerable to economic downturns and temporary fluctuations,” rather than as “inept, inefficient, and incapable” (pp. 93-94). The chapter’s discussion is wide-ranging, from the impact of slavery to the resource curse, from African countries’ prospects for growth to the interplay of political conditions and economic growth.

Chapter 4 retreads much of the ground from Jerven’s 2013 book, *Poor Numbers: How We Are Misled by African Development Statistics and What to do About It*. In this chapter, Jerven critiques the tendency to accept development statistics uncritically, noting “there is a large gap between economic realities on the African continent and the statistics that purport to describe them” (p. 103). He discusses a variety of flaws with statistics about Africa, such as old benchmark years that warp GDP figures and dubious attempts to uncover continent-wide poverty trends when, for many countries, data points are few or even non-existent (115).

Much like *Poor Numbers*, Jerven’s *Africa* is incredibly concise by design; the body of the text is only 132 pages. This is most likely due to the dearth of anecdotes/narratives. Indeed, he critiques economists who leave critical caveats out of their popular works and employ unconvincing statistical methods only to “then make use of anecdotes to persuade readers to believe the fragile evidence that is presented” (10). This book certainly does not employ this approach.

Despite the conciseness, Jerven helpfully explains most of the basic statistical and economic concepts necessary for understanding his argument. He is able to quickly, yet lucidly, explain such concepts as dummy variables and instrumental variables in order to make the book accessible for non-specialists. This instructive and introductory tone falters, however, at times. For example, in Chapter 3, Jerven does not explain concepts like rational choice, factor endowments, and rent-seeking.

Despite being aimed at non-specialists, Jerven’s *Africa* incorporates effective review of the literature. He engages a wide range of topics and authors trenchantly. In one especially pointed reference, he describes the empirical section of a working paper as “just pretense” with “no relation to the real world” (p. 117). Paul Collier’s works in particular are critiqued repeatedly throughout the book. Nevertheless, Jerven does note in the book’s introduction, “Many economists do good work on Africa, uncovering new evidence and posing interesting research questions” (p. 9).

A risk of a book such as this one suggesting so many flaws and weaknesses in the literature and aimed at non-economists is that it may lead readers past fair criticism to skepticism. Some may be left wondering what, if anything, we can know with any reasonable certainty about Africa’s economic growth and prospects for development.

Brad Crofford, *Independent Scholar*

R. W. Johnson. 2015. *How Long Will South Africa Survive?: The Looming Crisis*. London: Hurst and Co., Ltd. 266 pp.

Dating back to 1977, Johnson published the first version of *How Long Will South Africa Survive?*, a book known then for its central theme which described ANC’s armed struggle as a feeble affair and predicted that the apartheid regime was more likely to be toppled by economic and

moral pressure from its western trading partners. In 1977 this was greeted by jeers from the left, but Johnson turned out to be spot on: the ANC's guerrilla campaign fizzled, while sanctions and disinvestment campaigns drove Pretoria into a position that it seemed almost relieved to surrender once it became clear that the ANC's Soviet backers were collapsing. And then in 2015 one gets *How Long Part Two*, a text with the same title and raising related questions. Johnson opens with a vignette involving Mandla Gcaba, a nephew of Jacob Zuma and according to Johnson one of the state president's key backers. Gcaba is a boss in the taxi business, a man whose foot soldiers defend their turf with heavy weapons. He is also linked to a police constable named S'bu Mpisane who vanished just before testifying in a murder trial that threatened to put the president's nephew in jail. When the heat died down, S'bu came back to life, married into Zuma's "Tammany machine" and began to move up in the world. Today, still a policeman, he owns a mansion worth 94 times his annual salary and, according to Johnson, bought his wife a Rolls Royce for Christmas.

There are many similar stories in today's South Africa, and they provide Johnson with one of his central themes. The rule of law is threatened, he says. Police are bent. A stench of corruption hangs over government, and those in a position to check the rot are often themselves contaminated by scandal. By now the whole world knows about President Zuma's sprawling rural residence, built at taxpayers' expense by contractors whose charges seem to exceed the explicable by a factor of ten. There are many similar stories in that regard too.

According to Johnson, Zuma's extended family has benefited hugely from the patriarch's accession to power, acquiring a financial empire. His tribe, the Zulu, has done rather well too. On the next rung, one finds a network of what Johnson calls "warlords and patronage lords" running the provinces. Below them is a new class of businessmen and government mandarins who work in tandem diverting state resources to personal accounts. Johnson sees this as "predatory" elite that feeds by redistribution "away" from others. Ten years ago, books with such views were greeted by an ominous silence in South Africa but made their way onto local bestseller lists without any review attention. It seems even the elites are reconciled to the fact that Johnson is right again: South Africa is in crisis.

As befits a man steeped in the Oxonian PPE tradition, Johnson views the world primarily through an economic prism, and what he sees in South Africa is darkness descending. South Africa's manufacturing and mining industries are shrinking, strangled by declining productivity, soaring wages, and laws that terrify potential investors, inter alia by requiring whites to hand large chunks of their businesses to black empowerment partners. The only sector still growing is the public one, where civil servants earn staggering salaries and often do little in return. Sceptics in this regard should read Johnson's reportage on South Africa's schools, which are funded at the highest rate in the developing world and produce (at least in mathematics) the second worst results on the planet.

How long will this last? In Johnson's view, the end could come tomorrow or perhaps a few years hence. All that is clear is that South Africa's spending on social grants, civil service salaries, and rampant baksheesh is unsustainable, and the day of reckoning is imminent. The consequences are likely to be abysmal. As Johnson sees it, that issue is already settled: twenty years of "suicidal" policies and "almost complete fecklessness" in their application show that

the ANC is “hopelessly ill-equipped” for the task of running a modern industrial economy. All that can save us now, he concludes, is the ANC’s unlikely ouster in an upcoming election.

Thus one can conclude that Johnson’s latest book addresses corruption that now riddle the country’s body politic. As a result, it is increasingly up to the country’s politicians, economic and business leaders and other stake holders to explain how they, if they were in charge, would arrest the country’s decay and reverse the senescence process.

Utsav Kumar Singh, *University of Delhi*

Liisa Malkki. 2015. *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 270 pp.

Liisa Malkki’s new book on the intersections between the domestic realm, humanitarianism, and the imagined bonds amongst humanitarian workers comes at a most appropriate time. The optimism of the 1990s in the redeeming power of humanitarian work at the end of the Cold War has clearly faded in North America and Europe. The author sets out to examine the forms of imagination that sustain one particular national community of humanitarian aid workers and supporters, in this case, Finland. She pokes holes in generic discussions of Western humanitarianism by noting the importance of the local and national origins of aid workers and supporters. Instead of assuming that Westerners simply dehumanize recipients of aid as merely passive objects to be saved by humanitarian action, she argues that Finns who volunteer to make toys and serve as volunteers abroad view themselves as in need of purpose and care.

For example, Chapter 1 analyzes the motives of Finns to work abroad as Red Cross volunteers. Eschewing any formal religious reasons, Malkki’s informants instead juxtapose the banal and overly ordered society of their homeland with the field. Foreign service allows these Finns to make stronger emotional bonds, more open social interactions, and a new sense of personal freedom. North American specialists in African studies may feel a sense of self-recognition in reading this chapter, just as they might in reviewing how Malkki considers the difficulty of how humanitarian workers try to manage their emotions faced with the brutal choices imposed by humanitarian catastrophes. Besides suffering, encountering violence also leads to learning and “experientially, it produces points of imaginative communion” (p. 71). This frank recognition of the costs of being a “guilty bystander” (to quote the theologian Thomas Merton)—in which any ethical choice by researchers and aid workers in contact with violence come with their own costs of pain and guilt—should be required reading for graduate students preparing for fieldwork.

Another impressive feat in *The Need to Help* comes with the recognition of the imaginative work of aid supporters that provides community even as it erases specificity and the political and social contexts of violence. Chapter 3 takes a genealogical approach to the ubiquity of children in representations of humanitarian action. Children served to represent innocence, suffering, and peace in a generic way that highlighted the ideals of antiracist humanitarianism. Obviously, the actual experiences of children are too often lost. Rather than simply stop there and deride the inadequacies of these representations, Malkki then chooses in Chapters 4 and 5 to turn attention to the meanings and value of one particular configuration of suffering childhood. The Finnish Red Cross promoted the creation of Aid Bunny stuffed animals that

were to be sent to poor children. In a comparison with Kongolese *nkisi* power objects, Malkki argues that these toys convey a sense of healing, personhood, and love. Making these objects also helps constitute an imagined community of care between Red Cross workers and volunteers, particularly valuable to elderly Finns who feel isolated. Knitting is a therapeutic practice that ties individuals with a world of need.

The final chapter sums up the book by exploring neutrality, sacrifice, and humanitarianism in a Finnish context. The Red Cross' commitment to neutrality and a universal notion of aiding humans in need, Malkki notes, forces aid workers to turn to wrestle with the moral complications that result. Universal ideals both come from and create particular understandings and identities. There is a great deal to be said for this approach towards individual aid projects and causes. If one takes the defunct Invisible Children organization, for example, Malkki's example offers an opportunity to go from merely mocking the group for its simplistic propaganda and its self-interested founders to exploring why and how its briefly famous crusade against Joseph Kony attracted a wide range of young followers. This book would be a valuable text in undergraduate and graduate courses on development and humanitarianism. Malkki's skilled ability to link together so many different intellectual inspirations makes this book very useful to examine as a model for theoretical conceptualization and for her methodology. Readers expecting a straightforward approach to humanitarianism in African contexts may be somewhat disappointed. Though Malkki draws a great deal from interviews with Finnish volunteers who had worked in Rwanda in 1993 and 1994, this study focuses on humanitarian communities rather than specific sites of intervention. All in all, this is a very valuable and innovative work.

Jeremy Rich, *Marywood University*

James C. McCann. 2014. *The Historical Ecology of Malaria in Ethiopia: Deposing the Spirits*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 196 pp.

The aim of James C. McCann's latest book "is to tell an engaging story of human disease ecology that resets our understanding of this deadly disease in human, narrative terms" (p. 2). It seeks also to prove that malaria is complex, local, and resistant to "biomedicine's efforts to find solutions in one-dimensional panacea" (p. 1). While it mostly achieves this latter goal—partly by representing "biomedicine" as a kind of straw man—the overall results are mixed.

The book's introduction posits that the centuries-old relationship between human attempts to defeat malaria and mosquitoes' resilience in the face of these efforts can be understood as a dance or chess game; these metaphors are carried throughout the book to little effect. Subsequently, chapter 1 asserts that Ethiopia's highland populations have historically believed "malaria belonged to the 'other'" (p. 22)—chiefly the peoples inhabiting the tropical lowlands. This is an interesting observation, although its implications are not readily apparent. The following chapter "tells two stories about malaria that merged in Ethiopia and Italy in the years 1935-1941: intermingled tales of war, ecologies, and human struggles against a common disease" (p. 33). This too is an intriguing topic, yet like many chapters in this book it elects to "tell a story" rather than advance an argument; thus its relationship to the other parts of the work is unclear. The aim of Chapter 3 is to "focus on stories of malaria in one ecological

landscape and tease out malaria's dance over time" (p. 55). Although vague in ambition, it contains an interesting exploration of the relationship between elevation and malaria epidemiology, as well as a valuable account of how an important new species of mosquito was discovered in Ethiopia in 1964. Chapter 4 offers a narrative of how efforts in the mid-twentieth century to eradicate malaria through DDT spraying were derailed by political upheaval and lack of resources; its brief analysis of how the socialist regime's plan to resettle peasants in lowlands affected malaria transmission is of particular note.

The book is at its most fascinating in chapter 5, "Malaria Modern," when McCann describes the results of a five-year study in which he, with a team of geographers and entomologists, analyzed the relationship between maize cultivation and rates of malaria infection in Burie district. Results from this study suggest the intensification of maize production in Ethiopia since the 1980s may have contributed to malaria's continued prevalence, due to maize pollen being a nutritious food for mosquito larvae. These findings support McCann's contention that the struggle against malaria is fraught with complexity—not least because the study was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, which in recent years has been both fighting malaria and promoting maize cultivation in Ethiopia.

While *The Historical Ecology of Malaria in Ethiopia* provides valuable insight into the ways human interactions with Ethiopia's landscape have affected the epidemiology of malaria and vice versa, the book's aims are excessively broad, leading to problems of weak argument and disjointed organization. In most chapters it is difficult to discern what argument is being made at all or how it might support other sections of the book; this task is made more arduous by the lack of introductory and concluding sections in all chapters but the fifth. The text is an eclectic chronicle of how Westerners and Ethiopians have imagined malaria over centuries, how eradication efforts failed in the 20th century, how maize impacted the disease's ecology, and even how mosquitoes might narrate their own history of malaria: "There are many types of us: We dance, dodge, and dart in different ways" (p. 139). Although these subjects are of interest in their own right, the book struggles to use each chapter to advance a central point. Where McCann does stake out a position—in claiming for example that "all malaria is local" (p. 151)—this is done mainly through repeated assertion rather than accumulation of evidence, taking the form of declarative sentences tacked to unrelated paragraphs: "After all, to local folks, symptoms were the measure rather than microbiology. And all malaria is local" (p. 37). Some of the evidence marshalled in the text in fact contradicts such assertions. For example, the association between maize pollen and mosquito prevalence discussed in Chapter 5 points not to a unique local phenomenon but to general properties of plant and pathogen that are likely to be true outside of Ethiopia.

The Historical Ecology of Malaria in Ethiopia offers a wealth of information on malaria in Ethiopia, ranging from a comparison of Ethiopian and European ideas of disease etiology to an analysis of the principal types of mosquitoes transmitting the parasite and an account of their preferred habitats. It is admirable for its exploration of historical Ethiopian narratives of disease side by side with modern biomedical analyses of vector and parasite. Although its meandering structure and blurry argumentation render it unsuitable for non-specialists, it will be of interest to Africanists focused both on the history of public health and the intellectual history of disease.

Robert Nathan, *University of British Columbia*

Sarah M. H. Nouwen. 2013. *Complementarity in the Line of Fire: The Catalysing Effect of the International Criminal Court in Uganda and Sudan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 505 pp.

In January 2015, Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) commander Dominic Ongwen was arrested, or surrendered, to Séléka rebels in the Central African Republic, far away from his native Uganda. He was then handed over to U.S. and Ugandan forces on the ground. The US had offered a five million dollar reward for Ongwen's arrest, and Séléka, infamous for its own human rights abuses, claimed the bounty. Ongwen was also indicted by the International Criminal Court, and the US, which is not a States Party to the Rome Statute of this Court, still facilitated Ongwen's swift transfer to The Hague where the Court is located—alas, the pragmatics of dirty war and international justice.

The prosecution and defense teams then spent one year preparing for the court hearings, and when the confirmation of charges hearing started in January 2016, the hearing could be followed online. The evidence collected by the prosecution in close cooperation with the Ugandan police, military, and security institutions and presented to the pre-trial chamber is massive and indeed convincing, yet no one with insight into the war in northern Uganda would refute Ongwen's violent role in the war. But is he guilty? Ongwen's defense team demands that the charges are dismissed. "Ongwen did not possess the requisite capacity to commit any offence. He was just an instrument and the instrumentality by which he was viewed by his captors cannot be visited on him to face the liabilities," his lawyer argued, citing the fact that Ongwen was abducted and forced into fighting as a child. "This is a proper case for court not to confirm the charges against Ongwen" (quoted by the *Monitor*, a Ugandan daily, January 26, 2016). Parallel to the hearings in The Hague, Yoweri Museveni, the Ugandan president since 1986 and in 2016 reelected in yet another round of fraudulent elections, declared that Uganda should "pull out of the court," since the International Criminal Court, he claimed, "is not serious" (*Monitor*, February 13, 2016).

Those who know the history of the Court's involvement on the African continent will remember that it was the same Museveni who requested the Court as its first case to investigate the LRA leadership, something that legal scholar Sarah Nouwen sheds new light to in *Complementarity in the Line of Fire*, her in-depth scrutiny that also analyses the Court's Darfur indictments. Indeed, by now much has been said about the LRA, the war in northern Uganda, and international justice interventions there. The same goes for Darfur. Yet, as Nouwen's book illustrates, it is essential to ground any discussion on these justice interventions in solid scholarship, and it is important to outline the historical and sociopolitical realities under which such interventions unfold. Only then can we really interpret and understand the seemingly contradictory developments and statements such as those referred to above. Here Nouwen's work is essential. Over some five hundred pages and with a mammoth note apparatus, *Complementarity in the Line of Fire* will be a standard reference work on the International Criminal Court: massive in content and objective in analysis. At the same time, with the vast violence of Boko Haram and the Islamic State group these days, the atrocities committed in northern Ugandan and Darfur seem to be falling into global and historical oblivion. Yet this

must not happen. Nouwen is able to explain many of the impending legal questions in the Uganda and Darfur cases, and her grounded analysis defuses a number of scholarly debates on the International Criminal Court's intervention in Africa. Especially interesting is the in-depth analysis of the Court's complementarity principle in relation to Uganda's changing justice system, and the discussion on the Court's gravity threshold for cases to be admitted (the "criterion for admissibility") and how this plays out in practice.

As Nouwen shows in great detail, the prosecution's view on complementarity as well as on the gravity threshold reveals how initial ignorance of the Court in several instances encouraged a kind of institutional fundamentalism, even partial impunity, at the cost of a better understanding of how the world is realized in northern Uganda as well as in Darfur, in just and unjust ways. Not least is Nouwen's careful and historically grounded critique important now that we are invited to follow the case against Ongwen over the Internet. Most former Lord's Resistance Army commanders have been granted blanket amnesty, yet one, Thomas Kwoyelo, is under trial in Ugandan courts. In assessing also Kwoyelo's case in Uganda, parallel to Ongwen's in The Hague, Nouwen shows that accountability is something much more profound than only bringing the culprits to the dock and making court proceedings public over the Internet. Anyone interested in how international justice and injustice unfold on the African continent must read Nouwen's book.

Sverker Finnström, *Uppsala University*

Chika Okeke-Agulu. 2015. *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth-Century Nigeria*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. x, 357 pp.

This book traces the emergence of postcolonial modernism in Nigeria during the independent years (1950s-1960s) linked to the wider context of decolonization in twentieth century Africa, to its demise in the years of crisis marked by Nigeria's civil war (1967-70). Okeke-Agulu presents the key characteristics of postcolonial modernism as an "international mid-twentieth century phenomenon" (p. 2). The author begins by identifying the correlation between visual art and nationalism in order to argue the necessity to analyze political ideology and modernism together in the context of all decolonizing nations. He describes the socio-political landscape of Nigeria as one linked to a wider process of decolonization which began soon after the end of World War II when artists, intellectuals, and writers across Africa and the African diaspora began to renegotiate and reimagine the relationship between colonizer-colonized influenced by the cultural and political movements of pan-Africanism, negritude, and nationalism.

The author uses a visual vocabulary of cultural decolonization, which he aptly describes as articulating both subjectivity and a crisis in post-independent nationalism identifying four main discursive themes in the process. These are defined as postmodern modernisms: the self-awareness and role artists had in developing new art forms that captured the feelings of change in the independent years; artists negotiating and rearticulating their relationship with "tradition", colonial history, and the past on their own terms; and the development of innovative formal styles; and artists critically engaging in the analysis of the postcolonial condition following the political crisis in the late 1960s.

The book begins with the intellectual origins of modernism in Nigeria that developed out of an ideological conflict with imperial Europe in order to highlight the shifts in the visual arts influenced by anticolonial nationalism and pan-Africanism. Chapter 2 presents a comparative analysis of the legacies of two pivotal figures in Nigerian modern art: the pioneer modernist painter Aina Onabolu and the British art teacher Kenneth C. Murray and their respective anticolonial and colonialist worldviews of art education. Chapter 3 focusses on fine art education at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology (1954-1961) and the discussions that emerged around the role of art in the decolonization and nationalization process. Okeke-Agulu presents analysis of the radicalized art that emerged from the Art Society in Zaria and the development of “natural synthesis,” placing it firmly within postcolonial discourse as an appropriation of European modernist practices and local artistic traditions but, most importantly, influenced by the cultural and literary movements of negritude and pan-Africanism, together with the political ideologies decolonization.

Chapter 4 explores the important role workshops had in facilitating international exchanges among artists, writers, and intellectuals, taking the magazine *Black Orpheus* and the Mbari Artists and Writers Club in Ibadan to illustrate how these platforms facilitated social networks engaged in local, national, and international politics linked to the cultural and literary movements of negritude and pan-Africanism which were fundamental to the development of postcolonial literary and artistic modernism across Africa and the African diaspora. Chapter 5 gives an in-depth study on the diverse responses to “natural synthesis” that developed new forms and techniques drawing from local and international styles and techniques. Chika Okeke-Agulu therefore emphasizes that the role of indigenous art forms in the theory of natural synthesis “is not so much in its potential to authorize “nationalist” art as in its enabling an unprecedented, diverse, and ambitious art that defined the landscape of Nigeria’s postcolonial modernism” (p. 18).

Chapter 6 turns to the art world that emerged in Lagos after 1963 and the emergence of new artistic and intellectual platforms in Lagos providing fresh analysis into the debates around the future direction of post-independence art in Nigeria and the differences that emerged between the different generations of artists. Okeke-Agulu’s final chapter skillfully weaves the feelings of disillusionment that marks the period of political crisis and civil war into the political, artistic, and cultural landscape, describing how cultural nationalism gave way to increased regionalism. Here the author critically examines the work of Uche Okeke and Damas Nwoko and their subjective articulations during the crisis years to illustrate the change in the artists’ relationship to the nation-state and the emergence of postcolonial sensitivities that are essentially transnational.

This book offers readers a complex study into the development of Nigerian modernism within a wider political, cultural, and artistic context of decolonization. Chika Okeke-Agulu successfully achieves a delicate balancing act, keeping the individual artists and their work at the center of this critical enquiry while also analyzing how they were connected to a wider art world context. In addition the author addresses the colonial legacies that represent contemporary African art today as a “new current” in the art market, severing its ties with African modernisms of the twentieth century and reducing African modernisms to a simplified

product of colonialism. This book confidently re-draws African art history firmly within a postcolonial discourse.

Helena Cantone, *School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

Terje Østebø. 2012. *Localizing Salafism: Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill NV. 380 pp.

Has Salafism penetrated Ethiopia, when and how? Are political Islam and or extremism gaining a foothold? These are questions that are currently forcing scholars, policy makers, and politicians of Ethiopia and the Horn into fierce debate. Østebø's book is published at an opportune moment, at a time when empirical analysis and data are much needed in order to make sense of the presence and impact of Salafism, not just in Bale but in the country as a whole. The book is also of immense historical relevance. Consulting various written and non-written sources and ploughing much new data about the subject matter, the author brings to light a wealth of data and analysis which is clearly and concisely articulated. This book is not just about the history of Islam in Bale; the treatise goes a long way in shedding light on the history of the Oromo of Bale. The book is a welcome addition to the literature on Ethiopian Islam and one that may, hopefully, enrich political analysis and policy making.

Østebø promises to deliver three things in this book. He undertakes to provide empirical data on the induction, growth, and entrenchment of Salafism in Bale. He undertakes to show how Salafism, as an ideology and phenomenon, is localized whilst at the same time it delocalizes the local. He also, rather modestly, undertakes to show the role of agency of the local in religious change. While not necessarily rejecting the importance of structural determinants, he sets out to challenge structuralism by presenting evidence of the creative capacity of the African local actor. Østebø delivers on all three promises and does so quite proficiently. The entire book is packed with a wealth of data and is clearly and concisely articulated and analyzed. The book, without doubt, is a well-researched study of the evolution of an Islamic movement/sect in Bale. The author is also to be applauded for deciding to study the belief system of an otherwise marginalized region of Ethiopia.

The book is divided into ten chapters that flow smoothly from one to the next. The first chapter briefly introduces the reader to the geography and demographics of the Bale region in addition to briefly introducing the major themes of the book including Salafism, Ethiopian history, and religious change. The second chapter discusses theories that pertain to religious change and defines important terms of art. The third chapter takes a historic approach to the dual penetration (i.e., before and after Oromo expansion) of Islam to Bale and the wider south-eastern Ethiopia from the time of its assumed introduction until the Amhara conquest of the southeast. The fourth chapter describes the religious universe of the inhabitants of Bale in the timeframe roughly overlapping with that of the previous chapter. Chapters five to seven describe the conditions that created the perfect storm for Salafism to take root in Bale. These chapters describe the initial introduction of Salafism by local agents who were exposed and immersed in it following their post-Hajj stay in the Hejaz, the resistance it faced by the local population and leadership, and the loss of sway of local leadership structures during the Derg regime. The eighth chapter describes the entrenchment and ascendancy of Salafism after the

EPRDF transition and the fragmentation that followed. The ninth and tenth chapters contain the author's ruminations on the topic and data amassed for the purposes of writing the book.

While the book presents a rich set of data based on extensive fieldwork regarding its specific locale, one thing that becomes clear in this study is that a lot is left to be desired when it comes to the study of Islam in the rest of contemporary Ethiopia. In chapter nine the author leaves Bale and Salafism for a brief discourses on Islam in Ethiopia in general (pp. 277-81, 295-97). In this chapter the author is seen inching towards the broader Ethiopian context and possibly hinting at a demand for further studies in other parts of Ethiopia including in the capital Addis Ababa. Putting aside the issue of generalizability of Østebø's observations about Bale, the author raises questions and issues that make it clear that information regarding other parts of the country is wanting.

Østebø, it seems, did not set out to write a book on the place of Islam, or that of political Islam, in contemporary Ethiopian politics. However, he may have found himself making a very significant contribution to one of the newest political disputes in the country. Østebø's findings call into question the Ethiopian government's allegation that it is faced with imminent violence from Salafi radicals in the Arsi-Bale region; a claim which preceded the imposition of emergency-like measures throughout the country. Contrary to the government's calls for panic, Østebø finds that the Salafi leaders and constituencies of Bale see religion as something beyond politics, something personal and spiritual. If "contemporary Ethiopian Islam has remained disengaged from politics and not moved in the so-called radical direction" (p. 179), the government's justifications for imposing substantial restrictions and controls over the practice, expression, organization, and teaching of religion become highly questionable.

Abadir M. Ibrahim, *St. Thomas University*

Kenneth Perkins. 2014. *A History of Modern Tunisia*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 306 pp.

The events in Tunisia of January 2011 launched the "Arab Spring." During the past year many pundits have been heard to remark that that country is the only post-Arab Spring state that is emerging in good order and making progress on the democratic front. This is less surprising than one might think. North Americans are generally not familiar with Tunisia, but, leaving aside for a moment the cultural giant of Egypt, from ancient times its history has to a large extent been the history of North Africa. Why should today be different? From the establishment of the maritime state of Carthage through the area's incarnation as the prosperous Roman province Ifriqiya, to its incarnation as powerful city-state in the 1500s, and extending to its late 20th century status as an exponent of progressive social policies, Tunisia has frequently dominated North Africa or been the trendsetter for the area.

Kenneth Perkins has a long-standing interest in the country, has lived in the Maghreb, Arab North Africa, and produced earlier works on Tunisia. This new edition of his history brings the story up to post-2011 revolution times and examines how Tunisia's intelligentsia and leaders have dealt with currents, frequently in the ascendant, drawing the country towards Europe and

the opposing currents moving her towards the Arab world, the Middle East, and traditional (usually Islamic) values. The ambiguities of the colonial period left the country with a French and Arabic bilingual educational system, but the Tunisian intelligentsia turned this into a strength that reaps advantages even today. The fact is that even in the 19th century and unmistakably during the inter-war period (1920s–30s) Tunisian intellectuals enthusiastically adapted western artistic, theatrical and literary forms (see for example Ali Du'aji, *Sleepless Nights*, 1991) to develop Tunisian and North African themes. On the political front the same elite and their allies articulated an action program demanding independence, advocating the emancipation of women, and envisioning economic development. Habib Bourguiba (president, 1956–1987), seeing himself as another modernizing Attaturk, was only the most visible standard-bearer in that movement. A high degree of national consensus was possible since Tunisia is overwhelmingly Sunni, without communal divides, and Islamic institutions were for the most part quiescent, or their spokesmen were drawn into the political mainstream.

Perkins recounts that in the post-independence decades some shifts in the leading Neo-Destur party's orientation did nevertheless take place. For example, at its party convention in 1964 the party transformed itself into the Socialist Destur Party. This had less to do with hard economic study than with looking over the shoulder at the tidal wave of the popularity of Egyptian President Nasser's pan-Arab movement. Tunisians probably felt they could go along or be swept along. The party strategists no doubt hoped to create an ideological fire-break. It was also true that the withdrawal of French civil servants and investment left gaps that somehow had to be filled, hence the perceived need for an expanded government sector. However, when in 1971 the results of the first five-year plan were disappointing (and Nasser had safely passed away), Bourguiba and *confreres* quietly moved away from socialist rhetoric and planning. The Arab League had already been joined in the 1950s, and that was deemed a sufficient profession of Arabness. A kind of balance between the West and Middle East was sought, except in the economic sector, where by the mid-90s 70 percent of the country's imports came from Europe and 80 percent of her exports were bound there. And no matter what strategy was followed some problems, such as high youth unemployment and lack of development in the nation's interior and south, persisted.

Perkins devotes a whole chapter to an appraisal of Bourguiba. Although under him unions were tolerated, for long periods national income increased, and women emerged from the shadows (Tunisia even has female police, something one does not often see in the Arab world), development was uneven and unions were frequently bludgeoned. After independence the political framework remained petrified in a system of one-party and one-leader rule, first with Bourguiba and later the rather bland Ben Ali. That Bourguiba failed to embrace true political pluralism and to identify a successor (in 1987 Prime Minister Ben Ali and justifying physicians had to boot him out of office) merely puts him squarely in the middle of the pack of post-colonial Arab leaders. Generally his accomplishments appear to outweigh his failings.

Those who would argue that as long as there is a continuing rise in the standard of living a modest level of nepotism and corruption need not threaten the longevity of any regime (frequently heard for example with regards to China) should contemplate Perkins' review of Tunisia during the late Ben Ali era, when crony capitalism, corruption, and inefficiency, exacerbated by the world recession, finally obscured the achievements of the post-

independence period and provided the tipping point for the January 2011 revolution. Though difficulties followed, the October 2015 awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet, which included human rights activists as well as labor, trade and legal representatives, acknowledged that this small country continues to provide inspiration for North Africa and indeed the entire Middle East.

Kenneth W. Meyer., *Western Washington University*

Kristin Peterson. 2014. *Speculative Markets: Drug Circuits and Derivative Life in Nigeria*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. 238 pp.

Kristin Peterson's book is a powerful description of the Nigerian pharmaceutical markets. Its six chapters illustrate the ways daily market life (labor, price, credit, and other social practices) is linked to transnational financial capital as well as policy changes in North America and Nigeria that are mutually constitutive, as well as localized, in significant Lagos markets. Based on extensive archival search, observations, as well as extensive interviews conducted over a period of four summers in Nigeria, the author ethnographically situates Nigeria as a geographically centralized place from which one can see how the rest of the pharmaceutical and other related worlds have come into being. The book focuses on the speculative practices found in the pharmaceutical market to emphasize the ways actors negotiate structural constraints and market conditions. The author examines how volatile markets and speculative practices created new transcontinental drug circuits that are now integral to the drug industry and the lives of Nigerians.

Using Idumota (a neighborhood on Lagos Island described as the main market for pharmaceutical distribution in West Africa) as the focus of her research, the author situates the Nigerian drug market and its practices in the context of speculative capital, manufacturing offshoring, and drug marketing. She examines several historical convergences that took place within Nigeria that made it possible for the control over national drug distribution to switch from Nigerian pharmacists and North American and European multinational drug companies to Igbo traders and generic drug manufacturers located mostly in China and India. She describes vividly how people who work in markets anticipate market volatility often fueled by currency fluctuations, changing labor costs, or changing demands within corporations or among consumers and then take risks by speculating on how the market will play out. She further interrogates how multinational corporations engage in merging and acquiring other companies; offshoring much of their businesses to India and China to save on costs; pursued drug development that will lead to blockbuster profits and skip making other needed drugs such as those for neglected tropical diseases; and like in Nigeria, how they dump assets, drug products, and entire markets not serving them well.

Peterson argues that the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) forced on Nigeria by the IMF in 1986 during the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida impacted negatively on the Nigerian pharmaceutical industry, describing how investment turnover could not be met mostly due to currency devaluation and the public's increasing inability to purchase drugs. The high cost of imported raw materials and currency devaluation, combined with rising prices meant that consumers had less money to spend and drug companies could not sell their stocks,

leading to continued retrenchment of their workers. Consequently, global brand-name drug companies such as Pfizer, Roche, Upjohn, and Ciba, among many others who came to Nigeria as early as the 1940s and 50s and did exceptionally well, had to pack up their businesses and leave the country due to the effect of SAP and other factors such as poor electricity supply and high cost of production. Hence, as brand names disappeared from the Nigerian drug markets, Nigerians had to build a new drug market and new livelihoods. The pharmaceutical market had to be reconfigured to meet the needs of a newly impoverished consumer base as well as companies who now had to consider what the consumers would be able to afford. This gave rise to the introduction of generic drugs from around the world into Nigeria through new unofficial markets like Idumota. Peterson notes that over the years, these markets have rapidly expanded, creating disputes over drug regulation as well as over who is entitled to control the drug distribution system. Another consequence was the increase in fake drugs and substandard drugs (ones that have too little or too many active ingredients as a result of shortfalls in the Nigerian or other manufacturing processes), which are threats to human health. On entering Nigeria and other West African countries, fake drugs are quickly dispersed into the market and sold by pharmaceutical traders, roadside hawkers, travelling salesmen on buses and patent medicine sellers in rural areas. She describes the uphill tasks of regulatory bodies in the war against these drugs.

Apart from a misinformation on page 192, where the author noted that college graduates are expected to serve two years in the National Youth Service Corps instead of one year, and a few typographical errors (for example on pp. 27, 37, 42), overall, the book is, indeed, a captivating, beautifully written description of the dynamics of Nigeria's drug industry.

Olubukola S. Adesina, *University of Ibadan*

Gérard Prunier and Eloi Ficquet (eds.). 2015. *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*. London: Hurst. 521 pp.

Few states in Africa can claim to have bewitched as many visitors, whether veteran chroniclers or first-time observers, than Ethiopia. Countless numbers of Ethiopians and scholars alike have long argued that the country, with its dazzling mix of ethnicities and religions and its idiosyncratic history of conquest, independence, and myth is a politico-cultural order sui generis: Ethiopia as an essentially incomparable state, nation or even civilization. A new volume, edited by East Africa grandee Gérard Prunier and anthropologist-cum-historian Eloi Ficquet, seeks to explore how under the aegis of Meles Zenawi, paramount leader of Ethiopia and the ruling Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) between 1991 and 2012, the country "has been progressively -though reluctantly- normalized" (p. 2). To do so, they solicited sixteen chapters that aim to chart continuity and change in what is often referred to as Africa's oldest polity—from Ethiopia's imperialist past, the *longue durée* of Muslim-Christian relations, and urban development to Rastafarianism and the shift from revolutionary Marxism to state developmentalism. The end result leaves the reader sometimes impressed, but all too often not wholly satisfied.

Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia attempts to identify the structural forces and critical junctures that have marked the country's recent history and turned it into Africa's fastest

growing economy of the last decade. Written without theoretical verbosity and with an eye to accessibility for non-specialists, the editors' objective was to produce a convenient handbook for policy-makers and students of Ethiopia. Some chapters do this brilliantly: Shiferaw Bekele's contribution on state-building in the 19th century, Christopher Clapham's summary of the significance of Emperor Haile Selassie, and Sarah Vaughan's analysis of Ethiopian federalism provide excellent overviews of the extant literature, topped off with a persuasive new synthesis of the evidence. René Lefort's chapter similarly presents an outstanding dissection of the Ethiopian economy between 1991 and 2014. He lifts the veil on the narrative of Ethiopia's economic miracle to argue that the EPRDF has indeed paid unprecedented attention to the impoverished rural areas (where circa 80 percent of Ethiopians still work) but that the sustainability and effectiveness of its anti-poverty policies are very much in question (cf. the food crisis triggered by El Niño affecting fifteen million Ethiopians at the time of writing of this review). Bekele, Clapham, Vaughan, and Lefort, as well as the piece by Ancel and Ficquet on the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, manage not only to substantially inform the layman but also to generate new questions and insights for the more experienced Ethiopia watcher.

That high level of academic rigor and communicative clarity is unfortunately not maintained throughout. This is not just the inevitable consequence of an edited volume that seeks to bring both old hands and leading young researchers together, but also of editorial choices. Three main problems plague *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia*. The first is that of occasionally sloppy editing. For instance, both chapters by Medhane Tadesse, an otherwise highly perceptive analyst, include whole sentences and sections that are redundant, either because the author himself has already made his (important) points, or because other contributions to *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia* cover them extensively, and from a similar angle. In other parts of the book, the punctuation is off with commas and colons inexplicably disappearing. A second problem pertains to the tone of the chapters focused on Ethiopia's political modernity. While the EPRDF certainly deserves credit for how its cadres and foot soldiers have pulled the Ethiopian state away from its 1991 tethering on the abyss of total disintegration, Prunier and Ficquet are too uncritical of the regime's track-record when it comes to human rights inside Ethiopia and external operations in the Horn. The chapter on the 2005 and 2010 elections is an outright defense of the government's authoritarian course; Tadesse's framing of Ethiopia's regional influence is an unabashed editorial for ruthless Ethiopian realpolitik that should have been balanced by, for example, a more sceptical assessment of Addis's devastating policies in Somalia; and Prunier's own musings on the Eritrean question fail to accurately present the view from Asmara and thus fall short of an even-handed appraisal of the tragic "war of brothers."

The third and final problem is that numerous pivotal issues are left out of *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia*. No volume can cover everything, but what are we to make of the total absence of gender in this book? The assumption that the seismic transformations in religion, politics, and economics have impacted men and women alike suggests a blindness to some of the most consequential actors and dynamics in Ethiopia's ten thousand villages. Furthermore, the EPRDF's foreign relations have to make do with one single chapter; China and the global war on terror barely feature in the book, despite their crucial importance to the external legitimacy of the party and its internal choices. And environmental change, forced migration,

and public health—all historically and contemporarily vital to understanding the lived realities of Ethiopians and their neighbors—are nowhere to be found either. For a volume aspiring to be a “global study of Ethiopia” these are rather inexplicable choices.

Harry Verhoeven, *School of Foreign Service in Qatar; Georgetown University*

Elisha P. Renne (ed.). 2013. *Veiling in Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 248 pp.

Veiling is one of the controversial phenomena of this century. Although it seems that veiling is condemned as a sign of women’s subordination in western countries, it is an important symbol of social and political identity for Muslim women. *Veiling in Africa*, edited by Professor Elisha P. Renne, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor and explores what veiling means to African Muslim women. The first chapter, by Laura Fair, explores the trend and cause of veiling habits change in Zanzibar over the course of more than a century. Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous part of Tanzania and the case that is used to show the impetus for veiling change. It is suggested that the fervor for being fashionable has resulted in the recent preference for a restricted hijab by women, such as the practice of *niqab* (a kind of veiling that covers face). Then, there is a discussion on the respectability of veiling as the association of veiling with status, property, and propriety has been widespread in pre-colonial Muslim Africa. In addition, women who disguise their identity wearing hijab enjoy more freedom to engage in activities they do not want others to see them do. “Listening to Zanzibari women, it becomes clear that wearing the veil is intended to elicit not pity, rather esteem and admiration” (p. 31).

Susan Rasmussen’s chapter deals with the veiling of Tuareg nomads inhabiting the Sahara and how these men and women regard sexual relations through flirting, courtship conversations, dancing, etc. The author explains how shamefulness, restraint, respect and reserve act as social morals avoiding violence and dangers. The chapter then discusses cultural and religious reserve, modesty, and conduct, which is a way of veiling without veils between different ages and social strata, using different examples from people of this region.

In the next chapter, Renne’s comparative approach reviews the practice of veiling and hijab, Islamic reform and women’s educational movements in south western Nigeria and northern Nigeria in the past two centuries and considers how these movements changed the veiling practices in these two regions. Chapter four, by Leslie Rabine, explores the process of changing clothing style in Senegal during last decades. The history of Senegalese fashion trend is reviewed and using interview data, it is discussed whether veiling is religious obligation or personal choice. Using various examples, the chapter argues that due to the range of different attitudes toward the veil it is not possible to generalize whether veiling is fashion or what religion forces.

In the fifth chapter Adeline Masquelier argues what the hijab means to Nigerians and what roles it plays for them. Specifically it is discussed how veiling is embodied and yields a social skin and the basis for naturalizing moral rules. The hijab affects bodilyness and alters women’s sense of self and space and creates “a pious interiority that is integral to their moral selfhood” (p. 114). Therefore, a practice of no hijab would result in an intense feeling of vulnerability upon being exposed to the world. Moreover, practice of hijab has not undermined women’s chicness

and resulted in the new possibilities being fashionable through enjoying some control over the color and style of their coverings.

In the sixth chapter, José van Santen explores the change in women's veiling practice during their life course is explored. The chapter focuses on the influence of pilgrimage to Mecca, the hajj, on the veiling of Cameroonian women, as many women dress differently after the hajj. It is argued that veiling differently is an assertion of her presence in Mecca and that she is no longer the same person.

Hauwas Mahdi's chapter seven argues how hijab is controlled by the state and how politics and codes of veiling are intertwined in Nigeria. Although the cause for veiling seems to have multiple reasons in Nigeria, such as being descent, being like others, avoiding evil men attentions, etc. it is argued that the hijab "represents an underlying power game seen in the workplace and in political decision making" (p. 166). The eighth chapter, by Peri Leemm, deals with the recently adoption of veil among Oromo refugees living in Eastleigh, Kenya. The veiling which is a powerful symbol of disguise allows these women to go to nightclubs and other non-Muslim spaces undetected, to appear in public like rich Somali women, to escape prosecution, dress fashionably and to provide protection from Ethiopian agents. Amal Fadlalla's ninth chapter examines the vulnerability of unveiled women in the Sudan.

Overall, *Veiling in Africa* represents a valuable perspective on a less investigated topic that could be very interesting and novel for Western audiences. And, finally, it should be mentioned that in addition to the general readers, this volume could be of interest of anthropologists,

psychologists, and sociologists as well as students of these fields who are interested in both African studies and Islamic cultural practices.

Farid Pazhoohi, *Independent Researcher, Iran*

Benedetta Rossi. 2015. *From Slavery to Aid: Politics, Labour, and Ecology in the Nigerien Sahel, 1800-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 364 pp.

Benedetta Rossi, lecturer in African studies at University of Birmingham, has made an impressive contribution to the growing body of the literature focused on the history of development and non-governmental organizations in Africa (e.g., books and articles by Erica Bornstein, Frederick Cooper, Julie Hearn, and Gregory Mann among others). In this monograph, originally submitted as her dissertation at the London School of Economics in 2002, Rossi explores the relationship between the politics and ecology of Ader, a region of southern Niger, and the persistence of slavery and unfree labor from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the turn of the twenty-first century. By placing an analysis of modern development plans within the political and social history of Ader over the last two hundred years, she underlines the continuous influence of place, specifically the desert, on human relations in the Nigerien Sahel. Rossi, however, is no environmental determinist, as her monograph is filled with countless examples of Nigeriens overcoming the limitations placed on them by the desert.

At the heart of this book is a discussion about the central role that mobility has played in defining social relations in Ader since the nineteenth century. In precolonial times, the political authority of the two main Tuareg confederations of Ader—the northern Iwellemmeden Kel

Denneg and the southern Kel Gress—was predicated upon their ability to exert control over limited resources scattered over the desert by making them available to allies and subjects and limiting the access of enemies to them, a form of government Rossi calls “kinetocracy” (p. 11). The less mobile Nigeriens were, the more vulnerable they were to slavery and raids, so relatively immobile groups, such as the Hausa, would offer dependency to the Tuareg in exchange for protection and resources.

While the arrival of the French in Niger somewhat upset these precolonial political structures and social arrangements, the importance of mobility in the desert in the first half of the twentieth century persisted. Nigeriens migrated to avoid taxation, forced labor recruitment, and military conscription by the colonial state, to earn wages as migrant laborers in British Nigeria, and to shed their old identities as slaves. Despite this widespread shift from slavery to labor migration in Ader, many of the traditional social hierarchies remained because the impersonal colonial state did not guarantee the security and welfare of its dependents, and not all Nigeriens could migrate, highlighting the limited power of the French state and the incompatibility of its governing logic with the unruly desert landscape.

Following the rise of development initiatives in the 1940s, many Nigeriens (mainly men) continued to migrate seasonally to neighboring countries for work because it was their best option. Those who remained behind were mostly immobile poor women who only participated in development projects aimed at fighting desertification, like the Kieta Project in the 1980s, because they lived in villages on unproductive land, their husbands were long-distance labor migrants, and they desired access to food rations. Although these programs provided women with protection from hunger and dependence, many maintained good relations with former masters in case things should ever change. Like many Nigerien bureaucrats, these women did not participate in development because they wanted to contribute to rebuilding their nation or advance aid goals—it was in their own self-interest. Nonetheless, developmentalist discourses made it possible for political authorities to mobilize local labor after slavery and forced labor were no longer socially acceptable.

Rossi critiques development policies that have largely ignored this complicated historical reality, preferring to reduce the inhabitants of Ader to generic human beings waiting for intervention. She suggests that the most sensible aid objective would be to facilitate and properly regulate labor migration, but the developmentist discourse of desertification focuses on the land and what it is capable of supporting rather than the function of mobility in southern Nigeriens’ lives. Also, like many other Africanists (e.g. Laura Hammond at the School of Oriental and African Studies), Rossi emphasizes the important role that remittances from abroad play in African society today.

Although Rossi’s book is well-organized, clearly written, and easily digested, this monograph could have benefitted from some minor editorial changes. Rossi’s liberal use of block quotations, including one quotation that spans four pages (pp. 155-58), can be a bit dizzying at times. With all of the foreign words and aid organizations zooming around its pages, however, this reader appreciated the inclusion of a glossary and a list of acronyms and abbreviations at the beginning of the book. The short note on the terminology of slavery and the name Ader was also a nice addition.

From Slavery to Aid successfully blends archival research with ethnographic fieldwork, making it an exceptional specimen of historical anthropology. By taking into consideration the experience of Tuareg nobility, emancipated slaves, colonial authorities, and project coordinators and volunteers in Ader, Rossi shows that the persistence of dependence in the Nigerien Sahel is a historically conditioned reality. Overcoming this situation requires coming to terms with this fact.

D. Dmitri Hurlbut, *Boston University*

Soren Scholvin. 2014. *The Geopolitics of Regional Power: Geography, Economics and Politics in Southern Africa*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate. 234 pp.

This book attempts to demonstrate the importance of geographical perspectives in the analyses of emerging powers and to revitalize realist approaches in political geography. The author begins by pointing out that the geographical criterion as it is included in the definition of regional power highlights that geopolitics research is grounded in a misinterpretation of geography and regionness. In order to advance a geographical perspective on regional powers, the author indicates the importance of understanding how manmade and natural geographical factors existing in geographical space influence the economic and political relations of regional powers. The author indicates that in the contemporary period constructivism predominates in Political Geography but, however, argues that material structures in geographical space cannot be examined from a constructivist perspective; hence the need for a materialist perspective based on scientific realism: classical geopolitics, specifically realist geopolitics. The dimensions of classical geopolitics are spatial, functional, and longitudinal, thereby making it a suitable approach for explaining long-term patterns in international relations. The author acknowledges that not everything can be explained by geography, but geographical factors can be appropriate intervening variables explain many social phenomena that occur.

The choice of realist geopolitics is highly topical given that several contemporary approaches and theories of geopolitics lack clearly defined spheres of influence and disregard of geographical factors. The author formulates three hypotheses based on the relationship between geographical factors and policy options of regional powers. The geographical factors include location and geography, manmade material structures, and the sphere of influence of regional powers. The author tests these hypotheses in the context of South Africa as a regional power, justifying the use of the Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) and Process Tracing methods of research.

The author examines the strengths and weaknesses of several approaches and theories that can be successfully used as frameworks to analyze geopolitics. The author's choice of realist geopolitics is successfully operationalized and applied empirically to analyze the problem of the geopolitics of regional power in Southern Africa using manmade and natural geographical factors. By doing so successfully, the book demonstrates evidence of original work and significantly contributes to the knowledge and insight into the subject of the regional powers and geopolitics in developing regions.

The author is very familiar with the academic literature on political geography particularly geopolitics at the theoretical level and at the empirical (case study) level. This is evident in as far

as the literature cited is concerned in chapters one and two that focus on conceptual, theoretical, and methodological issues, and chapters three to six that focus, empirically, on case studies in southern Africa. The topics covered in the case study include issues of transport, socioeconomic aspects, regional cooperation, politics, and security. The author makes use of intensive and extensive literature throughout the book to support the main arguments raised on the importance of understanding how spatial manmade and natural geographical factors influence regional powers relations. This is an outstanding feature of the book.

The choice of QCA is highly relevant especially when it comes to comparing cases. The adoption of the QCA and Process Tracing methods as analytical tools adds to the originality of the study. On the basis of the methodology the author analyses the data and presents a coherent argument. This is an important finding in that it indicates that these analytical models can be universally applied irrespective of the unique social, economic, and political circumstances facing developing countries.

The book's conclusion contains summaries of the findings based on location and physical geography, transport and socioeconomic aspects, the economic and political reality of South African-African relations, and on key projects of regional integration. The findings indicate the importance of geographical factors in analyzing and explaining realist geopolitics and subsequently the value of realist geopolitics in the analysis of regional powers and integration. The conclusion offers recommendations by way of topics for further research especially the relevance of physio-geographical factors in the analysis of realist geopolitics. Though the book places too much emphasis on the relevance of manmade and natural geographical factors in the analyses of realist geopolitics, given the author's geographical background, it is a highly valuable book for scholars and students of international relations and political science who are interested in the subject of geopolitics

Oscar Gakuo Mwangi, *National University of Lesotho*

Hervé Tchumkan. 2015. *State Power, Stigmatization, and Youth Resistance Culture in the French Banlieues: Uncanny Citizenship*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 181 pp.

More than ever before, recent terrorist attacks in Paris have brought worldwide attention to violence and the citizenship debate. What are the dynamics that are likely to lead a citizen to violence? How can social frustration and religion express themselves when one does not have the floor to articulate one's opinion? *Uncanny Citizenship* provides a key to understanding the genesis of these issues in France in the sense that the author builds his framework on literary, philosophical, sociological, political, and historical theories in order to shed light on these questions.

One major contribution of this book is that Tchumkam enters the academic discourse by providing an overview of literature produced by Africans in western societies. He makes a sharp distinction between the literature of immigration, which is written by diasporic authors, and that of the *banlieues*, which is written by first or second generation of immigrants in France. Its second contribution is the author's hypothesis: "The segregation in contemporary France gives rise to the formation of a community very similar to what Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben has called a 'coming community' (1990). By 'coming community,' Agamben means a

community with literally no condition of belonging, a community that can be neither classified nor definable, much less anticipated" (p. 2) Such a hypothesis leads the author to open a new frame of reference toward the *banlieues* in the sense that critics like Dominic Thomas have been analyzing these texts more or less in correlation to the African continent, rather than as a production of a coming community, which will have to define its identity. Its third contribution comes from its consistency in unrevealing various contradictions of the French Empire as they appeared during the colonial era in different French's colonies. Reappearing in the form of neocolonialism, these patterns are reproduced currently in the French *banlieues*. The use of a segregate space, the indigenous myth, and the assimilation policy are turned to the rhetoric of integration.

The first chapter, "Criminal Identities," analyses the complexity of the relationship existing between criminality and identity construction as it appeared novels like *El Hadj* (2008) using the concept of "banlieue parade" in order to demonstrate the difference between the colonial parade, which was designed to submitting individuals as an organized spectacle but became an act of resistance. Furthermore, according to Tchumkam the parade as it manifests itself in the *banlieues* becomes an important paradigm of transgression because in novels characters engaging in the parade reinvent their identities, through crime, delinquency, and violence. However, Tchumkam notices that youths of *banlieues* resort to this criminal identities as a cry for help, as they are an invisible minority that French authorities and society as a whole have been turning a blind eye to and making them invisible so to speak.

The second chapter, "Recasting Juvenile Delinquency," deconstructs the political French discourse of the then French president, Nicolas Sarkozy, especially his use of the term "scum" and other such terms to depict *banlieues* residents as delinquents. Tchumkam examines a set of novels about juvenile delinquency in French *banlieues*. He discovers that delinquency comes from a social fabric that conditions the youth of the projects to certain behavior. Marginalized, silent, and invisible, violence appears to be the last resort for them to attack the French authorities' attention.

The third chapter, "The Islamic Threat," focuses on many novels of the *banlieues* like *Cités a comparaitre* (2006) and *La guerre des banlieues n'aura pas lieu* (2010) among others. Through them Tchumkam reveals different representations that French society holds about Muslims. For example, the French authorities are of the opinion that Islam is a mismatch with French citizenship. Consequently, Muslims are perceived as a serious national threat. The last chapter, "The Feminist Metaphor," challenges traditional views and biases of the French media that women were not involved at all in French *banlieues* struggles. Novels like *Dans l'enfer des tournantes* (2005) or *Zone cinglée* (2009) help the author to elaborate on gender issues and to show that women have been and still are committed to social change in the French projects.

As stated earlier, and in regard to current socio-political events (Paris attacks, refugees crisis, etc.), this book is an excellent entrée to the debate about violence, citizenship, identity, and representations of Muslims in France. Indeed, its various contributions improve the academic discourse and open new venues for French *banlieues* literature as well. I highly recommend *Uncanny Citizenship* to readers and scholars of different horizons.

Sylvestre Mekem Douanla, *Louisiana State University*

Meredith Terretta. 2013. *Nation of Outlaws, State of Violence: Nationalism, Grasslands Tradition, and State Building in Cameroon*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 367 pp.

Nation of Outlaws recounts the history of practice and discourse of Cameroonian nationalism, spearheaded by the *Union des populations du Cameroon* (UPC), as it unfolded in intersecting local, territorial and global political arenas in 1950s and 1960s. Meredith Terretta approaches Cameroonian nationalism in a multidimensional perspective, suggesting that it is the most effective way for explaining why the UPC attracted the largest number of members and sympathizers of any political party in French Cameroon, becoming the most popular nationalist movement in the territory.

Three geographical focal points anchor this three-tiered history of Cameroonian nationalism: Baham, a strong chieftaincy situated in the densely populated, mostly rural Bamileke Region; Nkongsamba, the capital of the Mungo Region, French Cameroon's fertile plantation zone; and Accra, Ghana, where Kwame Nkrumah's government that came into power at independence in 1957 founded the Bureau of African Affairs to support and assist anti-colonial liberation movements in territories still under European rule. Nationalist activity radiated outward from these three points, creating regional epicenters with overlapping peripheries.

The book is structured in three parts of two chapters each, and progresses chronologically against the backdrop of these interconnected locations. Part one historicizes the political of Grassfielders before European rule, and evaluates the formation of a "Bamileke identity" in the Mungo Region under the French administration during the interwar period. Part two shows how the UPC, which formed as a political party in 1948, evolved into a nationalist movement, and examines the ways in which local and territorial politics became articulated in the Mungo and Bamileke Regions. Part three considers the importance of the UPC's international influences and transregional support by focusing on the strategies that *upécistes* employed after the movement's proscription. The book concludes with a discussion of the residual political and social effects of the postcolonial state's heavy-handed repression of the nationalist movement and its punishment of *upécistes* and their suspected sympathizers.

This book is built on the rich revisionist histories of African nationalisms that have emphasized culturally specific political practices without exploring the ways in which local politics of decolonization became articulated with international political trends. The case of the UPC shows the ways in which African nationalists and anti-colonialists actively sought to link their local liberation struggles with larger global trends and to appropriate, on their own terms, international connections and discourses as alternatives to their continued interdependency with metropolitan centers. To escape the constraints of European rule, Cameroonian nationalists grounded their political ideology in particular locales within the territory, recycling and, in many cases, rediscovering elements of local political culture that they tailored to their contemporary objectives— independence from European rule, the reunification of the French and British Cameroons, and the establishment of a sovereign nation-state. They also traveled, imaginatively and literally, beyond territorial boundaries, attributing symbolic and political importance to the United Nations, Pan-Africanism, Afro-Asian solidarity, other anticolonial struggles, antinuclear pacifism, and the burgeoning notion of universal human rights. In so

doing, Cameroonian nationalists sought to supersede the metropole-colony paradigm that seemingly underwrote political processes in late-colonial Africa.

In following the paths of Cameroonian nationalists where they actually lead, Meredith Terretta's study does a number of things that no previously published histories of Cameroon's decolonization have done. Rather than focus exclusively on French, UN, and Cameroonian documents, it draws on a breadth of sources from the UN, France, Great Britain, Ghana, and both provincial and national archives in Cameroon, as well as oral material collected throughout Cameroon and in Ghana. This history includes previously unknown actors—traditional chiefs, local politicians, ordinary farmers and workers, and women—in the story of Cameroonian nationalism. The inclusion of subaltern actors is crucial since, by 1957, most of the nationalist party leaders had been deported, and in 1958, the movement's fountainhead, Secretary-General Ruben Um Nyobé (1913-1958), was gunned down by a French military patrol in the forest of the Sanaga-Maritime. And yet, in the absence of central coordination and leadership, the movement only spread, intensified, and increasingly drew on sources of local inspiration. This work is the first published scholarly study of Cameroonian nationalism to examine the nationalist vision that persisted, albeit fragmented and factionalized, for nearly a decade after Cameroon's official achievement of independence.

Finally, the paths of exiled nationalists, as this book shows to some extent, were varied and far-flung. The influence of these exiles on the post independence phase of UPC nationalism—or on political processes in the states that hosted them, including Ghana, Guinea, and Algeria—has yet to be analyzed in depth. Meredith Terretta's work calls for a number of avenues left to explore in the study of UPC nationalism.

Syprien Christian Zogo, *Laval University*

Peter Vale and Estelle Prinsloo (eds.). 2014. *The New South Africa at Twenty: Critical Perspectives*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press. 271 pp.

South Africa is a country which has yet to realize its potential in becoming a global player in the world's economy. It has vast resources including minerals, mines, a good judicial system, and a sound tourism sector. But it also has astonishing unemployment, particularly in the black youth sector, gender, and xenophobic issues, and an increasingly internal conflict with its unions (unions were an integral part of liberating the black majority during the apartheid regime). The book consists of ten individually authored chapters by some of the most respected academicians in South Africa. The overarching theme of the book focuses on the issues plaguing the country twenty years after the first democratically held election won by Nelson Mandela in 1994. Some of the new problems that have sprung up for South Africa's "born free" generation are the broken public education system and the fascination with entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship can stimulate economies and provide needed jobs, but it is not a substitute for finding employment.

Deborah Posel explains why the young, disenfranchised, rural black populace connects with Julius Malema, an uneducated rebel ousted from the ruling African National Congress (ANC) party, and from Limpopo Province. Malema was formerly President of the ANC Youth League and is currently the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters. Malema's wealth and

power are two tools he uses to attract the youth. Kirk Helliker and Peter Vale argue that Marxism needs a different viewpoint from the liberation struggle but the humanism is still valid in the post-apartheid state.

Jakes Gerwel argues the country is pushing its best young minds to become entrepreneurs or work in science, technology, engineering, or mathematics (STEM). Gerwel claims that teachers have been affronted and are ill equipped to handle South Africa's social problems such as corruption and unemployment. Raphael de Kadt and Charles Simkins discuss South Africa's systemic rent problem and detail the issues of corruption and unemployment. Mondli Hlatshwayo explains how the Marikana massacre was a case of privatization and capitalism being enforced over humanitarian and civil rights.

Gerhard Maré discusses how race continues to dominate South Africa's landscape, while Neville Alexander critiques the lack of quality education for all South Africans. Richard Pithouse conveys the political significance of "the Local" in Chapter 7, affirming South Africa's ruling party often prioritize campaigns around transnational issues through English a transnational language instead of aiding their true constituency, the 98 percent of the impoverished population who live in rural areas, with limited technology, and whose language and culture are local. For example, Parliament conducts official business in English although there are eleven official languages. Subconsciously, citizens whose first language is not English do not feel a part of the political process. Cheryl Walker addresses gender equality and traditions in the new South Africa and how women were guaranteed influential status in local and national environments. She briefly addresses how the African National Congress has representation at the national level but local girls do not have equal access to education. It seems that the African patriarchal system is deeply rooted and South Africa is no different particularly in rural settings. The fact that South Africa has a systemic problem with sexual assault and traditional cultures being negated is a clear indicator this chapter was needed. For South Africa to achieve optimal proficiency, gender equality and traditionalism must coincide to attack the government's despotism.

In the final chapter Sandra Klopper offers a look into South Africa's arts and cultural scene and the role it plays in the political arena. Many artists such as Die Antwoord to LGBT photographer Zanele Muholi are continuously shunned by the ANC government because they use art as a platform to express their feelings about the "new" South Africa. I think socio-political freedom can result from artistic expression, but will the ANC allow freedom of speech and the space to create through all platforms.

Overall, this book critically analyzed many of South Africa's post-apartheid issues and hopefully will start serious conversations between the aforementioned stakeholders. This book is addressed to those who have a grasp on the issues confronting South Africa and may not attract the novice. Although land distribution was briefly mentioned, preferred an entire chapter on the subject would have been preferable, for outside education and unemployment it is South Africa's biggest issue and needs to be redressed. Generally, the literature addressed many socio-political concerns in post-apartheid South Africa and will relate to those who study it with sincerity, address its past with honesty, and explore its future with promise.

Corey W. Holmes, *Howard University*

Peter Vale and Estelle Prinsloo (eds.). 2014. *Intellectual Traditions In South Africa: Ideas, Individuals and Institutions*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press. 364 pp.

Intellectual Traditions in South Africa is a collection of thirteen chapters based on three themes: inherited ideas and the transition of institutions, the resistance of domination through the lens of African and Asian alternatives, and religious philosophy and liberation.

The first section discusses liberalism and race in South Africa and whether Marxism is still a good fit in South Africa. This section left the reader pondering whether the African National Congress (ANC) is continuing the work of the National Party, and does positivism influence an apartheid past with a multicultural present state? Pieter Duvenage discusses renowned Afrikaner historian Hermann Giliomee's belief that Marxism and liberalism create divided societies. He further asserts that the ANC-led government has always been a national movement, and only considers non-racialism when consolidating power. He also believes Marxism creates materiality and individualistic thinking, which is a misguided notion according to the ANC's mantra of "Amandla Abantu" (Power to the People). Andrew Nash's chapter on the "Double Lives of South African Marxism" provides another example of Marxism being lost on the majority of South African's citizens. This reviewer thinks that Mandela's ANC government was focused on stabilizing capitalism and being acclimated to the global economy, which served as a deterrent of majority inclusion. Some believe Marxism creates individualistic thinking and revision is needed.

The second section considers whether state nationalism is disguised as African nationalism in South Africa; the origins of Pan-Africanism; Steve Biko's Black Conscious Movement and how it has shaped today's youth; Gandhism's effect on South Africa's culture; and the contributions women have made in South Africa's patriarchal state. Mabogo More's illumination of Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement displayed its philosophical origins. It did not, however, show how it was influenced by South Africa's Anton Lembede, Negritude writer and philosopher Aimé Césaire, or the Trinidadian-American Black Power Movement leader Kwame Toure. If this chapter had dealt with such intellectual origins it would have been more relevant.

Helen Moffet's chapter "Feminism and the South African Polity" affirms that South Africa's constitution is an extraordinary document that has not reached its full, liberating capacity because of an ingrained patriarchal narrative that consumes the society. Moffet claims that women who occupy elite positions in government obscure women who are marginalized based on sexual orientation. She maintains that the ANC government's gender equality policy is an illusion. This illusion is often depicted in "rural hearings", ANC politics, and patriarchal households. Former ANC Member of Parliament Pregs Govender affirms in her memoir *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination* that a female ANC colleague scolded her for choosing the marginalized over the party. This clearly demonstrates the ANC's mindset as an elite patriarchal organization.

The last section of the book is centered on four religious themes in South Africa: Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism, and Islam. As a Christian who lived in South Africa for a brief period, it was fascinating to read Anthony Egan's "Christianity as an Intellectual Tradition in South Africa." The chapter showed how the Dutch Reformed family of churches held a stronghold over South Africa from the earliest Dutch settlers until the 1990s. Afrikaners saw

Christianity as giving strength to subdue the majority race, while black South Africans viewed the Christian God as a liberator.

The editors and contributors of this publication reignited the conversation on intellectual ideas in South Africa. This is a book best suited for graduate level scholars and professionals who are serious about critiquing paradigms and social structures in South Africa. Missing from the collection are contributions about Anton Lembede, and hopefully his intellectual prowess will be documented in future publications. Overall, the book reflected South Africa's intellectual fervor which is a refreshing respite from foreign policy themes.

Corey W. Holmes, *Howard University*

Rica Viljoen. 2015 *Inclusive Organizational Transformation: An African Perspective on Human Niches and Diversity of Thought*. Farnham, Surrey: Gower Publishing, Ltd. 325 pp.

Development expert Rica Viljoenis is a master strategist in organizational transformation, culture optimization, and leadership development as well as the founder and owner of Mandala Consulting Ltd, South Africa, with twenty years of experience as a proficient consultant in organizational and cultural change. She has held (amongst others) the position of a top executive in Absa Bank and is currently a senior research fellow at the University of Johannesburg where she heads the Department of People Management at the Da Vinci Institute for Innovation Management. Viljeon is thus well qualified to bring novelty and insight into the worldview of sustainable individual and organizational transformation, via leaderships of inclusivity, representivity, innovation, cultural awareness, and diversity of thought, utilizing psychologist Clare W. Graves's Spiral Dynamics "for understanding the nature and character of change" (p. 75).

Given her perception of organizational phenomenon, usually captured from a Western context in which interventions are often incongruous with diverse local environments, Viljoen seamlessly interweaves memories, stories, theories, perspectives, empirical investigations (from multiple voices across multiple disciples and geographical locations), and personal craft to open a vista of inclusivity and why "multicultural organizations should aim at understanding national cultural dynamics and at gaining insight into differences in the worldviews of people in the organization" (p. 117). Chapter 1, "Finding My Roots," introduces the book via Viljoen's personal story, including the conceptualization of inclusivity and the positioning of the story-telling strategies that are central to this book. This includes finding the author's voice and developing her roots, via life experimentations with the Grounding, Emerging, Navigating, and Effecting (GENE) Model framework of Ronnie Lessem and Alexander Schieffer (p. 2) at Mandala Consulting Ltd, which helped advanced her cultural awareness, the rainbow colors analysis of Africa, and the integral inclusivity logic.

Following the introductory chapter, the book has five parts. Part I, "Theoretical Grounding," contains chapter 2 (which conceptualized integral inclusivity, organizational gestalt, and individual presence) and chapter 3 (which captured the contours, processes, prerequisite, measurement, and the story-telling mechanisms of constructing and optimizing inclusivity, to amplify organizational transformation). Chapter 4, 5 and 6 form Part II, "Emerging Human Niches." In chapter 4, Viljoen conceptualized and applied human niches to

organizational theory, while incorporating the spiral dynamic theory of diverse human thinking along with Loraine Laubscher in chapter 5. Chapter 6 essentially expanded insight into “the thinking of different countries” as well as addressed African dilemma (p. 120), by involving practical applications of human niches at individual, organizational, and national level. In Part III, “Navigating Diversity Thought,” chapter 7 decodes the complexity and potentialities of diversity, which necessitate building blocks, to create individual presence, voice and consciousness. Chapter 8 deals with unlocking of human energy via transformational leadership to drive congruity and performance at individual, group, organizational, and national levels.

In Part IV, “Navigating Through Transformation,” chapters 9 and 10 present Ghana’s cultural dynamics and the mechanics of inclusivity via the narratives of the “cantata” intervention, which harmonizes cultural ideologies that are incongruous with organizational strategy. Relatively, the purple color analysis finds expression in the case studies of the Damang and Tarkwa, mining companies, which adumbrate the imperatives of inclusivity strategy. Similarly, chapters 11 and 12 explore the logic of inclusive strategy, the blue color analysis and the Absa financial broker’s case study, to narrate successful organizational transformation. Part V, “Effecting Integral Leadership,” consists of chapters 12 and 13. The former employed the concept of inclusivity to interrogate the implication of human niches, cultural dynamics, and leadership engagement styles on organizational psyche via the case study of five sovereign nations (Australia, South Africa, Peru, China, and the Philippines). The latter deployed the insights gained from the organizational inclusivity concept to “apply at the national level too” (p. 299) in order to achieve a sustainable and large-scale transformation across South Africa.

While *Inclusive Organizational Transformation: An African perspective on Human Niches and Diversity of Thought* may not yet appear a path-breaking text on worldviews of individuals and organizational transformation and sustainability, it does present a multi-vocal and diverse approach to expanding individual and organizational integral transformation via inclusivity, diversity, and exploration of the spiral dynamics of human niches, which will be appreciated by scholars and managers at different levels of organizational development.

Emeka Smart Oruh, *Brunel University*

Margarethe von Eckenbrecher. 2015. *Africa: What It Gave Me, What It took from Me: Remembrances from my Life as a German Settler in South West Africa*. Translated and edited by David P. Crandall, Hans-Wilhelm Kelling, and Paul E. Kelly. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press. 379 pp.

Margarethe von Eckenbrecher, née Hopfer, was very much a woman of her time. Born in provincial Prussia in 1875, in the early years of the *Kaiserreich*, her family was conservative, monarchist, and economically secure. She was educated at a boarding school for “women of nobility,” where the curriculum included philosophy, mathematics, science, English, and French. Having become fluent in English during three years of living and studying in England, on her return to Germany Margarathe attended lectures in philosophy and theology at Humboldt University. Her reminiscences do not stress religious faith but convey a recognizably

late nineteenth-century spirituality. With a strong grasp of what she called the “History of Woman,” centuries of subjection and suppression, she was nonetheless an enterprising housewife and mother, an equal partner to her husband. Margaret and her cousin, Themistokles von Eckenbrecher II, were married in early 1902, after a long friendship and one broken engagement. He had already spent time in South-West Africa, and within six weeks of their wedding the couple sailed from Hamburg to settle in what had been since 1884 a German Imperial Protectorate.

Book I of Margarethe’s memoir, first published separately in 1907, gives a gripping account of the family’s setting-up and development of their farm at Okombahe. It was a demanding undertaking. The German occupation had not taken complete hold of the territory, the indigenous people were resistant, the natural conditions harsh, and the von Eckenbrechers were often lonely and far from the most basic services. They had achieved a great deal when the Herero rebellion and War of 1904 sent the family back to Germany. Book II continues the story. After ten difficult years in Germany, which included divorce, Margarethe returned with her two sons to South-West Africa, where in Windhoek she resumed her career as a teacher. Although her narrative suggests how powerfully she embraced life, these were difficult years. World War I and the South African mandate and occupation made life hard for the German colonists. Margarethe’s younger son Hans-Henning (Büdi) died in 1927 of typhus at the age of 22. Nonetheless Margarethe continued as a resourceful home-maker and active citizen, pursuing her teaching career for more than thirty years, until she retired from the Realschule at the age of 73. She died in Cape Town, where her elder son had settled, in 1955.

Margarethe seems to have been sustained by a complex of sometimes paradoxical qualities: a deep love for her husband and her children, a strong conviction of the cultural and ethnic superiority of her own people combined with a genuine humanitarian sympathy for and readiness to serve her African neighbors and employees. She was acknowledged by others as an exemplary colonial German and was convinced of the positive achievements of her nation’s imperial enterprise. Her “Germanity” involved a patriotic, if individualist, loyalty that carried her over from Frederick the Great to Paul von Hindenburg and the Führer (Adolf Hitler), whose pictures, among others “richly decorated” the walls of her standard V classroom. She was apprehensive of “Africa for the Africans,” claiming that, according to “old natives . . . life was better under German rule.” She had, nonetheless, a sharp eye and ear for the ironies of the colonial encounter: she hears her “black nanny” singing her child to sleep with tunes learned “from our own soldiers,” and on trek she is ready to acknowledge the local knowledge of the *indigènes*.

This serviceable and clear “first full-length English translation” achieves a genuine sense of an individual voice. The “Reader’s Introduction” helpfully contextualizes the story in the colonial history of the time. Footnotes on some of Margarethe’s frequent references to and quotations from writers and artists would have been welcome. Goethe is her “good friend” but Margarethe refers also to Wilhelm Busch, Böcklin, Horace, Bodenstedt, and others. The von Eckenbrechers arrived in South-West Africa during the Anglo-Boer War, when their sympathies seem to have been with the British, but many of their neighbors and fellows were “Boers,” and Afrikaans (or Cape Dutch) seems to have been something of a lingua franca, as it had been in parts of Southern Africa for about a century. The editors and translators are not alive to this, so

that they often simply transliterate what Margarthe heard rather than giving the Afrikaans words, many of which are today part of South African (or Southern African) English.

Tony Voss, *University of Kwazulu-Natal*

Elizabeth C. Zsiga, One Tlale Boyer, and Ruth Kramer (eds.). 2014. *Languages in Africa: Multilingualism, Language Policy, and Education*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. xii, 207 pp.

Zsiga, Boyer, and Kramer's edited volume, *Languages in Africa: Multilingualism, Language Policy, and Education*, considers multilingualism in the African context, described by the editors as one in which "languages are layered, or nested, in concentric circles" (p. 1) of home, national, and international language. Although the editors acknowledge that the volume sets out to explore the interaction of multilingualism with education and language policy, this focus is not addressed to a great extent in some chapters. However, all fourteen essays ask broader questions about "how language policies and language attitudes affect and are affected by the facts of living in a world of multi-layered languages" (p. 2).

Bokamba's chapter provides an operational (re-)definition of multilingualism—"the existence of three or more languages as media of daily (oral) communication for a given society or speaker" (p. 40)—and notes that multilingualism is often erroneously considered as synonymous with bilingualism. The chapter provides a theoretical framework for the volume and a background for the case studies, and would have been better served as the first chapter. A few typos do not detract from its importance.

Several contributors provide evidence that initial literacy, and learning in general, is best achieved via native language instruction, and advocate for policy development, implementation, or change towards the inclusion of minority languages in education, increased government support for minority language documentation or revitalization, and development of curriculum resources for literacy. Arkorful's chapter on the factors that enable learners in Ghana's Complementary Education Program, unlike those in the formal school system, to construct knowledge provides valuable insight into the conditions necessary for real learning in African rural communities. Trudell and Adger's chapter is instructive as to the importance of linguistics for successful literacy acquisition. It advocates for linguistics-based reading research tailored for African-language contexts and shaped by African linguistic realities. Kiramba's critical review of research on classroom discourse in Kenyan multilingual classrooms highlights the constraints on children's education and the negative effects on teachers brought about by the use of an unfamiliar language of instruction. Walter expands upon the nature and consequences of teacher effects in education. His conclusion that teacher deficiency in the language of instruction results in weak mastery of subject content and subsequently in poor student performance provides a strong argument for change in education policy.

There is also a discussion on how language and education policies have marginalized minority languages and accelerated their decline. Boyer and Zsiga describe the case of the Sebirwa language and propose the inclusion of minority languages in education to preserve such languages and enhance national unity. They also note the importance of oral tradition for teaching language for revitalization, a theme taken up in Njwe's chapter, which offers a

simplistic documentation of proverbs from endangered Cameroonian languages but proposes the inclusion of the genre in education programs.

Both Seid and Shah focus on language shift as an outcome of language policies. They present two perspectives whose contrast enriches our understanding of the phenomenon. In Seid's study young people "feel only a loose or insignificant attachment to their ethnic identity" (p. 109), while Shah records that a strong ethnic identity can be maintained through identification with cultural symbols.

The effect of language and education policies and practices on language attitudes is a major focus of the volume. Muaka's chapter on billboard advertising provides an excellent analysis of how language choice and practice in advertising reflect official language policies, general language attitudes, and sociopolitical realities. Beyogle's chapter reiterates the widely documented fact that educational policies constitute the major factor in the formation and maintenance of attitudes that devalue African languages. It makes the important contribution that any changes in language policy should take such attitudes into consideration. The devaluing of African languages is discussed in relation to film in Pandey's chapter, an in-depth examination of the strategies employed in award-winning twenty-first century films to "invisibilize" and "pathologize" African languages and portray African multilingualism as valueless. African multilingualism is, however, shown to result in creativity. Odebunmi's chapter, an important contribution to African hip-hop scholarship, examines the "glocalization" of hip-hop's "transgressive linguistic practice" (p. 133) via linguistic strategies that draw from the resources afforded by multilingualism. Similarly Muaka's chapter on Kenyan political discourse describes the stylistic strategies used by Kenyan politicians to appeal to audiences from different ethnic groups.

The volume offers a major contribution to multilingualism scholarship and opens up unexplored dimensions of the phenomenon. It provides fresh insight into the sociolinguistics of multilingualism by bringing together a wide range of case studies, especially those on languages whose critical status has not been reported before. Its coverage is enhanced by contributions from scholars that work both within and outside Africa. It will interest a wide range of readers, including African linguists, language educators, policy makers, and graduate students interested in multilingualism research.

Ihuoma I. Akinremi, *University of Jos*