

BOOK REVIEWS

Mensah Adinkrah. 2015. *Witchcraft, Witches and Violence in Ghana*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. 325 pp.

Mensah Adinkrah's *Witchcraft, Witches and Violence in Ghana* presents a critical observation and documentation of outrageous implications and atrocities due to witchcraft accusations that happen in Ghanaian society. The author mainly focuses on the Akan of southern Ghana, the country's largest ethnic. He was born and grew up in Ghana in the 1960s and 1970s and is a sociologist at Central Michigan University. Awarded a Fulbright Senior Scholars Fellowship to study female homicide victimization in Ghana, he elected to focus on studying witchcraft-associated "lethal and nonlethal violence." Adinkrah spent ten years as a sociology ethnographer in Ghana researching witchcraft. His experiences, including witnessing a courtroom witchcraft trial, have made him aware of the brutality of witchcraft accusations, imputation, and witch hunts.

The book has nine chapters in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. In chapter one, the author attempts to present his research setting and the geographical, political, economic, education and literacy, and health histories of Ghana in relation to the status of women, children, the elderly, the disabled, religion, traditional religion, and witchcraft there. In chapter two, he extends the previous chapter by historically providing us with the understanding of witchcraft beliefs in Ghana. He discusses how witchcraft beliefs operate among Akans. Adinkrah uses other scholars in defining witchcraft among the Akan, which is consistent with other ethnic groups in Ghana as "Akans regard witchcraft as a form of mystical, supernatural, or spiritual power possessed and used consciously by some individuals, either to protect and promote the welfare of or to cause harm to unsuspecting members of the witch(e)s" (p. 56). This definition is generally similar across various African societies.

Adinkrah discusses "good" and "bad" witchcraft; the society they belong to, and how dreams, nightmares, and witchcraft are connected in some cases. He made an effort to provide information on food and witchcraft, witches' guilds and families, symptoms of bewitchment, as well as the modes of preserving, transmitting, and acquiring witchcraft. He expresses how gender is very crucial in witchcraft, accusation. In most of the places in Africa and across the world, females, especially elderly women, are the primary victims. Nowadays, children are branded as witches and victimized. In Ghana, females are generally regarded as having a weaker spirit; as a result, they are "more prone to be utilized by malevolent spirits for evil ends" (p. 74). The author indicates that it is believed that female witches are more active practitioners of witchcraft than their male counterparts. In Akan witchcraft discourse, witches are usually pictured as elderly people. Akan witch beliefs acknowledge that child witches exist as well.

Adinkrah also examines the socialization of witchcraft beliefs within the context of mass media in Ghanaian society. The manner of socialization into witchcraft ideology is usually subtle past conscious awareness. Some of the socialization processes include family, peer, the mass media, television and video, radio, the internet, religious sermons via media outlets,

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/pdfs/v17i1a7.pdf>

religious organizations and practitioners, popular music, children's literature, adult fiction, folk tales, and witchcraft trials and cases. The author articulates witchcraft themes in popular Ghanaian music, specifically in the genres of highlife, hiplife, and gospel music. He notes that the context analyses of song lyrics uncover usual Ghanaian beliefs regarding witches and witchcraft. Some of the music he points to are "Bayi Kwasea" by lyricist Emmanuel Amponsa, "Anadwo Bogya" by Joseph Mensah, and "Efie Mpo Ni" by Dr. Paa Bobo.

Adinkrah reminds us that paremiologists, sociocultural anthropologists, and other social scientists have recognized the pervasive existence of proverbial expressions in many languages across the globe, stressing their engrained use in some cultures as well as the social roles of proverbial assertions. He indicates that importance and the functions of proverbs in Africa in general. He supports his book by discussing witchcraft imagery in Akan proverbs and analyzing some Akan language proverbs within the context of witchcraft.

In terms of the significance of African proverbs, Adinkrah utilizes some of those in the Akan language that revolve around witchcraft to support the book's overall argument. Some of them are: "Witchcraft (*bayie*) befits the status of an elderly woman (*aberewa*) but a child (*akodaa*) may be the bad one (*nnye*)"; "Wrongdoing is like witchcraft; some form of it is found in every lineage"; "It is the foolish witch that is typically caught or apprehended by the witch fetish"; and "Only a witch knows a fellow witch." He explores the events of witch killing in contemporary Ghana, which he considers as the ultimate method of witchcraft persecution. Other supplementary information he uses is Ghanaian dailies and weeklies as well as Ghanaian internet sites such as Ghanawe.com, Myzongo.com, and Ghanatoday.com. He particularly pays attention to the collected data of persecutions that occurred in Ghana between 2004 and 2012, during which time Adinkrah made several travels to Ghana.

In the conclusion, Adinkrah reevaluates the whole issue and discusses witchcraft accusations and the health professions within the context of but not limited to the following: autopsies, illicit drugs, fatalities, spiritualities and their churches, mental health issues and witchcraft. The book is written to illuminate witchcraft ideology in Ghana and to enlighten its consequences, especially for victims who have been accused of practicing witchcraft.

Finally, Adinkrah reminds us that just like in many other societies, the Ghana case demonstrates how witchcraft ideology contributes to marginalizing some members of the societies who are already vulnerable and disenfranchised such as children, the elderly, women, the poor, and the disabled. He notes how NGOs are assisting the victims and creating more awareness of the victimization of those accused of practicing witchcraft, particularly children. Adinkrah laments how the well-liked witchcraft radio shows more and more feature children claiming on the air to be witches, recounting their mischief. Thus, he indicates that the Ghanaian government is currently in signatory partisanship with some international treaties in cubing the human rights issues of the victims. Even though I wish the author had dedicated a chapter on children accused of practicing witchcraft, I recommend this book, since he has a deep knowledge of the subject given that he grew up in Ghana, moved to the USA, and then went back several times to Ghana as he continued to do research for this book. All this gives him an insider and outsider status.

Uchenna Onuzulike, *James Madison University*

Akinyinka Akinyoade and Jan-Bart Gewald (eds.). 2015. *African Roads to Prosperity: People en Route to Socio-Cultural and Economic Transformations*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV. 278 pp.

This edited volume of papers generated from a research project by the African Studies Center in Leiden, the Netherlands initiates an interesting discourse on what happens to African migrants in the spaces between where they initially call “home” and where they finally or temporarily decide is “home.” As such, the authors posit that places along the migration routes by African migrants on “the road to prosperity” are ripe for further research, compared to extensive studies already extant on sending and receiving zones for the migrants. Indeed, it is “to understand more of the histories and present day realities of the zones of transit, both from the sending and receiving perspectives” (p. 4). Habitable areas along these migration routes are termed as “zones,” where migrants may decide to terminate or pause their migration trajectories based on their expectations and experiences—comprising of contestations over space, identity, socioeconomic status, and relationships with others. Amisah Zenabu Bakuri examines current definitions and understandings of transit migration in academic literature, and how these concepts influenced self-perceptions of migrants about their experiences. Ton Dietz urges the study of these migrants, their trajectories and the support structures along those routes. The remaining chapters in this volume have been grouped into three sections: zones of transit, zones of transference and zones of transit and transference.

Zones of transit are regions (both inside and outside the continent) where African migrants paused, stopped, or continued along their road to prosperity. Social networks that either helped or hindered migrants were characteristic of these zones. Migration was in search of money and status, often inspired by others “in flashy suits and gorgeous trunk boxes packed with new cloths, imitation jewelry and the like” (p. 53) as described by Jan-Bart Gewald. Stymied by financial difficulties, state wars and ethnoreligious conflicts, the shame of being unable to “walk home majestically” because of financial failures trapped these migrants in these places away from “home.” Negotiating their new identities as “others” that belonged, tenuous relationships with relatives back home, familial and religious ties developed with indigenes, further discouraged them from permanently leaving.

Zones of transference are regions where transiting migrants from Africa experienced changes in their socioeconomic status. Rijk van Dijk argues that “In addition to the study of the ‘social life’ of geographical zones of transit, social spaces of transference also need to be taken into account as being junctures that make people shift from one social status into another” (p. 113). Some migrants experienced upward social mobility by marrying indigenes, while the indigenes escaped some of their cultural relational expectations in return. For others, social reinvention was unsuccessful, due to indigenes’ unwillingness to change their internal representations of the migrants as “other,” as well as the migrants choosing occupations and lifestyles that identified them as outsiders. Walter van Beek poignantly describes this experience in his narrative of the *rerher* caste as “inside-outsiders” among the Kapsiki of North Cameroon and northeastern Nigeria.

Zones of transit and transference explore how African migrants advantaged themselves of livelihood trends in the places they passed through. Their social networks in these zones provided insider knowledge of these trends, as well as financial, moral, and physical support to

them. Some opportunities blossomed into guaranteed means of earning a livelihood and became aspirational tools of transference from one social milieu or location to a higher/better one. However, inside knowledge of local economic trends did not always actually lead to prosperity. Their legal status (or lack thereof) often subjected them to abuse, exploitation and injustice, as well as burgeoning debt incurred while trying to survive. Nevertheless, working illegally with low pay in order to care for their families was preferable to many migrants than remaining in their home countries unemployed. Many travelled the road to prosperity entrepreneurially—as aptly illustrated by Meike de Goede report on what former president Mobutu told his own migrating people: “Débrouillez-vous (“Fend for yourself”)” (p. 270).

This volume is an easy read and partial snapshot focused on migrants from the western and southern parts of Africa, with opportunity for contributions from the other regions of the continent, as well as African migrant experiences on other continents (such as in Asia, where they do not share a common lingua franca). Collecting data from migrants anywhere can be very challenging, so clearly articulating and reinforcing what readers can do with the information is needed.

Tochi Brown Adimiche, *Kennesaw State University*

Iris Berger et al. (eds.). 2015. *African Asylum at a Crossroads: Activism, Expert Testimony, and Refugee Rights*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 272 pp.

This volume explores the role of expert witnesses in asylum hearings, and the increasing need for their assistance in refugee status determination. The book particularly examines African claims and counterclaims, and the different ways in which experts must inspect these narratives. The Forward sets the tone by linking the role of experts and the challenges they face from Western jurisprudent issues and norms. In the succeeding chapters, African scholars explore expert testimony from a variety of different disciplinary approaches.

The editors' introductory chapter provides a breakdown of the role and task of expert testimony. This is especially useful for those who have no prior knowledge about expertise in asylum courts. Not only must experts determine if an applicant's claims are accurate, but also if “applicants are fabricating their claims by framing them within their knowledge of specific country or regional conditions” (p. 13). As the rest of the book will show, one of the many trials that experts face is in regard to interpreting a rather large span of evidence in order to determine if the applicant will be in danger if he or she is repatriated. However, the main premise of the volume is that asylum is multidimensional and cannot be merely reduced to legal processes (p. 16).

As a result, the next ten chapters provide a unique multidisciplinary approach to expertise testimony. The authors come from an array of different backgrounds such as history, political science, anthropology, and law. Chapter one (Joanna T. Tague) is distinctive compared to the other chapters in the volume, because it examines a timeframe before the rise of expert witnesses. It provides a prehistory of refugee status determination in the African continent. The ordering of the rest of the chapters, however, is disconnected. Chapter two (Meredith Terretta) argues that fraudulent asylum claims should not be dismissed, but rather viewed “as transnational reformers of asylum protocols” (p. 70). Chapter three (Karen Musalo) jumps to

another topic, which looks at the development of the refugee definition in the United States, and how it impacts the use of experts. Chapter four (John Campbell) observes how adjudicators in British courts come to different conclusions on the same issues. The fifth chapter (E. Ann McDougall) examines the challenges of the use of metanarratives in cases. Chapter six (Carol Bohmer and Amy Shuman) looks at how assumptions and prior knowledge about certain countries on behalf of immigration officials affect political asylum hearings. Chapter seven (Iris Berger) underscores the challenges that African cultural practices pose, and the importance of making sense of African narratives. Chapter eight (Katherine Luongo) highlights the issues that experts may face surrounding asylum claims based on cultural constructions, such as on the grounds of witchcraft. Chapter nine (Charlotte Walker-Said) focuses on the complications arising from African sexual minorities and their discourses, which often do not adhere to American concepts relating to sexual minorities. Chapter ten (Tricia Redeker Hepner) acknowledges that the role and knowledge of researchers can routinely complicate asylum processes. The book concludes with an afterword (Fallou Ngom), which explains language analyses on behalf of experts, both in terms of translation issues and body language, which are rooted by cultural norms. While it is apparent that most of the chapters have explicit themes (for example, credibility and fraudulence, and problems of narration), the chapters are not divided by sections, and lack thematic organization overall. Like most African books on asylum, the chapters are compiled with different abbreviations. While the book does contain an index, some abbreviations are not properly defined (such as FRELIMO). A table of cases would have also been useful, particularly for those in the legal fields.

In general, expert testimony is often overlooked in asylum literature. Part of the volume's distinctive approach to asylum studies regards how different disciplines have a hand in expert witness testimony. Although the book is beneficial to those with an interest in African studies, it is also helpful to scholars or individuals who are drawn to asylum research in general, as many of the volume's general topics branch out to other regions of the world. For example, Musalo's chapter on what constitutes a refugee under the jurisprudence of the United States is also a challenge that many countries face. Similarly, asylum as a "political issue" not only affects developed nations, but those in the developing world as well. One of the pivotal components of the book is that it leaves many questions unanswered, thus fostering further debate on the issues.

Elizabeth Juhasz, *The University of New Orleans*

John Collins. 2015. *Fela: Kalakuta Notes*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. 344 pp.

Fela Anikulapo-Kuti (1938-1997)—the iconic Nigerian performer and outspoken political maverick—may not be Africa's best-known musician, but he is the most written-about. Since Carlos Moore published the first biography of Fela in 1982, dozens of publications have chronicled his personal and professional life, analyzed his music, and examined his sociopolitical influence.¹ Like Moore, many authors portray him in a hagiographic manner, flaunting that which made him famous not infamous, innovative rather than delusional, and anti-establishment instead of authoritarian. Unsurprisingly, then, much existing scholarship

pays limited attention to Fela's enigmatic nature, contradictory impulses, and controversial reputation.²

In the deft hands of John Collins, a Ghana-based musician, record producer, archivist, and scholar, we get fresh insights into Fela's complexities and idiosyncrasies. *Fela: Kalakuta Notes* is not a comprehensive biography nor conventional academic treatise. Rather, it is a rich collection of Collins' own reminiscences, diary entries, and interviews with musicians, promoters, and associates (principally Ghanaians) who worked with Fela in the zenith of his career. Offering first-hand accounts from the late 1960s until the 1990s, rare photographs, and valuable information about West Africa's wider popular musical landscape, this an intricate, but highly-accessible, examination of the afrobeat superstar. Rather than presenting his reader with a specific conclusion about Fela, his musicianship, or his legacy, Collins delivers a diverse, and at times incongruous, set of perspectives, which demonstrate just how difficult it is to arrive at one. The result is a wonderfully informative, engaging, and thought provoking read.

Fela: Kalakuta Notes consists of nineteen chapters divided into three main parts. Part One: "Early Days" contains four chapters detailing Fela's life and music until 1972. The first provides a concise overview of his time in London, early years with Koola Lobitos, and his creation of afrobeat. The remaining three detail Fela's time in Ghana and his relationship with two of its most prolific highlife musicians, Joe Mensah and Stan Plange. These chapters place Fela within a Ghanaian-Nigerian musical landscape that was remarkably vibrant, unapologetically cosmopolitan, and deeply intimate. Importantly, they frame his budding stardom not simply as a byproduct of his own talent and hard work, but of wider cultural currents that future studies would do well to further investigate.

Part Two: "Confrontation" consists of five chapters dedicated to the mid-1970s: a period in which Fela focused much of his artistic effort towards critiquing the Nigerian government. Chapter 5 is a journalistic account Collins compiled after witnessing police raid Fela's home in November 1974. This first-hand glimpse is complemented by Chapter Six's interview with "J.B." Daniel Koranteng, a musician who left Fela's band after its conclusion. The next two chapters detail the creation and demise of Fela's self-financed film project, "The Black President." Collins, who was cast as a British colonial education officer, kept a rather detailed month-long diary about its filming, the entirety of which appears as Chapter 7. This chapter—the book's best—is a remarkable foray into Fela's personality, events at his home (then dubbed the "Kalakuta Republic"), and escalating tensions with Nigerian authorities. Chapter 8 provides different viewpoints on the infamous military raid that destroyed Kalakuta in February 1977 (as well as the film's soundtrack and footage), while Chapter 9 outlines Fela's later years (1981-1997) by way of additional interviews and commentaries.

The third and final part, "Retrospect", is the most wide-ranging, of the book. Instead of directly building upon or engaging one another, its ten chapters feature interviews with some of Fela's band members (chapters 10-12), promoters (chapter 13), and musical contemporaries (chapter 16) as well as Fela himself (chapter 17). Others (chapters 14 and 15) feature detailed analyses of his music, while the final two (chapters 18 and 19) address his legacy, afrobeat's current prospects and offshoots, and the rise of "Felabratations" and other commemorative efforts. The book concludes with several valuable appendices, including a chronology of Fela's

life, a detailed bibliography, a comprehensive discography compiled by Ronnie Graham, and a full transcribed score of "Shuffering and Shmiling".

All told, Collins has compiled an authoritative, raw, and multidimensional portrait of Fela Anikulapo-Kuti. It stands among the best books about the iconic musician and warrants the attention of anyone eager to appreciate his prolific and provocative career.

Notes

1. Carlos Moore, 1982. *Fela, Fela: This Bitch of a Life*. London: Allison and Busby.
2. The two most notable exceptions are Michael E. Veal, 2000. *Fela: The Life & Times of an African Musical Icon* Philadelphia: Temple University Press; and Tejumola Olaniyan, 2004. *Arrest the Music!: Fela and His Rebel Art and Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

Nate Plageman, Wake Forest University

Dominica Dipio. 2014. *Gender Terrains in African Cinema*. Pretoria: UNISA Press. 227 pp.

African cinema is gradually garnering increasing attention in the history of world cinemas. Seen predominantly as a postcolonial art form, it is nonetheless an invaluable instrument for education on the continent. Gender has also become a hot topic in African literary circles as scholars and students alike continually interrogate the role and presence of both men and women in literary works. It is therefore a welcome surprise to see the analysis of gender being carried out in the films produced on the continent. Dominica Dipio's work is very significant in that it sets the pace in showing the different ways gender issues are reflected in the films produced in Africa. Dipio's text analyses how the cinema and the filmmaker interrogate gender issues and the representations of women in African communities. She looks at the girl child, the young woman, and the elderly woman, and their male counterparts.

The book is divided into five chapters. Chapter one, which serves as the introduction, describes the theoretical underpinnings of the work examining the various approaches and voices in African filmmaking. Dipio limits her selection to only male directors since she considers them representative of African filmmaking, and the films for the study are those that have been to world cinema festivals. She also delimits her choice to films from West and East Africa, and privileges francophone sub-Saharan Africa as being "canonical" in filmmaking. Chapter two discusses the image of the young girl in African cinema. Gender roles and boundaries are at once challenged and blurred in the representations of the young girl in African films. She is seen as a source of hope for a better tomorrow, often inviting the adults to reexamine their conception of gender and societal restrictions.

Chapter three focuses on young women. These are women actively breaking the chains of traditional restrictions and moving away from oppressive traditions. The young woman has to carve a niche for herself and define her space in the predominantly patriarchal space she inhabits. She is the most active in the fight against oppressive systems, sometimes aided by her male counterpart. Unlike the child in the previous chapter whose "look" and "voice" invite the audience to ponder on issues, the young woman "acts." The films, set in the 1990s and 2000s,

have more instances of young women contesting gender oppression without facing death or banishment.

Chapter four shows the presence of the older generation of women in the films. These are older women and grandmothers who are the embodiment of the traditional values of the community and are often seen as the transmitters of knowledge. However, in the films selected for the study, elderly women are also seen contesting oppressive patriarchal structures in the community. There are images of the older woman who resists change and the one who welcomes it.

Chapter five, the last chapter and the conclusion, indicates the recurrent trends in gender representation in African cinema. One thing that becomes clear from the analysis of the films is that there is no monolithic image of the African woman. She is as diverse as her continent. There are women who resist the status quo and those who do not. There are women who bravely face the repercussions of their acts of rebellion and others who fail to do so. Themes reflected in the films revolve around marriage, childbirth, excision, and other domestic issues. There are instances of other issues that are outside the domestic sphere and affect a much larger portion of the population. In many of these instances, gender issues are subsumed into class and race arguments.

One area in which the text could have done justice to the representations of gender would have been to focus on both genders, female and male, equally. Although the work indicated that the male counterparts would be discussed, it is seen that more space is given to the female than the male. Secondly, inasmuch as there is a dearth of African female filmmakers, the inclusion of the few that exist would have enhanced the richness of the analysis and given a broad picture of the representations of gender in the films. The selection of only male directors as being representative of African filmmaking may have affected the findings of the research. The above notwithstanding, *Gender Terrains in African Cinema* is a book every scholar of gender in Africa should have and read.

Theresah P. Ennin, *University of Cape Coast*

Kristin Conner Doughty. 2016. *Remediation in Rwanda: Grassroots Legal Forums*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 283 pp.

Kristin Conner Doughty's ethnography-based research studies how Rwandans negotiated the mixture of harmony and punishment in grassroots courts ostensibly intended to rebuild the social fabric following the 1994 genocide. Adding to contemporary anthropological research on Rwanda, the book brilliantly and strongly chronicles how Rwandan authorities in the post-genocide era established new local courts presumably modeled on traditional dispute resolution practices as part of a wider national policy of harmony and reconciliation. It demonstrates that the three legal forums in Rwanda, namely genocide courts (*inkiko gacaca*), mediation committees (*comite y'abunzi*), and a legal aid clinic, though not identical, totally underscored mediation based on principles of conciliation and unity, mediated by third parties with the power to direct punishment. Doughty thoughtfully validates how appeals to unity in legal forums functioned as a form of cultural control, although people variably rebuilt moral community and considered different futures through discussions there. Examining a wide-

range of disputes, Doughty links the weighty disputes about genocide to the ordinary conflicts people underwent living in the post-genocide period. The book goes beyond just national reconstruction to include a wider account of how the acceptance of law, principally in post-conflict settings, impacts people's lives. It exposes that although law-based mediation is delineated as benign and is usually defensible as a wholesome form of culturally rooted dispute resolution, both by Rwanda's national government and others worldwide, and in the transitional justice crusade more generally, its execution encompasses coercion and associated resistance. Thus far in grassroots legal forums that are profoundly contextualized, law-based mediation may be able to uncover spaces in which people navigate the micro-politics of reconciliation.

Remediation in Rwanda consists of six chapters, besides an introduction and conclusion. The introduction presents the main argument of the book and that it is a product of qualitative research methodology, specifically ethnography. Its fieldwork was done in two specific field sites in the South Province, namely Ndora and Nyanza, and for wider context purposes, in Kigali. Chapters 1 and 2 give the context and outline, denoting a prelude to the ethnographic argument in the chapters that follow. In chapter 1, it is clear that the production of history and politics of memory in post-genocide Rwanda demonstrates that the government's version of history, which dominates, is meant to justify belonging and current power arrangements, networks, and marginalization. Its omissions are intended to dishonor the international community (because of its failure to prevent the genocide), stress national instead of regional dynamics, and conceal divisions rendering thinkable the employment of grassroots harmony models and mass trials for genocide criminalities. Chapter 2 places the post-genocide legal forums in historical context and demonstrates that present trends toward legal forums and inequality in law have reverberations in Rwanda's past.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5, respectively deliberate on how Rwandans maneuvered in the architecture of social rebuilding of *gacaca* courts, *comite ya'bunzi*, and the legal aid clinic. Each chapter explores how people experienced mediation efforts coupled with punishment across these diverse forums. Chapter 6 examines the mediators (*inyangamugayo*, *abunzi*, and legal aid clinic staff) at the center of the legal forums and demonstrates that they (particularly the *inyangamugayo* and *abunzi*) acted as intermediaries between trained government agents and their fellow citizens. Doughty asserts that this was a form of government through community because of its emphasis on harmony notwithstanding state power being improvised and non-monolithic (p. 194). The conclusion offers three suggestive cautions vital for transitional justice and peace-building practices: to renounce the pursuit for a wholesome cultural solution; recognize that although coercion and instrumentality may be amplified by legal forums they are not exclusively produced by them; and to recognize that reconciliation processes may undeniably be intrinsically violent and fraught.

Doughty should be congratulated for vividly producing a book on Rwanda's post-genocide peace rebuilding experience, which in her own words "tells a story tightly linked to a particular time period, even as I make claims that may extend beyond it" (p. 34). Her cautiousness in analysis should be applauded because throughout the text she guarded against overstating certainty on intricate situations where even Rwandans themselves felt irresolute. *Remediation in Rwanda* is relevant both as an academic analysis and fairly comprehensive and instructive for

policymakers. Indeed, the “book raises complex questions about why, when, and how people advocate for and against unity, and what, ultimately, is at stake in the debate over the legitimacy of mediation principles” (p. 27). Nonetheless, the largely brilliant work has been slightly diluted by Doughty’s style of writing that entailed some repetition (p. 96) and eliding of the question of measuring the *inyangamugayo* and *abunzi*’s fairness versus corruption (p. 219). Perhaps, she saw the latter as irrelevant for the purposes of her book (decentralization, legal processes and reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda), however, it is.

Enock Ndawana, *University of Zimbabwe*

Amina Elbendary. 2015. *Crowds and Sultans: Urban Protest in Late Medieval Egypt and Syria*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press. 276 pp.

Elbendary’s examination of the late Mameluke period in Egypt and Syria (15th and early 16th centuries CE) arose from discussions in her family in which elders remarked that the civil unrest and civil wars marking the Arab nations (“The Arab Spring”) which have been in-progress since December 2010 are not really something new, since Arab historians recorded significant incidents of civil unrest in the last century of Mameluke rule (concluding with the Ottoman conquest of 1517 CE). Elbendary then proceeded to examine macro-trends evident in the extant historical sources by such writers and chronographers as Ibn Taghribirdi, al-Maqrizi, Badr al-Din al-Ayni and others. To state the conclusion first: what emerges from Elbendary’s examination is the fact that the Arab Spring still seems new; the commoners in Damascus, Cairo and Alexandria in the 15th and early 16th centuries were rebelling against specific economic decrees and transgressions, not seeking to overturn the sultanate. Nevertheless, something was going on during the 15th century; social change was taking place. Despite there being no “Pre-Spring”, Elbendary’s work is still useful as she demonstrates that during the late Mameluke period new forms of historiography and literature emerged, non-elites became more educated and in many cases (also facilitated by population loss owing to eruptions of the plague) assumed official positions, autobiographical elements emerged in writing, and as a result of outside pressure structural economic change was unavoidable.

The use of familiar western terms and periodization is a problem in the text which Elbendary acknowledges immediately, and with cause. In the context of the Arab Middle East, “medieval” times would probably extend from the conquest of Roman (i.e. Eastern Roman) Egypt (642 CE) to the arrival of Napoleon (1798 CE). Because this nomenclature derives from study of European history, it seems awkward to superimpose it on North Africa and Western Asia, but since the Egyptian and Arab historians have reached no alternate consensus, one might as well continue using “medieval”. More vexing is use of the phrase “the bourgeois trend”, used to examine the broadening of historical writing to include events initiated by commoners, proto-autobiographical writings, and the concurrent diffusion of Mameluke power to include native-born officials, official positions which could be purchased by commoners, and so on. Since here the term bourgeois is not anchored in a Marxist or any other hard definition, it might have been best to dispense with the word altogether. The diffusion or unraveling of

Mameluke power in the 15th and early 16th centuries was real, so there is no reason to feel discomfort with Elbendary's alternate phrasing, as in "a discernable rise of the middling class", or she could have said "an embryonic middle class was emerging – ", etc.

The late Mameluke regime had to deal with population loss owing to outbreaks of the plague, dwindling revenue as the spice trade shifted to the trans-African route, and outside pressure from the Venetians, at the apogee of their power, and from the Ottomans, soon to be at the apogee of their power under the reign of Sulayman the Magnificent (1520-1566 CE). The Mamelukes were ill-equipped to respond to any of these challenges, much less all of them at once.

The key passages of the book are the seventy-odd examples (there is some repetition) the author provides from the historians detailing recall of officials, riots, usually brief clashes with Mameluke troops, protests among urban masses, and interaction and collusion between the merchant class, commoners, the learned *ulama* (religious scholars) and Sufi *tariqa* or sects. In many of these cases (but not all of them) officials were recalled and laws rescinded in response to popular pressure. There is a discernable growth of what today we would call "public opinion" and a rising conviction that the people had the right to express it – though not without risk.

Elbendary speculates that many of these trends would have continued during the Ottoman period (i.e. after 1517 CE) and that future research would do well to turn to that time-frame, but I wonder if it would not be more likely that imposition of rule from Constantinople actually nipped several of these trends in the bud. In other words, stronger non-elite formations might have started to emerge, something like a middle class would have solidified, but the arrival of the janissaries brought all that to a halt. That discussion must await the fruits of further research. I rather wish Elbendary had given us a complete translation of one of the historians, such as al-Maqrizi, but that would have been an entirely different project.

Kenneth W. Meyer, *Western Washington University*

Stephen Ellis. 2016. *This Present Darkness: A History of Nigerian Organised Crime*. New York: Oxford University Press. 313 pp.

Ellis's *The Present Dark* shares critically with Frank Peretti's *The Present Darkness* in that the two books possibly derived their inspiration from the same source – Ephesians 6:12 – which gives an impression that both have theological or spiritual connotation. Although Peretti's book is a Christian fiction with a dualist foreground, which raises theological questions and a slide from acceptance of personal responsibility for sins committed, there is a modicum of thought that justifies the title, *The Present Darkness*, which gives a ray of hope that there is light at the end of the tunnel. Such theological hope is absent in Ellis's conclusion, suggesting that even though organized crime is not a Nigerian culture, there is no end in sight as it is amenable to new global developments. Ellis's clinical dissection of crime in Nigeria, presented with an avalanche of verifiable references cannot be said to be new nor does it claim to be all-inclusive and conclusive as his closing question indicates. But it offers a perspective that calls for critical reflection for a country said to be famous globally for the wrong reasons. That organized crime

is rampant in Nigeria and that it has international connections cannot be denied but it also speaks of the global nature of crime.

Although Ellis has investigated the history of crime from pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial Nigeria and judged Nigerians to be squarely responsible for the negative attention and consequences crime has brought to their country, this does not represent the whole truth. Ellis deliberately selected and analyzed his data in such a way as to pitch the whole blame on Nigeria: he exonerated the colonialists from any crime of disruption of flourishing systems and dehumanization of their operators, even though it may be argued as he does that the past should not be the reason for the global aspect of Nigerian organized crime. "It would be ludicrous to blame today's organized crime on Lugard. He cannot possibly have foreseen the distant consequences of decisions he took a century ago" (p. 225). This further exposes the self-serving nature of colonialism. Harold Smith's confession is also quintessential: whereas Ellis dismissed it, he accepted the confessions of Nigerians who admitted to have committed crimes as evidence. This stereotype is evident in the book. Organized crime and criminals peppered with greed succeed in the calculus of supply and demand, which of course has to countenance risks and consequences. In a crime situation, criminals explore and exploit weaknesses in systems and where there seems to be none, create one in order to succeed. This is one take away, not only for the weak system in Nigeria as Ellis demonstrably showed but more crucially for the strong ones, which are victims of Nigerian organised crimes.

The spiritualization of crime is not only a Nigerian phenomenon; it is a global one which depends upon such factors as the level of secularism and media attention. As Ellis pointed out, the spirit world plays important roles in the lives of Nigerians prior to the advent of colonialists who did not understand its place in the people's existential situation. This explains why laws were and are still unable to root it out. The complexity, as Ellis noticed lies in the fact that there are two active "republics" in Nigeria, and the spiritual one has continued to influence the secular in the running of government and private businesses. The omnipotence of the spiritual argument has been shown to be a weak thesis because Christianity and Islam, which have preached against traditional religion, have also contributed to the "omnipresence" of corruption in many ways. "Christians and Islamic reformists have tended to demonise older concepts of the spirit world.... Nigerians nowadays experience greater difficulties than they once did in engaging with the spirit world and domesticating the spirits they believe to reside there" (p. 208).

With meticulous research, Ellis boldly associated particular crimes with regions—tribalization of crime—in Nigeria. Interestingly, only two individuals, Nuhu Ribadu and Dora Akunyili, one from the North and the other from the South, one male and the other female, are the only "saints" in a country of about 180 million people. Beyond these saints, Ellis inherently agreed that "a corrupt person or system can fight aspects of corruption if it has the powers to do so." This is depicted in Nigerian governments' attempts to fight crimes and corruption whether among the military or civilian leaders.

Apart from a few errors such as "Benin State" (p. 103), which should be Bendel State, "Lagos University" (p. 106), which should be University of Lagos, "House of Representatives" (p. 115), which should be House of Assembly, etc. the book is inveterately challenging to the

generations of Nigeria, whose task is to war against crime and corruption starting from their hearts.

Benson Ohihon Igboin, *Adekunle Ajasin University*

Randall Fegley. 2016. *A History of Rwandan Identity and Trauma: The Mythmakers' Victims*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 169 pp.

Identity is an instrumental tool in the mechanisms of state formation and governance. For many nations, divisions within the national identity, whether based on religion, race, or family origins, lead to some sort of conflict. Rwanda provides an extreme case when national identity is used for political, economic and hateful reasons to perhaps the worst category of conflict, genocide. Within one hundred days between eight hundred thousand to one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus were butchered by their Hutu neighbors between April and July 1994. While the exact reasons behind what initiated the genocide are debated, a greater discussion is occurring for Rwandan genocide perpetrators, survivors, and the new youth generation is on how ethnic-based identities were crafted. The Rwandan government of President Paul Kagame orchestrate the understanding how ethnic identities began with German colonization and were cemented by the creation of ethnic identity cards by Belgium colonial officials in order to divide and rule over the small central African colony. Prior to colonisation, differences amongst the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa groups were based on socio-economic status rather than physical ethnic differences. Within the academic community there is a divide regarding the formation of ethnic identities. While some agree with the current government's view of history, others greatly disagree, citing that ethnic identities were crafted long before colonial rule. Fegley attempts to add to the scholarly literature by examining the aggregate Rwandan history to address the formation of ethnic identities. Additionally, the author examines how current Rwanda understands its history in terms of national unity and justice after the 1994 genocide.

The relatively short book consists of five main chapters addressing various historical and present topics in Rwanda's understanding of its identity and can be easily divided into two main categories. The first is on the historical role of ethnic identities before, during, and after the colonial period. This period includes the 1959 Hutu Revolution, 1962 Independence, First and Second Republic under President Gregoire Kayibanda and Juvenal Habyarimana respectively, the genocide, and the rebuilding process since under the control of Kagame. The second section examines how the crafting and education of historic and current identities effects current understandings of what it means to be "Rwandan." This includes an understanding of the origins of Rwanda with the core focus on ethnic divisions. Fegley examines the grappling of this subject mostly in the various methods of reconciliation, justice, and education. The role of education to craft the new "Rwandan" identity provides the greatest amount of analysis and previously unpublished research. History education plays an important role, but teaching history is complicated as students, teachers, and parents all experienced the genocide. While some fear a possible repetition of the genocide, others such as teachers are nervous about being accused of denying the genocide when teaching Rwandan history and identity.

Any material on the origins of Rwandan identities must contain a strong level of information, analysis, and argument as the subject is controversial in Rwanda as well as within

the scholarly community. The quantity of information given in Fegley's new book is able to be both extensive as well as accessible. The organization of the various historical periods, events and people fosters an easy understanding of details and the possible consequences they have on how Rwandans view identity, whether in terms of socio-economic, royalty, ethnic, or the current nationalism. Various academic materials used throughout this book bolster its ability to inform and not be categorized as either "for" or "against" a specific interpretation of Rwandan history and identity. However, the level of analysis is not new as much of the book reads like a literature review of the debate rather than trying to help argue a specific interpretation of Rwandan identity. This lack of a new or fresh argument might stem from the relatively weak new information on the subject. While the author writes how he conducted fieldwork within Rwanda for this book, not enough of those experiences or data are used. Its attempt to use Stephen Karpman's Drama Triangle to help illustrate the complexities of the relationships within Rwanda's genocide perpetrator, survivor and bystander categories is only discussed during the last few pages of the book. More could have been done to analyze the mythologies of conflict. Additionally, more is needed on how the average Rwandans view the complexities in the nation's struggle to properly identify itself.

Jonathan Beloff, *SOAS University of London*

Edda Fields-Black. 2015. *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the African Diaspora*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 277 pp.

Part history, anthropology, linguistics, and travelogue, Fields-Black's study of rice cultivation in West Africa is as fertile as the paddies cultivated during her fieldwork. This excellent interdisciplinary research study contains personal asides that make relatable the centuries-old, arduous labor processes. *Deep Roots* is essential for understanding West Africa over the past three millennia. The book also gives perspective on the Atlantic slave trade, with specific attention to rice production in the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia.

First published in 2008, *Deep Roots* now appears in paperback. The study, built upon decade-long research, explores the Rio Nunez region, where coastal peoples "were overwhelmingly 'stateless' or lacking in centralized political authority" (p. 5). Europeans largely bypassed this stateless area for commercial centers elsewhere along the coast; they thus left few written records before the 1700s. Traders preferred the stability and ease of commerce within cities possessing centralized political authority. Yet the rice produced in the Rio Nunez area became key to feeding the slaves and traders in those commercial outposts.

Fields-Black traces the "antiquity of coastal dwellers' agricultural technology" through the clever use of "historical linguistics" (p. 8). Her astute dissection of linguistic patterns and vocabulary reconstructs the settlement and development of pre-colonial West Africa. She also identifies eighteen distinct microenvironments and eleven ways to irrigate rice fields. These microenvironments required specific agricultural knowledge, specialized vocabulary, and unique tools, such as the fulcrum shovel. Reclaiming land from mangrove forests while discovering the means of leaching salinity from rich coastal soils, a process of five to seven years for fresh fields, took precise knowledge. Recognizing the speculative nature of linguistic evolution and glottochronology, Fields-Black braces her claims with archeological evidence.

Rice was first domesticated in the inland Niger Delta of present-day Mali between 300BCE – 300CE. Fields-Black tracks the "deep roots—African roots—of adaptation, innovation, and technology" that popularized rice (p. 50). She argues that floodplain and mangrove rice farming was "developed by Nalu-, Mbulungish-, and Sitem-speakers who themselves have deep roots on the coast, not by Susu-speaking migrants from the interior" (p. 52). The "highly specialized and intensely localized" knowledge necessary to manage coastal fields and their salinity could only be learned through centuries of practice (p. 53). Linguistic evidence suggests that early coastal inhabitants first mastered farming in sandy areas populated by white mangroves, with vocabulary about farming in brackish areas populated by more salt-tolerant red mangroves arising after 1000CE. "Proto-Highlands-speakers" who gave rise to "daughter speech communities—Sitem-, Mandori, Kakissa-, Koba-, and Kalum-speakers"—migrated to the coast soon afterwards, likely due to a long dry period from 1100 to 1500 (p. 80). This pressured Highland-speakers to develop trading relationships stretching into the savanna and sahel regions as well as to incorporate more wild and domesticated animals into their land-use practices. Their subsequent "strategies for managing the forest-savanna environment planted the seeds for coastal dwellers' indigenous agricultural revolution" (p. 92). The "Rio Nunez first-comers and newcomers collaborated" in birthing rice agriculture in the region (p. 116).

Fields-Black acknowledges that many "pieces of the puzzle are missing," but her study is a landmark in the field of West African history (p. 118). Her book gives perspective to pre-colonial Africa and to how centuries-old agricultural practices were intensified as the slave trade gave rise to coastal urban centers with large numbers of "nonproducing consumers" hungry for rice, a calorific and highly storable commodity (p. 163). Further, a significant percentage of slaves from the Rice Coast were taken to the Sea Islands of Georgia and South Carolina, where they likely contributed to the success of American rice plantations. Fields-Black emphasizes that these "enslaved laborers were skilled, not merely brute, laborers" though planters rarely acknowledged this fact as it "would have undermined the ideology that justified" enslavement (p. 186). Yet, both the African Rice Coast and American Sea Islands "occupied the periphery of the periphery" in regard to major centers of the slave trade (p. 185).

Linguistic charts, photographs of remarkably unchanged agricultural practices, and engaging maps shore up the analysis. *Deep Roots* is a convincing corrective, showing how the African Diaspora involved both inheritances from the Old World and innovations in the New World. Appreciating pre-colonial African history and innovation nourishes a broader understanding of black societies throughout the Atlantic world.

Anthony J. Stanonis, *Queen's University Belfast*

Benjamin Gardener. 2016. *Selling the Serengeti: The Cultural Politics of Safari Tourism*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press. 256 pp.

This book explores the linkages and disconnections between local, regional, national and global influences on the politics of rural resource use and conservation. It uses the Maasai ethnic group of Northeastern Tanzania and tourism activities to demonstrate adaptation and change of perceptions and meanings of the physical, social, and cultural spaces of the Serengeti landscape and ecosystem. The author argues that both local and wider influences on the Serengeti

ecosystem and landscapes are outcomes of negotiated processes involving policy changes, global tourist and conservation interests, and Maasai agency. It adds a significant contribution to understanding local adaptations towards fragile politico-environmental spheres in Tanzania. Most importantly, the book takes a further step from previous publications about Maasai in Tanzania to show that the Maasai did not always remain passive to changes affecting their interactions with natural resources. Rather, they used tourism opportunities to redefine meanings and values of their landscapes to make sense of the wider influences on their culture, society, economy, environment, and generally the rural livelihoods in Loliondo. The book has come at an opportune time, a time that is characterized by a scholarly trend that reconsiders the role of local knowledge, agency, and participation in resource's ownership, use, and management. The book takes further the discussions on the environmental degradation narratives that have over the past two to three decades occupied the work of historians, human geographers, and social anthropologists.

Gardener cross-examines how imposed perceptions towards environmental and resource conservation, protection, and use collided with local perceptions. Towards the end of the book, he manages to show that local environmental constructions and use was considerate of various factors and maintained an ecosystem that allowed both wildlife and human activities like domestic livestock to take place. This was revealed by the failure of newly introduced "Ranching Associations" scheme under the auspices of modernization of traditional Maasai pastoralism. The author shows that the conflict of interest between the projects under the scheme and the members who joined them ended in total failure after pastoralists thought it worthless in terms of the effort they were investing.

If anything is to be highly acknowledged in this book it is the choice of the title and the way the title is reflected in the main text. It clearly captures the whole story in the book. This is done in two ways. Firstly, the author provides the dynamics of pastoral-tourism land uses and cross-examines state and private investments in the Serengeti ecosystem as key factors for the social, economic, and environmental changes in the ecosystem. The common narrative maintained in this discussion is characterized by antagonistic representations of the Maasai and pro-Maasai NGOs on one side and the government and private investments on the other side. Secondly, the author's prose is clear, direct, and to the point. He avoids technical language and advanced analysis of the issues he engages in to allow a wider audience to understand his line of argument. In this way, the book provides a nice descriptive rather than an analytical history about the politics entangled in resource use in Africa by using the Serengeti ecosystem as a case study. It stands to be a good addition to literature on African resource use that is relevant not only to human geographers but also environmental historians, social anthropologists, and all the people interested in the politics of safari and cultural tourism. *Selling the Serengeti* carries two imagery interpretations in the text. The descriptions about the Maasai of Loliondo, their culture, and their interaction with their surrounding environments are informative for people planning tourist itineraries to Tanzania. The descriptions included some very small and common things to the eyes of the local people and also they contained lots of the author's self-misreading of the Maasai and their landscapes. On the other hand, selling the Serengeti carries an imagery of alienation and deprivation of resource use by the local people in favor of money generated through tourism activities and trophy hunting paid by foreign companies that have

invested in the area. The second imagery though not new in the discourses of pastoral-tourism and pastoral-conservation relationships stands nicely to represent the title of the book.

One of the weaknesses of the book that will make it fail the pressure of time is its methodological orientation. The author at some point wished to apply an interdisciplinary approach but in the end he did not manage to do so. The histories of Maasai in East Africa and that of the Serengeti in particular have had bitter interactions with the state since the colonial period. I think the historical aspect of the discussion in the book would benefit greatly by applying historical methods such as archival and documentary reviews. The use of historical works by other scholars though enriching the book limited the scope of interpretation and possible conclusions to be made. It resulted in the author making similar observations and conclusions to previous studies in the area and hence limiting the production of new knowledge. The use of archival sources would benefit the book even more than the consultative reports and media coverage that have been used in the book.

Maxmillian J. Chuhila, *University of Dar es Salaam*

Anthea Garman. 2015. *Antjie Krog and the Post-Apartheid Public Sphere: Speaking Poetry to Power*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. 224 pp.

In the early years of South African democracy the African National Congress (ANC) understood the importance of a vibrant and inclusive public sphere where the diverse opinions of the people could be heard. At the present there is much socio-political unrest and the function of the public sphere is keenly felt. Anthea Garman's timely monograph, developing from her interest in media and citizenship, examines the construction of the South African post-apartheid public sphere through a prominent intellectual — Antjie Krog.

An associate professor in the school of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, Garman argues convincingly that the genesis and trajectory of Krog's career as poet, political activist, journalist, translator, and writer provides insight into how the public sphere in South Africa is constructed and contested. Garman uses Krog as a "proxy or 'trope'" (p. xiv) for someone who embodies the potential of democracy and the promise of the public sphere. This focalization inhibits the critical analysis of the public sphere. However, the strength of Garman's study is the bifurcated investigation of Krog's poetic subjectivity and her accumulation of capital across literary, journalistic, and political fields. Garman uses Pierre Bourdieu's field theory in service of her shrewd and thorough investigation of Krog's accumulation of field capital. This is all done, Garman asserts, "in order to unpick how the platform to speak in public is created and crafted" (p. 3).

Carolyn Hamilton's description of the South African public and her emphasis on "active public citizenship" (p. 5) informs Garman's assessment of Krog as an intellectual deeply invested in the health of public conversation in South Africa. Chapter one describes the construction of this public sphere, and chapter two offers a short biography and resume of Krog's achievements and awards. Chapter three details Krog's emergence onto the literary scene, when at the age of seventeen her anti-racist poem "My Mooi Land" was published in the school newspaper to much local and national furor. With the groundwork laid in the early stages of the book, chapter four engages with the shifting and ambiguous

subjectivity performed in Krog's poetry and how her teaching in Kroonstad led to her further involvement with the ANC in exile. Using Dorothy Driver's term "self-othering" Garman reflects on Krog's political and poetic subjectivity. Chapter five narrates Krog's entry into the field of journalism and how her reporting on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission facilitated her accumulation of journalistic capital, which extended internationally with the publication of *Country of My Skull* (a hybrid work of creative non-fiction based on her experience of covering the TRC). Using the frameworks of self-othering and second person performance, chapters four and five begin to address the affecting relationship between ethics and aesthetics in Krog's work: how Krog is able to speak against the atrocities of apartheid and its continuing legacies of racism and structural inequality, and still imagine for her audience the possibility of ethical citizenship.

Consequently in chapter six Garman contends that in addition to being an "important writer" and "public figure" (p. 145) Krog is a public intellectual who challenges the limitations of the term and seeks to actively address them. In her final chapter the author credits the role of the literary in the creation of the public and its capacity "to generate mass subjectivity and to mediate between past and future" (p. 165). Thus, reformulating Said's famous phrase, Garman proposes that Krog "speaks poetry to power" (p. 175): employing the literary and the poetic in order to address and contest the structures of oppression which continue to marginalize the black majority in South Africa. Krog, Garman asserts, "models for her public the self-fashioning of a listening, self-reflexive and ethical 'second-person position' in relation to the world's marginalized now making claims for recognition and speaking positions" (p. 167).

Krog is a public intellectual who thinks critically about how we might be ethically involved in societies defined by alterity and inequality. Garman's study chimes with the challenging optimism of Krog's oeuvre. Garman's book opens up further discussion of Krog's assumed audience, the variation of "publics" her writing imagines, and what the limitations of Krog's authority might be. She has two further chapters on Krog in Andries Visagie and Judith Lütge Coullie's edited collection *Antjie Krog: An Ethics of Body and Otherness*.

Rebekah Cumpsty, *University of York*

Ch. Didier Gondola. 2016. *Tropical Cowboys: Westerns, Violence, and Masculinity in Kinshasa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 352 pp.

Didier Gondola's new book is a fascinating exploration of changing performances of masculinity in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It is not only a very valuable contribution to understanding gender in Central African history, but a major contribution to the study of masculinity and cultural appropriation, particularly in colonial contexts. In the 1950s and early 1960s, young men formed gangs in the capital city of Kinshasa. These groups developed their own slang version of the Lingala language drawn from US films and different Congolese languages. They wore cowboy hats, celebrated fighting, strengthened themselves through rituals that sometimes included swallowing glass and bullets, and became a target of outrage from colonial authorities and a source of concern from missionaries.

One of the most valuable aspects of *Tropical Cowboys* is Gondola's commitment to developing a genealogy of configurations of masculinity from the late 19th century to the present

in Kinshasa. Traders in and around Kinshasa competed with each other for access to foreign goods, slaves, and connections in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As Leopold II's independent state of the Congo seized control over Kinshasa, his government followed by direct Belgian rule after 1908 sought to remake the small city. Gondola analyzes how racist paternalism and growing demands for male African migrant labor into the city created a volatile situation by the 1920s and 1930s. Ironically, missionary efforts to promote cultural activities to tame the threat of angry Congolese men introduced Kinshasa audiences to US cowboy films.

By the 1950s, youth subcultures emerged in Kinshasa that celebrate access to occult power, promiscuity, strength, and avoiding the burden of regular employment. Gondola's examination of bodybuilding and spiritual tests designed to psychologically strengthen individuals in the 1950s (pp. 98-105) is just one example of his fascinating use of multiple oral, written, and visual sources. These practices were designed to impress men and women alike of an individual gang member's prowess. Young men in gangs also simultaneously claimed to be the defenders of women in their families and communities even as they also celebrated sexual violence. Just as dictator Mobutu Sese Seko presented himself as both a dangerous threat and a supposed protector of the Congolese people, so Kinshasa gang members did the same. Some women joined gangs and even gained notoriety as leaders, in part to protect themselves in the dangerous streets of Kinshasa.

Chapter 7 features a Belgian priest who made the gangs his main audience for evangelization in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Just as Gondola denotes varied experiences among gang members, he also shows how individual missionaries could act in unexpected ways. Father Buffalo, as he liked to be known, learned to speak the argot of the gangs, smoked marijuana, and promoted a new understanding of Jesus as a young tough model to follow. Although one wishes Gondola might have gone a bit further in comparing this missionary's efforts to remake youth along with the rise of "youth" rebel militias in the early 1960s, the author's sensitivity to the changing political dynamics at independence demonstrate how gangs had to adjust to a drastically different political environment in the 1960s.

Just as Gondola had prepared an early history of performed masculinities dating back before colonial rule, he also turns his attention to the legacy of the mid-20th century gangs later on. Donat Mahele, a legend in Kinshasa for his willingness to maintain order as Mobutu's regime collapsed, is a fitting figure to conclude the book. A product of the tough Kinshasa streets documented by Gondola in the 1950s and 1960s, Mahele lived up to the code of toughness and bravery of his youth four decades later, even as he grew rich from robbing businesses in the twilight of Mobutu's rule. Mahele tried to negotiate a peaceful surrender by the few army units still loyal to the dictator as Rwandan and Congolese rebel forces had reached Kinshasa in 1997. However, some mutineers killed Mahele after he recklessly tried to maintain order despite knowing Mobutu was finished as the ruler. Gondola's genealogical approach allows the reader to see how early histories of violence, masculinity, and power set the foundation for Mahele's final stand.

This book would be quite effective for upper division undergraduate and graduate courses on gender, masculinity, and African social history. The heavy use of excerpts of oral accounts in Lingala and English is extremely valuable for the classroom. The author situates his own

methods in finding informants and conducting interviews very well. This book offers well-crafted examples for students to discuss the methods and challenges of oral history. In short, Gondola's book sets the bar high for historical research on gender in Africa as a whole.

Jeremy Rich, *Marywood University*

Shannen L. Hill. 2015. *Biko's Ghost: The Iconography of Black Consciousness*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press. 394 pp.

Shannen Hill's *Biko's Ghost: The Iconography of Black Consciousness* is a well-substantiated critique of narratives that allege that the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was "intellectual(ly) not practical and therefore unsustainable" (pp. 138-39). Using an interdisciplinary lens and drawing on a comprehensive collection of archival materials from her fieldwork in South Africa, Hill uncovers the ways in which Biko's legacy and ideology have impacted liberation movements and discussions surrounding race in South Africa and globally in a far-reaching manner. Although Stephen Biko's slogans and quotes remain banned in South Africa, Hill argues, "Many individuals and organisations relayed the enormous role played by Biko and the BC mantra through visual culture" (p. 274). Biko's undeniable influence on South African politics and visual arts is extensively discussed in the last two chapters.

Hill reveals the political-legal framework of race-based disenfranchisement of Blacks, depicted through binary terms such as "non-white/non-European" under The Population Registration Act of 1950. This binary framework seeped into all aspects of people's lives such as education type, residential location, health facilities, freedom of movement, as well as who could or could not vote. Beyond political and ideological differences, the resistance movement also became divided along racial lines, giving birth to parties such as the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, and the South African Congress of Democrats for whites.

Through "the portraiture vehicle" (p. 47) readers also journey through the formation of resistance movements such as the 1912 African National Congress (ANC), its Youth League (YL) in 1944, and the 1959 breakaway of that YL to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). According to Hill, significant political and philosophical differences existed between the parent ANC and the PAC, including the PAC's militant rejection of the ANC's "pleading" stance; as well, the PAC felt the African realities in the party's decisions were under-represented.¹

In 1960 the PAC embarked on the Defiance Campaign against the Pass Laws, marching to Langa and Sharpeville police stations. Shockingly, the apartheid government responded with the fatal shooting of sixty-nine people. Today, this massacre is commemorated as Sharpeville Day. Both the ANC and PAC were banned with some members subsequently incarcerated at the infamous Robben Island. Resistance was then elevated to a "Liberation War" that continued from countries outside South Africa.

In the late 1960's resistance resurged inside South Africa resulting in the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) under Steve Biko and other founding members. The new resistance chapter reflected the tri-continental solidarity with Black Consciousness as seen in America and other countries under the banner of "I am Black and I am Proud" versus the binary terminology of non-white or non-European. Hill's iconographies reflect the BCM's

reality-based dialectical response to apartheid through student organizations such as the South African Student Organisation (SASO) for university students and others.

The chapter "Of Icons and Inquest" is a blood-soaked record of the apartheid government's extrajudicial brutality captured by Colonel Goosen's response to QC Kentridge's question of what statutes guided them in their work as Security Police. Goosen's shocking reply was: "We did not work under statutes" (p. 70). This chapter illustrates the brutality and torture that many anti-apartheid activists like Biko had to undergo. Despite overwhelming evidence of his capture and torture by state police, at the end of Biko autopsy hearings, Magistrate Marthinus Prins announced that: "The available evidence does not prove that the death was brought about by any act or omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person" (p. 82). George Bizos, a human rights lawyer and a member of the Biko family legal team, expressed everyone's disbelief and outrage in his book *No One to Blame?*²

The traction of the BC message is reflected in the chapter "Creating A Culture of Resistance" where Hill highlights the irony of the ANC, UDM, and MDM. On one hand, they tried to undermine the relevance of BC, but at the same time they strategically appropriated the BC language to maintain their own political importance. The chapter "Silencing The Censors" could best be titled "The Silencing of the Silencers" because it exposes the ANC's misinformation that the BC was neither known nor sustainable. Attended by over 20,000 people, including officials from embassies of thirteen nations, Biko's funeral on its own illustrates the absurdity of the ANC statement that the BC was not known. Also, that the BC emancipatory modality continues to live can be seen in South Africa's 2015-2016 nationwide university student protests under various grievance-representative hash tags such as #Rhodes-Must-Fall, Fees-Must-Fall and others (#RMF).³ The protests crossed political affiliations uniting students against the post-colonial systemic lack of affirmative equity at universities.

To conclude, Shannen Hill's book is effective as a critique of the way that the ANC defaces the BC from the political landscape. Some political analysts from the Africanist school of thought, such as Liepollo Lebohang Pheko, reiterate Hill's concern regarding the re-engineering of South Africa's resistance history by the "airbrushing of political players who are not ANC" and moving them "from their ideological centre to a place that allows everyone to own them and their legacy, even those whose ideology and practice are diametrically different from theirs."⁴

Notes

1 Motsoko Pheko. 1972. *Apartheid: The Story of The Dispossessed People* (London: Marram Books): 85.

2 George Bizos. 1999. *No One To Blame? In Pursuit Of Justice In South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

3 <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/rhodes-must-fall-the-movement-after-the-statue/>.

4 Liepollo Lebohang Pheko. 2010. South African Civil Society Information Service <http://sacsis.org.za/s>

S. Nombuso Dlamini, York University /Thato Bereng, Independent Consultant, Canada

James A. Joseph. 2015. *Saved for a Purpose: A Journey from Private Virtues to Public Values*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 299 pp.

In many parts of Africa, truth is wrapped in a story. Listeners (or readers) are expected to find it for themselves. Joseph's *Saved for a Purpose* has this tension between straight autobiography and a treatise on public values. The preface outlines the book contents and goals. The prologue explains the title—*Saved for a Purpose*—stating that he survived a plane that went down in 1978 in Micronesia.

The first section entitled “The 1950s: The Genesis of Moral Consciousness” describes Joseph's origins in Louisiana and formative college years. He states, “It was at the feet of my father that I learned the importance of the microethics that build character, but it was at Southern (University) that I learned to appreciate the macroethics that build community” (p. 37).

The second section, “The 1960s: Applying Values to Social Movements,” covers Joseph's time at Yale Divinity school where he realizes that he will not be a pastor like his father. He writes, “I still felt a call to ministry, but now I saw the world as my parish and the call of the Old Testament prophets for social justice as my primary message and mission” (p. 47). In 1966, he took his first trip to Africa, specifically to Jamasi, Ghana where he gained perspective. “Africa was now on our radar screen in a very special way and we all became strong supporters of the idea of immersing oneself in a foreign culture in order to better understand ourselves and our world” (p. 80).

Section Three reveals Joseph's putting in to practice his theories and beliefs throughout the 1970s and 1980s in various arenas including business, higher education, and non-profit organizations. A major decision faced concerned how his company should respond to Apartheid in South Africa. He traveled there and met with many leaders on all sides. “South Africa was now in my blood” (p. 125). He shares his conviction that “Civil society has a purposeful result: to change the power relationships in society in ways that allow justice and equality to flourish” (p. 173).

In the fourth section, Joseph writes of his years as ambassador of the United States to South Africa and lessons he learned from Nelson Mandela in the 1990s. He felt that the example set by the new government would be helpful to the United States. Reconciliation he discovered is individual, communal, spiritual, and political. “What happened in South Africa, what remains with me as a prevailing insight, is that the healing of a nation requires an active process, not just some dramatic event...” (p. 192). Joseph described Mandela “as a diplomat he had no permanent friends or enemies, only friends and those with the potential for becoming friends” (215). Mandela's “belief that people can be lifted to their better selves ... was the secret to his ability to connect with other people, even his adversaries” (p. 230).

Section Five describes Joseph's continuing work nationally and globally, including the founding of the United States – Southern Africa Center for Leadership and Public Values. “We defined leadership as a way of being with four elements: emotional, social, moral, and spiritual intelligence” (p. 252). Joseph responds to *The Book of Virtues* by William J. Bennett. As the subtitle of his book - *A Journey from Private Virtues to Public Values* – indicates, Joseph feels that private virtues need to be applied to public ventures. He lists ten critical public values: empathy, compassion, altruism, justice, trust, tolerance, respect, freedom, equality, and

reconciliation. The epilogue contains this compelling quote: “I discovered along the way that the most effective critic is likely to be the one who is willing to be a servant and the most effective servant is likely to be the one who is willing to be a critic. I continue to be both” (p. 284).

This book is well-written for a broad informed readership. Jargon is minimal. However, a few editing issues remain. To avoid confusion between South Africa and Africa in Section 4 requires close reading. Also some repetition of quotes and near word-for-word sections appear as he reflects on earlier days. *Saved for a Purpose* is recommended, especially for those studying leadership. From reflections on his own leadership and that of other business people, politicians, and volunteers, Joseph concludes: “The capacity to cultivate hope may be the ultimate requirement of effective leadership” (p. 263).

Amy Crofford, *Africa Nazarene University*

Michael Mwenda Kithinji, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich (eds.). 2016. *Kenya After 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 277 pp.

As Kenya, like a few other African states, passes the half-century mark of its political independence, this book represents a bold attempt at taking stock of the past, and carefully offering insightful lessons for post-colonial Kenya. The editors of this sensibly themed volume provide the historical context through five well-selected chapters, preceding another set of five well researched chapters that offer reviews of the political landscape, characterized by policy challenges and powerful political personalities. Attempting to pivot away from what may be perceived as a litany of failures and false starts of the Kenyan polity, the editors frame this book as “not a lamentation about squandered or lost opportunities but rather... an opportunity to reflect on the Kenyan postcolonial journey” (15).

The collection of chapters in part one begins with the rise and fall of federalism in independent Kenya. Maxon, the chapter’s author traces the sophisticated return to federalism (*majimbo*) through the contours of party polarization and ethnicity to a rule-based constitutional fundamentalism with devolution of power at its core. The historical discourse continues with connection to a recent court case that exonerated victims of the Mau Mau rebellion, along with an informative debate on the nuanced arguments for reparations. Koster fleshed out the key factors that led to the review of abuses toward victims of the Mau Mau struggle by intelligently recasting and grafting the familiar story of victimization on the frame of globalization of human rights. From the global to local, the editors follow with Weitzberg’s chapter, which focuses on what was deemed as the *Shiftya* rebellion, which was the confrontation between the Kenyan state and the Pan-Somali irredentist movement in the 1960s. The chapter succinctly conjures the noticeable challenge of arbitrary territoriality, and nationalist fervor, which have been convoluted by recent incursions by insurgents like Al Shabaab on Kenya’s northern frontier. Segal-Klein’s contribution in chapter four reinforces discussions in the preceding chapter using the case of Rendille pastoralists. Common to chapters three and four is the crux of building an inclusive postcolonial state, devoid of the exclusionism of varied identities and economies – a perennial challenge for most post-colonial African states. Part one ends with a chapter that

seems thematically displaced and alone in this part of the volume, but functionally, a good transition to the book's second part, which explores policies and politics. Otenyo's historical account of trade unionism and workers rights is skillfully interwoven with the use and abuse of political power, especially under the Moi administration.

After a stroll through intense historical subjects like marginalization, contested identities, and territorial politics, the editors cross over to address pertinent issues of a sovereign state, starting with Mumo Nzau's chapter on Kenya's foreign relations in retrospect. It captures the contentious and rather chaotic details in Kenya's relations with status-quo Western powers while embracing China in its latest surge in African engagements. The chapter also reflects on external reactions to Kenya's 2007 elections, "a black-spot in the country's history" which "seemingly continue to have wider ramifications on Kenya's foreign relations outlook now and in the future" (p. 156). Chapter seven represents a pivotal part of the whole volume, as the editors boldly place Nasong'o's thorough discussion of the contributions of the Odinga and Kenyatta families to national discordance, in spite of the history of palpable anticolonial nationalism fostered by these towering political dynasties. An immensely helpful part of this chapter is how the author weaves the rich biographical records that exude a sense of African nationalism to help conclusions of the unexpected outcomes of discord in the national mosaic. Chapters eight and nine reflect on earlier discussed themes of struggle for identity, marginalization, and dealing with domestic security, albeit, from different contexts and methodologies. Part two concludes with Mwangi's chapter, which is well positioned to straddle the themes of continuity and change in this volume. In a rather powerful and theoretically grounded chapter, Mwangi reasons through how Kenya's new emerging security challenges, mostly non-state, have shaped and re-shaped its resolve to engage these threats in a "globalized" and "terrorized" world order.

Like most stock-taking volumes on post-colonial African states, this volume is thick on pointing out the flaws and failures, but significantly thin on the celebration of successes, and workable recommendations for the future of the Kenyan state. Nonetheless, the weight and weave of the chapters and ideas in this volume astoundingly provide deep contextualization and conceptualization to the stories that define Kenya's past fifty years, and introspective to the next fifty years.

Fatuma B. Guyo, *Wright State University*

Roberta Laurie. 2015. *Weaving a Sunrise: A Woman, A School, A People*. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press. 418 pp.

The author in a delightful style convincingly projects the crucial role education plays in female empowerment. The author's focus on the development of women is in line with ongoing global efforts for female emancipation. This non-fictional work is set in Malawi and focuses on the efforts of some Canadians and Malawians to educate girls in Malawi and the gains that resulted from this. Every reader would agree with the statement that "What girls in Malawi need more than anything else is an education" (p. xviii). This applies to girls from every part of the world.

The author combines the above theme with a detailed description of many aspects of Malawian life and international affairs. These include Malawian history, the political terrain,

Malawi's educational system with its challenges, the AIDS epidemic in Malawi, and the social cultural life. The portrayal is vivid.

It is stated that "65% of Malawian women are illiterates, many ill-equipped for anything but the most menial of work" (p. 274). The first effort made by some Canadians to tackle this problem was a girl's school by Rotarian Canadians founded in rural Malawi. However, the school closed less than a year later due to a myriad of problems. Fortunately, Christie Johnson, a Canadian who had taught at the school with Memory Chazeza, a Malawian volunteer at the school laboured, got funds and placed the girls in other schools. At the end, five of the girls went on to attend university while the remaining seventeen graduated from technical schools.

Memory's deep desire for the education of Malawi girls propelled her with her husband and Christy who raised funds from Rotarians in Canada and Malawi to establish a secondary school for girls known as Atsikana Pa Ulend (APU). Christy said of Memory: "So often you encounter someone with a dream so gripping and convincing, you resolve to help make it come true" (p. xix).

The author points out in several places the tremendous gains in educating girls generally and particularly in Malawi. She projects that education helps against early marriages and early child birth with its complications such as death and traumatic injuries, education increases a woman's earnings power and generally empowers her by increasing her independence and sense of self-worth, enables her to defend her rights and resist oppression and makes her capable of becoming a community leader and role model. However, there were and there are several challenges in educating girls in Malawi. These include chronic poverty similar to other developing countries. Girls who are seen as sexual objects often get sexually abused by teachers, get pregnant, and withdraw from school. Early marriage of girls is a major challenge as the average marriage age for girls is between thirteen and fourteen years. Girls are also not seen as financial contributors to families; therefore many parents are reluctant to send them to school. Almost all the girls who got educated as projected in the book endured much hardship and were courageous and resilient. There are many outstanding characters in the book. An example is Memory Chazeza who labored tirelessly to get Malawian girls educated. She acquired her own education by surmounting severe challenges. She is described as a person of honesty, integrity, and determination and a fighter. A person driven by her convictions (pp. xviii-xix).

The labor and generosity of some Canadians also stands out in the story. Canadian Rotarians provided funding for the school they established and later the APU School. Christie Johnson labored tirelessly to raise funds and also taught in the above schools. Other Canadian teachers were Audrey and Larry (the first set) and later Holy and Evan while Rita was involved in the administrative aspect. Other Canadians were involved as board members of the Canadians Educating African Girls' School. The teachers labored in a culture very different from their own and in very poor conditions.

The story is above all that of Memory who struggled and moved beyond the expectations of her community in the hope of obtaining an education. It is also the story of the changing role of women in Malawian society and the importance of education for girls in the developing world. It is a story of hope and courage in time of poverty, famine and hardship. (p. xix).

Rosemary Asen, *Benue State University*

Mbaye Lo and Muhammed Haron (eds.). 2016. *Muslim Institutions of Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 302 pp.

The book tends to give a detailed study and evaluates the historical background of Muslim institutions in Africa with a view to evaluate their performance in terms of the graduates they produced. It is also an attempt to discuss the current discourse on Muslims in Africa that has emerged from a polemical approach to the understanding of Islam as a religious tradition and a misunderstanding of the status of Muslims on the continent. The contributors utilize a multifaceted approach to neatly and correctly situate African Muslim higher education within the interconnectedness of localism, regionalism, and transnationalism (p. 3). However, a critical study was carried out on the usage of the qualifier “Islamic” or “Muslim” when referring to these institutions. The authors concluded by preferring to use “Muslim” than “Islamic,” simply because the former denotes the ownership to an Islamic organization or wealthy Muslims. While using the word “Islamic” gives the impression that these institutions adhere strictly to Shari’ah principles, when this might not be the case in practice (p. 5).

Part I, “Reforming Muslim Learning: Trajectories and Typologies of Reform in Africa,” examines the theoretical as well as the historical questions pertaining to educational reforms in Africa and the place of Muslim education in educational reform. Mbaye critically assesses the contour of Islam in Africa’s institutions of higher education; he questioned whether Muslim institutions of higher learning are undergoing reform, in an attempt to dissect the different controversial dimensions of Islam in Africa’s history and culture. Muhammed Haron frames Muslim educational reform within the process of social change that has taken place in varying degrees in the countries of the North as well as the South. South Africa’s Muslim education programs and institutions have not only asserted the community’s Muslim identity and subsequently flourished, but have also revitalized the community’s religious activities to such an extent that its global reach has been expanded. Roman Loimeier argues that through the process of colonization and modernization in the 19th and 20th centuries, Muslims in Africa lost their power to define “development” in their own terms. Using East Africa and Zanzibar, he showed how established traditions of Islamic learning were challenged and eventually marginalized in the course of the modernization process. Adam Adebayo Sirajudeen examines the philosophy, objectives, and the curricula of three leading Islamic institutions of higher learning in Nigeria with a view of assessing their achievements and analyzed how they are facing existential threats to social adaptability and ever-widening intellectual space. These institutions are Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin; Crescent University, Abeokuta; and Fountain University, Osogbo.

Part II, “The Rise of Modern Muslim Universities and Colleges: Remembrance and Reconstructions,” attempts to explore the factors that have contributed to the

emergence of these institutions, their development, and the role they seek to play in contemporary African societies. Hamza Mustafa Njozi's examines three interlocking issues surrounding the establishment, success, challenges, and prospects of the Muslim University of Morogo, Tanzania. Adnan Ali Adikata discussed how the Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU), its students, and its alumni may be affecting the context in which Islam and Islamic issues are debated in the public sphere, parliament, or non-Muslim institutions. Ahmad Sengendo discussed the background surrounding the establishment of IUIU in addition to the status of Muslims in the region. His study explores the extent to which IUIU has succeeded in advancing the socio-economic development of Muslim communities in East Africa. Isma'il Gyagenda and Wardah Rajab-Gyagenda present the perspective of the pioneers who were involved in IUIU's establishment in order to shed light on the religious, political and bureaucratic challenges they faced in bringing the project to fruition. Their interviews with some members of the University community enrich their work. Adam Youssouf Moussa addresses the phenomenon and dimensions of Islamic education in Chad, focusing specifically on King Faisal University as a model of contemporary Islamic universities in Africa. Ousman Murzik Kobo gives a preliminary study of Ghanaian Muslims' quest for an Islam-centered tertiary institution. The Islamic University College founded by the Ahlul-Bait Foundation of Iran, happens to be the only of its kind. Kobo argued that Ghanaian Muslims' aspiration for university education stems from their desire to obtain affordable secular education within an Islamic environment.

Part III, "Muslim College and Universities: Texts, Contexts, and Graduates," critically assesses issues of intellectual content and research agendas of these Islamic institutions. Chanfi Ahmed retraces the historic origins of the claims for Muslim universities in East Africa, examining the current situation of these universities and the achievements realized so far. In an attempt to explore and examine the scholarly output of the International University of Africa, Sudan (IUA), focusing on the domestic and regional output of doctoral and master's dissertation topics, Abdulmajeed Ahmed's work describe the origin and development of IUA, and represents an insider's assessment of one of the Africa's oldest and largest Muslim institute of higher learning (MIHL), as he depicts its response to Africa's postcolonial challenges of education reform and knowledge production. Moshood M.M Jimba examines the role of Al-Azhar University in Cairo in relation to the development of Arabic and Islamic education in Ilorin, Nigeria, and its environs. Jimba's study deals with an important aspect of Al-Azhar University as an African powerhouse and influential magnate in African Muslim education, underscoring the institution's transnational character and worldwide influence by specifically talking about Al-Azhar's connections with Nigeria in general and Ilorin in particular. Mamodou Youry Sall's "Scientific Profiles and Potentials of Al-Azhar's African Graduates" between 1960–2005, examines the role played by these graduates in terms of skill development, and appreciates their varying contributions

and potentials in Africa. Alex Thurston discusses the role of Aminu Kano College of Islamic and Legal Studies (AKCLIS) as a site for the renegotiation of Islamic law and authority in Kano, Nigeria. He further argued that, AKCLIS, as an educational institution, serves as an academic platform from which its (Arab educated) faculty members have continued to build profiles as scholars, professionals, and religious leaders. Mbaye Lo's study of the Islamic University of Niger draws on field visits, interviews, and historical documents to highlight the local stories of the University's development. It highlights the academic and administrative politics surrounding the institution in order to provide an explanation of the root causes of the university's decimal ranking amongst its peers, and attest to some of its often overlooked qualities.

Yusuf Abdullahi Yusuf, *University of Jos*

Philip Muehlenbeck. 2016. *Czechoslovakia in Africa, 1945-1968*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 271 pp.

This book is a follow-up on the author's first book, *Betting on the Africans: John F. Kennedy's Courting of African Nationalist Leaders* (2012), where he dealt with the Cold War era, focusing on the relations between the US government and African nationalist leaders and newly independent governments. Continuing with the trans-national approach, the current book focuses on the relationship between the USSR's satellite state of Czechoslovakia and African states between 1945 and 1968. In African and colonial histories, that period is referred to as "the classic period of decolonization," due to the numerous countries that attained their independence from decades of European rule. It was also incidentally a period when the Cold War (roughly 1919 to 1991) was at its peak, as both Western and Eastern powers scrambled to influence the turn of events in Africa.

Muehlenbeck's main task was to discuss and isolate the specific roles that Czechoslovakia played in the Eastern Bloc's relationship with African states, rather than merely focusing on the so-called Eastern/Soviet Bloc as a whole. He argues against those who generalize the operations of the Soviet Bloc as a united front. Rather he argues that Czechoslovakia often exercised significant autonomy in dealing with African states (p. 2). He posits that Czechoslovakia's involvement in African affairs predated both its inclusion in the USSR before the outbreak of the Second World War. Furthermore, for the period under study, Czechoslovakia had more diplomatic relations with African states than the USSR (p. 2). The USSR only began to seriously engage in African affairs following the rise to power of Nikita Khrushchev in 1955 (pp. 9-10).

There were four main motivating factors for Czechoslovakia's involvement in African affairs: (1) economic motives (the main motivating factor), where Czechoslovakia looked at African states as potential markets for manufactured

products and as sources of raw materials, essential for economic growth; (2) the need to spread communism to Africa, once Czechoslovakia became a member of the USSR, and a member of such bodies as the Warsaw Pact and Comecon; (3) the search for prestige in the international community, which helped Czechoslovakia to attain international legitimacy; and (4) moral considerations among the Czechoslovakian elite, especially the notion that they were helping colonized and oppressed peoples (pp. 2-4). In the book's five main chapters, thematically organized, we learn more about the key roles played by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) to influence the pro-African foreign policy between 1948 and 1968.

Chapter one provides a brief background to Czechoslovakia's involvement in Africa from the early 1920s in such so-called "conservative countries" as Ethiopia and Egypt; and also during the post-World War II early relations with Morocco, Somalia, Nigeria, Belgian Congo, Sierra Leone, and Francophone Africa, among others, all for the reasons highlighted above. Sometimes such processes brought Czechoslovakia into collision with Western powers, especially the US, over relations with Egypt in 1955, where Czechoslovakia emerged as a major supplier of arms (pp. 24-26). One other theme focuses on relations with the so-called "radical African states"—those in the forefront in fighting for independence—including Ghana, Guinea, and Mali among others. Such states were regarded as a 'fertile ground' for the spread of Communism due to the policy inclinations of nationalist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, and Patrice Lumumba (pp. 49-50). We also learn about Czechoslovakia's arms exports to Africa, since the early 1920s, mostly produced by Zbrojovka Brno and Skoda (p. 88). Czechoslovakia also provided aid in the field of aviation through the provision of both training and sale of commercial airliners and military fighter jets (pp. 125-27). The influence of Czechoslovakia in post-colonial Africa was short-lived. After 1962, an economic downturn and the frustration of African leaders with the limited aid provided by the Eastern Bloc, in comparison with Western aid, both made matters worse (p. 157). In 1968, Russian troops also overthrew the leaders of the KSC (p. 184).

The book's main strengths lie in the extensive use of previously unstudied archival documents and the adoption of the trans-national approach in the study of relations between Africa, North and South America, Europe, and Asia. However, there are a number of shortfalls, including the lack of details on the reaction of the colonial powers once Czechoslovakia began to intervene in their colonies; the lack of discussion on the origins of the Cold War; and the lack of discussion of the reactions and experiences of ordinary people in the relations between Czechoslovakia and African states. Despite these shortfalls, I would recommend this book to those interested in such fields as international relations and the history of the Cold War and decolonization.

Paul Chiudza Banda, *West Virginia University*

Casimir L. Nyaki. 2015. *Nyerere's Philosophy of Economic Equality*. Peramiho, Tanzania: Benedictine Publication Ndanda. 183 pp.

Nyerere's Philosophy of Economic Equality consists of three chapters and is an assessment of the policies and strategies used by Nyerere after Tanzanian independence to ensure the establishment of an egalitarian society. The author mentions two main focuses employed by Nyerere to ensure an egalitarian society: achieving equal possession and lessening inequality.

In chapter one, the author x-ray's Nyerere's concept of economic equality: social justice, equality of profession, social status, and voice. From his perspective, the concept of equality is a network of systems networking with sub-systems to guarantee a smooth society. Illustrating by using a building on a piece of land, the land represents political equality; landowners, human equality; and the house represents economic equality. The house in this illustration will be completed only when enemies are defeated. The author identifies the enemies as: poverty, illiteracy, disease, and corruption. Graphically, this shows why African societies are not progressing because these enemies are not conquered.

Social justice is seen as equitable distribution of the wealth which society has produced. Equality of opportunity is ensuring the same chance for having access to whatever is provided by the society regardless of gender, race, religion, or nationality, so that individuals can use their talents and abilities to develop their lives and contribute to the society. Equality of profession is being skillful and competent at one's job to compete with those from other places. In social equality, he considered social status and individual freedom. Equality of voice is being privileged to air one's concern in the assembly of discussion and be heard.

The author mentions the three strategies employed by Nyerere to enhance economic production and distribution of the wealth of the society: promotion of one language, one party democracy, and the use of "Ujamaa." This he says will ensure a classless African society without contact with Western influence, a democratic and egalitarian society built on the principles of equality and proper distribution of goods to promote mutual respect, generosity, hospitality and security among the members. He however does not think a multi-party system leads to class structure and that class structure is bad except when parties are formed based on religion, tribe, ethnicity, or race.

The challenging questions here are: if Africa is a continent and has different cultures and ethnic groups, is it possible to think of an African society? Secondly, was African traditional society truly classless and egalitarian or socialist? Thirdly, what does Nyerere mean when he says that traditional African society was democratic? Fourthly, in forming Ujamaa villages, different communities were forcefully brought together without considering their religious backgrounds, ability to relate and different specialty in occupation. An African proverb says "you can take a horse to the water but you cannot force it to drink." So was Nyerere thinking that by Ujamaa policies one can force a horse to drink water?

Chapter two states that the strategies adopted were implemented. Though Nyerere was unable to eradicate poverty in Tanzania, he managed to reduce political, socio-economical, psychological, and religious inequalities. People's attitudes were improved towards wealth, one another and their country by lessening inequalities, ensuring political stability, imparting principles of socialism on the people's attitudes and religious life. These according to the author

had fostered the spirit of comradeship and brotherhood, which laid a solid foundation for inter-religious life.

Chapter three focuses on the future of Tanzania, which the author says depends on strong leaders who could practice good leadership and governance devoid of corruption and poverty. Poverty here is seen as a state of deprivation prohibitive of decent human life seen in illiteracy, inadequate clean water supply, high mortality, and inequality in the distribution of wealth. According to the author, poverty is caused by internal and external factors. He however concludes that poverty can only be eradicated by the poor themselves and that it is within their power to solve the economic, social and political problems with help from the government and the international community.

In all, the author acknowledged that the people of Tanzania had learned lessons from Ujamaa as a political system aimed at bringing about political equality which rather brought equity, relative peace, justice, and unity. In economic policy, the people's view is that it brought about disaster in the economy. However, for the intellectuals Nyerere is seen as a world teacher who in his originality contributed greatly to the fields of education, culture, and language as he had great imaginative abilities in creating principles, slogans, regulations, directions, and policies where previously there were none.

Sandra Ekpot, *Ahmadu Bello University*

Ebenezer Obadare and Wale Adebaniwi (eds). 2016. *Governance and the Cisis of Rule in Contemporary Africa: Leadership in Transformation*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 298 pp.

Ever since remarks by Barack Obama to the Ghanaian parliament on 11 July 2009 that, among others, "Africa doesn't need strongmen, it needs strong institutions," that "development depends upon good governance," and that it is the "ingredient which has been missing in far too many places, for far too long," issues of governance have been thrust to the fore of public discourse in Africa. Therefore, Obadare and Adebaniwi's book is a welcome addition to the scholarship on African governance by, among others, Padayachee's *The Political Economy of Africa* (2010), Booth and Cammack's *Governance for Development in Africa: Solving Collective Action Problems* (2013), and Tettey's *Africa's Leadership Deficit: Exploring Pathways to Good Governance and Transformative Politics* (2012). In a related vein, social protests, sufficiently evidenced by public service delivery protests in South Africa, the global capital of public service delivery protests, have also led some to ask: can we have governance without government? Clearly, public service delivery protests and other socio-economic and political ills are signs that point to a governance deficit. The major cause is leadership which Obadare and Adebaniwi bring to the center of debate.

The overarching aim of Obadare and Adebaniwi's book is "to highlight the local and global factors constraining the exercise of leadership by post-colonial African leaders" (p. 11). The book does not seek to shield current leaders from censure. Rather, it seeks "to encourage an appreciation of the variety and complexity of factors influencing those leaders" (p. 11). To do this, the twelve chapters are divided into three parts: (i) postcolonial and decolonial philosophies of leadership; (ii) nation-building and the question of rule; and (iii) power, governance and non-state leadership. The first chapter provides the analytical framework;

leadership. This is adequately instanced by the authors stating that “leadership continues to provide a fascinating standpoint from which postcolonial African societies may be analysed” (p. 15). While not asserting a direct cause-effect between governance and leadership, it can be deduced from the chapter that the authors are saying that there is a correlation between the two; bad leadership is associated with bad governance.

Part 1, “Postcolonial and Decolonial Philosophies of Leadership,” draws from the leadership philosophies of Nelson Mandela (South Africa), Obafemi Awolowo (Nigeria) and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania). The common thread that runs through the chapters are lessons that the current crop of leaders can draw from these three leaders. Mandela, the contemporary of the three, was magnanimous in forging the Rainbow Nation (an inclusive and non-racial society) from the crucible of the horrors of apartheid. Part 2, “Nation-Building and the Question of Rule,” takes the reader through the minds of Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Ahmadu Bello (Nigeria), El Haj Ahmadou Ahidjo and Paul Biya (Cameroon), and Robert Mugabe (Zimbabwe). This is an admixture of apples and oranges in the sense that while valuable nation-building lessons can be learnt from Kenyatta and Bello (to a large extent), the same cannot be said of the latter three. While Mugabe is said to have started off as a darling of the liberation movement, his record has degenerated over the recent years. The same is true of Ahidjo and Paul Biya, particularly their ideas of forging “good” citizenship and Biya’s long-lasting grip on power with all the hallmarks of a dictatorship. Part 3, “Power, Governance and Non-State Leadership,” takes on contemporary issues facing the African leadership such as insurgencies (for example, Boko Haram in Nigeria and problems in the Niger Delta), same-sex relationships (with the case studies of Nigeria and Uganda), the transformation of the military in Nigeria in the era of democracy and patron-client politics (using the case study of Olusola Saraki in Ilorin, Nigeria). The leadership is found wanting in failing to address issues like insurgency-induced insecurity and intolerance for gays, the failure to transform the military to fit into the democracy era in Nigeria and the corrosive effects of patron-client politics.

In conclusion, did the book highlight local and global factors constraining the exercise of leadership by post-colonial African leaders? Yes, it did. However, it is both demoralising and encouraging. Demoralising in that the governance deficit is self-inflicted; this is blameable on the current African leadership, and encouraging in that Africa does not have to look for heroes beyond its shores; it can readily tap into the minds of Mandela et al.

Emmanuel Botlhale, *University of Botswana*

Mutiat Titilope Oladejo. 2016. *Ibadan Market Women and Politics, 1900-1995*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 183 pp.

Market networks are extensive in Nigeria, and so has been the participation of such networks in politics since pre-colonial times. This is especially the case with market women in Lagos, Ibadan, Abeokuta, and other cities in southwestern Nigeria. Therefore, this appropriately entitled book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the subject. The strength of the study lies in its broad chronological examination of the major themes, range of sources used, and a rich empirical data base. The layout and organization of the book is similarly satisfactory,

containing a comprehensive list of abbreviations and a glossary of non-English words that facilitates understanding by non-Yoruba speaking readers. The author comes out particularly strong in her discussion of the background to the study, showing the link between the organized interest of market women and politics in 19th century Ibadan and 20th century Lagos. She argues that articles of trade in the 19th century markets of Ibadan were products of local agriculture and manufacture, emphasizing that “almost every woman was a producer and trader” (p. 42). The writer adds that the politics of market women in the city was significantly shaped by the administrative indiscretion of chiefs and their heightened exploitative practices when preparing for war. In the case of Abeokuta, and especially 20th century Lagos, the author demonstrates the link between colonial exploitation, market women, and anti-colonial struggles, which reached its peak with the 1945 General Strike.

When it comes to the more substantive examination of the role of market women in the politics of 20th century Ibadan, however, the analysis is less coherent. Here, politics is predicated not on production relations and the larger economy, but on other exogenous factors. Undeniably, the author admits that “colonialism changed and shaped” (p. 65) the Nigerian economy in the 20th century, and adds that after colonization, the British stripped the *Iyalode* (title for the woman who represented female traders) of her political role and status, and only marginally involved market women in the formulation of commercial policies. However, the author avoids a deeper consideration of colonial capitalism and the nature of changes it brought into market and political relations in the city--hence the missing link between colonialism, market women and politics. For sure, the writer does not deny the exploitative character of colonialism, and explicitly states that it “subjugated the rights of the masses” (p. 90), but the nature of the subjugation and its political significance is not embedded into the study. The analysis of the politics of market women in the postcolonial period suffers from similar defects, partly attributable to a conception that reduces the neo colonial economic basis of postcolonial politics to simply another phase of “modern politics.” These shortcomings are underpinned by the author’s use of the analytical frameworks of structural functionalism, behaviorism, and modernization theory. The outcome is an eclectic misrepresentation of the politics of market women as one of evolution from tradition to modernity through structural and behavioral changes. Consequently, the substantive differences in the nature of the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial politics of Ibadan remains obscure.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the concept of “class” is foreign to the analysis, while a picture of harmonious relationship among women, overlooking differences in class, status, interest, and aspirations is painted in the book. Of course, the author states that there were disparities among market women operating as retailers, middlemen, and wholesalers. However, the issue of how such differences influenced their individual or sub-group politics is marginal to the study. Although the writer demonstrates the link between the politics of women selling textile fabrics and their commercial rivalry with Lebanese middlemen in the colonial and post-colonial politics of Ibadan, this commendable effort is rare and not replicated in other sections of the book. On the whole, the book limits the essence of British colonialism to political and administrative changes, neglecting the far more important economic dimension, and hence, downplaying the nexus between politics and economics. The end result is a study which reduces the substance of the role of market women in the colonial and postcolonial politics of

Ibadan to the individual exploits of Madam Apampa, Humani Alade, Sulia Adededeji, and other gladiators. The obvious implication is that the writer shies away from focusing on the organized politics of market women as a group and a movement, placing undue emphasis on the relationship between a few market women leaders and politicians. We conclude by stating that the potential usefulness of this well-researched book is seriously handicapped by an approach that hinders a correct interpretation of important dimensions of its subject matter.

Usman Ladan, *Ahmadu Bello University*

Femi Osofisan. 2016. *The Muse of Anomy: Essays on Literature and the Humanities in Nigeria*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press. 297 pp.

Nigerian literature has been haunted by the specter of identity politics in the last two decades. This crisis, materialized in the present desire of some writers to break free from Western gatekeepers and write for local audiences, is arguably best evident in the inability of scholars in the field to clearly delineate the imbrications of literary voices and temperaments across generations. For instance, some writers in Nigeria's so-called third-generation could easily fit into a contemporary epoch that boasts of writers such as Teju Cole, Chimamanda Adichie, and Lola Shoneyin producing authentic works that recall the poetics and styles of even much earlier generations dating back to Chinua Achebe. The reterritorialization of the literary imagination from (the University of) Ibadan to Freedom Park is a symptom to be probed, for it shows how a politics of space is mapped by the struggle between a romanticized cosmopolitanism of Ibadan and the emergent Afropolitan vibes from modern Lagos for a new literary identity for the country. Femi Osofisan's latest offering, *The Muse of Anomy*, is therefore a timely volume that facilitates that investigation as it eloquently frames the shift and continuities in Nigerian literary and cultural discourses through an intervention organized around storytelling and humor. Aside the brilliant juxtaposition of writers and generations as disparate as Amos Tutuola and Elnathan John, the book offers a rich mélange of ideas that unsettles "an experience of life and history" defined by "unceasing anarchy" (p. 5). Beginning with an insightful, even if belabored, introduction, the text projects the critical musings of a Nigerian writer whose oeuvre, burdened with a neo-Marxist urgency, has been an essential articulation for the recentring of indigenous epistemologies, subaltern agency, and radical politics in Nigeria.

In thirteen finely cathected chapters reproduced from several lectures and seminars, Osofisan charts the varied locations and relocations of Nigerian literature and performance traditions from the 1950s, with Ibadan positioned as the initial artistic hub from which a hermeneutic of cultural resistance and humanism was birthed in Nigerian literature. The author's reprobation of contemporary intellectual practice in Nigeria recalls the Gramscian notion of "organic intellectuals," describing scholars committed to winning the consent of the working-class to counter-hegemonic ideas and values. Precisely because of what Osofisan identifies as a parlous absence of such an intellectual body, committed to both a genuine intellectual culture and a radical commitment to knowledge and enquiry on behalf of non-dominant groups, he implicates Nigerian intellectuals in what he calls a tragic betrayal of the people. By stressing the need to retranslate the dreams of pioneers who wrote to deessentialize

colonial and racist assumptions on Africa into a formidable literary tradition, he reiterates the necessity of a literary practice that responds to cultural particularities.

The first set of chapters (1-9) is a review of what might be called Nigeria's literary history, describing and sometimes celebrating the works of writers ranging from Wole Soyinka and J.P. Clark-Bekederemo to Niyi Osundare and Chimamanda Adichie. In the latter chapters (10-13), he exhorts a "return to our culture" (p. 237), affirming the need for Nigerian literature to recuperate values for its distracted consumers. I might add, though, that Osofisan hardly addresses this return-to-culture theme of the book in regard to how digital social networks and other forces inspire an Afropolitan consciousness among writers in Africa and its diaspora. What he does accomplish is the furnishing of an exegetical space in which an intra-generational corpus of Nigerian literature is infused with a fresh and rigorous reinterpretation. His trenchant criticism of these works draws from a broad range of Marxist perspectives that reveal his desire to reimagine anomy as a productive mode through which writers can engage with the Africa.

Overall, this is a coherent illustration of the countless reasons for the recession of Nigerian literary and cultural criticism and for a depletion in its quality, while lamenting the consequences of forces such as globalization and Pentecostalism on the Nigerian sociocultural terrain. Although *The Muse of Anomy* succeeds in locating a persistent ideological deficit in the Nigerian literary project, proposing a sufficient response to perennial postcolonial agonies, there are times it appears Osofisan's analyses favor perspectives visibly laden with social and political critiques and undermine aesthetic freedom and literary experimentations as ends in themselves. This final argument is not a flaw as such, for Osofisan's literary works affirm the centrality of a profound aesthetic vision and a commitment to society and culture. The balance of these two impulses is key to identifying the character of contemporary Nigerian literature.

James Yeku, *University of Saskatchewan*

Jesse Salah Ovadia. 2016. *The Petro-Developmental State in Africa: Making Oil Work in Angola, Nigeria and the Gulf of Guinea*. London: Hurst and Co. 246 pp.

Of the perennial narratives on development in Africa's oil states, none has been as dominant as the Resource Curse thesis that basically indicates that underdevelopment and poverty are products of the mismanagement of wealth from natural resources. With a number of countries along the Gulf of Guinea (GOG) joining the league of oil-exporting countries, the conversation on oil and development in Africa has endured. In setting the premise, Ovadia reiterates a historical verdict anchored on the frailties of several oil-exporting countries stating that "despite the wealth being extracted and the revenue flowing into state treasuries (if they made it that far), quality of life was in sharp decline and there seemed to be little reason for optimism" (p. 2). He however attributes this phenomenon, partly, to the inadequacy of revenues paid in the form of royalties and taxes.

Within the context of the new scramble for Africa's oil boom, Ovadia explores an enabler—a change factor that can engineer the maximization of benefits for oil exporting countries in their dealings with international oil companies (IOCs). He identifies Local Content Policies (LCP) as the key and mathematically argues that sound investment of revenue from oil production plus effective LCPs should result in a Petro-Developmental

State. In my estimation, Ovadia's subsequent preoccupation was to present the utility of LCPs to discredit the supposed pervasiveness of the Resource Curse thesis using Angola and Nigeria as case studies. The discussion of the prospects and challenges of LCP was then translated into signposts for consideration by emerging oil states.

In line with the structure adopted, Ovadia explains the history of oil production in Nigeria and Angola focusing on early attempts at institutionalizing local content. In the case of Nigeria, for instance, Ovadia notes that such attempts "generated handsome profits for Nigerian dealers without building capacity" (p. 32). Angola was hardly different. The result, Ovadia notes, were oil sectors heavily detached from the non-oil economies in ways that sought to justify a prevailing resource curse. This notwithstanding, adjustment in recent perceptions of local content, including the broadening of the concept to go beyond economic value, appears to hold the lynchpin to Africa's renaissance. The Nigeria Content Act of 2010 for instance defines Nigeria Content as "the quantum of composite value added to or created in the Nigerian Economy by a systematic development of capacity and capabilities through the deliberate utilization of Nigerian human, material resources and services in the Nigerian oil and gas industry" (p. 72). Therefore, as regards utility of LCP, Ovadia surmises accordingly:

An indigenized oil service sector in Angola or Nigeria May have significant potential in itself. This potential exists because the service industry requires large numbers of skilled tradespeople and engineers and because local content may have the potential to anchor growth in manufacturing. In this way, it could allow a wider benefit from that growth to spread through the non-oil economy...(p. 58).

Ovadia's realistic approach to considering the utility of LCP is capped by the recognition of the political economy of corruption in parts of Africa as a challenge to the effectiveness of LCP. In both Angola and Nigeria, for instance, Ovadia details a long history of fronting practices calculated to avoid LCPs. Beyond the challenge of corruption low levels of education and human resources as well as limited capacity to offer quality goods and services are identified as challenges to local content policies that reserve the provision of specific services and human resources for the local economy. Although there are suggestions of attempts at lobbying away LCP by IOCs, it is clear that the general direction by state agencies is to stress the institutionalization of LCP.

Going forward, Ovadia points to some benefits in coordinating relationships with IOC across the GOG, noting that such coordination can strengthen positions of states relative to international actors while promoting region-wide industrial development. Ovadia further suggests the possibility of "highly valuable and rich exchange" between activist and interest groups in the different countries of the region to among other things address issues of mutual interest that require coordinated response like oil spills and boundary disputes.

Ovadia's outlook on the future of Africa's oil states makes a palpable departure from the generally pessimistic accounts situated within the Resource Curse thesis. This is refreshing and makes the book an interesting read.

Philip Attuquayefio, *University of Ghana*

Justin Pearce. 2015. *Political Identity and Conflict in Central Angola, 1975-2002*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 184 pp.

Pearce examines the internal politics of the war that divided Angola for more than a quarter of a century after independence. The book is based on interviews with the elites and ordinary people in towns and rural areas, which helped the writer to document how ideologies of state and nation developed on both sides of the Angolan conflict and how these came to define the relationship between political movements and people. The book is divided into an insightful introduction and nine chapters, which examined the period from independence in 1975 until the peace initiatives of the late 1980s. A major gap in literature the research attempts to fill is to interrogate the internal dynamics of the conflict in Angola, in particular the question of the relationship between elites and the broader Angolan population.

Specifically, the book examines, on the one hand, the mechanics of the relationship between political or military power and expression of political identity—how the creation and sustenance of ideas of grievance and identity became politically functional and to what extent people were able to articulate ideas that challenged those of the dominant political movement. Pearce illustrated how people's reaction to political education was not uniform but was influenced by factors such as their occupation, location, experience of events, and whether they had previously come into contact with different political ideas. On the other hand, the book interrogates how the ruling party, *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA), and its adversary, the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) both sought hegemonic control over people in the parts of Angola that each dominated by trying to make its power legitimate in the eyes of those over whom it ruled.

Pearce's account started with a problem about political identity: what did it mean to be a "member" of UNITA or to be a "government person" during the Angolan war? The introductory section began with a quote from a young woman in the town of Mavinga – a town at the center of the MPLA-UNITA military struggle: "I used to be a member of UNITA. But now I'm a member of the government" Q: "Why are you a member of the government?" A: "Because I am here with the government" (p. 1). In other words, she identified with UNITA when she was "caught" by UNITA many years ago, and her allegiance changed when she was "caught" by the government more recently (p. 2). Thus, political identity for many Angolans appeared to be defined in terms of the political movement that ruled over the territory they were in at a particular time. Peasant farmers, particularly those who had suffered violence from both armies at different times, had no choice but to cooperate with whichever was dominant in order to avoid punishment. Additionally, the question of identity was further complicated by the fact that military and civilian officials on both sides habitually assigned identity to people simply on the basis of where the people were.

From the extensive interviews conducted, Pearce was able to show that each side of the conflict was associated with a distinct set of narratives about Angolan history, about the role of the two political movements within this history, and the relationship of the movements to the Angolan people. As such, only a minority of the people interviewed had ever been in a position to listen to both sides and to make a choice about which of the two best represented their interests. For most of them, their earliest consciousness of politics was

constituted within the narratives of one or other political movement. People who lived in the government-controlled towns for the most part believed that the MPLA's army was defending their security, while people in the parts of the countryside controlled by UNITA believed that UNITA was defending them against government forces that were a threat to their security.

Pearce was able to demonstrate that "the Angolan war was never a conflict between communities of people defined on the basis of mutually incompatible prior interests" (p. 180); rather, it was about the pursuit of power by the two rival movements and their use of force to control territory and through it the resident populations. He, however, concludes that the question of national identity in Angola remained unresolved.

Overall, the book is a well-written piece. It is intellectually stimulating, providing a very insightful glimpse into the Angolan conflict. It is a major contribution to the study of conflict and identity formation. The author showed a deep familiarity with relevant literature, which was used to serve as a foundation to weave together a very interesting narrative. The book is a worthy piece that should be read by everyone interested in the study of conflicts in post-colonial Africa.

Olubukola S. Adesina, *University of Ibadan*

Steven Pierce. 2016. *Moral Economies of Corruption: State Formation and Political Culture in Nigeria*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. xii, 282 pp.

Writing on corruption in Africa and in particular Nigeria is fast becoming a worthwhile pastime of Eurocentric scholars who take pleasure in localizing everything that is bad in governance to developing societies. It is as if those societies have autonomous socio-economic and political structures that are impervious to the influences of the legacies of colonial and postcolonial historical forces of their engagements with the developed economies as well as the subsisting influences of globalization from where they continuously draw currents for their existential realities. Nigeria has remained the archetypal African society that suits the analytical framework for "Africa-bashing" in all ramifications. Once any subject on Africa is broached, it gains salience and representativeness when our Africanist scholars localize it to Nigeria, which they consider to be the "guinea pig" of their theorizing. Corruption, which is one of the symptoms of underdevelopment, is the current fad of Africanist scholars who have continued to portray the phenomenon, ironically, as the causation of Nigeria's economic malady.

The book under reference is a complex but interesting scholarly piece which attempts to present a theory on Nigerian corruption from the standpoint of observed peculiarities and historical manifestations of the phenomenon. In his attempt to track the history of the corruption-complex through a careful appraisal of the manifold vernacular histories of different ethnicities in Nigeria, Steven Pierce shows, to a great extent, how corruption has developed and is perceived across the country. Far from being an exclusive presentation of the historical development of corruption in Nigeria, the book makes a case for the elucidation and appreciation of the multifaceted utilities of Nigerian corruption discourse, being a part of the country's cultural history and of its politics. The author raised critical issues about the existing body of knowledge on corruption in Nigeria, and affirms the historicity and ethnography of the

phenomenon as significant explanatory variables that could be deployed in studying and understanding Nigerian corruption.

The introductory section is an examination of the theoretical import of “corruption” and the operational utility of it as a concept and a tool of analysis mainly from the social science perspective on the phenomenon in question (pp. 1-23). The five chapters of the book are classified into two parts. In Part 1, which comprises three chapters, the author begins his analysis of the influences of the moral systems on the official conduct of government officials, noting that such influences could be ambiguous and complex when viewed against the backdrop of the possibility that the same moral systems through which government officials are evaluated could induce practices that could be regarded as corrupt. The plethora of languages and cultures in Nigeria complicates moral discourses about official conduct, a situation our author sees as an inhibition to the evolution of a definitive history of the Nigerian corruption-complex having examined carefully some manifestations of corruption across Nigeria’s political history (pp. 27-149). Part 2 of the book contains chapters four and five. Chapter four is an elaboration on what moral economies of corruption means in the Nigerian context, pointing out the different authors’ perspectives on the theory of moral economy as well as their consensus especially as it relates to their focus on how different groups of people assesses specific forms of conduct (pp. 153-87). Chapter five which examines the relationship between Nigerian corruption and the Nigerian State is a critical portrayal of the insincerity of successive Nigerian governments to prosecute anti-corruption fight. This is evident in the politics of selective arraignment of offenders for corruption charges, and the palpable political manipulation of anti-graft agencies among other indications of the dysfunction of the Nigerian State which are well-chronicled in the chapter (pp. 188-217). The conclusion of the book reiterates the arguments in chapters four and five which the author believes could provide veritable perspective on Nigerian corruption and serves as study tools for understanding the phenomenon of corruption within the broader context of the country’s political history (pp. 219-29).

There is a tone that runs through the book which depicts Nigerian corruption as a uniquely unmatched and incomparably complex pathology which should be studied as an isolated category whose findings cannot be regarded as “lessons” that other countries of Africa or Third World could learn from. According to the author, the development of corruption-complexes is ‘inextricably tied to the histories of individual polities’ (pp. 222-24). It is this apparent reification of historicism in the study of Nigerian corruption by the author that complicates the subject and gives the confusing impression that because corruption manifests itself in diverse forms across different historical epochs, its meaning is fluid and subject to change over time. In addition, the conceptualization of corruption as both a moral discourse and an objective reality (p. 20) evokes the adoption of an eclectic analytical framework that fuses normative and empirical methodologies in studying the phenomenon—an approach which our author utilizes but with minimum scientific value. It is derogatory to imply that corruption emerges from the country’s political culture and that no corrective initiative could originate from Nigeria because as our author would want us to believe “the charge of corruption is a central facet of Nigerian politics” (p. 226). Elsewhere in the book, our author declares that it was fruitless to seek to deal with corruption in Nigeria because such efforts would necessitate ‘dealing with issues

fundamental to the logic of local political culture” (p. 229). Rather, he makes a case for the accommodation of patronage as a fundamental political principle in Nigeria’s Constitution. According to him, Nigeria’s constitutional order must be brought into alignment with the Nigerian political culture of corruption (p. 229).

Steven Pierce’s characterization of Nigerian corruption as a product of the country’s political culture was not derived from any rigorous scientific analysis of the data he accessed in the course of his research into historical manifestations of the phenomenon of corruption in Nigeria. The weakness of the Nigerian State and the domination of the majority by the minority elite group at different periods in the country’s over one hundred years of statehood are insufficient evidence to conclude that the values of the ruling elites in Nigerian societies are representative of the country’s political culture. If anything, our author’s consideration of corruption does not extend to the broader civil societies and the private sector; it was restricted to governmental activities and patronage as well as issues bordering on governmental distributive responsibilities across the country’s diverse cultural settings. How then did our author arrive at the conclusion that corruption is ingrained in the country’s political culture and has become a way of life for Nigerians? Our author’s prescription of constitutional amendment to tolerate and legitimize patronage in Nigeria’s political life is preposterous as it is disparaging, and therefore should be discountenanced outright.

The strength of Pierce’s book is the depth of its historical excavation and the synchronization of relevant data on the diverse forms of corruption across Nigeria’s multitudinous ethnicities at different periods in the country’s over one hundred years of statehood. The book is a product of a meticulous research and the utilization of eclectic analytical methodology involving a fusion of normative and empirical paradigms that were deployed in propounding a theory of moral economies of corruption with particular reference to Nigeria. The book is a guide on how to study Nigerian corruption that could be a worthwhile reference literature for ethnographical and sociological researches especially in tertiary institutions across Africa and other Third World countries.

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

Hannah Azieb Pool (ed.). 2016. *Fashion Cities Africa*. Bristol, UK: Intellect. 143 pp.

This richly illustrated publication addresses contemporary dress styles in four African cities: Nairobi, Casablanca, Lagos, and Johannesburg. The book accompanies an exhibition at the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery in the UK. In her introduction, the book’s editor, journalist Hannah Azieb Pool, describes this publication as “not an academic text or an exhibition catalogue, nor is it a definitive guide to ‘African fashion.’” Instead, she explains, it is intended to provide a snapshot of four fashion scenes and their stylish denizens. In this, the book succeeds admirably. It offers insights into the world of chic, urban youth in four cities, all of who create and project the sort of hipster aesthetic one might also find in New York City, Paris, and Seoul—these are young Africans who take part in global networks of cool. Their work in many media, from clothing to blogs, is part of the flourishing art worlds in these cities. *Fashion Cities Africa* is a valuable document of these fashion cultures, bringing together imagery and interviews from four diverse sites. This is not an analysis of cultural contexts, histories, and

aesthetic systems, but instead a vivid introduction to creative entrepreneurs. The text is celebratory, describing the experiences and milieux of these designers, their aims, and the appeal their work holds for their clientele.

In his foreword to the publication, Binyavanga Wainaina describes his own African fashion adventures, which take him across West Africa, to Abidjan, N'Djamena, Dakar, and Accra. Having clothing made successfully, he notes, requires an “inner ninja” that enables you to find the right tailors (even if this means stealing them from a friend), negotiating prices, finding the right fabrics, and knowing how to get from the airport to the right tailor shops and fabric stalls. Through fashion, Wainaina maps urban environments. And the young designers he patronizes provide another way to gain insights into places and people. The rest of the book takes us there.

The short essays that precede sections on each city, by Pool and journalist Helen Jennings, introduce key fashion innovators—designers, writers, brand consultants, musicians, and others who dwell on the cutting edge of style. Written in an approachable, engaging style, the essays describe markets and boutiques, introduce key figures, and broadly describe the dress styles that characterize the fashion scene in that city. Each essay is followed by a group of profiles of fashion entrepreneurs, many of whom are also mentioned in the essay. Each profile consists of photographs and a page-long excerpt from an interview or a statement by the designer, allowing the reader to “hear” their voices. These are thoughtful artists, who skillfully express the ideas and influences that shape their work. A photographer from each of the four cities was commissioned to document people and clothing, providing a crucial element of this publication: the color images on nearly every page. Some of these offer glimpses of the cities themselves, though these streets, buildings, and vistas are merely settings for the garments and the people who wear them.

As one might expect in a snapshot of fashion cultures, the book depicts a “slice” of dress practices in these large, diverse cities. The people and dress styles featured throughout share an avant-garde, “hipster” aesthetic. These are styles that might be familiar to many members of the creative class—internet entrepreneurs, musicians, artists, and others who might be drawn to urban areas that percolate with arts and entertainment. These are not the designers who work for mass markets, or for the conventional elites who might patronize the *haute couture* designers who show their work in Milan and are featured in mainstream fashion outlets like *Vogue*. The designers featured here circulate in smaller venues, and they produce garments in smaller quantities. Yet their work appears on runways and in the pages of magazines (and, perhaps more effectively, on blogs). Too rarely, however, does the reach of most African designers extend beyond their cities or regions. *Fashion Cities Africa* gives the rest of us a chance to see their work and learn about the markets in which they circulate. While much more could be said—each one of these designers could likely yield an extended analysis—this publication opens a window onto vivid fashion cultures in four major African cities.

Victoria L. Rovine, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Paul Schauert. 2015. *Staging Ghana: Artistry and Nationalism in State Dance Ensembles*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 342 pp.

This study based on phenomenology, centered on the lived experience of individual participants and their perspectives, examines how artists in state dance ensembles “manage,” or negotiate, personal creativity and opportunity within postcolonial nationalism. The text focuses on the Ghana Dance Ensemble (GDE), based at the University of Ghana in Legon, and its splinter organization the National Dance Company (NDC). Throughout his chapters and sections within, Schauert clearly reinforces his thesis with examples from artistic directors, dancers and musicians. A Preface lists several multimedia examples that assist the reader with understanding performances described in the text. Each URL has to be typed separately as no online menu is provided, and the quality of the videos is low. Yet, such companion videos bring to life the descriptions and comparisons given.

The Introduction and Conclusion chapters act as bookends for a series of six chapters, each discussing varying aspects of the GDE’s development in chronological order. Schauert gives a brief history of the GDE and summarizes how performers operate independently within an otherwise strict, state-sponsored ensemble. The Introduction presents his thesis and methodologies—using the belly as metaphor, power matrices negotiated through the body, cosmopolitan identity, and Michel Foucault’s technology of self. Most intriguing is his examination of the “dynamics of embodiment,” wherein individuals internalize external sensory experiences that produce bodily ways of being-in-the-world and self-knowledge (pp. 26-27). Throughout the book, Schauert will return to this concept through examples of the ways in which dancers manipulate dance movements within the choreography, demonstrating their agency as they negotiate the state system.

Chapter 1 only hints at the history of nationalism beginning earlier than Kwame Nkrumah’s presidency. In fact, the focus of this book relies on the development of African Personality and Pan-Africanism as expressions of nationalism dictated by Nkrumah and his administration. These directives aimed to institutionalize culture and were realized in the GDE through the artistic director Mawere Opoku and embodied by the performers.

Schauert explores what he terms “sensational staging” in Chapter 2. This term identifies the process of aesthetic transformation wherein cultural projects are created as a blend of the so-called best aspects of traditional local with foreign modern culture. In the GDE this translates as a hybrid of certain Ghanaian dances, primarily those by the Asante, Ewe, and Dagomba, with modifications to the costumes and choreography that would be more appealing to foreign audiences. Tensions and paradoxes develop between Opoku’s desire to please foreigners and the foreigners’ desires for authenticity. Yet, most consider the GDE’s traditional dances to be more authentic than those in communities today because the GDE continues to perform much of Opoku’s choreography based on community dances from the 1960s, while the community performances continue to evolve.

The next chapter deals with how individuals adhere and resist the ensemble’s disciplinary structure based on western military and professional practices. Despite strict punishments of humiliation and extra practices, performers aspire to be part of the GDE for monetary and career development, especially opportunities to travel abroad. Chapter 4 discusses how performers act as cultural soldiers promoting the state, yet also criticize the state—a Ghanaian

cultural pastime. To avoid overt criticism, performers utilize “indirection,” where the individual politely redirects the conversation. The use of metaphors and proverbs achieve this redirection through communication, song, drumming, dance, and visual symbols.

In 1990, the GDE split into two entities—the GDE continues at the University of Ghana and the new National Dance Company (NDC) is created and based in the new National Theatre. Chapter 5 compares the GDE who call themselves the “Originals” and the NDC who utilize the slogan of President J.J. Rawlings regime “Moving Forward.” The two groups represent competing ideas of nation and nationalism through Nkrumah’s rhetoric of “authenticity” and “traditional” (GDE) and President John Kufuor’s ideas regarding modern “development” (NDC) which has evolved into Francis Nii-Yartey’s African contemporary dance choreography.

Chapter 6 is a continuation of the former chapter, exploring the possibilities and limitations on creativity within these ensembles. In the Conclusion, Schauert revisits these ensembles in 2012, five years after conducting his primary research for the book. The NDC is thriving after receiving the bulk of government funding, yet the GDE continues to manage despite the challenges because of performer’s desire to adhere to so-called traditional dances.

This book makes an excellent contribution to the understanding of Ghanaian state dance ensembles and how individuals negotiate their socio-political position and artistic creativity within nation-making ideologies. Like many texts focused on Ghanaian arts today, this book focuses on the independence period with little reference to how nationalism played a seminal role in the arts of the colonial period.

Courtney Micots, *Florida Agricultural & Mechanical University*

Kate Skinner. 2015. *The Fruits of Freedom in British Togoland: Literacy, Politics and Nationalism, 1914-2014*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 298 pp.

As Kate Skinner explains in *The Fruits of Freedom in British Togoland*, few people have examined the ongoing consequences of the unification of British Togoland with Ghana. Although Skinner benefits from the work on Togolese integration that has developed since Dennis Austin’s 1960s publications on the Ghana-Togo dispute, she disagrees with David Brown and Paul Nugent that the conflict surrounding Togoland’s status died down in the 1970s (p. 169). This came as a revelation to Skinner following Ghana’s National Reconciliation Commission in 2003-04 and Kosi Kedem’s 2010 petition for Constitutional Review to redress the history of Togoland’s integration. She argues that the way in which British Togoland was integrated into Ghana in 1957 had a long-term impact on the lives and careers of the men and women who campaigned against it. From interviews with former activists or their children, Skinner learned that the failure to achieve *ablode*, the Ewe term for “freedom,” remained a source of resentment.

During their campaign for freedom, British Togolese activists fought to maintain their status as a Trust Territory in order to address the United Nations directly to negotiate for joint independence with French Togoland. Skinner reveals that the struggle to reunite with the French territory had less to do with a shared ethno-linguistic Ewe identity, as the majority of Togoland did not identify with this language and ancestry. Instead, she considers how Togolese people imagined citizenship through their past, particularly experiences of infrastructural development and violence under German rule. Claiming this shared history with French

Togoland, the British Togolese wanted to avoid becoming a small region in the larger independent Ghana. These first chapters also center on the pursuit of mass literacy in British Togoland during the 1930s and 1940s, decades after German colonization. Higher education was difficult to pursue in Togoland, as there were few schools outside of the major towns. Only the brightest students could find a place in a teaching college and continue their education. Skinner argues that teachers became political leaders in British Togoland because of their ability to translate and negotiate the demands of the British government and the Togolese people.

Skinner shows in Chapter 4 how attention to the different layers of local, territorial, and international issues together led to a “political cosmopolitanism” among British Togolese teachers (p. 122). This was crucial leading up to the 1956 plebiscite on integration, when teacher-activists used their elite education to create propaganda in the form of pamphlets, songs, and chants to convince voters to support reunification with French Togoland. Skinner introduces the actions taken by women to support reunification, including wearing cloths featuring the faces or symbols of their leaders and singing and chanting to excite people. Were these women primarily in supportive roles, or did some stand out as community leaders, writers, or teachers? While Skinner spends time examining the significance of generational differences in the reunification movement, the book would have benefitted from more analysis of the role that women did or did not play.

The second half of the book shifts toward the consequences of integrating British Togoland into the Gold Coast. Skinner reveals the challenges that faced outspoken activists after people in the territory voted for integration. Those who were not jailed often lost their positions as educators, and some escaped with their families to the French side of Togoland. Tensions between Kwame Nkrumah and Sylvanus Olympio, the first leaders of independent Ghana and Togo, exacerbated the problems facing people from the former British Togoland. Once Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966, some Togolese activists found relief under new governments, but state instability held up development funds. The book closes with the Ghanaian National Reconciliation Commission in 2004 when Togolese *ablode* activists testified that their human rights had been violated because they were “deprived of their right to their nationality” or suffered from a “stolen citizenship” (p. 251).

The Fruits of Freedom explores multiple historical lines: an incomplete freedom and citizenship, the rise of mass education and literacy, and organization by teacher-activists for *ablode* despite dismissal or violence by the British, United Nations, and Ghana. These areas overlap to reveal that Skinner’s book is required reading for scholars of Ghana, Togo, and African decolonization. Furthermore, the way that Skinner applies Meredith Terretta’s work on human rights during Cameroon’s independence movement to her analysis of the nearly silenced history of British Togoland provides a model for rising scholars.

Alison K. Okuda, *New York University*

Pauline Ada Uwakweh, Jerono P. Rotich, and Comfort O. Okpala (eds.). 2014. *Engaging the Diaspora: Migration and African Families*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. 192 pp.

This book has been written in a timely manner by addressing immigration and immigrants, a contemporary, hotly debated and contested issue. The 20th and 21st centuries has evoked an

unprecedented number of immigrants in developed countries putting immigrant and immigration issues at the center of political debates and a production of a plethora of literature from academic scholars. More importantly, the centrality of the family institution augments its timeliness as the nuclear normally presumed to be localized in one space becomes challenged by transnational dynamics, sometimes creating scattered families (Coe, 2013). In addition, traditional gender roles in patriarchal societies become challenged as women get more involved in professionally well-paying jobs. While most of research has been done from traditional immigrants, those from African immigrants have been scantily documented understudied or required new theoretical attention" (p. 1). Adding to the black population diversity, African immigrants. The author's literature search indicated that African immigrants are "though similar in many ways with other blacks in the United States bring with them uniqueness that influences their very adaptation and contributions to the host country. This book contributes to filling these gaps in discussing from a multidisciplinary perspective and engaging the African Diaspora focusing on migration and African families.

African immigrants have been increasing since the 20th century, caused by reasons ranging from poverty, to unemployment, war, conflict, the spill-over effect of colonial and post-colonial circumstances. Hence, migration becomes "a matter of necessity rather than choice" (p. 16). In addition, favorable conditions and incentives cushions migration challenges. In sum, African immigrants may owe their immigration to the Diversity Visa Lottery as a "golden ticket" (p. 127) that favored countries previously underrepresented, and to technological advancements in the 20th century that have opened borders, shortened distances, and reduced hazardous conditions of travel. Therefore, migration can be presumed to be a "permanent feature of the 21st century" (p. 3). However, it's important to note that, the African immigrant population is very diverse linguistically, by gender, country of origin, and career paths. Also, they contribute to the host country economy and culture through their skills, knowledge, and experiences such as those debited in the experiences of professors teaching in historically black colleges and predominantly white colleges.

The authors also emphasized the contribution African immigrants bring to their host countries by indicating that "many of these immigrant include Africa's best and brightest. In 2009, for instance, 41.7 percent of African-born adults over twenty-five had a bachelor's degree or higher compared to 28.1 percent of native-born and 26.8 percent of all other foreign born adults in the United States" (p. ix). Relative to other immigrant population, "compared to other immigrants, African-born be highly educated and speak English well" (p. 4).

The authors acknowledge the family unit as central to socialization, identity formation for both the individual and community and hence requiring attention. However, the book also portrays the family unit as a contested terrain when transplanted from one location to another through the process of immigration and adaptation to new environments. As an example, gender role conflicts between husbands and wives as patriarchy presumably associated with male figures as economic bases, hence, decision and bread winners, get challenged by female autonomy, a product, generated by ideals in contemporary market economies. Within the same vein, relationships between children and parents also become strained.

Pre- and post-immigration experiences impact their very social reality as they construct new experiences and spaces in the host country. For example, past experiences from war,

daunting memories causing trauma to both youth and adults, and the difficulties of members of one family living in different countries. In addition, their status as either as refugees, green card holders or professionals determine their very adaptation. Moreover, their adaptation experiences as immigrants are not immune to the host country's relations that are sometimes rooted in racial, gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status. Their trans-nationality creates spaces for scattered families with members living across different countries, a phenomenon collapsing geographic family enclosures. These intersections and dynamic complicate African families' experience and the predictability of the family survival as a coherent unit, post-migration, as conventionally presumed, even as they take on imposed identities as "black women and, as third world immigrants" (p. 9).

An interdisciplinary mixed method approach was used to generate data and analyze present findings. Methods such as exploring written works, interviews with African parents and family case studies, memoir analysis, ethnographic interviews, photo voice, phenomenological, and quantitative approaches were used by contributors in this edition. These methods strengthen the validity of their findings. This book is therefore useful to the professional audience in academia and families in general as well as the public interested in immigration and migrants.

Reference

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Serah Shani, Westmont College

Goolam Vahed and Thembisa Waetjen. 2015. *Schooling Muslims in Natal: Identity, State and the Orient Islamic Educational Institute*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. 457 pp.

Situated between colonialism, apartheid, and global Islamic modernism, *Schooling Muslims in Natal* narrates the story of the founding and operation of the Orient Islamic School in Durban, South Africa throughout the twentieth century with its successive state and racial regimes. Co-authored by two historians, one an alumnus of the school itself, this monograph meticulously weaves together archival sources and oral histories to produce a narrative that speaks more broadly to studies in Indian Ocean diasporas, Islamic education, and racial politics in apartheid South Africa.

Founded in 1943 by the Muslim Gujarati merchant community in the eastern coastal province of Natal, the Orient Islamic School aimed to provide British-style schooling for Indian children to enable them to make inroads against economic disadvantage and racial discrimination. It also aimed to provide instruction in Islam and the Urdu language as a means of cultivating Islamic identity, preserving cultural heritage, and instilling moral values. It was modeled after Aligarh Muslim University in India, dubbed the "Oxford of India," which had embraced British rule and education in an attempt to secure high posts for Indians in the government and contribute to policy-making, while also integrating Islamic studies especially as related to civic training. The men of the Indian Muslim commercial elite in Natal, meeting in

the exclusive Orient Club that mirrored the country clubs so iconic of British colonial rule, lobbied government to create a state-funded school that would offer “integrated” religious and secular training to meet the “particular conditions which are essential to (Indians).” These early origins and concerns are the subjects of Chapters 1 and 2.

Seen as “lagging” behind Christian and Hindu populations of the Indian community, the Muslim community finally received government support to build their own school, as education was heralded as an engine for Muslim “upliftment.” Yet this support was, predictably, circumscribed. Chapter 3 details the challenges faced in the attempts to actually build the school, particularly as related to finding a suitable location. Amidst fears of “Indian penetration” into the white community, Muslim Indians ultimately had to look outside Durban’s city boundaries to find a site for which they could avoid political challenge in establishing their school. Accustomed to employing a “strategy of gentlemanly diplomacy” based on a failing platform of class affinity, the Indian Muslim elites spearheading the project were successively thwarted by mounting racial prejudice.

Upon finding a location, the school faced even more challenges in attempting to define its “Islamic” character, the subject of Chapters 4, 5, and 6. This entailed creating a single curriculum and syllabus in contrast to the more informal *madressa* Islamic schooling, introducing “modern” pedagogical methods into Islamic education that did not rely on rote memorization, and finding suitable teachers and directors who both were trained in Islamic knowledge and could teach it in “modern” methods—and in English, rather than Urdu or Arabic. The school’s Islamic character was further reinforced through “Eastern-inspired” architecture, *kufic* Arabic calligraphy adorning its walls, and the establishment of the *kurta* as the school uniform for boys. Yet, curiously, while many of the authors’ alumni interviewees identified the school as one for Muslims, they did not see it as an “Islamic school” that fostered Islamic identity. The remaining Chapters 7 and 8 catalogue the schools’ efforts and challenges in providing physics and sports education, introducing education for girls, political activism under apartheid, and controversies associated with efforts to privatize the school following the fall of the apartheid regime.

Schooling Muslims in Natal is a comprehensive historical account of shifting religious, racial, and diasporic identities in twentieth century South Africa, all centered around the establishment of one school for Muslim Indian children. The text excels in the breadth and richness of minute historical data, yet consequently leaves many important analytical questions buried or unanswered in its quest for comprehensiveness. With its extensive documentation and inclusion of primary source material, it will prove to be an invaluable resource for scholars seeking to analyze wider trends related to the integration of Islamic education into modern schools, changing racial ideologies from the perspective of a privileged minority, and transoceanic diasporic exchange, particularly as they relate to the Indian Ocean and Islam in Africa.

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Al J. Venter. 2015. *Biafra's War, 1967-1970: A Tribal Conflict in Nigeria That Left a Million Dead*. Solihull, England: Helion and Company Limited. 314 pp.

The Nigerian Civil War, otherwise known as the Biafra War, has enjoyed an infinite amount of coverage from key participants in the war as well as sideliners. Consequently, Al Venter's book on the war hardly aroused my interest initially, given the already surplus publications on the subject matter. This apathy however changed immediately after a quick perusal of the pages of *Biafra's War – 1967-1970: A Tribal Conflict in Nigeria That Left A Million Dead*. My attention was caught by the book's unique quality of historical evidence founded on primary documents and first-hand pictorial illustrations. That in itself serves to remove doubts from any reader about the authenticity of the account presented by Venter, just as it proves him (Venter) as the man on the spot, a participant in Africa's bloodiest post-independence inter-ethnic hostilities. Venter's stated aim is to expose the agony of Biafran civilians during the war and to show that the long-drawn-out Christian-Muslim clash in Nigeria had been there since independence and is still lingering. The twenty-five chapter book is an outcome of Venter's years as a journalist covering the war in Biafra. Unlike previous authors who viewed the war as a political fallout in Africa's largest democracy, Venter reexamines Biafra's war as tribal fallout in Africa's most heterogeneous nation-state, between the "Islamic North and the Christian (animist) South."

Venter starts by discussing Nigeria's first putsch of 14 January 1966, which distorted the political architecture and shattered the brittle trust obtainable among the various ethnic groups in Nigeria. Six months later, a counter coup resulted in anarchy and after several futile attempts to salvage the situation, Odumegwu Ojukwu declared an independent Biafra on May 30, 1967 – war broke out. Venter examines the contradictory personalities of the Biafran and Nigerian commanders-in-chief. He also scrutinized the various domestic and external balance of power that played out in Nigeria, especially after the discovery of oil in the southern region. The British, Americans, Soviet Union et al. supported the Northern clamor for unity; while the secessionist Biafra was covertly supported by South Africa and France among others. At the early stage of hostilities, Biafra's amateurish military had an upper hand because the Federal government was ill prepared. As hostilities escalated, the federal forces undertook scorched earth atrocities—starvation, blockade, etc.—resulting in a great humanitarian catastrophe for Biafra, yet Biafra's resolve remained unbroken. Indeed, Venter explains that the Biafrans were not defeated, but were starved into submission.

The war ensued in a series of disjointed skirmishes. Both sides made extensive use of mercenaries. As the federal forces unleashed more callous assaults on Biafra, the war became for Biafrans a battle for survival more than secession. The humanitarian toll in beleaguered Biafra spurred international relief and medical volunteers. Propaganda was another major factor in the war with both engaged in marked press censorship. Venter also emphasized the prominent role of airpower in the war. For the Federal Government, Soviet MiG-17s played a decisive role in air maneuver against the rebels. For Biafra, aerial combat was coordinated from the improvised Uli airstrip. A number of eyewitness accounts are summarized by Venter to substantiate his own account, including Frederick Forsyth's *The Dogs of War*; Major Atofarati's *The Nigerian Civil War, Causes, Strategies and Lessons Learnt*; Jim Townsend's Autobiography; and Alves Pereira's *My Escapades as a Biafran Warplane Pilot*. Venter concludes by drawing attention to the possibility of another total war between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria of which the

international community needs to take cognizance. This reality is epitomized by the ongoing Boko Haram insurgency in the country.

Venter's book opens readers to a larger understanding of contemporary Nigerian history, sociology and international relations. With such acclamation, further suggestions can come across as foul-mouthed. However, I deem the following areas worthy of a second look:

- Venter preponderantly designates Biafra as comprising the Igbo, apparently neglecting other minority ethnic groups that constituted Biafra. Actually, more than any other factor, the perfidy of these other groups has been accepted by many to have cost Biafra the war. Still, "Igbo" is written by Venter as "Ibo," a misrepresentation that Igbo people frown on.
- Venter does not hide his pro-Biafran empathy, which in turn questions the book's objectivity, if at all objectivity can be attained regarding such a highly controversial historical narrative.
- The author might have perhaps considered extending his scope to include proffering solutions for the lingering Christian-Muslim palaver in Nigeria, instead of just highlighting it.

In all, the above gaps do not in any way defeat the purpose of the book. The book gives a lucid account of the situation in Biafra, emphasizing Nigeria's inhumane tactics that brought Biafra to her knees. Venter utterly criticized his home (British) government's and other foreign support for Nigeria, which he explains as being entrenched in economic interests and gross delusion of the political circumstances. Venter aimed to add religious and humanitarian classiness to the Nigerian civil war, and he achieved this with ease. Overall, the book is suitable for all classes of readers. It reaffirms Venter's reputation as one of the leading writers on contemporary African conflicts, history and international relations.

Emah Saviour, *University of Uyo*

Hannah Whittaker. 2015. *Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Kenya: A Social History of the Shifta Conflict, c. 1963-1968*, Leiden: Brill. 176 pp.

This book examines insurgency and counterinsurgency in Kenya focusing on the *shifta* (literally bandit or rebel) conflict of 1963 to 1968. The introduction begins by stating that the book is a social history of war and that all wars are socially destructive. The book analyses the *shifta* insurgency in the former Northern Frontier District (NFD) of Kenya and its detrimental social, economic, and political effects, focusing on the use of political violence as a means to an end, militarism, environmental scarcity, and conflict, and issues of state capacity. The fundamental arguments raised are that the intricate quality of the insurgency and the nature of its counterinsurgency measures conducted by Kenya explain the explicitly destructive force of the conflict which combined a set of local, national and regional wars. The eruption of the insurgency and the consequent path of its violence are best understood as a convergence of the local-level underlying forces and state responses to those forces. The local dynamics centered on issues of state encroachment, private interests, and territorial resource conflicts whereas state responses focus subjugation and nation statebuilding through counterinsurgency. To this extent

the book aptly demonstrates that conflicts are shaped by the dynamics of interaction between the state, its apparatuses, and local-level developments.

The book indicates is thematically divided into two parts, the first dealing with the insurgency and the second with the counterinsurgency. Chapters two to six examine the origins, composition and the dynamics of interaction among the key actors on the insurgency. The chapters establish that the outbreak of the insurgency was primarily driven by the personal and political gains of the participants that revolved around protecting individual and communal interests, the struggle for natural resources, and the need to counteract state repression. The chapters also establish that Somali nationalism at the time failed to prevent parochialism. Chapters five and six analyze the nature of the counterinsurgency. They focus on the coercive measures employed by the state to defeat *shifita* and militarization of the NFD society. The chapters also pay attention to the political dimensions of the counterinsurgency by examining the policy of forced villagization in the region. These chapters establish that the counterinsurgency aimed at controlling pastoralism not only to subjugate pastoralists to the dominant agricultural order but also to implement social change and transform them into loyal Kenyan citizens. Attempts to do so failed, as the state's priority was a military rather than a political solution to the insurgency. Chapter seven looks at the long-term aftermath of the insurgency and emphasizes that the impact has exacerbated resource conflicts and banditry while the incorporation of NFD within the Kenyan state has enhanced intra and inter-community tensions in the region. The conclusion indicates the implications of the effects of the insurgency and counterinsurgency on contemporary political and security issues in Kenya.

The author adopts historical, and anthropological analytical approaches that make use of empirical research based on oral data and extensive secondary data as frameworks that describe, analyze, and explain the detrimental effects of the insurgency and counterinsurgency. The author is very familiar with the relevant academic literature both at the theoretical and empirical case-study level thus validating the arguments raised. The author aptly demonstrates that insurgencies are multi-layered hence counterinsurgencies measures must take care of these complexities if they are to succeed. This is evident in as far as the literature cited is concerned as well as in the analysis. This is an exceptional feature of the book. The book, therefore, demonstrates evidence of original work and significantly contributes to the knowledge and insight into the subject of insurgencies and counterinsurgencies and their outcomes in African states. While the author emphasizes that the book is a social history of war and places much analysis on local, national and regional dynamics in the context of the Cold War, a more detailed scrutiny of the role of super powers as a catalyst to the detrimental effects of the insurgency and counterinsurgency would have been appropriate to support the fundamental arguments raised in the book. The book is valuable not only for scholars and students of history but also to those of political science and international relations who are interested in conflict and security issues.

Oscar Gakuo Mwangi, *National University of Lesotho*

Elizabeth Williams. 2015. *The Politics of Race in Britain and South Africa: Black British Solidarity and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle*. London: I. B. Tauris. xi, 316 pp.

Making extended use of oral history interviews and contemporary records, Elizabeth Williams focuses on a thoroughly under researched facet of British social, cultural, and political history: the solidarity felt by black communities in Britain toward the oppressed African population in South Africa. Compartmentalized into six main chapters, her study also assesses the complicated relationship between black British groups and other anti-racist organizations, paramount amongst which was the mainly white Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

The first chapter charts the development of a pan-African consciousness. The author pinpoints the death of the Barbadian seaman, Milton King, in a South African jail in 1951 as the catalyst that brought to the forefront of Caribbean consciousness the inescapable horror of racial aggression. Moreover, she explains how the day-to-day experience of racism for Africans in the diaspora “engendered empathy” with those suffering under the apartheid regime (p. 14). From here, the chapter draws attention to the crucial role played by the Committee of African Organisations (CAO), a student and worker-run movement which drew support from a smorgasbord of anti-racial and anti-colonial networks, in establishing the AAM’s precursor organization, the British Boycott Movement.

Chapter two outlines the attitude that successive British governments took toward the apartheid state, emphasizing the degree of continuity between Labour and Conservative governments as they opted against isolating Pretoria. As the author astutely explains, due to “vested British interests” in South Africa—as a valued trading partner, a supplier of raw materials, and as an important regional bulwark against the spread of communism—postwar British policy toward it “remained unchanged irrespective of which political party headed the government” (p. 38). After her election in 1979, Margaret Thatcher continued this trend, but with one notable difference. Unlike her predecessors, the new Conservative Prime Minister was more than willing to mount a strong defense of her government’s foreign policy. Unsurprisingly, as Williams relates, this led to frequent clashes and disagreements with the AAM throughout the 1980s, particularly over her government’s opposition to imposing sanctions (pp. 62-63).

Chapter three addresses the rivalry between the two primary opposition groups in South Africa that were forced into exile: the African National Congress (ANC), which welcomed multiracial involvement in the liberation struggle, and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which favored a more African-centric form of resistance. This ideological split, Williams explains, travelled with their respective external missions abroad, ensuring that the ANC experienced more long-term success in its efforts to garner support from a broader segment of British society and to position itself as the sole representative of South African liberation internationally. Though the AAM did formally recognize both groups, their relations with the PAC (and other radical associations in South Africa) remained distant and estranged. For them it was clear, Williams contends, that “the motor of history was behind the ANC” (p. 110).

Moving on, chapter four focuses upon the AAM’s efforts to attract a greater number of black Britons to its campaigns. Between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s, “the AAM failed to capitalise on black activist energy because it remained largely detached from the local anti-racist struggles that black communities faced throughout Britain” (p. 134). To remedy this, in 1989, the

AAM launched the Black and Ethnic Committee (BEM). Though its lifespan was cut short by the negotiated breakdown of apartheid, Williams maintains that the BEM did achieve moderate success in galvanizing black support. More importantly, for her, the commitment shown by the AAM executive to the BEM evidenced how seriously it prioritized the issue of connecting with black communities and activists, albeit belatedly.

The final two chapters cover the anti-apartheid activity of moderate and radical black groups independent of the AAM. Whilst both shared the desire to pursue their own distinctive activist agenda, the former took a more relaxed stance toward black and white cooperation in the struggle for equality, whereas the latter lay greater emphasis on black empowerment, autonomy of leadership, and pan-Africanism. Understandably, the ideological alignments of these groups, more often than not, affected which exiled liberation faction received preference (p. 204). Crucially, however, though both moderate and radical black groups found it far more natural to connect with black Britons due to their “interior position” (p. 167) within that community, or their willingness to amalgamate the fight against racial discrimination both at home and abroad, neither “could seriously challenge the formidable position that the AAM had attained in building an anti-apartheid consensus in Britain” (p. 232).

In sum, *The Politics of Race in Britain and South Africa* offers a meticulously researched and persuasive account of the critical part played by black British activists in the anti-racist struggle. Whilst it does feature a few typing and grammar errors (pp. 55, 127 for instance), and the author’s clear enthusiasm for recounting precise detail does, at times, detract from the overall intellectual narrative, Williams’ book does add great depth to scholarly understanding of British racial politics during the 1980s.

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