

BOOK REVIEWS

Julius O. Adekunle. *Culture and Customs of Rwanda*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2007. xix, 164 pp.

Researches that bring the cultures of African countries to the world's attention are important for general knowledge transfer, historical and anthropological research, and development studies. Researches that bring the cultures of African countries to the world's attention are important for general knowledge transfer, historical and anthropological research, and development studies. While the western media has proven to be influential in its coverage of Africa, it has failed to depict satisfactorily the realities on-ground. This is probably why books remain the most reliable means for information dissemination, part of the series "Culture and Customs of Africa," captures the comprehensiveness of African culture and customs, with particular emphasis on Rwanda. This country's "recent period of genocide disrupted traditionally legitimized institutions..." (p.117) has been the principal news focus, but it is presented in this volume in the most different way.

With a foreword written by Toyin Falola, the volume is well structured and focuses on all relevant aspects of the daily lives of the people of Rwanda. It provides a well researched above-basic history, along with examples of religious beliefs, music and dance, literatures, architecture, gender issues, village customs, and family lives. The first chapter provides a historical overview along with information on politics, economy, and geography. The other chapters examine various aspects of culture and customs of the different peoples living within the country. The second chapter in particular exposes the country's religion and worldview and provides considerable information on the traditional polytheistic cultures of its people and the evolution and practise of today's Christianity within these cultures.

Rwanda, little known to the rest of the world prior to 1994, has become the cynosure of cultural and anthropological researchers. A lot has been commented and written about the country as a result of the genocide, but not much effort has been put towards evoking the positive sides of the country. A great deal has been hypothesized and promoted on how best to rebuild the structural fabrics of the country, but little is being done towards presenting the socio-historical aspect of the Rwandan people to the outside world in its truest form. This book fills this important gap within contemporary discourses on Africa. Adekunle provides culturally important facts about Rwanda without wasting space on the miseries of the country's 1994 history. The book is a portrait of the wealth of Rwanda's traditional cultural heritage, which revolves around poetry, music, praise-singing, and dances that reflect its history, historicity, beliefs, and worldview. Issues ranging from "literature and media" to "cuisines and traditional dress," "gender roles," and "music and dance" are well studied.

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/pdfs/v11i4a6.pdf>

The book adopts a very clear objective, which it achieves through a clear methodology. If the objective of the author was to directly educate his readers with historical narratives of Rwanda while indirectly tracing the causes of the genocide, then his goal is accomplished. Also, if the book was written in order to indirectly enlighten its readers on Africa through a Rwandan case-study, once again, the goal is achieved. The book comes with a mixture of bland historicity and cultural elucidations on Rwanda, laced in a tone of advocacy and wrapped in a voice of urgency. The entire volume is a mix of clear scholarly research presented in the most intellectually stimulating diction. The use of photos, a glossary, and a historical timeline makes for good illustrations and easy understanding. The volume's well-chosen bibliography gives credence to its originality and breadth. Overall, it presents Rwandan in a way that catches the interest of any lover of history, culture, and politics about Africa and African countries.

Culture and Customs of Rwanda is a call to the world to know and understand Rwanda and Rwandans. It should capture a wide audience, ranging from undergraduate to graduate students and to general African studies researchers and practitioners. Individuals, consultants, and organizations interested in specific studies and researches on Rwanda will find it very useful. Also, due to its simplicity and clarity, it surely will appeal to other levels of readership, such as tourists and diplomats heading to Rwanda, who would through reading this book would gain a deep understanding of the country. It is a fact, according to Kofi Annan, that "in their greatest hour of need, the world failed the people of Rwanda." What Adekunle has done in this book is to restate the need for the world not to fail Rwanda or any other country again.

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Peter Alegi. *African Soccerscapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010. xvi, 179 pp.

With South Africa hosting the FIFA 2010 World Cup football (soccer) tournament, the first ever on African soil, from June 11 to July 11, Africanist historian Peter Alegi's *African Soccerscapes* could not have appeared at a more opportune moment. Staging the mega event in Africa indeed necessitates rewriting the history of the world's most popular sport and, arguably, most "beautiful" game. Accordingly, Alegi's concise and ingenious book is a timely reminder about the impact African players have had on global football and an affirmation of Africa's mounting stature as a football powerhouse. The author posits the "Africanization" of world football as a complex experience in which political, economic, and cultural forces are at play.

Undeniably an increasing number of African players, among them Côte d'Ivoire's Didier Drogba of Chelsea (England), Ghana's Michael Essien also of Chelsea, and Cameroon's Samuel Eto'o of Inter Milan (Italy), are now plying their trade with elite clubs in Europe. And this means they compete with the best football players in the world such as Argentina's Lionel Messi of Barcelona (Spain), Portugal's Cristiano Ronaldo of Real Madrid (Spain), and England's Wayne Rooney of Manchester United (England), among others. This display of Africa's

competitive spirit in sporting terms is even more impressive considering the shabby state of many domestic football leagues and associations across the continent.

While Africa's progress in football management has been patchy at best, its pool of talented football players continues to expand and impress scouting officials from European and, more recently, Asian football clubs. Yet, Alegi shows that the globalization and commercialization of African football has not always been in the best interest of African players. Rather, European football clubs and agents have made millions of dollars through the recruitment of African players, a significant number of whom have failed to attain the kind of success players such as Drogba and Essien (now football-rich millionaires) have enjoyed in recent years. Africa's "muscle drain," which some cynics consider a form of "football slavery," has not only ruined the careers of many young and promising African players but also had a debilitating impact on national leagues across the continent.

Indeed, scores of young African players recruited by European football agents and clubs after outstanding performances in FIFA Under-17 and Under-20 football tournaments have had their careers derailed after migrating to Europe. But Alegi is far from being pessimistic about the future of African football. That South Africa is hosting the 2010 World Cup is by itself a firm statement about Africa's will to move forward and display its organizational competence. Likewise, the continent's current crop of accomplished players from Algeria, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Nigeria (the five African teams that qualified for the tournament) will join Bafana Bafana (The Boys, The Boys), the South African team, as Africa's representatives to compete with the world's best football nations such as Argentina, Brazil, England, Italy, Spain, and The Netherlands.

Alegi's previous work on football and politics in South Africa—his area of specialization—puts him in a vantage position to take on a continental expedition tracing the development of African football since the late nineteenth century, when British colonial officials first introduced the game in their African colonies.^{002E1} In doing so, he draws on a wide array of published English and French sources interspersed with oral testimonies extracted from other works. By working up his sources and weaving them meticulously, Alegi constructs a fluid and coherent narrative that demonstrates how Africa developed a distinctive football culture shaped by its sociopolitical and economic conditions during and after the colonial period. World football today is aware of Africa's treasure chest of gifted players. Alegi's main argument, in fact, is that "African players, coaches, officials and fans have written crucial chapters in the history of football and therefore any interpretation of the game's global past must address the interaction of African practitioners and fans with this exciting and nearly universal expression of human culture" (p. xii).

The book's six chapters combine a thematic and chronological arrangement that allow the author to draw on specific case studies to map out significant developments in the history of football in Africa from its humble beginnings as a minority European colonialists' pastime to the continent's most popular hobby and spectator sport. Alegi demonstrates that in the immediate post-colonial period, African political leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea (Conakry), and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (Democratic Republic of the Congo), to name only a few, capitalized on football's popularity to kindle

national allegiance to the fragile nation-states inherited from the colonial past. Since then, the game's popularity in Africa has continued to increase exponentially as cable and satellite TV and the internet have cut across ethnic, religious, and national boundaries to bring together diverse supporters from disenfranchised as well as elite groups. The book's epilogue highlights the build-up to the World Cup in South Africa and its implications for both the country and Africa in general.

Because Alegi writes in a language that is accessible to non-specialists and casual readers, the book will appeal to those outside academia seeking a quick read about African football to understand how South Africa came to host the world's most important sporting event. In particular, the book will benefit sports journalists in need of a concise but rich reference about football in Africa since the colonial period. For academia, instructors teaching undergraduate courses about global sports or sports in Africa could assign the book or selected chapters to students, who most likely will appreciate the material for its informative strength, brevity, and lucidity.

African Soccerscapes is too concise, though. In addition, this is as much a complement as a criticism. For a book aimed at providing a panoramic view of the development of African football and its contribution to the global game, it is a fast-paced account that covers significant grounds in only 179 pages. Still, the price paid for brevity is the omission of many "household names" in African soccer while several less accomplished players feature in the book. There is no space, for example, for the likes of Rashidi Yekini of Nigeria, Abdul Razak of Ghana, Cherif Soulaymane of Guinea, and Papa Camara of Guinea. Although some of the excluded players may not have played in European leagues during their heyday, they personified football in not only their local communities but throughout the continent. Thus in a book about the growth of African football since the colonial period, even a one-line tribute to some of the players would have been the least they deserve.

In addition, Alegi tucks away women's football in Africa in the last eight pages of chapter six, which may strike some readers as a token gesture to bring women into a male-dominated narrative. Sure enough, I think a separate chapter on women's football in Africa would have enriched the gender balance of the book.

Further, it is somehow odd that the doyen of radio commentary on African football, the Zambian Dennis Liwewe, whose unmistakable voice brought the African Nations Cup to life before cable and satellite television became popular in Africa, does not feature in the book at all. Yet those who have followed African football since the 1970s would affirm Liwewe's immense contribution to popularizing the game across the continent. It is somehow ironic therefore that a lesser-known Senegalese soccer commentator, Allou, for example, gets the plaudit as "a kind of football griot" (p. 43), a title more appropriate for Liwewe, who as a BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) sports correspondent covered most major football events in Africa for several decades.

Even if the abovementioned quibbles were serious limitations, they would not diminish the importance and timeliness of Alegi's study. Truth told, sports in Africa only started to get serious academic attention a decade or two ago. As such, *African Soccerscapes* adds much substance to a body of knowledge on Africa that is still in its embryonic phase. Conclusively,

the book is a fitting tribute to the most historic moment in South Africa (and Africa) since the 1994 election of Nelson Mandela as the first black president of the host country of the 2010 FIFA World Cup.

Note

1. Peter Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2004).

Tamba E. M'bayo, *Hope College*

David Baronov. *The African Transformation of Western Medicine and the Dynamics of Global Cultural Exchange*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008. x, 248 pp.

As an African historian who writes about the history of African therapeutics I was drawn to Baronov's title and opening questions. What are the "contributions of local African societies and cultures to the development of biomedicine in Africa?" What can the West "learn about Western medicine by understanding the African contributions to the development of biomedicine?" While he does a good job addressing how the colonial and post-colonial African context affected the role of biomedicine on the continent, the second question—also the title of his book—is continually alluded to but never answered. I had anticipated that this book might look at the influence Africans had on Western medicine through their role in introducing African remedies and medicinal plants to the biomedical pharmacopeia, or perhaps African influences on the agenda of the World Health Organization. Instead, Baronov rehashes older literature on African therapeutics, medical pluralism, and biomedicine and empire while creating new categories of analysis to examine these subjects.

Trained as a sociologist and clearly steeped within world systems theory, Baronov attempts to add a cultural dimension to an analytical framework that is otherwise dominated by economics. Indeed, the book does not aim to add new research regarding the topic of medicine in Africa but instead uses the topic as a foil to reflect upon the role of biomedicine as a "historical cultural formation" that was both transformed by the periphery and in turn "transformed the capitalist world system." Baronov is not an Africanist *per se*, having written his dissertation and, in 2000, first book on *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil*. Indeed, given his premise, that African pluralistic medical cultures made room for and incorporated biomedicine, one wonders why the study is even based in Africa? Indeed his argument could seemingly apply to any developing region where medical cultures are open and pluralistic in nature.

During the past fifteen years, scholars have examined the ways in which biomedicine acted as a tool of empire in both practical and ideological ways. Advances in tropical medicine enabled Europeans to live on the continent and cure African bodies, while ideas of race and science allegedly justified imperialism and racial segregation. While biomedicine was initially introduced by missionaries who hoped to win souls by curing bodies, wider access to

biomedicine became the concern of colonial officials particularly after World War I. Anxiety about the health of African workers led to the training of Africans as biomedical dressers, medical aids, and led to the opening of local dispensaries. While Africans largely continued to utilize African healers and understand the body and illness through their own local cosmologies, biomedicine became one alternative amongst other medical options. Biomedicine in its various forms—coerced and otherwise—and through different practitioners—European and African—challenged local cultural milieus. For instance, biomedicine encouraged bodily and individualistic understandings of illness rather than social and communal ones. Such medical interactions could thus frustrate practitioners of both medical cultures. Likewise, the practical and ideological uses of biomedicine led many Africans to develop a degree of skepticism towards biomedicine even if they sometimes used it themselves. Baronov re-examines and synthesizes much of this history on the continent, but creates his own structural categories of analysis—referring to the “three ontological spheres” of biomedicine—as a scientific enterprise, as a symbolic-cultural expression, and as an expression of social power.

Unfortunately, this analysis is often cumbersome, repetitive, and leads Baronov to write in the abstract rather than the concrete. Occasionally there are areas of specific examples—the history of biomedicine in the West or of African therapeutics as practiced primarily in the 1970s. These are easy to follow though they do not always make his point. For instance, theoretically he recognizes the plurality and dynamic changing nature of African therapeutics, yet he refers to his relatively modern examples of African therapeutics as *antecedents* of African syncretic medicine or what he terms “African biomedicine.” Given that Africans have been incorporating aspects of biomedicine and “modernity” into African therapeutics since at least the early twentieth century, such examples should demonstrate syncretism not antecedents. More frustrating, however, is that the author does not use specific examples to make his final claims. This book’s argument is built chapter by chapter, but the final chapter which purports to tie together his various assertions includes no evidence that demonstrates how so-called African biomedicine changed Western biomedicine.

Indeed, Baronov’s larger problem remains the use and concept of “African biomedicine.” Without explanation, Baranov sidesteps the relatively common and useful concept of medical pluralism—the co-existence of multiple medical cultures available to and utilized by patients. On the one hand, he recognizes African therapeutics as pluralistic, but claims that “the introduction of biomedicine” led the “historical-cultural transition from African pluralistic medicine to African syncretic medicine,” which he says is more accurate to call “African biomedicine.” Yet then he claims biomedicine is no more outside of Kamba pluralistic medicine than “medical techniques and botanicals that the Kamba have borrowed from their Luo neighbors.” Baranov’s proposal seems to make several leaps of logic. First, African medicine has always been syncretic. And why does the addition of biomedicine to a medically plural society result in a new creation altogether? Isn’t it just medical pluralism again? Second, he underplays the significance of therapeutic border-crossing, which in and of itself, is often deliberate and seen as powerful and therapeutic. In a medically plural society, healers as well as patients make distinctions between various medical treatments and practitioners. Third, he simplifies relations between biomedicine and African therapeutics. Biomedicine was/is state supported and more

tightly regulated in terms of who gets access to medicines, tools, and licenses, whereas Kamba or Luo medicine may not be formally regulated. While some healers may have incorporated certain substances, tools, or diagnoses of biomedicine, it is always within the ontological sphere of African medical pluralism. But even here we must be careful about assuming a direction of influences. Using the example of successful yaws treatment in East Africa, he presumes the “absorption” of needles or needle-like devices into African therapeutics, whereas in southern Africa, African healers use of needle-like tools predates the introduction of biomedicine. Indeed, biomedical doctors used local medical terms to explain vaccinations to the wider African population. If we are to believe the somewhat dubious claim that biomedicine is being absorbed into African therapeutics, why should Baronov privilege biomedicine by terming the result “African biomedicine?” This makes it rather confusing, particularly when he refers to Africans who practice biomedicine as “African biomedical practitioners,” and practitioners of African therapeutics (African biomedicine) as PMPs or pluralistic medical practitioners (another created category). And what are we to call university biomedicine that is practiced and advanced on the continent?

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Daniel Branch. *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya: Counterinsurgency, Civil War, and Decolonization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. xx, 250 pp.

Daniel Branch wrote *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya* with an explicit expectation that his readers know little, if anything, about the 1950s Mau Mau insurgency in Kenya. Acknowledging the relevance of the topic in light of the current situations in Iraq and Afghanistan, Branch tackles the conflict’s traditional political space in Kenyan history. More importantly, he confronts debates on “the lessons of imperialism, the nature of contemporary warfare, and the dynamics of civil wars” directly in response to doubts about the Mau Mau’s rightful place in Kenyan politics (p. xvi). It is in this latter area that Branch’s pragmatic analysis stand outs.

In addition to its Introduction and Conclusion, *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya* is cleverly divided into six empirical chapters. The first three of these successfully lay the foundation for Branch’s later focus on loyalism by examining its origins within the rise and fall of the Mau Mau insurgency. His intentions are to clarify the “ambiguity that characterized the war’s early stages” and explore “how from [this indistinctness] the cleavage between the Mau Mau supporters and loyalists emerged” (p. xvi). Branch contemplates the “significance of violence as a force” in guiding the course of the conflict and its resulting legacies. It is this focus on violence and the participants’ actions during the conflict that make his book well worth the read. The author deftly delivers an analysis of the conflict that makes one instantly wish to seek more in-depth information about how, and particularly why, the Mau Mau insurgency is still relevant in the current Kenyan political environment.

Branch begins his analysis at the local level, during a tragic evening in mid-October 1952, with an event that places family loyalties against national identity. While his story of a poor widow named Matari and her gruesome death at the hands of her brother-in-law was only a minor speck in the history of the conflict, it exemplifies the significance of Branch's examination of this conflict. It is in the search for answers to Matari's dilemma that this book differs from the existing literature on three significant points: that "...loyalists were a far more important component of the conflict than...other accounts of the Mau Mau war" conclude; that it is the "similarities shared" between the loyalists and insurgents and not their differences "that are most notable;" and that the "motivations of loyalists were far more complex than too often assumed" (pp. 4-5).

In direct response to counterinsurgency theory's dogma of winning the hearts and minds of the people, Branch declares that the "war between Mau Mau and the colonial state was...less about hearts and minds and rather more concerned with the eyes, ears, and mouths of potential informants" (p. 53). In fact, he concludes his analysis by stating that "no war can be understood until the limits of agency are acknowledged, its violence adequately explained, and all its witnesses and protagonists incorporated into its history" (p. 224). With that said, *Defeating Mau Mau, Creating Kenya* offers to all those interested in counterinsurgency operations—and want to venture beyond the current operations in Afghanistan—an excellent case study of "the particularly pernicious, invasive, and decisive nature of counterinsurgency campaigns" (p. 211).

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Judith A. Byfield, LaRay Denzer, and Anthea Morrison (eds). *Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture, and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010. xiv, 329 pp.

The present study is a product of a November 2002 International Conference held at Hanover, New Hampshire under the auspices of Dartmouth's African and African American Studies Program, the York University UNESCO Nigerian Hinterland Project, and the Text and Testimony Collective. Specialists in the field of women and gender studies as well as Diaspora Studies collectively offer an interdisciplinary and comparative approach to the experiences of women in Africa and the Americas. The essays cover a broad chronological scope, touching on significant events from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century. The stated purpose of the volume is to provide information on the linkages and shared experiences between women in the Caribbean and women in the Nigerian hinterland. This study stands out mainly because it moves the question of gender firmly into the discussion on the African Diaspora and Global Studies. It reveals that at different historical periods, women on both sides of the Atlantic established strong links and negotiated their identity even within the context of slavery, labor and sex exploitation, racism, colonialism, and patriarchy.

The editors set the tone of the study by first, engaging recent scholarship in order to unpack the complex meanings and definitions of the term "Diaspora." Diaspora is defined as a

process and a condition. As “a process it is constantly being remade through movement, migration, and travel, as well as imagined through thought, cultural production, and political struggle. As a condition, the African Diaspora exists within a global context of hierarchies of class, race, and gender” (p. 1). This definition goes against previous scholarships that define the African Diaspora as a mere dispersal of populations across the globe. Second, the editors push forward a major corrective by claiming that the experiences of blacks in North America cannot stand as the standard for explaining black identities in other parts of the world. Third, they point attention to the academic lacunae existing in the historiography: it is argued, for instance, that more scholarly work needs to be done on the impact of the Igbo culture in the Diaspora; on the migration of African female labor to the Caribbean and North America in the twenty-first century; on the educational, religious, and cultural exchanges between people of West Africa and the West Indies; and on varied trans-national networks developed by West Indian missionaries in Africa during the nineteenth century.

The volume assembles twelve essays divided into three main sections. The first two chapters are grouped under the heading “Africa in the Caribbean Imagination.” Faith Lois Smith re-creates the thoughts of nineteenth century clergymen and the black middle class in Trinidad. Largely influenced by Christian values and western education, vocal middle class men in Trinidad constructed women in Africa as ignorant and submissive and women in Trinidad as intellectual companions of middle class men. These men were fully committed to the abolition of the institution of slavery in the continent they regarded as their original home. Anthea Morrison complicates the idea of “Africa as home” by providing an inter-textual reading of the fictional works of Maryse Conde and Paul Marshall. In their fictional works, they present the image of African women crossing from one part of the Diaspora to the other, making sense of their gendered and racial identity, and more importantly, constructing their identity in relation to their imagined home, which may be either Africa or any other part of the Caribbean.

Part Two, “Race, Gender, and Agency in the shadow of Slavery” comprises six essays with related themes. Sturtz, MacDonald Smythe, and Samaro offer illuminating analyses on the changes and continuities in the performance of race and gender in the new world. Sturtz teases out the complex racial categorization recorded in mid-eighteenth century Jamaica and its implications for women and children of women born of European and African parents. Using the life history of Mary Rose, the argument made is that women irrespective of racial classification carved a niche for themselves in the economic and social domain. In another chapter, MacDonald Smythe examines the ways Mary Seacole, a Jamaican woman who served as nurse during the Crimean war, defined whiteness and blackness and reconstructed her identity through autobiographical writing. The life of Maria Jones constitutes the main concern in Samaro’s chapter. The essay demonstrates the sharp racial classification recorded in Trinidad in the mid-eighteenth century and its implications for blacks of pure African ancestry. Women’s agency represents a major theme threading through this section. The fact that women in Africa and across the Atlantic carved a niche for themselves irrespective of class, race and social status comes out strong in all the narratives. Olatunji Ojo places attention on the experience and agency of Eastern Yoruba women in Southern Nigeria during the colonial period. Yoruba

women, he argues, appropriated British laws and western education to break free from certain traditional practices and advance their social, political, and economic rights. Janice Mayer, in another chapter, compares British educational policy in Southern Nigeria and Barbados from 1875 to the mid 1940s with the aim of analyzing the influence of Victorian ideologies of domesticity on girls' education.

In spite of the unifying themes, the essays presented in the study vary considerably in approach and point of emphasis. For instance, in the second section, Shepherd places special significance on ethnicity and gendered identities in the Diaspora using as examples the experience of migrant Indian women who formed a significant part of the population in Jamaica and Guyana during the nineteenth century. The article successfully locates the voices of Indian women who served as indentured servants in the Diaspora and provides accounts of rape and exploitation in their migratory journeys from Asia to the Caribbean. One of the chief strengths of this collection lies in its presentation of rich historical materials. It brings together sources including biographies, newspapers, autobiographies, public speeches, literary texts, archival materials, letters, missionary records, diaries, and official government publications. Overall, in spite of the differences in approach, sources, area of concentration, and thematic and stylistic expression, the essays purposefully integrate gender analysis into discussions on the African Diaspora.

The most impressive offerings in this collection are the essays grouped under the third section, "Building Diaspora in the Web of Empire." Of four chapters, two stand out. Hakim Adi's well written and thoughtful essay represents a model for generating further discussion on the sustained cultural and social linkages between women in the Caribbean and the Nigerian hinterland. He traces the social and political ties between Amy Ashwood Garvey and politically engaged Nigerian students living in Britain in the early twentieth century, a linkage that led to the formation of the Nigerian Progress Union in 1924. Adi convincingly shows that African and Caribbean women formulated thought provoking ideas on the African Diaspora independent of their male counterparts. By far the most enlightening essay is LaRay Denzer's analysis of the life histories of three women from the West Indies who stayed in Nigeria at different times from the 1920s to the 1950s. LaRay explores the activities of Dahlia Whitbourne, Henrietta Douglas, and Amy Ashwood Garvey within the Nigerian landscape, arguing that these women were fully committed to the eradication of the plight of black people in Africa and in the Diaspora.

Gloria Chukwu examines the economic well-being of Igbo women in Eastern Nigeria during the Second World War and argues that though war-time economic measures adopted by colonial officials led to the loss of economic independence for most Igbo women, some of these women found creative ways to advance their economic status. In the last chapter, Mojubaolu Okome constructs African women as independent migrant bodies engaged in international migration and the creation of virtual communities on the World Wide Web. Scholars will find useful different virtual communities, e-journals, and e-newsletters highlighted in the study. Although one wishes that the author engages more with advanced scholarships on migration theories on the feminization of migration.

The volume is well edited; the helpful maps and the accurately marked index make the volume convenient to navigate. The greatest achievement of the study is its coherent manner of

situating gender into the debates on the African Diaspora. One only wishes that the editors offer an overarching theoretical paradigm that complicates the discussion on the linkages between women in Africa and those in the Diaspora. The editors might need to consider a second volume since only few chapters successfully achieved the stated purpose of the study. This remark aside, the volume is a welcomed addition to the growing body of literature on gender in the African Diaspora. For its worth, it provides useful information to scholars and students interested in the following fields of study: gender studies, modern Nigerian history, slavery, migration studies, colonialism, globalization, and literary arts.

Tosin Funmi Abiodun, *University of Texas at Austin*

José Cossa. *Power, Politics and Higher Education in Southern Africa*. New York: Cambria Press, 2008. xxii, 226 pp.

This publication of Jose Cossa's doctoral dissertation contributes to a key area of research regarding the interface of power and politics in policy-making and higher education in Southern Africa, with a specific case study of Mozambique. The book persuasively argues that even in the postcolonial context the sovereignty of the African countries in domestic policy-making is impinged by global regimes. The author uses several critical theoretical perspectives and discourse, such as international regimes theory, filter effect theory (FET), African Renaissance, Marxism-Leninism, classical liberalism, globalization, and systems transfer to establish his arguments. The arguments are further supported by an empirical study through which the author analyzes the power dynamics of global international regimes (GIRs) such as the World Trade Organization/Global Agreement on Trade in Services (WTO/GATS) and regional international regimes (RIRs) such as the Association of African Universities (AAU), and the implications of such power dynamics on the educational autonomy of local governments in Southern Africa.

The first three chapters discuss in detail the theoretical and analytical framework of the research project. The fourth chapter explains the specific context for a project assessment of why the Machel and Chissano administrations adopted the policy of universal education under two different political systems and historical contexts in Mozambique. Chapter five elaborates the author's research methodology employed in investigating his research question—how do GIRs and RIRs perceive power dynamics during international negotiations that influence the autonomy of local governments to regulate higher education? Taking into consideration the fact that most research projects undertaken by social scientists to investigate the role of power and politics in policy-making takes a bottom-up approach in studying or interviewing the ones on whom power is exercised rather than the reverse. Thus, the very nature of Dr. Cossa's research question provides a fresh perspective at a less commonly treaded ground. It also imposed a major limitation on his research design, however, due to the difficulty of conducting elite interviews, which he acknowledges in the book. "Although my initial intent was that my study consist of a purposefully selected sample of at least 12 (n=12) respondents-namely, at least six

officials from GIRs and at least six officials from RIRs—I was only able to interview eight respondents in person and to use relevant interviews of three respondents acquired from a public forum” (p. 87).

Notwithstanding the limitation mentioned above, this book provides an excellent opportunity for young social scientists and researchers to learn from the rigorous methods used for the purpose of this research. The author conducted semi-structured interviews to collect his data and used a mixed method approach of qualitative and quantitative content analyses. The author triangulates between the nomothetic and ideographic methodological frameworks from the field of comparative education to interpret the data as he believes “when we manage to back up our sociocultural *verstehen* with a consideration of research propositions, our findings not only become less susceptible to criticism by one camp or another, but they become enhanced with a cross-field appreciation and respect” (p. 91).

The most important contribution of this study is its theoretical contribution in the field of comparative and international education by applying the FET as a tool for unveiling the subtleties of power dynamics among international regimes (GIRs and RIRs) and local governments. In doing so, Cossa’s study makes an attempt to show how the dimensions of power dynamics and international regimes theory has become key issues related to education globally. Based on the specific case study of Mozambique, the author makes generalizations about the role of power, politics, and higher education in Southern Africa. However, critics can easily put this generalization into question since Cossa provides little empirical data other than general findings from other countries, though he situates his study in the larger Southern African context in the literature review. Hence, we find him pointing out in conclusion that the study provides further ground for research in other parts of the world to understand the role of power dynamics in policy-making. This study also provides a good framework for those who are interested in studying the power negotiations between indigenous knowledge systems of Native Americans or Aborigines) and the modern systems of education in the context of globalization (p. 158). Therefore, this is a very important publication for all scholars and practitioners who are interested in education for international development and the factors affecting this development. Moreover, the implications of this study can be further extended beyond the area of higher education. It also enhances “the understanding of globalization by providing insight into nuanced forms of power that operate in the global arena and into the conflicting pressures that are put on individual countries by both global and regional forces” (p. 157). Though this empirical research makes a valuable addition to the globalization studies, however, the book is lacking in direct reference to existing globalization literature.

The key findings of this study as elaborated in chapter 8 shows very clearly the complexities that characterize power negotiations in international policy-making. Based on his legalistic conjecture about how GIRs and RIRs perceive power dynamics, Dr. Cossa explores several aspects of power dynamics in his analysis, such as hermeneutical power, informational power, manipulative power, monetary power, and regulatory power. The author thus ends the book re-emphasizing this complexity of power dynamics and negotiations “with both suspicion and hope” by quoting Michel Foucault (1982, p.249), “if intellectuals in general are to have a function...it is precisely to accept...this sort of revolving door or rationality that refers us to its

necessity, to its indispensability, and at the same time, its intrinsic dangers" (p.159). Hence, in the final analysis I agree with the author when he says that this book can also be very useful for those involved in peace studies and conflict resolutions in order to understand the complexities and dangers of international power negotiations and relations.

Mousumi Mukherjee, *University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*

Erik Doxtader and Philippe Salazar (eds). *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Fundamental Documents*. Cape Town: Institute of Justice and Reconciliation, 2007. xviii, 478 pp.

Since the October 1998 completion of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (hereafter TRC) process with the delivery of the *Final Report* to President Nelson Mandela, there have been many studies about the importance of the TRC process to societies that are still in transition. Significant edited works such as Charles Villa-Vicencio and Wilhelm Verwoerd, *Looking Back, Reaching Forward: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa* (2000), Wilmot James and Linda van de Vijver, *After The TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa* (2001), Deborah Posel and Graeme Simpson, *Commissioning the Past: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (2002), and Audrey Chapman and Hugo van der Merwe, *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Did the TRC Deliver?* (2008) immediately come to mind.

For a broad overview of some of these works one may consult the insightful review article titled "The debate on truth and reconciliation: A survey of literature on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission."¹ The author Annalies Verdoolaege, is a Belgian researcher who has identified and commented on many of the texts that have been published on the subject. It is indeed these texts that also provided ample information for those involved in the TRC, for those who have been researching the whole process, and for those who desired to adopt the same model for their respective countries that have been deeply divided and are still grappling with transition.

Despite the TRC's glaring shortcomings, it was generally hailed as a success story in and outside South Africa. This reviewer concurs with Doxtader and Salazar that "(h)istory will tell how, why and if the TRC's form and underlying logic can be reproduced with therapeutic effect" (p. xiii). In fact, its success resulted in countries such as Liberia and East Timor adopting and emulating this model. Before, during, and after the TRC process, however, important documents were produced; whilst some appeared as unpublished discussion documents, others came onto the market as circulated instruments to measure and weigh the outcomes of the process. There were many others that were produced as published speeches and acts, which served as guidelines for those who have been involved throughout the process. In light of the central role that many of these documents played, Erik Doxtader and Philippe-Joseph Salazar, who have produced separate studies on the TRC process, decided to gather an array of documents that dealt with the primary themes of "truth" and "reconciliation." Many have been

extracted from the TRC's public (on-line) archives.² These two scholars were, as expected, challenged by numerous practical questions such as "how to best edit and present selections..." (p. xvi); they, however, carefully selected the relevant documents and provided an informative introduction, "The Road to Reconciliation in South Africa." This edited volume, the editors categorically state, is not a documentary history (p. xiv), and it was, as a matter of interest, inspired by Phillipe-Joseph Salazar's *Amnistier L'Apartheid: Travaux de la Commission Verite et Reconciliation* (2004).

The editors divided the book into three parts, and each part was sub-divided into six different sections that altogether list sixty-six documents and that incidentally do not appear in any chronological order. The editors introduce each section and contextualize the documents and then conclude each section with sources information and additional readings. In terms of the volume's organizational structure and presentation this reviewer would have preferred the editors to have prefixed each of the documents with the relevant source information and related readings instead of having inserted them at the end of each section, for this method would have better suited this volume, particularly since it has not been accompanied by a useful index.

Part I, "The Grounds of South Africa's TRC," begins with the five documents of Section 1 on "Dealing with a Crime against Humanity." They reflect a range of issues such as the stand the United Nations adopted toward the apartheid regime in 1970 to the judgement in the case between Azapo, Biko, and Mxenge against the President of South Africa et al. The thirteen documents in Section 2, "The Theological and Political Roots of Reconciliation in South Africa," include the famous Kairos (theological) document that was issued by the Institute of Contextual Studies in 1985 and "Concepts and Principles" that are recorded in the 1998 *TRC Final Report*.

Part II addresses "The Difficult Work of Finding Truth and Promoting Reconciliation" and consists of three sections. Section 3, "The Recounting of Suffering and the Findings of the TRC's Human Rights Violations Committee" "has thirteen documents ranging from a selective register of testimonies of individuals such as Joyce Mtimkhulu in 1996 to the 1998 *TRC Final Report* "Findings from the Special Hearings on Women." The fourteen documents in Section 4, "The Words of Perpetrators and the Process of Amnesty," contain testimonies and the TRC's Amnesty Committee's decisions. Among the interesting testimonies is that of Eugene de Kock, who was the subject of Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela's fascinating study *A Human Being Died that Night: A Story of Forgiveness – a South African Woman Confronts the Legacy of Apartheid* (2003). Section 5 records "What the Parties, Institutions and Business had to say about their Responsibility" and includes twelve documents such as the African National Congress' statement to the TRC in 1996 and the Inkatha Freedom Party's critical responses to the *TRC Final Report* of 1998. The theme of Part III is "Living with the Issue of Reconciliation." It has only one section, namely Section 6 that contains nine documents under the label "Reconciliation and Reparations: The Terms of an Ongoing Debate." Most of the documents in this section come from the *TRC Final Report*.

When the editors prepared and compiled this volume they were aware of the fact that "...critics will point out that 'this or that' is 'not there'" (p. xv). Whilst their defence is reasonable, this reviewer still finds it difficult to accept their position in not having included documents that were exemplary in terms of their contents and importance. And though this

reviewer is indeed fully aware of the challenges that confronted the editors, they should have consulted the “Traces of Truth: Documents relating to the South Africa TRC” archives at the University of Witwatersrand and its many significant documents, some of which should have found their way in a volume such as this.³

One of the most significant omitted documents, which could have been slotted into the final section, was that produced by the Khulumani Support Group (KSG). This group has struggled over the past few years to get permission from the American Courts to bring the international corporate companies that were complicit in sustaining the apartheid system to book. Since the final part of the compilation addresses the issue of “living with the issue of reconciliation,” KSG’s sterling work and its variety of documents should not have been ignored.

Despite this reviewer’s criticisms of this volume’s presentation and selection, Doxtader and Salazar have filled a significant gap in the TRC history-making process. They have compiled, edited and brought together sixty-six eye-catching and informative documents that shed light on the twin concepts of “truth” and “reconciliation” in (and beyond) South Africa. They are to be commended for having provided South Africans and other interested stakeholders with a volume that offers amazing insights into South Africa’s TRC

1. Chapter appeared in *Discourse and Human Rights Violations* (Ch. Anthonissen and J. Blommaert, eds; Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2007), and an earlier version of the chapter that appears online at Rijks Universiteit te Ghent <http://cas1.elis.rug.ac.be/avrug/trc.htm#pub> May 2002
2. www.doj.gov.za/trc
3. <http://truth.wvl.wits.ac.za/about.php>

Muhammed Haron, *University of Botswana*

Henry John Drewal (ed). *Sacred Waters: Arts for Mami Wata and Other Divinities in Africa and the Diaspora*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008. xxii, 681 pp.; **Henry John Drewal.** *Mami Wata: Arts for Water Spirits in Africa and its Diasporas*. Los Angeles: Fowler Museum, 2008. 227 pp.

Mami Wata appears in many guises throughout Henry John Drewal’s two recent publications examining the water spirit and the arts she has inspired. Divinity, nomad, trickster, benefactor, predator; depending upon the cultural and geographic context, Mami Wata is each and all of these things throughout *Sacred Waters: Arts for Mami Wata and Other Divinities in Africa and the Diaspora* and *Mami Wata: Arts for Water Spirits in Africa and Its Diasporas*. While few universals can describe the spirit through her many incarnations, her power to seduce devotees and non-devotees alike emerges time and again in communities where Mami Wata has left her mark.

In the preface to “Sacred Waters,” Drewal describes his own seduction by Mami Wata and the subsequent three decades of personal research that has culminated in these two

collaborative projects. Quoting a journal of Mami Wata memories, Drewal recounts his personal “subjection... by the object of his affection,” depicting a long-developing and deeply held personal and academic relationship with the divinity that moves beyond scholarship and into the realm of devotion. The author has researched the divinity on three continents, named two sail boats after her, constructed altars in her honor, and even participated in the annual mermaid parade in Coney Island. The obvious affection and commitment Drewal holds for Mami Wata is reflected in the two volumes, both of which represent significant contributions to the growing body of scholarship exploring the water spirit and her devotees.

Drewal presents Mami Wata not so much as a fixed object of religious veneration but as a constantly changing instance of encounter. Throughout his writing on the topic, Drewal emphasizes Mami Wata’s placement at the site of engagement between different cultures, traditions, and ways of living. The water spirit and her numerous incarnations never exist within a vacuum. Instead, Drewal argues, they are actively formed through a continuous process of interaction and reinvention. Consequently, the visual practices that emerge from these moments of contact are not indicative of some unified and “authentic” culture – a notion that Drewal and the other authors are quick to identify as fictitious – but products of cultural hybridity and translation. Drewal introduces the concept early in both pieces, writing, “When people objectify others, they are constructing themselves. In the process, [they] resymbolize aspects of cultural others, translating and transforming them into our [their] symbols on [their] own terms.” The essays in both works explore Mami Wata’s “trans-ness” in various geographic and cultural contexts, demonstrating how the basic concept of the water deity has been and continues to be creatively reworked to accommodate distinct lived realities.

The multi-disciplinary approach of both books fits the subject well, allowing for a scope of analysis with appropriate breadth and diversity. This is especially true of “Sacred Waters,” which contains forty-six essays by artists, writers, filmmakers, scholars, and devotees who explore the visual tradition of Mami Wata as it is found in Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Drewal has collected an impressive ensemble of topics that are treated from a variety of scholarly perspectives, including anthropology, history, visual culture, and art history. Some pieces are written from first-hand practitioners of Mami Wata traditions, providing the sort of direct engagement often missing from similar treatments. Beyond the visuals in the book itself, “Sacred Waters” includes a DVD supplying additional images, music and poetry recordings, and performance videos. Given the labile nature of Mami Wata and the cultural practices surrounding her, this approach provides a versatile perspective to explore the spirit in the numerous waters in which she resides.

The essays are loosely organized into five overarching themes, including wealth and morality, artistic agency, Mami Wata as artist’s muse, water spirits in the diaspora, and exploration of the spirit’s movement between various cultural and historical contexts. Drewal presents these categories in a pithy and illuminating introduction that sets the tone of the piece while preparing the reader for the abundance of information that follows. Sadly, his organizational program is not born out through the rest of the collection. Beyond Drewal’s introduction, the essays are not clearly separated into their individual themes. The problem is exasperated by the sometimes arbitrary classification of the essays themselves. Occasionally, the

individual pieces seem shoe-horned into their respective themes without apparent consideration for the essay's content. In a collection of this size, this sporadic lack of organizational focus can lead to divergent and sometimes confusing passages. Fortunately, the stronger essays maintain the central thrust of Drewal's program, even during those rare moments when the larger piece loses overall coherence.

Of those essays exploring Mami Wata as a locus of material acquisition and moral agency, Barbara Frank's piece on the shift in attitudes toward wealth, consumption, and community in West African spiritual practice is especially engaging. Frank situates *Mami Wata* in the broader context of West African spirit beliefs. She explores the constantly changing relationship between devotees and "wealth-owning spirits," illustrating how spiritual identity and economic ambition are often intertwined at the site of religious practice. Bogumil Jewsiewicki's essay also stands out, exploring a particular incarnation of water spirit in the Congo. Referred to as Mamba Muntu, this female spirit grants wealth and prestige to her male devotees, but at an often terrible price. Jewsiewicki deftly ties the fluctuating relevance of Mamba Muntu to recent Congolese history, shifting political realities, and the growing presence of Christianity in the region. Both essays effectively demonstrate how Mami Wata and other religious entities often reflect the material realities of everyday life while providing devotees with a sense of economic agency, which is otherwise absent.

The second theme of the book explores Mami Wata's travels between the ancient and the recent, the indigenous and the foreign, and the local and the global. This section is the largest of the book, comprised of fourteen essays that follow Mami Wata as she moves among various cultural, historical, and geographical contexts. It is also the most diffuse and least focused of the themes, leading to some perplexing additions that could have easily been left out for the sake of brevity and cohesion. The common thread through the pieces is often difficult to grasp and the entire section could have benefited from more strenuous editing. This comes as no small disappointment considering that the theme of cultural and historical nomadism adheres closest to Drewal's central thesis.

Fortunately, the section contains strong individual essays to buoy the theme and illustrate Mami Wata's propensity for border crossing, migration, and uniquely local incarnations. Sabine Jell-Bahlsen's exploration of hair in visual culture and spiritual practice throughout the Oguta Lake region draws fascinating parallels between the original Mami Wata chromolithograph and contemporary hair motifs in Southeastern Nigeria. Osa D. Egonwa's critical reassessment of Mami Wata scholarship also stands out. While most academic literature emphasizes Mami Wata's "foreignness" as a product of cultural synthesis during the colonial encounter, Egonwa argues that she is essentially indigenous in nature. As "old wine in a new skin," Mami Wata is a modern form of ancient water spirit that existed upon the continent far before Europeans arrived. His piece provides a fascinating counterpoint to other authors – Drewal included – who accentuate Mami Wata's contemporary hybridity over her earlier cultural lineages.

The third section of the book contains essays that examine art and social agency. As a spirit who is believed to have direct, aggressively held ties with the material world, Mami Wata is often called upon to affect change in social realities when other avenues are exhausted. The

essays of this section investigate specific instances in which Mami Wata visual practice provides a system of action which individuals use to impact their world.

The majority of these pieces approach Mami Wata as the site of tense religious struggles between water spirit devotees and adherents of Christianity and Islam. In her essay, Birgit Meyer explores manifestations of Mami Wata in Pentecostal sermons and videos in southern Ghana. This context sees the water spirit portrayed as a temptress and a trickster, seducing otherwise devout Christians with promises of sex and wealth only to destroy them in the end. Meyer demonstrates how Pentecostals appropriate Mami Wata imagery to provide a warning to those who would stray from the path of Christian virtue. Jill Salmons discusses a different form of agency in her essay exploring an Ogoni Mami Wata association in the Niger Delta. Since the 1990s, the group has sought compensation from Shell and the Nigerian government for contaminating the Delta's natural environment and exploiting the region's oil reserves. Through an exploration of the group's history, Salmons investigates the role of Mami Wata visual practice as the focus of a developing Ogoni national identity and a unified site of social protest.

The final theme of the collection addresses Mami Wata and other water spirit belief practices throughout the Atlantic. These essays explore manifestations of the spirit in the context of the diaspora, examining some of the diverse ways Mami Wata has appeared in geographical and cultural contexts outside of Africa itself. Marilyn Houlberg discusses one of these contexts in "Arts for the Water Spirits of Haitian Vodou," a survey of water divinities and their artistic representations in the creolized African community of Haiti. Like many of the essays in the collection, Houlberg's piece examines the effect of the 1885 Mami Wata chromolithograph upon local spiritual practices. In Haiti, the image has been used to represent both the Afro-Catholic Saint Marta la Domidora and Danbala, a snake divinity among a wider pantheon of Vodou water spirits. Houlberg's treatment and the other essays of this section effectively demonstrate the ways Mami Wata has been translated through numerous unique belief systems across vast stretches of geographic space.

While the large scope and spotty organization of "Sacred Waters" sometimes obscures the book's impressive depth of analysis, *Mami Wata: Arts for Water Spirits in Africa and Its Diasporas* presents similar material in a tighter and more visually captivating manner. Produced as the accompanying catalog for an exhibition organized by Drewal for the Fowler Museum, the book explores Mami Wata in her African and diasporic contexts as well as her significance to contemporary art practices. In contrast to "Sacred Waters," the catalog benefits from a narrower focus and handsomely reproduced visuals. The majority of the piece's twelve chapters are written by Drewal himself, imparting a clear research narrative and lucid authorial vision lacking in the larger collection of essays.

Drewal begins the catalog with a brief but effective survey of Mami Wata related art practices. His treatment is loosely chronological, adopting what Jan Vansina refers to as "a streaming model" of history. Drewal argues, "Such an approach considers the dynamics of multiple sources; diffusions and dispersals as opposed to independent inventions; confluence, divergence, and reconvergence; depths in contrast to surfaces; and currents, ebbs and flows." Water metaphors aside, the tactic allows Drewal to approach Mami Wata as a matrix of

different art histories and social agencies, a constellation of intersecting belief practices and diverse visual cultures.

Following this tact, his survey excavates connections between ancient water deities in Sierra Leone and the appearance of European mermaid imagery during the colonial age, between representations of mudfish in Yoruba iconography and the 1885 snake charmer lithograph, which has provided the basis of many modern incarnations of Mami Wata herself. This fluid approach is again put to good use in the Drewal's concluding chapter exploring contemporary artists who engage with Mami Wata. A diverse group of practitioners, including Bruce Onobrakpeya, Twins Seven Seven, and Gerald Duane Coleman, are introduced in brief descriptions of their lives and their unique working relationships with the water deity.

The staggering range of Mami Wata visual cultures introduced by "Sacred Waters" and "Mami Wata" testify to the breadth and complexity of African water deities and their accompanying devotional practices. While "Sacred Waters" is not free of organizational flaws, it presents a diverse and intricate subject with ambition and depth. "Mami Wata," by narrowing its focus to a comparably small body of artistic practices, emerges as the more accessible and compelling of the two works. Small complaints aside, Drewal has provided a great service by compiling a number of diverse perspectives that bring the full, elaborate scope of the Mami Wata phenomenon into focus.

Dan Jakubowski, *University of Florida*

Peter Geschiere, Peter Pels, and Birgit Meyer (eds). *Readings in Modernity in Africa*. London International African Institute, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2008. ix, 226 pp.

Readings in Modernity in Africa is a rousing and groundbreaking book. The book is structured in two parts with twenty five lucid chapters. The authors use a multidisciplinary approach to deal with different dilemmas of modernity in Africa. They succeed in firmly establishing the aim of the book. The authors, by putting forward core issues, both old and new, spur investigation into questions and meanings of modernity in Africa. It is even more impressive to notice an overview of literature on the key topics - modernity and modernization, and new insights in modernity in Africa. The authors, especially in the second part of the book, clearly manifest the fluidity, risk, and uncertainty in modern practices of daily life in Africa. The same practices are unfitting paradigms against the meta-narratives of modernization, a phenomenon that is claimed to more visible through field inquiry.

The twenty-five essays present new and original inquiry. Part I handles genealogies of modernity in Africa. It is subdivided into four parts, which deal with conceptual issues of modernity and try to show how these notions have changed in the African exemplar. In part I (A), the authors strive to give a grasp of the changes from the first decade of African independence to the more recent and complex era of modernity. Part 1 (B) examines how through using reflections on empirical field research that defines the social phenomena

undercuts, the standardizing notion of development. Part 1 (C) presents insights into how traditions are used as alternatives in modern society, especially in the political domain. Part 1(D) handles the themes of personhood and identity in Africa in the dilemmas between colonialism and the time of African renaissance.

Part II of *Readings in modernity in Africa* presents original ethnographic evidence of the changes that are no longer related to meta-narratives of modernization. It is further subdivided into four parts. Part II (A) analyses the fact that understanding contemporary politics in Africa deserves an inquiry into the formal constitutions and the concomitant practices of elites, belonging, citizens, and nation. Part II (B) focuses on the changing contours of African cities as new spaces of modernity, different from the conceptual notions of modernization. Part 2(C) comprises lucid essays which prove that technology exists in Africa; and in that case, technology only needs to be reinvented. This is very much in respect to ethnographic sounds and images in Africa today, as mentioned by the authors. Part II (D) focuses on faith to manifest how contemporary life in Africa is shaped, imagined and controlled. In Part II (E), the authors present ethnographic studies of how due to the fallen African elites, new forms of identities and role models emerge. The authors show that these new forms of identities unfortunately become financial new elites through the risky, informal and Machiavellian way.

The authors also did a tremendous job of providing notes and references that give opportunity for further inquiry by students, scholars, and academics focusing on contemporary Africa. The editors' introduction is quite terse making the book arid of reading. The book's illustrations add to the informative character of most of the essays.

The most striking thing this book offers is the stimuli into the study of contemporary daily life in Africa. The ethnographic essays are not simply given in detail about a single group or country but instead present a portrait of the problems encountered by people living in Africa. Elsewhere, it is striking to imagine the multifarious themes that are handled: Christianity, development, colonialism, sorcery, tradition, identity, social change, cosmopolitanism, postmodernism, and globalization. All these themes provide a lucid corpus on questions of modernity in Africa.

Ngade Ivo, *University of Ghent* and Elong Eric Ebolo, *Vrije (Free) University Brussels*

Joseph Hanlon and Teresa Smart. *Do Bicycles Equal Development in Mozambique*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey imprint Boydell and Brewer, 2008. xiv, 242 pp.

Bicycles are not really the focus of this book. Instead, this is an effectively written discussion of Mozambique's experiences with economic change after its war ended in 1992. Hanlon and Smart draw on three decades of engagement with the detailed realities of Mozambique—everything from the practicalities of how to load a bicycle to the state of the roads—and on intricate journalistic, development sector, and government connections. In doing so, they produce not simply a narrative of reconstruction or corruption but rather a politically engaged set of questions, critiques, and proposals that build on what Mozambicans and others know

about the country's challenges. Hanlon and Smart advocate for change, ending the book with the question "Can Mozambique stop putting its hand out and become a developmental state" (pp. 200-07). This book offers a grounded, specific critique of *both* humanitarian efforts to save the poorest, and neoliberal market-centered development models. Pointing to the relative success of entrepreneurial medium-sized, local development initiatives in the cashew sector, it rejects international initiatives that build infrastructure and wait for salvation from globalization. Advocating not simply the bits and pieces of "good change" that bicycles represent, it argues for more activist and interventionist development capable of producing more than bigger loads for peddlers.

As even the authors admit, "There is no single way forward" (p. 204). And advocacy is the least coherent part of this study. Where Hanlon and Smart excel is in their careful exploration of the achievements—and limits—of current development initiatives. In close examinations of two provinces, Nampula and Manica, they show how difficult the problems are. They concretely discuss how dynamic peasant associations can be stymied by basics such as specific missing links—as when fish nets were unavailable to the builders of a fish farming project—or more general problems, such as a lack of markets for the new goods produced by peasants' rising productivity. Hanlon and Smart argue that even successful practitioners of peasant-association, production-expanding development initiatives find themselves staying dependent on inputs that they do not control, rather than managing a transition to independent entrepreneurialism and self-directed growth. Beyond these direct interviews and site visits, the authors draw on larger collections of reports and economic data to make a broader audience understand difficulties that are probably obvious to Mozambiquans from places like Manica Province. With specific information—including numbers—about things like wages, electrical costs, the length of rose stems, and interest rates for would-be tree farmers—they make clear the frustrations of would-be market farmers in a context without government agricultural extension and credit facilities. This vivid detail enhances their credibility as they make unpalatable observations about some of the most heralded Mozambiquan efforts at market-based economic growth. Beyond detailed looks at Nampula and Manica, and at specific economic sectors including cashews and tobacco, Hanlon and Smart draw on survey data that make clear that these economic initiatives are part of a picture of economic differentiation, and that Mozambiquans are poor and becoming increasingly impoverished within these development-charged regimes.

Hanlon and Smart look to Mozambique's leaders and government to offer real change, but they remain critical about elite leadership. They acknowledge the sacrifices local journalists and devoted officials have made in seeking democracy and transparency. But they note cases where Mozambique's leaders were problems rather than solutions. They offer remarkable survey material that asked "How many of the following do you think are involved in corruption" and listed categories ranging from the president and his officials to health workers, and "In the past year have you paid a bribe to" see a health worker, get a permit, etc. (pp. 102-03). Trying to understand not simply high profile cases such as the assassinations of journalist Carlos Cardoso and economist Antonio Siba-Siba Macuacua (pp. 113-15) but how those fit with Frelimo's capacity to regulate itself and respond to critics and popular pressure, Hanlon and Smart portray corruption as present within Mozambique's elite, and having grown in the

aftermath of new aid and opportunities of the twenty-first century, but remediable through internal self-correction more than by external pressures, sanctions, or interventions.

The most challenging aspect of this study is its overarching conclusion that bicycles—which in this context become a metaphor for a development model based in social investment (e.g. schooling), local infrastructure, and dependence on external investors—increase rather than diminish the numbers of people living in poverty. This is not an anti-aid diatribe or a romantic defense of autarkic village life. It is a visibly frustrated effort to assess the realities of Mozambique and imagine a way forward. A photograph of a girl and boy in school uniforms with a bicycle is for them less a “proof of development” through school places and new transport than it is a poignant image of two children likely to come to adulthood with schooling but without jobs or economic prospects (p. 200). For Hanlon and Smart, the current development wisdom is no more than an inadequate “cargo cult.” Supporting Mozambique’s current President Guebuza, they emphasize the state’s central role and the need to invest in the economy, cultivate entrepreneurialism, foster agricultural and processing initiatives, encourage demand, and develop good jobs (pp. 1464-7, 207).

Actually doing these things, especially within the practical limits sketched out in the book’s case studies, is easier said than done. Bicycles and incremental change may be far from ideal or sufficient, but they may be today’s practical option.

Carol Summers, *University of Richmond*

Axel Harneit-Sievers. *Constructions of Belonging: Igbo Communities and the Nigerian State in the Twentieth Century*. Rochester. University of Rochester Press, 2006. x, 389 pp.

The Igbo, an ethnic group found in the South-Eastern and part of the South-Southern geopolitical regions of Nigeria, are best known to modern historians and anthropologists for their complex histories. Wrapped within this cloak of historical complexities is a very obvious fact which is evidenced by the way of life of the people till this day—the Igbo have been known to pride themselves on democracy and freedom in which consensus was a norm rather than a condition. *Olaudah Equino*, a slave abolitionist who was Igbo but sold to slavery during his boyhood, confirmed this in his 1789 autobiography, titled *Gustavus Vassa, the African*. As far as history supports, most of all Igbo traditional states governed themselves without giving power to any sort of king. They organized themselves into many independent village governments, with these village councils or assemblies meeting periodically and also being summoned as the need arose to discuss and take decisions on both internal and external affairs of the villages. Even though a lot is already known about this enigma termed Igbo, modern researchers are yet to provide simple answers to one of the most problematic research-questions in the history of histories—Who are the Igbo?

The question “who are the Igbo?” has puzzled scholars for ages, and delineating the exact content and boundaries of “Igbo-ness” has proven to be extremely difficult (p. 24). Harneit-Sievers’ *Constructions of Belonging* is one of most authentic and current efforts at deconstructing

the complex histories of the Igbo into highly readable and understandable bits. The book identifies key elements found within the building up of Igbo communities in the last century. It evokes the spirits of colonialism, the advent of Christianity in Igbo societies, and the political position of the Igbo within the Nigerian nation in such a manner that the reader is literarily arrested within the confines of Igbo culture and historicity. This makes the book highly revealing.

Comprising twelve chapters, the book is organized in four parts. Each part focuses on a different aspect of the Igbo life. Part one generally highlights the history of the Igbo and particularly examines Igbo community and the "Nri hegemony and Arochukwu" (p. 43) with ethnographic evidences. Parts two and three are hinged on creating community from "outside" (pp. 65-132) and "within" (pp. 149-93) respectively. The last part provides local case studies for adequate understanding of the Igbo communities. It is probably the most original part of the book. Its narratives delve deep into a three case studies. The three cases are analysed: "Umuopara and Ohuhu," which exposes the "politics of competition and fragmentation"; "Enugwu-Ukwu in Umunri clan," dealing with the local life and "history"; and "Nike," which exposes "slavery" and the issues of "marginalization" within the Igbo community.

The author used practical on-the-location interviews as a core methodology for gaining relevant data rather than relying on mainly archival data created by British colonialists in Nigeria. The book adopts a combination of constructive and deconstructive approaches. It is constructive in the sense that through its positive interpretations of aspects of Igbo life and history, it tends to call for efforts towards improving and promoting further development of the Igbo and their locality. On the other hand, the book is deconstructive in the sense that it analyses and unpacks some of the myths normally held about the Igbo.

Harneit-Sievers' argumentative towards the review of Igbo histories, beliefs and ideas is intellectually stimulating. The bibliographic make-up of the book is rich. The use of illustrative instruments such as figures, maps, photos, and tables provides for comprehensiveness for the entire book. The availability of end-notes and indexes provides a valuable guide for quicker readability and easier understanding of the book. This is actually what makes it appealing for a general audience of readers generally interested in understanding the broader context of Igbo and "Igbo-ness" (p. 24). Overall, the book will appeal to scholars and students of African literature and History.

The assumed weak point of this book could be pinned on its case study selection. The Igbo territory is presently composed of mainly five states of Nigeria's south-east zone, with some other Igbo communities falling within the boundaries of at least four other states of Nigeria's south-south region. The basis for the selection and adoption of the three case studies is not clearly explained by the author, although he does acknowledge that "by no means" do his three-case studies "claim to be representative for Igboland as a whole."

In spite of this, the book is without doubt, a major contribution to African studies and literature, especially within the subject of ethnic studies. Every student of the Igbo society will find each part of the book extremely thought-provoking and will gain valuable knowledge about the Igbo. This is because the book is based on detailed historical data and high breadth of intellectual expositions on the issues covered. The book would readily serve for three major

uses: it fully stands out as an overview of the current literature on the Igbo of Nigeria; it partially fulfils the role of a literary exposé of ethnicity from a Nigerian context; and lastly, as a revelation of ethnic historicity in Africa.

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John C. Hawley (ed). *India in Africa, Africa in India: Indian Ocean Cosmopolitanisms*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008. xxx, 312 pp.

Western modernity congratulates itself on creating, albeit unwittingly, a world that is characterized by cultural contact, exchange, and mixture. But these have been attributes of human civilization for millennia, a fact that prompted Edward Said to write: "The history of all cultures is a history of cultural borrowings." As such, the strongest undercurrent in John C. Hawley's *India in Africa, Africa in India* is the concept of "south-south" cosmopolitanisms—cultural traffic that does not pass through, nor is mediated by, the west. All the essays in this collection, through tacit and direct conversation with this issue, challenge the "global north" as the progenitor of cosmopolitanism, a phenomenon that cannot be entirely understood as a consequence of the west's modern encounter with its colonized "others." If cosmopolitanism, broadly understood, entails cultural flows and exchange between cultural groups, then its genealogy and manifestations have to be re-evaluated. The impulse of Hawley's collection is a generous one, locating cosmopolitanism in the cultural meeting between Africa and India. The collection also offers a historically broad examination of cosmopolitanism by including antiquity and pre-colonial times in its theoretical purview, epochs that were also marked by cosmopolitanism.

The first essay in the collection, Gwyn Campbell's "Slave Trades in the Indian Ocean World," erects the conceptual framework for subsequent articles by challenging previous scholarship like Joseph Harris' *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade*—a work that insists on a fundamental resemblance between slavery in the Americas and in the Indian Ocean. Campbell asserts that the theoretical models used to explicate slavery, diaspora, and identity formation in the New World cannot be mapped onto the slave trade in the Indian Ocean and consequent identity formations. Campbell draws from a vast array of historiographic and primary sources to demonstrate, instead, that the practice of slavery in the Indian Ocean was marked by much more fluid boundaries between superior and servile populations, a characteristic that has lent African identities in the Indian Ocean basin an idiosyncratic quality that distinguishes it from populations of African descent in the Americas. For this reason, Campbell even questions the very designation of an African diaspora (a term that occurs somewhat sparsely throughout the rest of the collection) in the Indian Ocean, a people who retain their sense of having been from somewhere else.

The grouping of essays that focus on Indians in Africa is particularly fresh because they distance themselves from the eastern African (and British colonial) context wherein the Indian experience is well noted and studied. These essays reinvigorate the scholarly terrain on Indians

in Africa by focusing on West Africa and its popular cultures. Specifically “‘Hindu’ Dance Groups and Indophilie in Senegal: The Imagination of the Exotic Other” by Gwenda Vander Steene and “The Idea of ‘India’ in West African Vodun Art and Thought” by Dana Rush address the ways in which Indian culture is imagined by West African communities through cultural practices, exoticization, and even identification. Both of these essays illustrate the ways in which the imagination of India by African societies circumvents Europe.

The last section of the collection, also using diverse disciplinary approaches, examines the African presence in India. Rahul Oka and Chapurukha Kusimba’s essay “Siddi as Mercenary or as African Success Story on the West Coast of India” highlights African cultural and political agency in India within a context of Islamic power and slavery, an agency that impacted the very contours and the nature of slave trade on a fundamental level.

Islam, as a religion and an ideological and political apparatus, is ubiquitous in this volume. It played a large role in the way the Indian Ocean basin emerged as a constellation through which African and Indian identities shifted and were renegotiated. But Islam was not the only religion that generated new and transforming identities. “Religion and Empire: Belief and Identity among African Indians of Karnataka, South India” by Pashington Obeng captures the way in which a number of religions – Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism, ancestor veneration—enabled identities that defied both the hegemonic tendencies of the various empires that ruled over India as well as the indigenous caste system.

Through its exploration of “cosmopolitanism from below,” Hawley’s collection illustrates how cosmopolitanism in the non-western pre-colonial world speaks to current theoretical anxieties by defying “continental thinking,” “race,” and the “nation-state”, all of which are complicit with colonial constructs of collective identity to some degree. Moreover, this ‘cosmopolitanism from below’ is not as easily susceptible to accusations of being in aid of western capital and the cultural demands of globalization. The volume demotes the contemporary postcolonial intellectual as the paragon of cosmopolitanism because cosmopolitanism, as a historical condition, was so engrained in the pre-colonial societies of the Indian Ocean basin as to be free of intellectual or deliberation.

The collection contributes to and draws from a variety of disciplinary and theoretical frameworks, from history, sociology, and cultural studies, but does not incorporate literary texts as much as it could. This is odd given the fact that Hawley is a literary scholar and his introductory musings are themselves on a literary text—Amitav Ghosh’s *In an Antique Land*—a text that “blends an anthropological record with a travelogue, a diary, and speculations” (1). Ghosh’s narrative is itself a metaphor for the cultural heterogeneity of the Indian Ocean basin. To this end, it may have been appropriate to enlist more literary sources, a fluid genre that by its nature, perhaps, eludes the very ideological enclosures that cosmopolitanism itself defies.

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Jonathan Lawley. *Beyond the Malachite Hills: a Life of Colonial Service and Business in the New Africa.* London/New York: I.B.Tauris, 2010. xii, 304 pp.

In mid-1966, Jonathan Lawley was serving as District Commissioner in Gwembe in the Southern Province, near the shores of Lake Kariba, the only “ex-P[rovincial]A[dministration] expatriate still in charge of a rural district in Zambia.” As independence approached the responsibilities of his post were shifted and he was replaced by a Zambian national: “I wrote a sort of lament in my diary saying that I would no doubt be the last white man in my lovely house with its flagpole . . . its lawn slashed every day by prisoners. . .”

The first chapter of this engaging and stimulating autobiography, “Raj Child to Rhodesian Boy,” gives some idea of the global scope of the story: in the east the jewel in the British imperial crown, in the south a late addition to the second, African empire, which Britain began to acquire after the loss of the “American colonies” in 1776. Jonathan Lawley, born in India, where his father was a civil engineer in the Indian Service of Engineers in the last years before independence, was educated in India, Britain, and South Africa, and has worked and lived in many parts of Central Africa. He has also gained experience in Francophone ex-colonies (the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mauritius, and Madagascar), in the Portuguese-speaking world (Angola and Brazil) and even in the ex-German colony of Namibia. His experience is enlivened by a natural curiosity and a readiness to learn. Since in addition to his native English he speaks the African languages of Tonga and Bemba as well as French and Portuguese, he is always more than a visitor in these communities and his opinions are candid, informed, and tolerant.

Lawley tells a touching story of his family’s departure from the land of his birth when he was still of prep school age: “It came as a shock when we left India and my father told me that Britain was no longer the most powerful country in the world.” India was important for the way Lawley came to think of race, for at his school there “race was not an issue,” and all his life, despite some disappointments, he has held on to “the most positive view possible of the exercise of British power.” Though there is an element of imperial sunset nostalgia in this view, and he can write without comment at one point of “the houseboy and two garden boys,” his story gives conviction of a level and un-patronising encounter with colonial peoples, as his long friendship with his servant Stephen Mbwainga testifies.

After Indian independence Lawley’s family moved to Southern Rhodesia, where his father was in charge of government irrigation in the south-eastern part of the country, then undergoing rapid development. Having first arrived there after an unhappy time at school in England, he continued his education in Southern Africa, until he joined the British Colonial Administration and was sent to Cambridge University for the Overseas Services ‘A’ course. Years later he had to convince the British government that Southern Rhodesia was not his home base and that he was a “designated officer” whose home is a cottage in Suffolk, but he has maintained an attachment to Zimbabwe through all the complications of its post-colonial history.

Jonathan Lawley’s first posting in late 1960 was to Kalomo in what was then Northern Rhodesia, one of the three member states of the Central African Federation (with Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). He also served in Gwembe, Luanshya, and Kitwe and his experience

as a colonial administrator took him from remote tribal communities to complex management posts in the capital, Lusaka. By this time Ian Smith's Rhodesia had issued its Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). Among the writer's responsibilities in the new Zambian administration was as one of the organizers of the celebrations of the second anniversary of independence, "chief rationing officer (petroleum products)" and development plan co-ordinator in the Ministry of Rural Development. It came as a shock to learn that he was to be retired "in the public interest." When Jonathan Lawley left Zambia in mid-1969, he wondered if he would ever return, but as he learned later "Africa was in my blood."

After a successful but short spell as a salesman for IBM in Britain, Lawley returned to Africa as personnel manager designate on an international consortium's Tenke Fungurume mining project on the Katangan Copperbelt in Zaire (DRC), set in the malachite hills of the book's title, greened in part by the seams of semi-precious stones that indicate the riches beneath the ground. This was a disappointing experience. In January 1976, the project lost the support of its funders, and those involved saw the "biggest, richest deposit of copper in the whole world lying abandoned." Lawley acknowledged both technical and management failures, with participants Anglo and Charter as the main culprits. South Africa's context and history had not prepared them for the requirements and opportunities of the new Africa. But for Lawley personally this seems to have been a turning-point. After experience in Morocco, he took a contract with a large company with diverse interests in Mauritius in 1977. The account suggests that working to help this firm fulfill its potential brought into focus his strengths in personnel management and communications. These he has gradually sharpened, with a strong sense of the importance of culture in adaptation to modern business and industrial management practice, which he has applied internationally since then. The post in Mauritius was followed by an appointment in Riyadh, but, having visited UDI Rhodesia again in 1975 where he had "A Taste of War," Lawley took time out to serve as an election monitor in the first democratic elections in what was to become Zimbabwe. Lawley is proud of his own and Britain's part in the transition to independence, and his account of the early Mugabe years is illuminating. In fact, among the most moving pages of the book, both joyful and sad, are those devoted to Zimbabwe, to the friends he has held on to there, and to some he has lost, to the people, and to the country's natural beauty. Let us hope that his chapter on Zimbabwe today, "The Unhappy Country," is not the last word.

From Riyadh, Lawley writes, "I longed for Africa," and in 1982 he was appointed director of the Zimbabwe Technical Management Trust, funded by Rio Tinto. The post took him all over Africa and to other parts of the world. In preparing black African graduates for management responsibilities in mines and factories, the ZTMT placed them in pupilages in Britain and monitored them in their postings back home. Lawley writes vividly of the complexities of dealing with accomplished young African technocrats, a kaleidoscope of personalities from a patchwork of backgrounds. ZTMT ran for ten years: it seems to have fulfilled its brief admirably, with positive implications for the EU and countries beyond Africa. Sadly a proposal drawn up by Lawley and a colleague in 1993 for a South African version was never taken up: Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), of which Lawley is critical, was already in place. The few South African trainees in the ZTTT programme do not seem to have been compatible.

After leaving Rio Tinto, in retirement Lawley has worked for the BESO (British Executive Service Overseas), recruiting volunteers to work with African enterprise in Africa and elsewhere: a bakery in Lusaka, a cashew-nut processing plant in Mocambique. In Lawley's view the take-over of BESO by VSO was a tragedy. Since then he has worked for the Royal African Society and the West Africa Business Association.

Beyond the colonial service and business of his title, Jonathan Lawley has many strings to his bow. He has a Ph.D. from the City University, London on "Transcending Culture: Developing Africa's Technical Managers," he has published a paper on the birds of Assumption in the Smithsonian's *Atoll Research Bulletin*, and he has tried his hand at *pêche à la mouche*. In many respects he has been privileged, enjoying advanced education, international work experience, leisure for travel, and wildlife and bird-watching. The privilege is gratefully acknowledged, and he writes with candour about family, about love and loss, and about his own successes and failures. His is an exemplary twentieth/twenty-first-century life, a life of rapid change, from empire to commonwealth to the post-colonial globalised world of international capital, in which nationalism has not really been given a fair go. Lawley's ability to name names, to many of which he can put faces, gives his views weight. He is critical of the new South Africa, "wondering what she stands for and whether she really cares," but, while he acknowledges the harsh legacy of colonialism, and the sham of aid, he is on the whole confident and optimistic for Africa, arguing for higher expectations, for both the new Africans and those of the diaspora to assert themselves, and against the treatment of Africa as a special case.

Production values of the book are generally sound. Although the illustrations are disappointing, the maps and index are useful. The publishers could use a good editor and proof-reader.

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Alamin Mazrui. *Swahili Beyond the Boundaries: Literature, Language and Identity*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007. x, 206 pp.

This book centers around the key themes of hybridity, the intersection of tradition and modernity, and the debates arising out of conflicting and continually shifting influences on the nature of Swahili literature and identity. It is a broad focus and one that inevitably ends up discussing certain components of the debate—literature and Swahili verse in particular—in greater detail. This is not to say that a narrower focus detracts from the book's overall aims or the quality of discussion; in fact it is probably the case that a lengthier discussion of verse provides a lens through which to analyze broader trends in Swahili literature and identity, without compromising on analytical detail. The focus is further legitimized by the assertion that poetry has been a particularly important arena of conflict and debate between tradition and modernity.

Mazrui refutes the privileging of the Arab-Islamic contribution to the formation of Swahili language and literature over the "indigenous" contribution; instead taking the view that it is

born of Africa's triple heritage of the indigenous, the Islamic and the Western. Chapter One charts the development of Swahili literature from initial Afro-Arab contact on the East African seaboard and the first generation of writing that utilized a Swahilized Arab alphabet, through colonial influences, to the nationalist era and beyond. The chapter draws on a number of conflicts within this history; tradition and modernity, urban and rural, and indigenous and foreign which are themes that recur throughout the book. Mazrui also draws on an interesting divergence between Tanzania and Kenya; that whilst Swahili culture is more prominent in Tanzania as a whole, it is Kenya that is the original home of Swahili literature, with Tanzania's contribution to this body of work being smaller and more recent.

Later chapters focus, respectively, on Swahili verse, religion and literature, and the issue of translation. The chapter on Swahili verse justifies its focus by the importance of poetry amongst the Swahili. Debates within Swahili verse surrounding forms of composition and linguistics are stated to be reflective of broader shifts and debates on issues of class and power within the Swahili speaking world. In terms of religion, Mazrui argues Swahili literature and language have been shaped by conflict and accommodation between Islam, Christianity, and indigenous religion. This is not a one way process; in recent years there have been increasing translations of the Qur'an into Swahili, giving the religion an "indigenous imprint." Mazrui explores the boundaries of Swahili literature and their reconfiguration in terms of translated texts taking on new meanings once translated into Swahili, and more generally in terms of the unpredictable effects on a body of literature that translation can have.

In concluding, Mazrui raises questions as to the future of Swahili literature and identity as affected by numerous forces from globalization and its responses; the decline in state nationalism; Islam; internal migration, and translation. What comes through most clearly in the concluding chapter is the continual reshaping of Swahili literature and the centrality of issues of class and identity in these processes of reconfiguration. Mazrui contends that whilst hybridity in a Swahili context necessarily predates new processes of hybridization associated with globalization, such developments have added a further layer of complexity to the hybrid nature of Swahili literature

One small criticism pertaining to the use of sources is that the inclusion of long sections of poetry, in both original and translated form, breaks up the narrative flow of Mazrui's analysis in places. While these inclusions support the arguments being set forward particularly in the chapter on Swahili verse, it may have increased the readability, especially of this technically dense chapter, if some of the quotations had instead been included in an appendix. Aside from this minor critique, Mazrui uses an interesting array of sources in extending his analysis from the specific to the broader political, cultural and historical context in which his discussion of the Swahili language and its literature plays out.

Swahili Beyond the Boundaries achieves its stated aims in exploring the development of Swahili literature towards new forms of hybridization, and more broadly in "promoting a more multicultural understanding of literature as a human experience". Both components of this intended focus are explored subtly and consistently throughout the chapters providing a broad picture of Swahili literature's development, present state, and its position globally. The rhetorical summations found in the concluding sections, however, can be as frustrating as they

are penetrating. While Mazrui raises some poignant questions regarding the future of Swahili literature, he makes no attempt to address them. Without recourse to speculation, this is perhaps too difficult a task to undertake, and Mazrui's analysis contributes a great deal to the broader understanding of Swahili literature.

Much of Mazrui's book would be enjoyed by anyone with a scholarly interest in Swahili as a language, body of literature or identity categorization. The analysis skillfully links specific discussions of literature and particular authors and texts into broader trends internationally, as well as the politics and history of Swahili-speaking Africa. At times the technical language of literature and verse in particular would be better suited to those with an understanding of literature studies or a pre-existing knowledge of Swahili literature. For the most part, however, Mazrui provides a fascinating, clear and insightful account of the development of Swahili literature, and the continually shifting hybridity that is such an essential component of its boundaries.

Charlie Wilson, *Independent Scholar*

Abdul Raufa Mustapha and Lindsay Whitfield (eds). *Turning Points in African Democracy*. Suffolk, UK: James Currey, 2009. xix, 235 pp.

Abdul Raufu Mustapha and Lindsay Whitfield's new volume represents an important contribution to the ongoing study of regime trajectories on the African continent. As with most edited volumes of this nature, the substantive country chapters vary in their quality, as do their thematic emphases. Nonetheless, students and scholars of African politics will find much within the volume in terms of valuable case-specific and broader insights.

The introductory chapter by the editors presents the broader concerns of the volume and highlights its central analytical, theoretical and methodological premises. The goal of the book is to evaluate "major trends and patterns" or "processes of change and continuity" in selected African countries and assess their "meaning" relative to the normative concerns of democracy (p. 1). The issue (and expectations) of greater political accountability is of central importance in the latter respect (p. 6). Although the case studies employ a variety of frameworks and techniques for addressing these concerns, they do so with attention to both the broader "structures" shaping political life and the agency and choices and actors involved in political processes. Comparison is used both within the case studies and between them to better understand the nature of country experiences and the forces shaping them. Finally, the editors present a series of questions, generated by the case studies, that can help to illuminate the relationship between democracy and accountability in Africa. These concern the extent to which presidentialism remains an operative feature of political life, whether patterns of mobilization and clientelism have changed, the evolving status of the developmentalist social contract characterizing post-colonial Africa, and the meaning of elections.

The substantive chapters that follow examine the political trajectories of specific countries. A total of eleven countries are examined, offering attention to a range of experiences. These

include analyses of breakdowns in democracy (Cote d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe, and Rwanda), critical evaluations of erstwhile democratic successes (such as Ghana, Mozambique, South Africa, and Senegal), and investigations of patterns in countries where democracy has faced substantial setbacks and limitations (such as Kenya, Zambia, and Nigeria).

The stronger case studies fall into one of two categories. The first are those that offer descriptive accounts of patterns in particular countries that are then analyzed through solid explanatory frameworks. Cheeseman's chapter on Kenya, for instance, describes the limits of changes in the country as evident in the persistence of executive dominance and practices of clientelism. While these continuities reflect elite intransigence, they are also sustained by popular norms and expectations – rendering them quite durable. Akindes' chapter on Cote d'Ivoire offers a detailed account the country's path from single-party governance to democracy and then to political violence and civil war. The unraveling of the old order, fragmentation of the polity into competing factions, and subsequent politicization of land and citizenship issues are presented as the underlying sources of these patterns. Chapters by Mustapha, accounting for the challenges and limitations of Nigeria's renewed democratic experiment, and Alexander, offering a rich analysis of the totalizing discursive strategies that informed Zimbabwe's precipitous decline, also deserve accolades in these respects.

The second set of laudable chapters are those that offer descriptive accounts of particular (as opposed to general) patterns and processes in countries. From these, readers obtain solid understandings of exactly how political situations are (or are not) changing in specific contexts. The chapter on Senegal, by Tarik Dahou and Vincent Foucher, details the clear lines of continuity before and after the 2000 “watershed elections.” Rather than a reconfiguring of the political order, political hegemony under a dominant party and executive has returned as the central characteristic of political life. The chapter on South Africa by Jeremy Seekings frames its discussion with reference to the conventional wisdom on the limits of the democratic experiment there—specifically, the embrace of a neoliberal economic model favoring capital and the excessive power of the ANC. Seekings' account interrogates these points, suggesting that they capture only part of the South African experience with democracy. Important locations of accountability and opposition persist in the system, while organized groups such as labor remain forces that challenge neoliberal dominance.

The concluding chapter engages in two exercises. The first is to offer paired comparisons of the different case studies in the volume. These bring attention to key issues and factors that help to account for some of the varying patterns between the cases. The varying experiences of Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire are partially explained by reference to contrasting patterns of post-colonial state-society relations and differences the countries' party systems. Ghana's and Nigeria's respective paths are accounted for by differences in party systems, as well as in characteristics of elite culture. The second, and in my view, more successful, exercise is to return to the questions presented in the introduction. Here the editors bring attention to the ways that phenomena such as presidentialism and clientelism have (have not) been reshaped during the democratic era. Specific references to the case material help to draw this out.

Overall the volume is a success. Yet, two limitations stand out. First, the comparative dimensions of the volume might be stronger. Comparative points between the chapters are not

very clearly established at the outset, with the result that theoretical connections between cases are not easily generated in the readings of the country studies. Moreover, the paired comparisons in the conclusion bring attention to variables and factors that might have been more effectively highlighted at other points in the volume. Second, some of the country chapters could be more effectively analytical as opposed to descriptive – either of a particular country trajectory or the contemporary political landscape.

These comments notwithstanding, this book represents a very valuable contribution to the study of African politics. As indicated above, many of the substantive chapters are exemplary in their analyses and accounts of political trajectories in different countries. Whitfield and Mustapha deserve high marks for this volume, which should be in the libraries of all serious scholars of the continent's politics

Peter VonDoepp, *University of Vermont*

Mwenda Ntarangwi, David Mills, and Mustafa Babiker (eds). *African Anthropologies: History, Critique and Practice*. Dakar: CODESRIA, 2006. xiv, 274 pp.

African Anthropologies is a ground-breaking edited volume on the history, critique, and practice of doing and teaching anthropology in post-colonial Africa. The book's authors reposition anthropology's Western-centric history by including African contributions to anthropological theory and practice. This work is invaluable to professional anthropologists the world over, Africanists, teachers and scholars of African history, and most importantly, African anthropologists.

African Anthropologies significant contributions to scholarship and the discipline of anthropology are threefold. First, it serves as a necessary supplement to previously published volumes on the history of anthropology and anthropologists such as Gérald Gaillard's *The Routledge Dictionary of Anthropologists* (2004). In fact, Gaillard opens his book with an apology to the reader for being unable to compile a chapter on African anthropologists. Gaillard suggests that Africa's intellectuals rejected anthropology as a colonialist pursuit, sentiments that were often repeated by the contributors to *African Anthropologies*.

Second, this book raises the "indigenous anthropologist" question without explicitly embroiling itself in the disciplinary debate. In their introduction, the three esteemed editors encourage "Western anthropologists to achieve that degree of rapport and mutual respect for human equality with African intellectuals" (p. 1). As a first step toward this end, the African anthropologist contributors utilize their social science skills and inherent empathy to "study Africa primarily for the benefit of Africans' understanding of themselves" (p. 26). They eloquently demonstrate the value of doing anthropology in their own backyards by examining the very conditions of teaching and knowledge production in eight different African countries. Third, the authors in this edited-volume are dedicated to a critical anthropology that is reflective about the discipline's potentials and limitations for a decolonized sub-Saharan Africa.

By actively pursuing a balanced “pure/applied dichotomy” (pp. 2-3), this book strongly contributes to the need (and demand) for more situated accounts of localized cultural processes. *African Anthropologies* aims to de-center Western epistemological traditions by nurturing African ways of knowing and creating its own traditions. “It is in this context that we can locate an African anthropology, one that cherishes the proven tools of fieldwork and mobilises them to address larger social problems and challenges of development and underdevelopment” (p. 5).

The first section, “Regional Histories of Anthropological Practice,” begins with an introduction written by the editors. In Chapter Two, Alula Pankhurst notes how Ethiopian intellectual culture can be traced back to student contributions beginning in the 1950s. Ethiopians played a role in shaping the views of the six foreign research traditions in that country. David Mills discusses Audrey Richards’ role in East African anthropology in Chapter Three. Richards advocated for the application of the social research being undertaken by the glut of British anthropologists in southern and eastern Africa during the colonial period. Her disciplinary vision was in the minority, however; research was prioritized over teaching and training, which gave the burgeoning institutes of social research little relevancy in the politicized, post-colonial landscape. Victor Ngonidzashe Muzvidziwa’s fourth chapter on anthropology in Zimbabwe argues that the discipline there was able to rise above its colonial roots by studying the impacts of globalization. In Chapter Five, Séverin Cécile Abega describes the difficulties of the Cameroonian case. He points out the constraints on Cameroon’s anthropologists including funding problems, lack of institutional support, distrust of anthropologists, few publication outlets, and subordination to foreign researchers.

The second section of the book is “Acknowledging Critiques, Debunking the Myths.” Chapter Six, “Forgetting Africa” authored by famed Africanist Johannes Fabian, leads off this section. He argues that if knowledge is salvation, then forgetting Africa is a social act committed by the one who forgets. This act, however, can only logically happen from a Western perspective. Fabian reflects for his reader “how much we stand to lose when we forget that Africa remembers” (p. 150). In Chapter Seven, Christine Obbo reminds the reader that despite the appeal of globalization, particular lived experience still matters for the majority of people. This is why anthropology remains relevant on the African continent. Mustafa Babiker demonstrates in Chapter Eight that African anthropology has much to contribute to the disciplinary discourse. He critiques the “crisis scenario” as leading to a perpetual cycle of dependency for African states, and he critiques the “herder/farmer dichotomy” as being more of a continuum. Robert Launay discusses the cursory focus on Islamic studies in African anthropology, which in Chapter Nine he argues were viewed as inauthentic cultural practices.

The last four chapters of section three titled, “The Future of Anthropology in Africa: Application and Engagement,” are written by P. J. Ezeh, Mwenda Ntarangwi, Mary Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, and Washington Onyango-Ouma, respectively. Chapter Ten traces how Nigerian anthropologist Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe’s training helped shape his public policies as both a Nigerian president and community leader. In Chapter Eleven, Ntarangwi writes about his experiences bringing American university students to Kenya. As a Kenyan himself, Ntarangwi explores his “dualistic encounter with the field” (p. 229) as a foreign teacher and native researcher. Chapter Twelve traces community mobilization through participatory

learning and action tools designed to “empower the communities to identify their needs and homegrown solutions” (p. 242). Like many of the authors in this book, Mary Amuyunzu-Nyamongo sees African anthropology as an engaged, empathetic undertaking. Onyango-Ouma appropriately concludes the volume with a chapter on ethics by examining the different perspectives of practicing anthropology in one’s own country.

The authors are all well-respected African insiders who are exceptionally qualified to contribute to the ongoing debate about the crisis of identity in anthropology by offering both unique and ongoing insights into the challenges facing African anthropology. They accomplish this heady task by drawing on a plethora of important sources, each relevant for their respective contributions. Teachers of African anthropology now have an expansive bibliographic collection to draw on. The only drawbacks to this work are: (1) the theoretical section was placed in the middle instead of at the beginning where it belongs, and (2) the book needs to be expanded to include the anthropological history of other African nations. For example, no Lusophone African anthropologist contributed to this work.

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Filip Reyntjens. *The Great African War: Congo and Regional Geopolitics, 1996-2006*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. xi, 327pp.

Filip Reyntjens examines a decade long period of instability, violence, war, and extreme human suffering in Central Africa. Reyntjens is one of the most prominent experts in issues regarding human rights and the politics of the Great Lakes and has worked consistently in the Congo wars theme. The book first examines the question why the recent wars in the region have occurred. In order to answer this Reyntjens follows a rather eclectic approach with three different perspectives: the collapse of the Zairian/Congolese state, warlordism coupled with plunder, and external interventionism.

The author argues that the progressive decay of the state combined by its acutely or endemically unstable neighbors contributed to a perverse cycle in which Zaire threatened its neighbors just as its neighbors threatened Zaire. Thus, there is a identification with Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, who in his book *Congo: From Leopold to Kabila* states that the major determinant of the present conflict and instability has been the implosion of the state and its instruments in the Great Lakes region. Furthermore, Reyntjens explains that the most compelling factor added to the unraveling of successive wars in the region can be found in the recent history of Rwanda. According to Reyntjens, despite being relatively the smallest state in the region Rwanda has been the epicenter of all crises since 1994. Moreover, the author argues that the status of regional superpower acquired by Rwanda is truly astonishing. It was obtained through the force of arms which Rwanda allowed to prevail because of the tolerance inspired by the international community feeling guilty after the genocide.

As mentioned above, this book attempts to present a synthetic overview of the complex situation and violent evolution of the Zaire/Congo. Especially in Chapter 4, the author analyzes

instrumentally the fall of the Mobutist state. In addition, the Armed Forces of Zaire, isolated from their neighbors, turned to external actors for support. Reyntjens there captures each one of the players involved and their motives. Particularly important has been the author's contribution in Chapters 5 and 6, where the study of the inter-bellum era is presented, a period which contained all seeds of the war started in August 1998. There, Reyntjens successfully captures two key dimensions of the Great Lakes region conflict. The first consisted of the shifty alliances which produce an unpredictable and constantly evolving geopolitical landscape where players engage in cost benefit analysis and adhere to the logic the enemy of my enemy is my friend. The other dimension deals with the magnitude of the humanitarian fallout in the region that according to Reyntjens has not resulted in an international punishment for the masterminds of the mass atrocities committed.

One of the book's weaknesses is fact that the author does not employ any analytical tool for the history of the complex situation in South Kivu and the actors involved. The Banyamulenge are a group of Banyarwandan migrants which are involved in the region's turbulent ethnic politics. The author offers only a minor part of his analysis to the Banyamulenge historical importance, which could have been more lengthy and evaluated in greater depth. Another area where the author could have been more explanatory is the complicated politics of Burundi since 1994. The continually evolving political landscape of the country and its transfers of power leave the reader merely confused.

Despite having made several criticisms, however, it still is important to note that Reyntjens has produced a valuable survey of Congo's long and often tortured history that will undoubtedly be useful in the college classroom. It would make an ideal supplemental text for a course on African politics or African history. Even if not assigned as required reading, it deserves a place on the shelves of university libraries as every undergraduate student researching Africa's First World War will find this book very helpful. Scholars of the Great Lakes have, thanks to Reyntjens, a worthwhile addition to their personal and/or university library collections.

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Ronald Bruce St. John. *Historical Dictionary of Libya*. 4th ed. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2006. lxiii, 403 pp.

The *Historical Dictionary of Libya* is the one-hundredth book in the Jon Woronoff-edited series of historical dictionaries of Africa that began in 1974. A well-established and independent Libyan-focused scholar, Ronald Bruce St. John provides a historical backdrop to present-day Libya with the intent of shedding light on the cultural context from which Muammar al-Qadhafi pulls his unique ruling style. At roughly the same length as the Third edition, this Fourth edition is a very concise consolidation of topics relevant to the politics of revolutionary Libya, with only a few entries pertinent to pre-colonial histories of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and the Fezzan.

The 288 pages of dictionary entries have been significantly revised and updated since the previous edition, accounting for the many changes in both Libyan domestic and foreign policies since the late 1990s. A majority of entries are defined as they pertain to Libya in its current form under Qadhafi. The somewhat scant information about members of the Libyan ruling class reflects the relative secrecy that continues to surround that country's high-level governance. Nevertheless, the comprehensive list of entries yields enough information for readers to thoroughly analyze decisions and dimensions of the modern Libyan state. Additionally, the appendices that directly follow the dictionary entries act as a good quick-reference guide for everything from governing elites to economic sanctions.

This edition also contains several smaller sections that complement the entries. A short series of maps illustrating territorial disputes between Libya and Chad and Libya and Tunisia helps readers visualize the roots of Libya's first two major legal interactions with the international community. The Chronology outlines major developments in Libya since the beginning of the Karamanli Dynasty in the 19th century with particular focus on Libya's foreign affairs since the One September Revolution. The Glossary and List of Abbreviations are sound collections of terms useful for clarifying some dictionary entries as well as scholarly articles pertaining to North Africa and Islam in general. The Bibliography is by far the most valuable aspect of this edition. It is divided into eight separate categories, each of which is further divided into several category-specific subjects, and is preceded by an introduction that takes the form of an annotated bibliography of other bibliographic sources appropriate for Libyan studies.

Though the Fourth Edition foregoes the inclusion of an expansive pre-colonial account of Libyan history, it is an invaluable resource for both the casual student and seasoned scholar of modern Libya. Its bibliography includes a good deal of up-to-date (as of 2006) sources without sacrificing those that are dated yet remain authoritative in their analyses. The sources come from several disciplines and cover as many decades, providing an exhaustive foundation for the study of Libya. The dictionary entries and the supporting sections offer a well-rounded background for the understanding of Libya as it has progressed under Qadhafi since the One September Revolution.

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Jeremy Sarkin (ed). *Human Rights in African Prisons*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008. (first published in South Africa by HSRC Press, Cape Town). 254 pp.

As Nelson Mandela wrote in *Long Walk to Freedom*, "No one truly knows a nation until one has been inside its jails. A nation should not be judged by how it treats its highest citizens, but its lowest ones" (p.187). Though one out of every seven hundred people in the world is incarcerated and the world's prison population is over nine million, the correctional services of many countries around the world are acutely under-researched, as analysis, statistics and data about criminal justice systems are often extremely limited, difficult to access, and inaccurate.

Jeremy Sarkin's *Human Rights in African Prisons* is therefore a most welcome and very important intervention in a restricted field of inquiry, joining the ranks of the precious few books on this subject, including Callamard's Amnesty International report on prisons in Africa (2000), Bernault's historically-based collection, *A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa* (2003), or Mahmoud's non-refereed case-study examination, *The Human Rights of African Prisoners* (2006). Comprehensive in scope, Sarkin's edited volume explores several themes: African prisons in a global context; the history of prisons in Africa; prison governance; overcrowding; pre-trial detention; children in prisons; the condition of female offenders; rehabilitation and integration; alternative sentencing; and the African Commission's approach to prison reform. Throughout, the reader also gleans a myriad of disturbing details about conditions in African prisons, from torture techniques to *trokosi* (the use of virgin girl slaves as reparations for crimes, p. 148). The collection features ten specialists in the field of African law, including Victor Dankwa, former chair of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and the first Special Rapporteur on prisons and conditions of detention in Africa. Dankwa's entry examines the topic of overcrowding. Some African prisons currently operate at more than 300 percent capacity, or three times the number of inmates they can accommodate. This volume identifies overcrowding as the most critical problem in African prisons and develops it throughout all of the chapters.

To support their claims, the book's contributors draw on an impressive array of hard-to-find reports, case studies, statistics, legal documents, and scholarly articles. Specialists in this field will be delighted by the volume's thorough bibliography. Yet even interested general readers and undergraduates can enjoy this study, since the prose is clear, free of extraneous detail, theoretical asides, legalese or policy jargon. Unlike many edited collections, the chapters work nicely together, to form a cohesive, interrelated whole. In sum, this is a lucid, well-informed and compelling overview of the critical issues in African correctional institutions. Non-experts will particularly appreciate Sarkin's succinct and thoughtful introduction to prison conditions world-wide. Insightfully, he compares Africa to the United States, (the world's most punitive country, with a prison population of over two million), and alludes to shared concerns, including overcrowding, resource management and racial discrimination. Also helpful is Stephan Pete's historical survey, which shows how current practices of overcrowding, corruption and brutality have their roots in colonial practices. Dankwa outlines the causes of overcrowding, referring to political repression, economic underdevelopment, lengthy remands, unnecessary arrests, stiff sentences, etc. The chapters on pre-trial detention, rehabilitation and alternative sentencing further address this issue. For instance, Michel Schonteich describes lengthy pre-trial remands as "discrimination against the poor and powerless" (p. 105) and argues that resulting overcrowding is actually expensive and dangerous for the state, because of security concerns, communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS, or a lack of a rehabilitated, educated labour-force. The book concludes with a discussion of prison reform and the role of the Special Rapporteur, who from 1996-2004 inspected prisons in sixteen African countries. Julia Sloth-Nielsen's and Lisa Vetten's chapters on minors and women are noteworthy, as both are often neglected in official data and prison research. Most children are in prison either because their mothers are incarcerated or because they are convicted/ awaiting trial for such

petty crimes as loitering, vagrancy, begging, or truancy. Both women and children are at greater risk of human rights violations, including violence, sexual abuse, disease, and death. For instance, Vetten notes that many female prisoners do not even have access to sanitary napkins or underwear. However, Vetten's discussion fails to address the critical issue of abortion. In many African states, women are sentenced to life for "murder"/"attempted murder" for abortions/ attempted abortions. Many of these women are rape victims, and often alleged "abortions" are miscarriages.

Overall, this volume provides an excellent introduction to African prisons. Experts in the field, however, may be somewhat frustrated by its synoptic overview. Because of its broad coverage, this collection has a tendency to generalize "Africa" and to conflate "African" specificities. References to specific judiciary or penal systems largely serve as exemplary illustrations, often offered without historical or political contextualization. Curiously, there is no mention of the renowned, brutal prison abuse of the Mau Mau by British colonialists, just as there is no naming of dictators, be it al-Bashir, Nguema, Mswati, Mobutu, Bokassa, Idi Amin or even Robert Mugabe. To refer back to Nelson Mandela, any judgment or in-depth understanding of any one nation is forestalled here. The notable exception is South Africa. It is clear that the contributors are specialists in South Africa and interested in Anglophone African countries. Human rights specialists may similarly be dissatisfied by the volume's lack of in-depth analysis or theorization of human rights issues or imprisonment. Discussions of human rights mainly consist of outlining human rights documents and legal instruments, such as the *African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights*, and then explaining how African prisons fail to fulfill them. The roles of non-governmental organizations and of social, cultural or religious institutions in judiciary systems and prison reform are neglected. Despite its limitations—completely understandable because of its harbinger status and ambitious scope—this book is essential reading for African scholars, legal experts, human rights workers, and even informed, socially-conscious general readers, and thus is a must for any academic library.

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William A. Schabas. *Genocide in International Law: The Crime of Crimes*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. xviii, 741p.

William A. Schabas, the Director of the Irish Centre for Human Rights and Professor of human rights law at the National University of Ireland, Galway, offers a meticulous analysis of the history and application of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. In 1948, the then fifty-six member states of the United Nations that adopted the Convention, tried to outlaw forever what Winston Churchill once called "a crime without a name." These states were reacting to the atrocities of World War II and to jurist Raphael Lemkin, who coined the term genocide and vigorously urged that the United Nations legally prohibit and punish it. Article 1 of the Convention states that "The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether

committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish. Article II defines “genocide” as a series of actions undertaken “with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such,” whether by killing, inflicting serious bodily or mental harm, destroying group conditions of life, preventing births, or transferring children to another group. Although only 140 states out of over 190 have formally ratified or acceded to the Convention, those that have not are still obligated under international customary law not to engage in, conspire to commit, or promote genocide.

Schabas goes through the Convention almost word by word, explaining the legal meaning of each on the basis of the Convention’s drafting history (*travaux préparatoires*), judicial interpretations, and statements by authoritative legal bodies. He notes that the Convention rested practically dormant until the UN Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, created the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda in 1993 and 1994 respectively. Each of these tribunals, as well as the more recently created International Criminal Court, has incorporated the Genocide Convention into its statute.

In addition to prohibiting genocide, the Convention requires countries to prevent it. Many criticized the United States, France, and other western states for not acting to prevent the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. What exactly is this state obligation? For an answer, Schabas turns to the International Criminal Court’s 2007 judgment in the case involving Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro. There the ICJ stated that a state’s duty to act to prevent arises when it learns of a risk of genocide and has the means to deter it. The obligation varies with the capacity of a state to act effectively. This may differ with a state’s geographical location and the strength of its political influence over the parties involved in the potential genocide.

Schabas notes that universal jurisdiction applies to the crime of genocide, because many states, including the U.S., regard the crime as one against all of humankind. They have passed the necessary legislation enabling their courts to prosecute suspected perpetrators regardless of where or against whom the crime was committed. A number of western European countries have tried suspects involved in mass killings in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

Schabas refers frequently to the case law of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to interpret parts of the Convention. One of the major difficulties is determining who fits into the four named, protected groups. In the Jean-Paul Akayesu case (1998), the ICTR had to determine whether genocide as defined in the Convention and ICTR Statute had occurred in Rwanda. Since genocide involves the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or social group, it was necessary to determine the meaning of these four social categories. Because neither the Genocide Convention nor the ICTR Statute had defined them, the task fell upon the ICTR Trial Chamber itself. Based on its reading of the *travaux préparatoires*, the Chamber concluded that the drafters perceived the crime of genocide as targeting only stable, permanent groups, whose membership is determined by birth. The drafters excluded political and economic groups that one joins voluntarily. The Chamber then defined a national group “as a collection of people who are perceived to share a legal bond based on common citizenship, coupled with reciprocity of rights and duties.” An ethnic group is “a group whose members share a common language or culture.” A racial group is “based on the hereditary physical traits

often identified with a geographical region, irrespective of linguistic, cultural, national or religious factors.” A “religious group is one whose members share the same religion, denomination or mode of worship.”

Significantly, the Tutsi-Hutu distinction in Rwanda did not fit into any of the above categories. The Tutsi belong to the same religious groups and national group as do the Hutu. Tutsi and Hutu share a common language and culture. And any hereditary physical traits formerly distinguishing Hutu from Tutsi have become largely obliterated through generations of intermarriage and a Belgian classification scheme based on cattle ownership. Consequently, had the ICTR justices stopped here, they would have been forced to conclude that genocide, as legally defined in the Convention and Statute, had not occurred in Rwanda.

The Chamber next asked whether it would be impossible to punish the physical destruction of a group as such under the Genocide Convention, if the said group, although stable and membership is by birth, does not meet the definition of any one of the four protected groups. The justices concluded that the answer is “no,” because the intention of the Convention’s drafters was patently to ensure the protection of any stable and permanent group. Based on the case testimony, the Court concluded that the Tutsi did indeed constitute a stable and permanent group and were therefore protected by the Genocide Convention and Article 2 of the ICTR Statute.

By adding “stable and permanent group, whose membership is largely determined by birth,” to the four existing social categories, the Chamber significantly expanded the kinds of populations that could be protected by the Convention. One might wonder whether unisexual groups, homosexuals, or persons mentally or physically impaired permanently at birth might constitute protected groups under the Tribunal’s expanded definition. Schabas is clearly opposed to the expansive “permanent” and “stable” approach employed by the Tribunal, despite the fact that the Darfur Commission of Inquiry claimed in its 1995 report that the ICTR conceptualization has become part and parcel of international law.

Intentionality is a constitutive element of genocide. Intent is a mental factor that is difficult to determine with precision in the absence of a sincere confession by the accused. Again, the ICTR provided a jurisprudential roadway by reasoning that it is possible to deduce the genocidal intent inherent in a particular act from the general context of other culpable acts systematically directed against the same protected group, whether these acts were committed by the same offender or by others. Specific factors to be considered include the scale of atrocities committed and the deliberate and systematic targeting of people because of their membership in a particular group, while excluding members of other groups. Hence, an individual, who attacks only one person and never explains why, can be convicted of genocide as long as his one attack fits into an overall pattern of genocidal acts by others against members of the same protected group.

The ICTR Trial Chamber also made a major contribution to the progressive development of genocide law by addressing sexual violence in the Akayesu case. It noted that the Genocide Convention and Article 2(2) of the ICTR Statute offer as one of the definitions of genocide the “causing [of] serious bodily or mental harm to members of a group.” The Justices maintained that acts of sexual violence constituted genocide provided they were committed with the

specific intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a particular group, because sexual violence certainly constitutes inflictions of “serious bodily and mental harm” on victims.

Schabas’ treatment of the crime of genocide is very comprehensive and authoritative. He covers many more important issues than could be discussed in this review. This work is indispensable to anyone concerned with humanitarian and public international law.

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Falguni A. Sheth. *Toward a Political Philosophy of Race*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2009. xiii, 178 pp.

Imagine a case of domestic violence in which the perpetrator beats his partner once every two weeks. In every other way his behavior is exemplary: he is a loyal and dedicated employee, a doting parent and, most of the time, a loving partner. Yet every fourteen days he flies into a drunken rage and assaults his wife. How might we understand his actions? One possibility is to judge his violent episodes against the backdrop of his otherwise admirable character. The assaults are aberrations or accidents which, given the husband’s self-control in other areas, it is reasonable to think he will be able to get under control, without need of outside intervention. A second possibility however is to condemn the beatings as unacceptable, regardless of how pleasant the husband is at other times. The attacks are serious enough to warrant immediate intervention. On this view, the violence is not an accident or aberration, but a recurring and systematic pattern of behavior, and must be understood as such in order for it to end.

The second view is surely a more reasonable response to domestic violence. According to Falguni Sheth, it is also a more reasonable response to the injustices liberal states commit against vulnerable populations. When U.S. Muslims were arrested and detained in the wake of September 11, many commentators viewed it as an aberration on the part of an otherwise just society. According to Sheth however, the mistreatment of Muslims was merely one instance in a longstanding historical pattern involving such episodes as slavery, Jim Crow, and the wartime detention of Japanese Americans. If we want to fully understand the overall pattern we need to recognize its systematic, non-accidental character. Moreover, we need to grasp the overlooked role the concept of race plays in making such injustices possible.

Events involving the persecution of Japanese- or African-Americans are normally thought to involve a pre-existing racial minority which is singled out for persecution. In Sheth’s view, however, this understanding gets the causal story backwards. A group that is perceived as posing a political threat has a racial identity imposed upon it by the state during episodes of oppression. On her view, racial identity is itself the product of anxiety and panic on the part of the wider society. As she puts it, “I distinguish between racial markers—skin type, phenotype, physical differences, and signifiers such as ‘unruly’ behaviors. The former, in my argument, are not the ground of race, but the marks ascribed to a group that has already become (or is on the way to becoming) outcasted.” The fear of Muslim terrorism that occurred in the U.S. following the destruction of the twin towers led to Muslims being racialized in Sheth’s sense of the term,

a process which in turn made it possible to violate their rights in a widespread and deliberate way. Muslims became a suspect group who were slotted into specific legal categories—non-citizen, enemy-combatant, terrorist—that permitted severe measures to be used against them. Recent debates in the philosophy of race have often focused on whether race is a natural or socially constructed attribute. Such debates have also tended to characterize race primarily in terms of the black experience, and to refer rarely, if at all, to philosophers in the so-called continental tradition. Sheth's analysis is triply original in the way it breaks from each familiar approach. While her position overlaps with the social constructivist view, she is concerned with more institutional-political questions than the biological ones that have informed the natural-construction debate. She also ranges far beyond the African-American experience and discusses at length not only the mistreatment of Muslims after September 11 but that of East Indians in the U.S. and Canada a century earlier. Finally, Sheth's book makes frequent reference to the insights of Heidegger, Foucault, Arendt, and Schmitt, which she variously modifies and extends to suit her subject.

Sheth argues that a core function of states is to maintain social order by managing and regulating their populations. Certain members of the polity are deemed as posing a threat to that order. Sheth's term for such people, "the unruly," speaks to this perception, which can apply to groups that are perfectly peaceful. The unruly can represent an unfamiliar belief system such as Islam, or bring to mind a troubling history such as slavery or colonialism. The response of the state to such groups is to define them at the level of law or public discourse by some common trait or traits. Thus, while the political ideology or threatening memory they represent is intangible, it is now "represented or manifested by something else that may or may not be tangible, such as outward garb, physical comportment, phenotype, accent, skin color, or something even more subtle."

Sheth's discussion of the suspicion and harassment of Muslim women illustrates this process. In Europe and North America the practices of purdah and hijab, forms of modest dress that can include covering a woman's head or face, have been the subject of widespread criticism. Sheth outlines the many different reasons—religious, political and personal—that Muslim women have given for practicing hijab, and argues that the practice is rooted not only in cultural and religious norms, but also the women's own agency. In the West however women who follow Islamic dress codes give rise to the inchoate sense that they are somehow rejecting or challenging core liberal values, values that concern everything from transparency to the role of religion in the public sphere. Muslim women thus come to represent an "affront to a rational, reasonable, liberal American culture." As a result, liberal and feminist analyses that criticize veiling and other forms of purdah routinely question whether such practices can ever be rooted in the women's own agency. As Sheth summarizes the Western critics' view, "Can these women 'possibly' be doing this of their own accord? Surely they must be subject to external constraints or pressures."

The end result is that veiling and similar practices function as markers which are used to categorize an unruly population, in this case Muslims, as a racial group. Normally Islam is considered a religious rather than racial term, but in Sheth's usage race applies a far wider range of attributes than skin and hair color. "Can gender be a form of racial division? In a

historicized context, yes. Can sexuality be a racial description? Yes.” Racialization on Sheth’s view can apply to any unruly group which is too powerless to define itself in the public mind. This lack of social power, and the use of markers to impose an identity on the group, whether they be clothing, accent, skin color or something else, form the essence of race in her view. “Race is a metaphysical mode of dividing populations.”

Sheth’s use of the term metaphysical in reference to a social phenomenon may sound strange. Her usage however is bound up with her understand of race as a form of technology in Heidegger’s sense. On Heidegger’s technological-determinist view, technology is not a neutral tool that simply enables us to act on our pre-existing desires. Technology rather structures the field of possibilities we find meaningful. To oversimplify, technology uses us more than we use it. Racial divisions are technological on Sheth’s account because they also exercise their own determination over us, invariably acting to exclude vulnerable groups from the full protection of state and society.

In Sheth’s view race is a technology of considerable power. That power, however, is mitigated by two considerations. Not just any group can have a racial identity imposed on it. Rather a group must already be socially vulnerable in order for it to be racialized. In addition, it is possible for a previously racialized group to obtain the status of what Sheth terms “border populations.” Such groups have formally obtained the rights and privileges of the majority population, but can exercise those rights only in a precarious way. Border-populations thus occupy an uneasy position that is above pure subjection but still short of equality. Sheth makes a thought-provoking argument to the effect that African-Americans occupy such an insider-outsider status. Ongoing discrimination in banking, housing and other realms exists alongside increased black representation in realms ranging from the media to the presidency.

Border populations play a key role in how liberal societies understand themselves. Such groups provide a fig-leaf of justification for the inherent fairness of liberal institutions. Among other functions, border populations allow the most powerful interests in a liberal society to depict their core institutions as racially neutral. The genuine breakthroughs of blacks and other border groups are held up as evidence that their mistreatment is both a relic of the past and a regrettable accident. In this way border-populations provide an alibi or cover for what Sheth terms “the mythology of liberalism—that individuals are automatically protected by law, except under certain—unusual or contingent—circumstances.”

Much of Sheth’s book is devoted to exposing just how pernicious liberal mythology is. When it comes to both the writings of liberal philosophers such as John Rawls and the everyday workings of liberal societies, race on her view inevitably functions as a tool of stigma and exclusion. She highlights a remark by Rawls concerning people who live in a minimally just Muslim society: “[u]nlike most Muslim rules [they] have not sought empire and territory. This is because their theologians understand *jihad* in a moral and spiritual sense, and not in military terms.” Sheth takes this passage to highlight a deeply condescending attitude toward Muslims. Rawls however is far from alone. Our society she concludes is one defined by “a preference within liberalism for the elimination of fundamental differences.”

Sheth does not say very much about how the problems she diagnoses might be solved. There are passing references in her conclusion to extending full constitutional rights to non-

citizens, but she does not outline which particular rights she has in mind. Nevertheless, her book has much to recommend it, not least the quality of the writing. Sheth manages to clearly present the ideas of such famously obscure sources as Heidegger and Derrida. In setting out her own views she displays a marked preference for limpid sentences and vivid analogies over jargon, brackets and slashes. Sheth also has a shrewd eye for the shifting dynamics of racial hierarchies. One might challenge the details of her analysis of the situation of African-Americans for example, but her core claim that they occupy a certain insider-outsider status is subtle and persuasive.

Sheth is also an excellent ambassador on behalf of continental philosophy, demonstrating an exemplary mixture of sympathy and admiration for her sources that makes her interest in them contagious. She has such an easy command of their ideas, and can apply those ideas to contemporary political issues with such ingenuity, that one comes away with a heightened desire to read these thinkers anew. Indeed, reading Sheth's book sometimes feels like taking a lecture series on continental philosophy with a gifted and inspiring teacher.

Sheth's respect for continental theorists means that when she criticizes them, it is with considerable force. To take but one example, Agamben has written about the way the laws of liberal states create legal zones of exception, in which certain populations lose the protection of the law (Guantanamo Bay is perhaps the best known example). Sheth persuasively argues that something is missing in Agamben's analysis, namely, an awareness that not all populations are equally vulnerable to the process of legal abandonment Agamben describes. "After all, if they were, then Muslim immigrants, white middle-class software engineers, and former United States Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld would all coevally be in danger."

Unfortunately, Sheth's treatment of liberal philosophers never rises to the same level. Instead one gets the sense that Sheth does not respect liberalism enough to take it as seriously as a philosophy. Many of Sheth's philosophical sources have, to put it mildly, stumbled over questions of difference. Heidegger and Schmitt were fascists. Foucault had a kind word to say about the Khomeini regime in Iran. Arendt's writings contain grossly insensitive passages about Polish Jews, African-Americans and black South Africans. Sheth nonetheless draws on these same thinkers' signature ideas. No doubt she would maintain, correctly, that their lapses do not invalidate their central arguments. Yet in her discussion of liberalism, Sheth takes Rawls' remarks about Muslim rulers to exhibit a disregard for equality that permeates his work as a whole. Continental theorists pass by with a smile and wave. But one false move by a liberal, and Sheth exhibits all the charity and sensitivity of an airport security guard singling out a Muslim family for interrogation.

Sheth engages liberalism primarily as a descriptive theory rather than a normative one. Hence her critical remarks about the myth of liberal societies being perfectly just. Revealingly, however, she does not quote anyone who actually believes this simple-minded view. Liberal theorists have long been alive to the dangers of racism and exclusion at work in liberal societies: Ronald Dworkin on affirmative action; Will Kymlicka on national minorities; and Joseph Carens on open borders. Sheth's critique of liberalism is considerably weakened by her lack of engagement with this literature. Had she extended to liberal philosophers the same seriousness and care she exhibits toward continental ones, she might have recognized that in her appeal to

agency and constitutional solutions, among other areas, her own position relies on staunchly liberal elements.

Sheth's discussion of liberalism is not the only area where her argument appears to employ two weights, two measures. It is unclear why hijab as it is practiced in Muslim societies is not properly understood as a racialized form of oppression in Sheth's terms. It seems more consistent with her theory to view hijab as being a response on the part of Muslim men to the "unruly" threat of the sexuality of women, who lack power in Muslim societies. Sheth however highlights the women's status as agents rather than victims. She is surely right that it is insulting to insinuate that Muslim women cannot exercise the practice autonomously. But in the context of her book it seems to highlight a double standard, given her lack of emphasis on agency in explaining how racial categories function in liberal societies.

Sheth argues that race is not merely a form of technology, but a technology in the Heideggerian sense. Heidegger's hard determinist position however has fallen out of favor among philosophers of technology. As they have often pointed out, it is a routine occurrence in the history of technology for a tool to be put to a different use than the one it was invented for (as anyone who has ever used a copy of *Being and Time* for a doorstop knows). Even if technology is not entirely neutral, the agency of users still plays a role in how it is deployed. In her discussion of race however Sheth, like Heidegger, downplays the role of user agency, in her case, by ignoring how people self-identify as members of racial groups. This is not only an explanatory but a political weakness of her account. To take but one example, in the 1980s veterans of the U.S. civil rights movement were influential in the campaign to impose sanctions against South Africa. Their sense of racial identification with the victims was an important force for justice, yet one which Sheth's rigidly negative and deterministic view of race does not capture.

Sheth's central argument concerning the nature of race is ultimately hard to accept. One reason is that her usage is confusing, including not only categories like white, black and Asian, but also female, gay and communist. A better name for Sheth's book would have been *Toward a Political Philosophy of Stigmatization and Persecution*. It is not clear what is gained by categorizing all persecuted groups as races. Among other problems, categories such as race and gender seem to require as a necessary condition innate physical attributes such as skin color and sex organs. However exaggerated the emphasis on such attributes has been, it still seems reasonable to separate such forms of identity from more purely social ones such as religion and political affiliation. Most of us would find it much easier to change our religion or political philosophy than our race or gender. For this and other reasons, Sheth's discussion of race never quite reaches the same level as her discussion of major thinkers in the continental tradition. It is as an engagingly written and provocatively argued introduction to that tradition that the real value of her book is found.

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Olufemi Taiwo. *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity in Africa*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010. xii, 352 pp.

This book is about the nature of the relation between colonialism and modernity. It addresses the key issue of how and why colonialism was a bulwark against any transition to modernity in the continent. Olufemi Taiwo selected three West African countries and former British colonies, Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania, as case studies in the post-independence decade, to answer those thorny questions.

Taiwo's major assumption is that the legal system inherited from colonialism was not fair and this explains why liberal democracy and the rule of law failed to take root in Africa. He challenges what has become conventional wisdom in studies pertaining to colonialism and modernity: the belief that colonialism was a uniform phenomenon affecting the whole continent in the same way and that colonialism and modernity are twins.

A great deal of care should be taken to differentiate between colonialism and modernity, because historically they are separate and should also be separated for analytical purposes. They do not, in fact, belong to the same discourse. African colonialism is different and specific. Former colonies like the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have, by every accord, reached the highest steps of modernity. This is not the case with the "dark continent." What Africa has achieved are superficial markers, Taiwo insists: rapid urbanization, limited industrialization, mass consumption, more schooling, and a road infrastructure. The distinctive marker of modernity is its politico-philosophical discourse summed up in three concepts: subjectivity, reason, and progress. It is here, that Taiwo breaks new ground.

Suggesting that Africa is impermeable to modernity or that Africans are congenially unable to work modernity are non plausible, racist theses. Africa and Africans, indeed showed openness, flexibility, adaptability, and diligence to modern forms of life when they were offered the opportunity.

Contrary to previous scholarship which lumps European colonists together, Taiwo believes that missionaries, differently from traders and especially administrators after them, should be credited for the implantation of "civilization" in Africa. They proved more revolutionary than the administrators in their interaction with Africans. They introduced Christianity and set up an educational system for the indigenous population. But, most importantly, missionaries, like the Rev. Henry Venn, according to Taiwo, were keen on creating a middle class committed to civilization as partakers of its fruits. They involved native Africans in their "civilizing" mission and trained them to establish and run their own lives and institutions, beginning with their churches. Even though the missionaries' most notable contribution was in the realm of religion and education, they similarly promoted agriculture, medicine, architecture, and printing. In so doing, they had many converts who responded enthusiastically and took over the task of modernizing their African communities in partnership. Samuel Ajayi Crowther, James Africanus Beale Horton, Rev S.R.B Attoli Abuma, and others were Taiwo's "prophets without honor" and the apostles of modernity.

Henry Venn and those who shared a similar philosophy wanted a total remaking of the African world, a development that was to be anchored on commerce and civilization, which

was believed to be a prerequisite to Christianity, a remaking and a development which would start under their supervision, and which eventually would be turned over to Africans themselves. This is what Taiwo calls the autonomy model according to which Africans can be trusted to run their own affairs and had to be equipped with the capacity for self-support.

The opposite model, the conservative and reactionary one, is the aid model; the one recommended and implemented by administrators –soldiers, residents, hired guns, who since the late nineteenth century governed Africa. These, like Lord Lugard, favored recruits of chiefly provenance, not outcasts; inaugurated socio-cryonics with its attendant consequence of preserving or shaping existing institutions, regardless of their state of health or relevance to serve their needs of a cheap empire-building; and had a narrow imperialist perception of their mission, to do whatever for the glory of the mother country and the profits of their sponsors. To this main “philosopher of the empire” the African belonged to the infancy of the human race. Worse still, he was a savage, an animal who was capable of mimicking humans. That was a sterling view of one of the most celebrated administrators of the British Empire in Africa.

For Lugard and many administrators like him, the African failed to cope with the rest of humanity and was not, therefore, in a position to enjoy the fruits of civilization. They had to grow and mature before admission to the community of adults. This is why throughout the entire period that he served as administrator in Nigeria, Lugard fought a fierce battle against a specific group of natives: the Western-educated elite made up mostly of returning slaves and indigenous converts to Christianity.

Such racist views of Africa and Africans were strongly reflected in the legal system that Anglophone countries inherited from Britain and which accounted for the failure of such countries to have representative and fair systems. Given that the inhabitants of the colonies were judged to be beyond the pale of British citizenship for no other reason than their being characterized as inferior human beings, they were not, then considered as individuals and could not, as a result, aspire to the position of a citizen and holder of rights. Moreover, the modern legal system is built on a basic philosophical disposition that is suspicious of power and of the state in which it is vested. Such suspicion is absent from the legal discourse about Africa.

Africa was in the process of turning modern, but colonial officials aborted those efforts when they set up indirect rule in the service of their countries. Taiwo remained, however, positive about the prospects of a modern Africa.

This study, which matured over almost a decade, should be recommended to philosophers, students of African studies, and all those concerned with the future of Africa.

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Meine Pieter van Dijk (ed.). *The New Presence of China in Africa*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009. 224 pp.

Africa is a new frontier for Chinese expansion in the early twenty-first century. At the Beijing Summit and the Third Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in November 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao pledged to give aid and open its market for over four hundred types of tariff-free import items from Africa. Even though China has neither the power nor infrastructure to be a First World nation at the moment, it has the ability, resources and political will to be a champion of the developing world. Meanwhile the United States is facing serious military setbacks in Iraq and Afghanistan and losing the diplomatic battles against North Korea and Iran over their nuclear weapon programs. It has become increasingly difficult for Washington to maintain its global dominance. Against this significant shift of balance of power, Meine Pieter van Dijk has brought together a team of economists to evaluate the success of China in fostering closer diplomatic and economic relations with African states.

All the ten chapters are divided thematically into four sections. In part one, the introductory chapter by Meine Pieter van Dijk sets the framework for understanding the rise of China in Africa and the geopolitical implications for the West. Filip de Beule and Daniël Van den Bulcke review the remarkable accomplishments of China's open door policy and highlight the importance of Africa for its economic growth. As China becomes "an outward investor, both as a market seeker and a resource seeker," it has made significant inroads into Africa's industrial, commercial and agricultural sectors (p. 49). Therefore, the new Chinese presence in Africa should be seen as an extension of its economic policy.

Part two explores how China has combined the strategies of providing government aid, promoting direct investments and creating free trade agreements to expand its influence. According to Jean-Raphaël Chaponnière, most Chinese aid and loans were spent on the infrastructure projects and the transfer of technical knowledge. This has challenged the Western paradigm that regards neoliberal structural reform as a precondition for Africa's capacity building and development. Peter Kragelund and Meine Pieter van Dijk reconstruct a regionally diversified picture of Chinese economic activities in Africa. They point out that most Chinese investments are concentrated in those countries with strong diplomatic ties with Beijing. Meine Pieter van Dijk stresses that Beijing has developed numerous free trade partnerships to reorient the African economy towards the fast-growing Chinese market.

Part three presents in-depth case studies of Chinese expansion into Africa. Anders Bastholm and Peter Kragelund investigate the scale of Chinese investments in Zambia's mining, construction, and agricultural sectors. Because Beijing has provided Chinese state-owned enterprises with easy access to investment capital and the necessary banking services, these companies are more competitive than the multinational firms in Zambia. Meine Pieter van Dijk looks at the Chinese responses to the civil war and human rights abuses in Darfur in 2008. At least in Sudan, China was under tremendous international pressures to set aside its policy of non-intervention and to negotiate directly with the warring factions. However, what distinguishes China from other Western powers is the diversification of its investment strategies in Africa. According to Meine Pieter van Dijk, China recently built an industrial zone in

Ethiopia and an export processing zone in Tanzania, and invested heavily in African banking institutions. Evidently, the Chinese state-owned enterprises have enjoyed strong support from Beijing and prepared to make long-term business decisions rather than seeking immediate profits.

In the concluding section, Peter Knorringa asserts that the growing Chinese economic influence may not contribute to the rise of African corporate responsibility as the West has expected. But this assessment overlooks the fact that many African ruling elites have advantaged themselves by tapping into the Chinese aid, investments and bilateral trade. Meine Pieter van Dijk draws attention to the importance of energy security. As with other global powers, China is concerned about energy supplies in the midst of high oil prices and a global rush for oil, natural gas, and other resources essential for industrial development. Beijing has succeeded in pursuing a pragmatic policy that serves its diplomatic and economic agendas since the 1990s.

This edited book vividly portrays a strong sense of pragmatism and opportunism in China's Africa policy. Overall, China today is determined to maintain a stable international environment for its economic growth and to avoid provoking a vigorous response from the United States towards its expansion. Such geopolitical and diplomatic agendas are as important as economic concerns. One methodological problem of this work is that most contributors only draw on western language materials to investigate the subject. If they had studied the Chinese official and unofficial sources, they would have acknowledged that Beijing has constantly adjusted its strategies to maintain its competitive effectiveness in the continent.

Equally important is the growing Chinese cultural influence in Africa. From 2001 to 2006, more than 10,000 African government officials and technical personnel received training in China. Today Beijing has founded twenty-four Confucius Institutes in seventeen African countries to promote the study of Chinese language and culture, and offered scholarships to African students to go to China (Paradise, 2009; Sautman and Yan, 2009). In addition, there have been increasing numbers of Chinese migrants in search of business opportunities in Africa (Dobler, 2009). These technicians, students and migrants are the new agents of China's penetration into the continent.

In conclusion, the editor and contributors have presented accurate, up-to-date quantitative data about the rise of Chinese influence in Africa. This book is an important reference for anyone interested in the latest development of Sino-African relations.

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