

BOOK REVIEWS

Adeleke Adeeko. 2017. *Arts of Being Yoruba: Divination, Allegory, Tragedy, Proverb, Panegyric*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 200 pp.

Reading Adeeko's latest offering is an exciting experience in several ways. Apart from the scholar-critic's accessible style and elegant language, the book draws attention to the ever-refreshing fertile minefield of African orature. For the author, it is indeed a familiar terrain having earlier written *Proverbs, Textuality, and Nativism in African Literature* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1988). Though not presented as such, one may be tempted to see *Arts of Being Yoruba* as a sequel of sort, even if Adeeko did not state indicate so. However, both works read altogether offer important critical statements that benefit and further deepen African literary scholarship generally.

Arts of Being Yoruba: Divination, Allegory, Tragedy, Proverb, Panegyric is an important addition to the understanding of the context and poetics of Yoruba verbal arts. In this book, Adeeko attempts to fuse, in a most creative way, the discourse of identity and globalization within the aesthetic configuration of Yoruba artistic and cultural productions. Adeeko's novelty in the book lies in his re-conceptualizing of time and spatiality in a most profound way. He tactically dismantles boundaries and locates Yoruba artistic resources as distinguishing markers of Yoruba identity. For Adeeko, "being Yoruba entails embedding elements of the old (or things presented as such), many times imperceptibly, in motions and gestures mostly of recent, diverse provenance fit for addressing the future" (p. xiv).

The book is divided into six chapters with a section each for the introduction and conclusion. In these pages, Adeeko offers an array of textual experiences that are not limited by traditional classifications of genres and modes. The attention paid to Fagunwa's works locates the novelist oeuvre within a large construct of indigenous Yoruba worldview and epistemology. Akinwumi Isola is also foregrounded as a feminist of sort in the way *Efunsetan Aniwura* is re-read in the tragic mode. Together, Fagunwa and Isola are made to exemplify a vibrant indigenous language literature replete in the artistic resources that are quintessentially Yoruba.

One however wonders why despite his deep knowledge and familiarity with the diversity of Yoruba verbal arts, Adeeko still prefers, as has been the norm with scholars of African (Yoruba) oratures, to choose the seemingly "canonized" forms of Yoruba cultural production—Ifa divination poetry, panegyrics, and proverbs. Though this does not diminish the quality of his arguments, it certainly would have been richer if he considered other marginal/marginalized forms. The selected forms are, however, replete in intertextual aesthetics germane in affirming Yoruba identity and essence, especially in the sense conceived in this book.

Adeeko's dexterity in and familiarity with the intricacies of Yoruba verbal and artistic resources is evident. For example, by dwelling on the book launch and celebrity journalism traditions, he convincingly shows that Yoruba art is, indeed, a continuum, and that there are bound to be retentions and continuities especially as the society embraces modernity. Adeeko seems to be inviting closer attention to emerging trends that celebrate unique

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v18/v18i1a9.pdf>

cultural statements. A key strength of Adeeko's book is the ease with which he underscores these two modern varieties as extensions of traditions of the panegyric and the like.

Arts of Being Yoruba is timely and strategic. It is a commendable output, which makes pronouncements that further rekindles hope and sustained interest in African cultural studies generally. The book certainly offers ideas towards a definition and eventual evolution of a distinct poetics of Yoruba art, long advocated by Olabiyi Yai in "Towards a New Poetics of Oral Poetry in Africa" (*IFE: Annals of The Institute of Cultural Studies*. (1) 1986: 40-55). This clearly shows that, being Yoruba is indeed the capacity to constantly generate and re-invigorate artistic traditions, which ultimately constitutes a new modes of expression of collective heritage.

All said, it is indubitable that this book stands out as a bold attempt at repositioning Yoruba arts and charting its critical directions in the age of modernity and fleeting globalization. However, Adeeko's robust arguments and textual exemplifications hardly take into cognizance the realities of contested critical landscapes, such as embodied in the recent clamors for the decolonization of indigenous knowledge systems and/ or the integration of the same in the global epistemic order. Happily however, with books such as *Arts of Being Yoruba: Divination, Allegory, Tragedy, Proverb, and Panegyric*, the march has definitely commenced.

Oluwole Coker, *Obafemi Awolowo University*

Alexius Amtaika (ed.). *Democratization of Africa: Dynamics and Trends*. Austin, Texas: Pan-African University Press. 401 pp.

The aim of the book is to rethink democratization in Africa. In this continent, everyone wants democracy but remains elusive as to its fulfillment. The key question is: "Why does the future of Democracy seem uncertain on the continent?" (p. xv). Whereas in Europe, development preceded democracy, in Africa, both must be achieved concurrently. The book assumes that development is a pre-condition of democracy and is thus in line with the studies initiated by Seymour Martin Lipset: "People need more food than democracy" (p. xv). Alexius Amtatiaka argues that democracy in Africa comes from top to bottom; it is an elite democracy (p. xvi). Democratization is only one way of transplanting European values into African societies, and this process is accompanied by a devaluation of African values and traditions that could be complementary and useful. The willingness of Western nations to impose their democratic values at all costs, including aggressively, succeeds, as in the case of Libya, in destroying the country and in opening the way for radical fundamentalist movements, and in amplifying democracy migratory phenomenon. Eurocentrism has not yet disappeared; Western nations continue to despise traditional values and lifestyles. The West has not ceased to present human rights, democracy or justice as it conceives them according to its own values, unaware that other societies can interpret them differently, according to their own ones. It is therefore a criticism of Western universalism that the authors defend in this book (p. xx). The other theoretical problem that Amtaika raises is that of the Definition of Democracy which remains a relative term. But the author retains, for the purposes of the study, a content that could be considered as common to all definitions: social justice, quality, Liberty, fulfillment (p. xxi). This relativism pushes authors to be

cautious when they use the term democracy.

The book is composed of eighteen chapters but almost all, except for the introductory chapter are devoted to Nigeria and South Africa, and only one to Botswana, one to Lesotho, one to Ghana. In the introduction (pp. 3-30), Amtaika deals very succinctly with the Theory of Democracy and emphasizes the correlation between high level of economic development and the prevalence of the democratic political system (p. 12), ideas defended by Seymour Martin Lipset (Lipset 1959: 73) that established a link between wellbeing, economic growth and democracy. Amtaika defends the idea that development and democracy must be achieved at the same time and in a competitive way. Democracy will promote economic development, and growth and economic development will, in turn, make democracy sustainable. He also recalls Huntington who explains that “higher levels of literacy, education, and mass media exposure, all of which are conducive to Democracy” (Huntington 1986: 72) (p. 12). But he also recalls the studies initiated by Diamond and Platter (1994) that confirm the thesis by Huntington, showing that economic development must precede economic liberalization, which underlies the idea that authoritarian regimes would be better able to carry out the reforms necessary for economic development, as the South American examples seem to corroborate. East Asia such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, China, and Vietnam, but also Chile in Latin America. (p. 14) Amtaika does not agree with this idea although he acknowledges that some authoritarian regimes have done better economically than some democratic regimes in developing countries. (p. 14) He then discusses the role of the bourgeoisie, the market economy in and trade unions in economic growth and democratization. In Poland, for example, in the absence of parties, the union played a fundamental role in political change. (Huntington 1986: 78) (p. 16).

Amtaika thinks that in the West, Democracy has been adopted because the people have understood that it is in their own right and is it “strongly believed that Democracy can spread freely in Africa to be good” (p. 17). In another review of the literature on democracy, Kehdinga George Fomunyan (“Theorizing Democracy in Africa,” pp. 53-63) concludes that the latter, conceived as the power of the people, is a false chimera. All the other chapters are dedicated to some themes related to development or democracy, such as rights, representation, elections, good governance, or political parties. Finally, the title of the book is only weakly justified because the majority of the cases studied concern South Africa or Nigeria, which are far from being representative examples of Africa. Africa does not include only these countries; there are also French-speaking countries and of North Africa Arab countries that are so different from each other.

Abdelmalek El Ouazzani, *University Cadi Ayyad, Marrakech*

Jan Beek, Mirco Göpfert, Olly Owen, and Jonny Steinberg (eds.). 2017. *Police in Africa: The Street-Level View*. London and New York: Hurst and Oxford University Press. 372 pp.

Police In Africa: The Street Level View is an excellent compilation of observations with emphasis on different approaches of various aspects of law enforcement upon the African continent. This text is divided into three wonderfully informative sections, 268 readable pages, of what, who, and how elements of the legal process functions both in a theoretical and practical sense. With at least fifty four countries upon the continent, this book could not

include all of them, but it did cover a large swath from different regions so that one could get a feel for the overall attitudes of many legal elements in Africa that have been ignored over the years. These ethnographic approaches consist of the knowledge based from anthropologists, historians, criminologists, and international relations professionals as it relates to the criminal prosecution process. This book takes a deep look into the question of what do African countries use as their legal discretion at different levels of the process.

The first section reveals how several African countries legal structures have been influenced after many years of colonial and apartheid control. This section carefully dissects three different schools of thought between the judicial system and the African citizens. These authors dug deeply into how the legal forces are viewed in liberal political, Marxist state and institutional theory contexts. This book as a whole does not generalize these schools of thought through the African continent—although some authors make some minor assumptions—but takes them into consideration with local, social, and political structures. This section set-up the premise of how people visualize the legal machinery in spite of the fact that colonial policing has been a largely discounted area of study in numerous fields around the world.

The second section divulges the essence of the various African legal systems in comparison with the rest of the world. It studies who are the individuals that make up the police, judicial operators and legal policy system. This section, “Police in Africa,” explores the many different personalities that make up the legal process as well as perceived mental capacity. The book looks into how the chosen countries handle the distribution of the “use of force,” either through police or military components, and the amount of resources the police force has to fulfill its objectives. Furthermore, this section touches on whether or not the police force should be a professional organization. It explores how security reform has occurred in regard to these contrary forces and affected the legal process from its native origins. Additionally, it scrutinizes these individuals’ thought methodologies when it comes to working within the respective countries’ legal frameworks. In order to evaluate the foundation of the legal framework, this section attempts to blend all of these factors along with the mind-set of the rational choices made to decipher the institutional or organization as a whole.

The third section does a great job disclosing the moral and social lining of the legal apparatus in how these parts are intertwined through observation of Mozambique, South Africa, Ghana, and Niger to crack the underlining question of this book. It closely monitors the rational choices made between the common citizens, legal officials and political appointees in the distribution of justice. This section further supports through observation how these individual members are placed in an evaluation process throughout their interactions based primarily on the local socialized and cultural norms. These norms consist of everything from drinking, eating, and community interaction to moon lighting for additional income. It covers how each and every step that the legal officials and political appointees take toward reaching the pinnacle of their career is on fragile grounds that could crumble at any time. It is this constant state of uncertainty that seemed to be the heart of the ethnographic viewpoints from the many experts that contributed to this making of this book.

In conclusion, *Police In Africa: The Street Level View* is an excellent collation of ethnographic observations with emphasis on different approaches of various aspects of law

enforcement upon the African continent. The collection captures empirical evidence of how even the simplest of daily interactions touch upon how the legal apparatus executes the law in a fair and scalable fashion. The executions of this authority may leave some with the feeling of inequality based on the scalable nature of the discretionary practice throughout the process. Nevertheless, it is this discretionary methodology of implementing justice that gives the Western principle of dispersing justice its African appeal.

Raymond Cohen, *American Military University*, and Justin Cohen, *Howard University*

Getahun Benti. 2017. *Urban Growth in Ethiopia, 1887-1974: From the Foundation of Finfinnee to the Demise of the First Imperial Era*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books. xviii + 213 pp.

Getahun Benti's book is so far one of the major research outputs published on the history of urbanism and urban growth in Ethiopia. The focus of the book is examining the southward expansion of imperial rule in the nineteenth century and the subsequent dynamics of urbanization and urban growth in Ethiopia 1887-1974 from the foundation of Finfinnee to the demise of imperial authority. The author's methodological sophistication deserves appreciation. Getahun extensively exploited various sources to substantiate his analysis. The lucidity and beauty of its language and neatness to address complex issues is quite attractive and a joy to read. In his introduction section Getahun deeply articulated worldwide state of affairs on the origin of urbanization. The author has an opinion that rural urban mutual reinforcement is a backbone for urban life improvement.

In chapter two of the book the author attempted to characterize urban growth in Ethiopia after the establishment of Finfinnee as a political capital to the advent of the Italians in 1936. A detailed discussion on Italian rule and the process of urbanization appeared in chapter three, 1936-1941. The author credited the Italian influence in urban growth in the country. Moreover, the author examined the characteristics of colonial urbanism that flourished under Italians. This section of the book covered residential segregation, divide and rule policy among the Ethiopian people to control mobility, and united resistance.

Chapter four addressed the contours of social, economic and demographic changes in the period 1941-1974, whereas chapter five explores the whole span of his study, 1887-1974. According to the author imperial southward expansion increased the migration and settlement of people from the north, particularly those of the Amhara, the Gurage, and others in present-day Oromiya and the south and southwest part of Ethiopia. In the last chapter, Getahun recaps his study of Ethiopian urbanization and urban growth in this way: "big process, little transformation" (p. 179). For the author the sum total of continuous interaction in terms of economy, politics, and technological innovation brought about sustained urban growth. Unfortunately, this was not to happen for Ethiopia owing to multifaceted reasons.

All in all, Getahun's book is a much-needed scholarly comprehensive work on the social history of Ethiopia in general and that of urban history in particular. It opens the deadlock for further research in this long marginalized field of enquiry in Ethiopian studies. However, the author needed to reconsider some of the limitations that prevail in the book as far as this reviewer is concerned. The first limitation is that sometimes the author goes beyond the span of the book and attempts to analyze political conditions in time and space.

This may reduce the value of this scholarly work for the academic readers. It is my suggestion that one can treat politics separately out of the academic environment. The other limitation is the term “Christian Abyssinia,” which is vague and ambiguous. The so-called “Abyssinia” was a name given to Ethiopians by Europeans probably after the Jesuit withdrawal in the seventeenth century. The Europeans did this deliberately to downgrade the people the then Ethiopia and its leaders. Ethiopia in the north and in the center was diverse in terms of religion, ethnicity, and cultures. Thus, an inclination to refer to Christian Abyssinia as a homogenous entity is misleading.

There are also minor editorial and conceptual pitfalls; for instance the one to denote Armenian spelled as American (p. 55), and Oromiya and Oromia (p.13) in the last paragraph. Some redundant ideas and concepts also prevail in the book. The author also missed in his analysis ethnic dynamics and people to people relations, and also interaction and integration beyond elitist politics as well as the author’s emphasis on strict cultural and political differences between “the north and the south,” to quote, “did not have common cultural and political institutions at least until Menilek’s conquest” (p.14). There were contacts in good and bad times since at least medieval times. The presence of a rich Cushitic civilization in northern Ethiopia as it is true in the south is a symbol of common identity between peoples of the region that call for a fresh perspective to approach Ethiopian history.

Ebrahim Damtew Alyou, *University of Gondar*

Kris Berwouts. 2017. *Congo’s Violent Peace: Conflict and Struggle since the Great African War*. London: Zed Books. 216 pp.

Kris Berwouts closes his 2017 book, *Congo’s Violent Peace*, with the sentence: “The immediate future looks bleak for Congo” (p. 167). Writing in early January 2017, noting the stated end of President Kabila’s constitutional mandate, Berwouts listed a best and worst-case scenario playing out in 2017. Writing this review a year later, I can conform, sadly, that the worst-case scenario has again become a reality in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Kabila has still held onto his presidency, which was initiated in 2001 after the assassination of his father, while at least seventy armed militia groups continue to inflict violence in the country; neighboring and outside countries profit from and cause further violence and suffering; and as always, Congo’s people, the children, the women, the regular civilians, suffer horrendously. 3.6 million people are currently displaced in the DRC; and another political and military coup is planned to topple Kabila, who has most recently claimed elections will happen in December 2018. Instability is the norm. The Vatican, for example, has postponed a mission to the Congo because of the violence. While it is too easy to throw up one’s hands and give up hope, Berwouts’ account is important in trying to understand the various layers and changing (corrupt) military and political leaders who exacerbate the conflict. The book, though, contains little reason to hope for any change and does not discuss individuals and groups working for peace in the DRC, making for sobering reading.

Berwouts’ account, researched through a number of visits and travels throughout the DRC, is meant as a concise and up-to-date (until early January 2017) account of the political and military situation in DRC since the Great African War. The first chapter provides a helpful historical overview of key events following Congo’s independence in 1960, a rushed

and bungled process poorly facilitated by Congo's former colonial powers. Five years of unstable governments eventually ended with Mobutu's thirty-two years of neo-colonial dictatorship (p. 11). Any account of modern Congo inevitably turns to the meddling of Congo's neighbors, particularly Rwanda and Uganda. The Great African War claimed 5.4 million lives, and wrecked inordinate suffering. The main title of Berwouts' book highlights the incongruity and horror: peace should not be violent, but for many civilians, there is little discernible difference between peacetime and wartime.

The second chapter highlights core causes of the conflicts in the DRC, particularly rooted in land and identity, and its exploitation by the powerful, both within the DRC and outside of it. Colonialization is blamed at the deepest level, forging "a territorialisation of ethnicity" (p. 35). Conflicts at the local level are exploited and overlap with foreign interference and violent meddling. The third chapter focuses on the election of 2006, a political platform where promises of peace and stability were made, while the reality continued to betray Congo's people. Chapter 4 helpfully highlights the devastating and destructive role Rwanda has played in the DRC. Because the West stood silent when the 1994 genocide in Rwanda erupted, guilt has often prevented the West from rebuking Rwanda's role in further destabilizing the Congo as it tried to reap and plunder its resources. President Paul Kagame of Rwanda encouraged these incursions, though growing international scorn regarding Rwanda's actions led to some positive changes. Berwouts, for example, cites a 2011 UN report that highlighted attacks against Hutus in Congo that "could be classified as crimes of genocide" (p. 87). Such reports sent clear signals that Rwanda's destabilizing policies would no longer go unreported and uncondemned.

Chapter 5 examines the election of 2011, again seeing Kabila elected amidst a range of voting irregularities. As Berwouts writes, such elections didn't hide the ongoing corruption, militia groups, and armies within the national army. This last element is the focus of the sixth chapter, analyzing the failed military coup of the rebel group known as M23 (Mouvement du 23 Mars), led by Bosco Ntaganda, previously linked with Rwandan Patriotic Army. He is currently being tried under the International Criminal Court under thirteen counts of war crimes and five crimes against humanity (from crimes alleged to have occurred in 2002-2003), though M23 also committed such crimes in 2012 and 2013. The final chapter and conclusion point examines the choice between new elections or new violence, and we have already noted what path has been chosen.

When peace is violent, what hope is there? In one brief note of hope, Berwouts referred to a young Colonel Mamadou Ndala who became revered by the people as he fought the M23 rebels, leading his troops on the front. As so happens in the DRC, however, such heroic figures are deemed dangerous. He was subsequently killed by government soldiers, who saw him as a threat to their power. Adding salt to the wound, Berwouts, in a footnote, clarifies that Mamadou, though liked, was no saint, as he was "also actively involved in bad governance" (p. 175fn 23).

Peter Admirand, *Dublin City University*

Paul Bjerck. 2017. *Julius Nyerere*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 165 pp.

Julius Nyerere, by Paul Bjerck written for the Ohio Short Histories of Africa Series, is a brief political biography of Tanzania's founding president, Julius Nyerere (1923-1999). Nyerere is a giant in African history; he led British Tanganyika in a non-violent struggle for

independence in the 1950s, and was the founding chair of TANU/CCM the political party still ruling Tanzania today. He was President from 1961 until retiring in 1985, and is well-respected as the father-figure who bequeathed Tanzania political stability in a region known for its coups, wars, and authoritarian dictatorships. Nyerere also continues to be remembered across the continent for his principled support for liberation and anti-Apartheid movements. Finally in his retirement he brokered peace talks in Burundi in the 1990s. A comprehensive English biography of Nyerere is needed, as Bjerck notes. I think that this brief history is a start, but still not the comprehensive biography one expects for such a significant figure.

President Nyerere created Tanzania itself in 1964, as a union between the two recently independent countries. Tanganyika on the mainland, became independent from Great Britain in 1961, and the islands of Zanzibar in late 1963. Through force of his personality, he charted an explicitly non-aligned course between Cold War rivals including Great Britain, China, the US, and USSR. Each jockeyed for influence in east Africa, threatening newly won independence. It is easy today to forget how tenuous Tanzania's new independence was, as Bjerck reminds us. Nyerere was a master of balancing between the competing political and economic forces the great powers brought. He did this while creating a strong sense of nation-wide identity as "Tanzanian," via his insistence on using Swahili as a national language, and establishing successful widespread literacy programs. He did this while resisting the entanglements that aid-bearing foreigners offered, which he saw as a form of neocolonialism.

Nyerere's greatest legacies were perhaps non-alignment and the sense of Tanzanian national identity. But his economic policies are the most critiqued. Tanzania's early economic policies emphasized self-reliance. This meant currency controls, and severe restrictions on imports, and the government also nationalized the factories, mines, farms, and other means of production. Such policies alienated foreign companies, and their sponsors in the capitalist west including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Nyerere's policies were at times economically disastrous; declines in productivity and even localized famine were consequences. Related to the same "self-reliance" policies in the 1970s Nyerere's government used the military and police to forcibly "villagize" the countryside. Nyerere's *Ujamaa* villagization policies concentrated millions of subsistence farmers into large villages, which in theory were commercially viable agricultural cooperatives. But the villages were often put into places unsuited for market agriculture by remote central planners. In addition price controls which kept produce prices artificially low made farming unattractive to the relocated peasants. Agricultural productivity went into decline, famines occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

This situation was made worse, as Bjerck points out, by Nyerere's biggest foreign adventure, the 1978-1979 invasion of Uganda. The war forced the international pariah, Uganda's President Idi Amin into exile, a result applauded by the rest of the world. But other countries did not assist Tanzania with the costs of the war, even while appreciating Amin's exit. To pay for the war and occupation, Nyerere's government drained the maintenance and operations budgets of the state-owned companies, as well as budgets for development programs.

So, on the one hand sense of national unity and literacy soared under Nyerere, even while economic policies led to declines in agricultural productivity. Indeed, only after

Nyerere's 1985 retirement from the presidency did economic policy change, and Tanzania accept the "conventional economic wisdom" of The World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The international institutions of course insisted on an economic restructuring favoring free markets and foreign investments, policies that Nyerere had long resisted as neo-colonial. Whether this was in the best long-term interest in Tanzania is still an open question, and beyond the scope of this biography.

Bjerk's book is brief. It is primarily a political biography of the man most intimately involved in creating and ruling Tanzania. Indeed, at times I wondered whether I was reading a political history of Tanzania, rather than a biography of Nyerere. But in developing this approach, Bjerk avoids the pitfalls of both the hagiography of Nyerere's fans, and the emotions of his critics. In the best sections, Bjerk writes how Nyerere reconciled a non-violent social democratic idealism with occasional authoritarian impulses that forced the Ujamaa villagization, and even the jailing and exile of political opponents.

But the most important point that Bjerk makes is that the definitive biography of Nyerere has yet to be written. Bjerk has wrestled a bit with the archival research for this book, as well as using interview material with Nyerere's contemporaries, both fans and critics. But a biography will require more extensive research in Swahili and English. Such a biography would also highlight more Nyerere's personal life, the development of his political thought, the ethical tensions he wrestled during his career, and even his literary pursuits. In the meantime, we have in *Julius Nyerere* by Paul Bjerk a brief but thoughtful political biography.

Tony Waters, *Payap University, Thailand*

Sandra Calkins. 2016. *Who Knows Tomorrow? Uncertainty in North-Eastern Sudan*. New York: Berghahn. 282 pp.

Calkins's *Who Knows Tomorrow?* is a refreshingly unconventional exploration of living with uncertainty in Sudan. The book examines the often-difficult lives of the Rashaida people, a marginalized Muslim, Arab-descended group. Calkins's primary concern, however, is not a people or a place but a problem—that of uncertainty, which she defines as a "limited ability to predict even the immediate future" (p. 2). Thus, while richly grounded in the ethnography and history of Sudan, the book compellingly rises to the level of an existential predicament that all people share. At the same time, the book avoids the trap of simply applying or rediscovering the particular priorities and themes of Euro-American existentialist thought (e.g., the individual, will, etc.) among people shaped by very different historical experiences and intellectual and cultural traditions.

The analysis of *Who Knows Tomorrow?* is grounded in French neo-pragmatist sociology, anthropological discussions of uncertainty and risk, and Science and Technology Studies (STS). The book helpfully takes the latter's concern with the "how?" of material-semiotic processes outside the labs and other scientific and medical spaces where STS has developed. In exploring Rashaida experiences of uncertainty, Calkins aims to lay out a more general approach to the study of uncertainty as an inevitable dimension of social life. The book's conceptual framework is exhaustively spelled out in the Introduction and Chapter 1, the latter providing a critical and constructive genealogy for the intellectual concerns in play. Particularly important is the idea of forms. Drawing on the work of Laurent Thévenot, Calkins defines forms as "props for action, things that hold together and enable a processing

of uncertainty” (p. 64). Forms may be rules, conventions, lists, agreements, or norms — anything, in short, which people fashion and deploy to manage the unknown, the dangerous, the risky, and the threatening. And at a more general level, that of the nature of being human, Calkins adopts John Dewey’s view of human action as testing and experiment and of human life as defined by “the principal openness of outcomes” (p. 5).

With such conceptual scaffolding in play, the rest of the book explores how Rashaida people deal with a variety of uncertainties. Chapter 2 traces contested distributions of livestock and other charitable goods. Chapter 3 is particularly fascinating: it examines how men’s artisanal gold mining activities are woven out of the complex entanglements of metal detectors, cars, crimes, theologies of providence, and resource mobilization. Chapter 4 shifts to the often quite agonistic exchanges through which women deal with scarce food supplies, attending particularly to the ethics and aesthetics of such exchanges. Chapter 5 takes up sickness and the contours of the collective management of illness. In cases both chronic and acute, the question is not simply one of identifying and classifying the problem or of marshaling the right therapy but rather the matter of whether any kind of therapeutic action can be secured in the first place.

Throughout, Calkins’s book is careful to contextualize these universal concerns (food, money, health, etc.) as well as the general problem of uncertainty within the particular configurations of religion, kinship, and economy that shape Rashaida experiences and understandings. Though the book draws on myriad theoretical resources, it never skimps on the particularities of Rashaida life or on the severe difficulties that Rashaida face as they live with state indifference, pervasive poverty, and the vagaries of pastoralist and mining labor. Always the concern is “the concrete ways in which [Calkins’s] Rashaida hosts in Sudan manage uncertainties” (p. 58).

Here arises another strength of the book: it addresses difficult social and personal circumstances, where people deal with a great deal of suffering and other struggles, while never reducing people to these struggles. For Africanists, the book will interest those looking for fresh approaches that complement more familiar concerns in the study of African worlds. The clear prose invites use in undergraduate teaching, particularly the ethnographic chapters, and the robust conceptual work will enable serious engagement in graduate seminars.

Tyler Zoanni, *New York University*

Ian Campbell. 2017. *The Addis Ababa Massacre: Italy’s National Shame*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 478 pp.

In this book, Ian Campbell provides a historical account of one of the most brutal, but neglected massacres of the modern times—the Addis Ababa Massacre of 1937. The book starts with a brief background that discusses the historical relationship between Ethiopia and Italy. In the late nineteenth century, Italy’s desire for conquest triggered various conflicts in the Northern region of Ethiopia that culminated in an all-out war at Adwa in 1896 that brought victory to Ethiopia and extinguished Italy’s dream of becoming a colonial power in Africa. As Campbell argues, the humiliation that followed the Battle of Adwa coupled with Italy’s unsuccessful involvement in the First World War that ruined its

economy, explain the rise of Fascism in Italy. In 1935 Fascist forces invaded Ethiopia in a manner that showed how calculated and ruthless Fascism was. Here, Campbell gives an excellent background illustrating the Fascist policy of terror and its method of implementation that pre-dates the Addis Ababa Massacre, helping the reader to understand the broader context of Fascism and its systematic and wide use of terror tactics such as bombing raids of civilians, use of chemical weapons, and mass execution of prisoners of war.

After discussing the history that forms the background to the Addis Ababa Massacre, Campbell provides a through account of the Massacre, which was triggered by an attempt on the Viceroy Rodolfo Graziani's life on February 19, 1937 by two young Eritreans in Emperor Haile Selassie's Gennete-Li'ul Palace that served as Viceregal Palace. Although, Graziani survived the grenades attack and no Italians were killed, a brutal reprisal began immediately as Italian soldiers opened fire with heavy machine guns at the Ethiopian crowd. These killings were not confined in the Palace grounds as regular soldiers and Blackshirts began to kill any Ethiopian found in the vicinity of the palace. Then, the killings continued throughout the day with militarized laborers and Italian civilians joined by forming killing squads that started to split the heads of Ethiopians they captured with pickaxes and shovels.

The way Campbell organized the book enables the reader to easily imagine the horrible Massacre by taking a journey into the past. This is so, as he painstakingly documented and recreated the events of the Massacre and its aftermath with details of accounts given for each day alongside a description of events that unfolded in each quarter of the city. One such fact, which has been largely neglected, is role of the official proclamation of *carte blanche* by the Fascist Party federal secretary, Guido Cortese, in intensifying the Massacre. Thus, Campbell reveals, in excruciating detail, how extreme and indiscriminate violence and brutality perpetrated against innocent and unarmed civilians was a standard policy followed by Fascist Italy.

Relying on several eyewitness interviews and formal dispatches from the British, French, and American envoys, Campbell also hints to often overlooked but critical motives of the Massacre— looting and extermination of the Ethiopian intelligentsia. He documents that the Italians killed the educated and those with some social standing with the bid to eliminate the learned aristocracy. In a later chapter, the book summarizes the fates of eighteen suspects who were alleged to be the masterminds of the plot to kill Graziani based on Italian documents and the Campbell's own two decades research. Using the principle of triangulation and dividing the Massacre into ten phases, Campbell also gives an estimate of the number of the Massacre's victims to be around 19,200 accounting 19-20 percent of the pre-massacre population of Addis Ababa.

Apart from his contribution in creating an important historical account of Italy's crimes of shame, Campbell also exposes the cover-up orchestrated by the allied forces, particularly the British government's systematic efforts to thwart Ethiopia's efforts to bring the perpetrators of the Massacre to justice. This infuriates any justice loving person given the extraordinary bestiality of the Massacre particularly towards women, children, and the elderly.

Based on meticulous analysis of various sources, Campbell chartered a fascinating journey across decades of history with a book that is richly illustrated with maps and several photographs that are rarely seen elsewhere. The background chapter and the Foreword by

the late Professor Richard Pankhurst are also very helpful for readers who are new to the particular history, and makes the book both easily readable and an important historical account that is interesting to both academics and the general reader.

Zerihun Berhane Weldegebriel, *Addis Ababa University*

Neil Carrier. 2016. *Little Mogadishu: Eastleigh, Nairobi's Global Somali Hub*. London: Hurst. xv + 313 pp.

Eastleigh estate, that bustling place of Kenya's capital city Nairobi where informal and formal business economies co-exist hand-in-hand, has lately been subjected to uneven analyses on how and why Somalis came to be dominant. The estate is generally regarded as a place built from money accrued from recent piratical activities in Somalia, intrinsically a hotspot underground for terrorists and illegal migrants in an environment deeply defined by insecurity chronic corruption. *Little Mogadishu* sets out to controvert this perception by lucidly showing how business in Eastleigh has nothing to do with piracy and terrorism. The fact that Neil Carrier has been researching the estate for two decades makes his study more nuanced than any recent studies on Somalis in Eastleigh. The central starting point of the study is Mohaa from Isiolo and his Nasiib Fashions.

Using ethnographic and historical data, Carrier presents a brilliantly detailed overview of the early Eastleigh development, tracing the long history of its formation. This history of Eastleigh was connected to inter-migration within Kenya, primarily pioneered by Indians. Carrier explores the dynamics of how a once modest residential place came to be a local and global commercial hub. The first Somalis who ever lived there constituted a small Isaaq community who came to the northeast Somali region in Kenya from British Somaliland after being recruited by explorers. The Isaaq were supplemented by some Somali pastoralists from the northeast, and together they began to involve the livestock trade to supply meat to Nairobi. There occurred three waves of transformation that changed the face of Eastleigh. The major transformations began in the late 1980s and heightened by the early 1990s when Somalis from both sides of the border began to heavily invest in the estate as a result of the conflagration in Somalia. The author examines how what were once small lodges were converted into "shopping malls." The last major transformation happened in the 2000s on the eve of Ethiopian invasion to Somalia.

Eastleigh is influenced by what is happening Somalia, both positively and negatively. The author assumes the challenge of countering the stereotypes that piracy money had contributed a large extent to the economic boom there, but it is not clear whether the war economy in post-1991 Somalia had any role. However, most of the Somali businesses are largely run by people who started their business with money lent by families or friends, donations and contributions from relatives or even earlier investments. The notion of petty bourgeoisie would not be appropriate for a people working hard to better their lives in hard times, but the author demonstrates how unique economic ideas of Eastleigh were deployed into other areas of Kenya as well as the United and the United Kingdom. The success of the business acumen is principally based on the concept of *amaano* (trust) because the role of Islam plays a crucial role here. The author reports how the practice of Islam is visible in almost every Somali-owned business center in the estate. This does not mean that clan

politics and kinship ties are not important for setting up and enhancing business opportunities.

Today, Eastleigh—the place where anything goes and where anything sells—hosts Somalis from Somalia, Somalis from Kenya, Somalis from Ethiopia, and Somalis from Somaliland (who mainly came before independence). In this locale, only Somalis from Djibouti are rarely found. But most recently, Somalis from the diaspora, mainly the Western countries, who went there as refugees, many of them through Kenya, returned to do business in Eastleigh. Carrier delineates among Somalis: he considers as “Somalians” those from Somalia and as “Kenyan Somalis” those Somalis from northeast Kenya. However, whether they are from Somalia or elsewhere in the region, Somalis see themselves “Somalis” and not two different Somalis. Not only Somalis live in Eastleigh, but also Oromos from Ethiopia and Meru from Central Kenya live and work with Somalis. Members of the major Kikuyu ethnic group of Kenya also live side by side with Somalis, although the Kikuyu became landowners in the 1960s when the state encouraged their move to the estate. Yet, Somalis are key to the booming business there.

By placing Eastleigh into wider temporal and spatial contexts, the author draws out the wider significance of Eastleigh by exploring the national, regional, and global networks of which it is a part. The study of mobility and migration on how people move from one territory and then mobilise capital to profit from earlier experience in business and trade, forming transnational networks and diasporic development from (in)formal economy, is very important and timely. All we knew previously about the history of Eastleigh came from earlier impressive studies by Paul Goldsmith and Lionnel Martin. Carrier utilises relevant sophisticated anthropological literature elsewhere in Africa and beyond to relate Eastleigh to African and global studies. *Little Mogadishu* is hopeful and humane in that it seeks to reveal how Somalis negotiated and continue to negotiate their identity, status and marginality in a way not much dissimilar to those other people in Kenya.

Mohamed Haji Ingiriis, *University of Oxford*

Delinda Collier. 2016. *Repainting the Walls of Lunda: Information Colonialism and Angolan Art*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 253 pp.

Delinda Collier's *Repainting the Walls of Lunda* is a book about a book; more specifically, it is a meticulous examination of the motivations, interventions, and legacies of a mid-century study of Chokwe murals by Portuguese anthropologist, Jose Redinha, entitled *Paredes Pintadas da Lunda (Painted Walls of Lunda, 1953)*. The seemingly tight focus of the study, however, is immensely generative, opening onto a broad field of inquiry that exposes the enmeshing of art, media, and political processes, muddies the periodization of Africa's “colonial” and “post-colonial” eras, offers new insights into socialist art making in the “Third World,” and challenges the romantic, racist stereotype of what Collier succinctly and effectively calls “the myth of analog Africa”—the enduring perception of the continent as “unmediated,” “natural,” and “primitive” (p. 75).

Collier's text uses the production, circulation, and ultimate dispersal of *Paredes Pintadas da Lunda* to reveal the process of what she terms remediation or the ways in which “media objects transact colonialism” (p. 2). The familiar understanding of “remediation” as a process of remedying that which is considered deleterious here gains a secondary, apposite connotation. Collier identifies the production of media objects motivated by a desire to halt,

or re-write certain narratives (the disappearance of “traditional” Chokwe culture, the forging of anti-colonial nationalism, the “correction” of colonialist endeavors, etc.) that both remediate and *re*-mediate; that is, they seek to correct/rewrite via a new medium that consumes that which went before. This concept of “remediation,” first made visible through Redinha’s attempted pinning down of Chokwe *sona* drawings via his own autographed paintings published in a static, printed book (the act itself predicated on the conceit that *sona* were pure, unmediated “traditional” images), is a significant contribution to both histories of African art in the twentieth century, and to methodological approaches to the latter. Attention to “remediation” demands that scholars look beyond the content of images to the significant surfaces on which they are rendered, the specific sources from which they have drawn, the manner in which they “recode” (p. 173) such sources and the networks in which they are embroiled. *Repainting the Walls of Lunda* is, thus, as much an invaluable history of Angolan artistic practice since mid-century, as it is an exemplary study of the ways in which walls, canvases, printed pages, screens, and other “media technologies” obsolesce and are obsolesced, and the material, political legacies of such processes.

Repainting the Walls of Lunda is a stratigraphic study; it excavates layers of reproductive media that have presented, represented, and displaced Chokwe artistic practices since mid-century. Tellingly, Collier’s starting point for this study was the 2006 website for the first *Trienal de Luanda*, on which the original plates of *Paredes Pintadas da Lunda* had been appropriated, digitally altered (to remove the signature of Redinha, held up as embodiment of Angola’s formal colonial masters), and repackaged via the supposedly “democratic” medium of the internet. The website declared itself to be an “anti-colonial” gesture. As Collier reveals, however, it did not so much wrest Chokwe artistic practice out of colonialist hands and return it to the people as to further disperse Redinha’s earlier intervention: the Trienal website “[converted] the media object of colonial capital, the book, into an even more ephemeral media operation, the...Internet” (p. 216). Taking this radical dematerialization as a starting point, Collier traces the evolution of *Paredes Pintadas da Lunda* that leads to this point. This journey takes us from the extractive operations of the Portuguese diamond mining company, Diamang, for whose museum in Lunda Redinha produced his original text, through the post-independence years of civil conflict, in which anti-colonial artists (most notably, and eloquently, Vitor Manuel “Viteix” Teixeira) used painting to “remediate” Chokwe symbols in pursuit of a new nation, through to a postwar era in which contemporary art is burgeoning under the sponsorship of an African business elite that have benefited from Angola’s immensely rich natural resources and export economy.

Repainting the Walls of Lunda provides many new insights into three seminal eras in Angola’s modern history. Collier’s study of Diamang reveals the company’s mobilization of photography not simply as propaganda, but as extension of its colonialist apparatus. Her explication of Angola’s anti-colonial artists’ embrace of the socialist “New Man,” and of the latter as “a type of networked discourse” (p. 136) intervenes in global histories of Cold War-era culture, which so often remain limited to tracing Soviet imperialism or deriding derivative socialist art. And, finally, in its mapping of the country’s shifting art scene amidst a tumultuous economy of diamonds, oil, and the global networks in which resultant capital flows, *Repainting the Walls of Lunda* helps us to better understand the rapid growth of Luanda as a burgeoning global art city. In confronting both long-standing misconceptions

and urgent contemporary phenomena, the contributions of Collier's book to histories of art, media, technology, and colonialism in Africa are manifold.

Kate Cowcher, *University of St. Andrews*

Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff. 2018. *The Truth About Crime: Sovereignty, Knowledge and Social Order*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 347 pp.

"How do we understand ourselves?" Perhaps a more relevant question we should be asking is "how do we express ourselves to the sovereign and how has the sovereign selected to respond?" Jean and John Comaroff argue that the answer(s) to these questions cannot be found by studying our arts or sciences. Instead, the argument is made that we should turn our attention to the crimes we commit. *The Truth About Crime: Sovereignty, Knowledge and Social Order* argues that there has been a seismic shift in the way crime is perceived. From this perspective crime is no longer about preventing the acts pertaining to what constitutes a criminal act, but instead crime is a means of revolt as the sovereign seeks to use the arms of crime prevention as a means of advancing its own interests instead of protecting the people. This shift by the sovereign indicates that people may turn to crime to highlight their socio-economic plight(s).

This disconnect that has occurred between the sovereign and the citizenry is largely the fault of a fracturing social contract, which has resulted in the citizenry "retooling [their] conceptions of poverty, personhood, citizenship and the social contract" (p. 223). This has resulted in the emergence of a new social order. This new social order is one whereby the act of securing one's self and one's community has become privatized. This privatization of security has made it harder to distinguish between "law and lawlessness" (p. 187) due to the fact that the means by which private security is provided can be broad and thus include: kangaroo courts, rouge justice, NGO intervention, "lone ranger" and faith-based vigilantes.

In the South Africa context, the above-mentioned arguments play out in a number of ways, but the most fitting example that encompasses the social disconnect between the sovereign and the citizenry and how the citizenry have responded is that of the Marikana Tragedy. The African National Congress (ANC) has been in power since 1994, and while there have been improvements in socio-economic conditions, race relations, and international interaction, South Africa has become the most unequal country in the world. The Marikana Miners' Strike commenced on the 9th of August 2012 with mine workers demanding a wage increase of R12,500, citing that the remuneration of the mine bosses was unfair in relation to their own. Concerns within South Africa's political elite began to grow as elites came to the realization that the strike could have a crippling affect on the country's already struggling economy. These concerns prompted then-businessman and current president, Cyril Ramaphosa to ask the Ministry of Police to address the situation, which resulted in the killing of thirty-four mineworkers on the 16th of August 2012.

The Marikana Tragedy is considered the most brutal use of state (police) force against the citizenry in the post-Apartheid era. Events such as these have furthered the public's distrust in the South African Police Service and clearly illustrate how business and political heavyweights can use their influence to resolve a situation to maintain social order. However, there is a greater issue at play, which one could expand on and that is the relationship between the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions and how cooperation between these two groups helps to keep the ANC in power despite its poor

governance record in certain respects. The arguments put forward in this book as well the example of Marikana should help to pave the way for further invagination on the current state of the social contract in South Africa and what that means for the further of crime and the ANC's political sustainability.

While the *Truth About Crime* is an exciting and, somewhat, unusual read, it is not without its shortcomings. Firstly, given that the vast majority of the book is orientated around South Africa one would expect an approach that is more primary in nature whereby the authors obtain the thoughts of ordinary, every-day South Africans on how they perceive the shifts in crime within the South African context. Such an approach would enrich the text and aid discussions pertaining to domestic policy. Secondly, one is left pondering on the usefulness of the book's cover in relation to its content; as a reader the reviewer experienced a disconnect between the two elements as South Africa serves as the main case study while the cover seems to depict an individual held hostage by a terrorist, which is hardly relevant to the South African context.

Overall, *The Truth About Crime* would be a useful book for anyone examining the relationship between the state and the citizenry and how the citizenry responds in the fields of political science, criminology, anthropology and sociology.

Sven Botha, *Student of Political and International Studies, Monash South Africa*

Yolanda Covington-Ward. 2015. *Gesture and Power: Religion, Nationalism, and Everyday Performance in Congo*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. 287 pp.

Looking at Yolanda Covington-Ward's *Gesture and Power* sociologically, the work is a fine blend of Congo's colonial history, an impressive page of Cultural anthropology, an introduction to African body/performance studies, and a crisp work on sociology of religion. The text refers to the art of body politics, which was perceived by colonizers as a threat to the regime, and a budding dominant tradition based on gestures and religious dramaturgy. The title of the book is apt as gesture is power since the very gesture was proving as a tool of resistance against the oppressor.

The work sees the body as the centre of resistance and a silent polite retaliation taking the refuge in religion/spirituality practices. In south Asian cultures as well especially in case of India body protest politics continues till date in terms of hunger strikes coupled with singing anti-regime songs, dancing, playing music, and speeches against corruption, against draconian laws, etc. Also India's *Baba* (religious seers/leaders) culture is thriving by virtue of body politics in terms of singing, dancing, and delivering sermons and enjoys a tremendous fan following, have followers in millions. These *Babas* even decide the fate of elections and contesting political parties bows before them for support in elections. Even some of such religious cult heads when convicted for heinous crimes, provoke their followers to violence and anti-national activities.

Therefore Covington-Ward's analysis is not just a simple commentary on cultural performances in colonial Congo, but a work that amply locates religion and nationalism and globally theorises the problematic and political nexus between religion, power, people, and the state through gestures and performances or for that matter a clear triangle of

nationalism, civil religion, and bodies. Covington-Ward also portrays how gestures slowly become silent slogans what she calls performative encounters to shape power politics.

Covington-Ward's methodology is also interesting and novel; from taking help from archives, to the in-depth field study in Congo, her sociological insight is more mature, and grounded. The author while writing the phrase *Neither Native nor Stranger* finely displays her own awkward position as a researcher and reflects upon both her field work woes and her own style of doing the perilous ethnography. She in a very subtle way describes how performance shapes power-politics in everyday life, which itself get shaped by individual activities shaped by religion, spirituality (spirit-induced trembling), or art (performance and gestures). Taking religious practices or spiritual practices as a weapon against the oppressor thereby acting as a pressure tactic forcing the powerful to suppress the same. Also the book if read between the lines reflects simply that that political authority is very much developed from the religious authority and how religious authority is developed from individual (cultural/religious) performance or impact to a collective mass appeal while keeping the body at the centre. Not only this, even how the daily interactions and spiritual worship are basically political in nature and how are such embodied everyday cultural performances /acts perceived by the other. The work also gives a fine interconnection of performance and the role of the state (state-enforced production of dancing and singing), the performance, and its gendering—what they call “animation politique.”

This 287 page work seems a labor of love. It clearly states how culture, cultural dance, spiritual acts, and religious acts have manifest and latent functions at the same time. Also how culture is not just a culture but a change factor too and how performance is not just a performance but a pressure tactic and a resistance tool at the same time. The book throughout its four parts also shows how gesture and power combination were reflected in the colonial Congo in terms of a new movement of nationalism; and also how individual and group actions and covert resistance symbols infer to spiritual and political authority, freedom, and a sense of one's own identity.

As far as the politics of the oppressed is concerned, the deadly and lethal combination of three ideological and cultural apparatuses, viz. gestures (*bimpampa*), spirit induced trembling (*zakama*), and dance (*maniku*) along with other symbolic cultural practices virtually acted as war weapons in the colonial Congo against the Belgians. Whereas the introduction of the book is the microcosm of the whole, the central argument revolves around the body's role, music, dance, and power of performances makes it a dense body of work that throws a deep sea of new themes to the future researchers to work upon.

The beautiful part of the work is its jargon free writing, and the weaker part perhaps is its being restricted to Congo and not having a few dense case studies from other African states besides an underdeveloped and less simplified description on the historical-colonial part. The book, however, is one of the finest works on ethnography given its style of description, rich theoretical background, and methodology.

Adfer Rashid Shah, *Jamia Millia Islamia University*

Aaron R. Denham. 2017. *Spirit Children: Illness, Poverty and Infanticide in Northern Ghana*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. 217 pp.

Studying infanticide is not at all easy. The emotional, social and legal burdens that accompany the intentional or subconscious killing of a dependent child make it incredibly

difficult for outside researchers to properly understand the processes behind a tragic but pervasive phenomenon. What Aaron Denham has produced is, therefore, remarkable. In a thoughtful and often moving study of Nankani families in Ghana's far north-eastern savannah, Denham has produced a rich ethnography which explores the complex reasons which might lead to the diagnosis of a "spirit child" and, in some cases, its death at the hands of community "concoction men."

Spirit children had not escaped the notice of earlier academics working in the Kassena-Nankani District (KND), an area that has long been a locus of Africanist research in a number of fields. In 1912, in what is perhaps the earliest detailed European-language account of the region, the French colonial administrator and anthropologist Louis Tauxier noted that, if "the Kassouna-Boura women give birth to evil spirits," those children "would later kill their father or mother."¹ Despite frequent descriptions of spirit children and infanticide in these districts (one 2001 study suggested that perhaps 15 percent of mortality in children under three months was due to spirit child-related infanticide) this is the first full-length study of spirit children and their families.²

Spirit children are nonhuman and usually malevolent. They come from the bush and ultimately want to return there. Spirit children are most commonly infants deformed or disabled from birth, or following a period of debilitating sickness. Family crises, illnesses, or deaths that coincide with a pregnancy or recent birth might also suggest that the newborn is actually a spirit child. While these may be the most common manifestations of spirit children, the discovery and deliverance of a spirit child is much more complex. Refusing to simplify the issue, Denham presents a subtle exploration of family relationships and the social, economic, medical, and religious influences that combine to form a complicated ambivalence regarding infants. In KND personhood is not automatic but something that is earned over time, and children occupy a liminal space in the social order. The naming of all children is delayed, usually by at least a year; while spirit children are left in the bush, children who are not spirits are buried in peripheral areas on the outskirts of a farm rather than in ancestral graves.

As the book's subtitle suggests, the liminality of Nankani children and the use of infanticide is bound up with the pervasion of poverty and illness in KND. Despite this, Denham does not emphasize the medical and economic exceptionalism that underlies the spirit child phenomena. This is a laudable attempt to avoid the reductionism of "rational choice" models of infanticide. While Denham certainly succeeds in emphasizing the shortcomings of economic approaches to infanticide, the reader is denied some important contextualization. KND has long been one of Ghana's poorest districts; a long history of famine appears today as seasonal food insecurity and endemic malnutrition, something exacerbated by population densities which are extremely high for a marginal savannah economy. As Tauxier noted in 1912, the wrong children born at the wrong time might well contribute to a family's ruin. The relationship between spirit children and food, or the lack thereof, is readily apparent and partially addressed but not fully fleshed out. Denham largely ignores a rich seam of research, which explores the nature of poverty and poverty-related illness in this specific environment.³ This may disappoint readers hoping for a more thorough disaggregation of infanticide and the environmental realities specific to KND. The discussion of medicine is more rounded and more interesting, offering valuable insight into the intersection of social, spiritual and biomedical understandings of health. Families

usually arrive at a spirit child diagnosis only after exhausting biomedical or traditional medicines, or their ability to pay for any such treatment.

Despite some frustrations, this study will doubtless prove valuable to psychiatric and medical anthropologists, as well as students of infancy and family construction. As the most thorough anthropology of infanticide yet written, *Spirit Children* adds valuable texture to a practice, which had, until now, received little detailed analysis. It is testament to the skill and sensitivity of the author.

Notes:

1. L. Tauxier, *Le Noir Du Soudan: Pays Mossi et Gourounsi, Documents et Analyses* (Paris: Emile Larose, 1912), p. 329.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

John Nott, *Maastricht University*

Nuno Domingos. 2017. *Football and Colonialism: Body and Popular Culture in Urban Mozambique*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 325 pp.

Nuno Domingos' *Football and Colonialism* represents a comprehensive look at the growth of football in urban Lourenço Marques (now Maputo). Domingos does a good job combining a comprehensive historical study—benefiting from archival work—with anthropological methods supplementing historical findings by interspersing interviews conducted with former footballers in both Mozambique and Portugal throughout the narrative in order to provide a detailed image of how football shaped the colonial experience in urban Mozambique.

Domingos' well-researched text reminds the reader at the outset that “despite being the object of surveillance and political co-option by state institutions, religious and economic actors, sports associations promoted practices and consumptions, mobilized people and enabled urban encounters and, in some cases, were even converted into sites of organized resistance” (p. 9). Throughout the book, Domingos shows the various ways that indigenous and mestizo residents of suburban Lourenço Marques used football to create connections, both reproducing—and transforming—the colonial system (p. 18).

The book opens with a few historical chapters on the development of football in suburban and urban Lourenço Marques, emphasizing that the sport organized itself according to the logic of colonial structures while also creating new urban identities. In the middle portions of the book, Domingos shows how football was influenced by local characteristics, and local traditions—like witchcraft and faith healing—were introduced to the colonial urban environment through football. In the latter portions of the book, Domingos goes on to show just how football created a space where locals could form an identity as well as make connections with the wider world, allowing for an escape from the constraints of the colonial system while offering a chance to integrate with the modern international system. Specifically, this meant (in some cases) abandoning the local style of play and adopting the rationalized, “modern” style of football, affording opportunities for some local players—including the famous Eusebio—to make their mark on European and indeed world football.

The utility of *Football and Colonialism* lies in its ability to show how, for the residents of colonial Lourenço Marques, football was much more than just a tool for colonial social control (as was the case in the metropole under Salazar). Instead, football provided a social and cultural context within which connections could be made in the urban area. These connections offered opportunities for integration with wider (non-indigenous) structures without completely legitimizing the status quo. These connections also—notably—did not descend into a wider struggle and violence between colonizers and colonized. Instead, Domingos stresses the ongoing give-and-take between indigenous and colonial cultures within the colonial system, using football as the lens through which to view this interaction.

Football offered residents of suburban Lourenço Marques opportunities to develop connections among themselves (including opportunities for education), opportunities to develop connections with “downtown” (where the majority of Portuguese settlers and Europeans lived), and opportunities to develop connections with the metropole (by following metropolitan teams like SL Benfica or Sporting Lisbon). Interestingly, the connections Domingos refers to also include connections with indigenous culture. Throughout, Domingos points out how football played a role in developing a unique sense of morals in suburban Lourenço Marques while also providing opportunities for the integration of witchcraft practices and *vovo* into football. Domingos’ narrative presents these indigenous connections provided by football as unique responses to the modernizing processes driven by Portuguese colonialism (p. 151). This is in stark contrast to the homogenizing effects of modern football in the current era that seek to impose the logic of rationalized neoliberalism on the world’s game at the expense of local cultures.

Domingos’ unique amalgamation of historical and anthropological approaches allows for an in-depth study of the social role of football in a colonial context, but it does not allow the reader to forget that they are reading a historical work. Indeed, a little more emphasis on the anthropological side—and ethnographic methods in particular—would have made Domingos’ analysis a little more engaging as bringing out the human voice of participants could have livened up the prose. Still, Nuno Domingos’ *Football and Colonialism* offers amazing insight into football in colonial Mozambique and represents a very important addition to the academic literature on football. As a well-researched work that integrates sociological and anthropological theory seamlessly into the historical narrative, it will also be of immense value to students of African history, colonial history, urban studies, as well as to those with an interest in popular culture and sports more generally.

John Konuk Blasing, *University of Florida*

Ernest N. Emenyonu (ed.). 2017. *A Companion to Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie*. Suffolk, UK: James Currey. 300 pp.

The purpose of a companion is to acquaint its readers with not just the works of the author, but also all that is behind the work. Its purpose is to unearth the soil of the writing so as to explore those facets of the author’s thought that feed the literature. Every book is a person in itself accompanied by its own subjectivities. Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie is a prolific female writer of the postcolonial whose influence as a modern day feminist is much known. Her works speak to the readers in their own language, thus making them global in

character. *A Companion to Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie* does justice in underlining this dialogue.

Being thematically organized according to the milestones of Adichie's career, the companion is further mostly subdivided under each segment into various premises. Though there are no such divisional headings, these subthemes are hard to miss. The first seven chapters of the book are devoted to a thematic critical analysis of Adichie's debut fiction writing, *Purple Hibiscus* (2003), from diverse vantage points. This work, as is well known, brought her much critical acclaim. The seven chapters carefully assimilated in this companion cover key areas that would appeal to the literary and more so emotional sensibilities of the reader of this postcolonial text. The recognizable subthemes, if one may call them so, cover gender; motherhood and the significance it holds in Igbo culture in particular and in Nigerian culture at large; abuse in the domestic sphere; and the gendered idea of spaces (brilliantly articulated in the chapter by Jessica Hume titled "Dining Room & Kitchen: Food-Related Spaces & their Interfaces with the Female Body in *Purple Hibiscus*").

Chapters eight to twelve are similarly placed in the organizational structure of the book. These are devoted to the 2006 publication *Half of a Yellow Sun*. Premised in the Biafran War of 1967-70, this novel recounts the angst and the vulnerabilities that accompany life in a war torn state. The companion does a thorough job of acquainting the readership with the complexities of not just the characters of the novel but also allows one to revisit the past that scarred a nation and its people. The essays in this section deftly navigate one through the endurance as well as the aftermath of war, and also dwell upon the post independence struggles of the states of the global south, thus enabling a wholesome appreciation of the text amongst the readers.

The last four chapters of the book are dedicated to the 2013 novel *Americanah*. Though all four essays in this part are engaging, the last chapter "'Hairitage' Matters: Transitioning & the Third Wave Hair Movement in 'Hair', 'Imitation' & *Americanah*" by Cristina Cruz Gutierrez stands as a brilliant piece of critical writing that leaves the reader with much fodder for thought.

Of the intermittent chapters, Chapter thirteen is based on Adichie's collection of short stories titled *The Thing Around Your Neck*. Whereas, chapter twelve talks of the responsibilities that accompany Adichie and her kind as writers. It is this particular essay that stands out in the book for its broad scope as well as its distance from any narrow singular text. It provides a refreshing space for thoughts to be paused and the act of writing to be studied as a job that brings along its own share accountability/ies.

Overall, the keywords that proliferate ones thinking while reading the companion are politics, women, domestic space, voice, and home amongst others. The essays have been carefully selected and compiled to allow the reader a certain familiarity, and a fair intimacy too if one might say, with the works of Adichie, and more broadly with the Nigerian- Igbo literature of her generation as well as the African writings of her predecessors. The chapters weaved together fall seamlessly within this jacketed treasure-trove. Despite the want of more works to be covered, as the title suggests the book is a true companion to the works of this gem of a writer of her generation who talks of the complexities of politics, race, identity, and gender with much innocence, poise, and power. Whether you are an ardent Adichie lover or a novice to her world of literature, this book is equipped to be a beacon of light as you devour the words to make sense of the world.

Khushi Singh Rathore, *Jawaharlal Nehru University*

Toyin Falola and Jamaine Abidogun (eds.). 2017. *Issues in African Political Economies*. Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press. xxi, 402 pp.

Political Economy, which has a long established history, more than four hundred years to be precise, is found in the works of economists such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and Karl Marx. It unapologetically eschews the belief by some in the social sciences field that politics and economics are not interlinked. Therefore, it uses the crucible of politics and economics to discuss the relationship between politics, society and economics. Despite Political Economy's usefulness, there is a dearth of literature on its application in analysing African polities. Notable exceptions are works by, amongst others, Claude Ake's *A Political Economy of Africa* and Olu Ajakaiye, Allan Drazen and Joseph Karugia's *Political Economy and Economic Development in Africa: An Overview*. Therefore, a book such as Falola and Abidogun's is a very welcome addition to the fledging pool of literature on African political economies.

The overarching aim of Falola and Abidogun is "detailing local and regional economies in Africa that describe case studies squarely situated within the global context" (p. 1). Vital to note, delivering on this objective is a very tall order, for how can one comprehensively discuss local and regional economies in a big continent such as Africa which consists of fifty-four national and hundreds of regional economies? Such a task would require a multi-volume book such as Levinson and Ember's *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*. Nonetheless, the authors undertake the assignment in nineteen essays. The book is divided into four sections (or themes): (i) The Political in the Economy (chapters 1- 5); (ii) Risk Analysis and Security Measures (chapters 6-9); (iii) Views on Resource Capital and Development (chapters 10-14); and (iv) Wealth of the Nations; African Voices in Reflection (chapters 15-19). As it is the norm, the book starts off with an elaborate introduction that gives a reader a foretaste of issues that are to follow by summarising the four themes. Regarding the four themes, The Political in the Economy discusses the interplay between politics and the economy. Risk Analysis and Security Measures discusses various issues that pose risks in trade and politics and eventuate in large scale security issues. For instance, chapters 8 and 9 discuss political corruption in South Africa and Nigeria respectively and how the same has a disenabling effect on macroeconomic objectives such as economic development. Views on Resource Capital and Development discusses the nexus between resources and political economies (read economic development). For instance, chapter 10 discusses the resource curse; a case whereby predatory politics means that resource-rich regions present macroeconomic maladies such as underdevelopment in Nigeria's Niger Delta. Finally, Wealth of the Nations; African Voices in Reflection discusses how political aspects impact economic ones. It surveys a variety of issues, for example, case studies on the politics of poverty in chapters 15 and 17.

In a salutary manner, the book addresses an important subject of the interplay of politics and economics in African polities. However, the task is unwieldy given that Africa is so large with its fifty-four national and hundreds of regional economies. In this regard, the book title should have read *Issues in African Political Economies: Selected Case Studies*. Hence, from the get go, the reader would be aware that the book does not cover the whole gamut of African polities. It is only by reading the table of contents that the reader gets to appreciate that the book discusses select case studies. Despite the inadvertently deceiving title, the book

has a lot of strengths. Some of them are: it is written by experts in the field and therefore covers key issues in African political economies; it is abundantly referenced, therefore, pointing the reader to additional sources; and it is written in a non-technical language. Therefore, it provides very useful reading material to general readers and scholars who are interested in African political economies.

In the end, did the book achieve its overarching objective; that is, “detailing local and regional economies in Africa that describe case studies squarely situated within the global context” (p. 1)? The answer is in the affirmative. Through a judicious selection of case studies, it discussed local and regional economies in Africa and also situated them within the global context. However, the book should have ended with a concluding chapter that addresses pertinent issues such as “what is next?” That is, the book should have identified questions that it did not answer, which other researchers should explore.

Emmanuel Botlhale, *University of Botswana*

Toyin Falola and Bola Dauda. 2017. *Decolonizing Nigeria, 1945-1960: Politics, Power, and Personalities*. Austin, Texas: Pan-African University Press. 612 pp.

Nigeria, the world’s most populous black nation and a former British colony, has, undoubtedly, a plethora of historical documentations of its decolonization making yet another volume on same subject seemingly hackneyed. But the uniqueness of Falola and Dauda’s account of the political ferment of the fifteen seedy years before Nigeria’s political independence in 1960 is unarguable. Beyond mere chronicling, the book critically reviews, interprets and interrogates the past in light of the present and with an eye on the future. It wades through the labyrinthine intercourse of the triad of politics, power, and personalities as they played out in Nigeria mainly, but not exclusively, between 1945 and 1960. In constructing *Decolonizing Nigeria, 1945-1960*, the authors revealed the many tripods of the politics of the period. First is the British ethnic politics of tense relationship among the Irish, the Scots, and the English that seeped into Nigeria through the colonial heads of the then three regions of Nigeria. Another tripod was world opinion represented by the United States that put the imperialists on the defensive, the imperialists themselves who had a secret plan to disengage from Nigeria and Nigerians who through another tripod of Azikiwe, Awolowo, and Bello hankered after self-rule.

The authors adopted neither the top-down nor bottom-up approach to historiography. Instead, they embarked on historical post mortem of the “cadaver” of small events, mainly, and the forensic examination of “crime-scenes” in order to determine both means and motives behind the political maneuverings of the period. This unconventional methodology sets the book apart from others of its kind like Lawal’s *The United States and the Decolonization Process in Nigeria (1945-60)*, which surveys Nigeria’s decolonization during the same period but focuses on the role of the United States, and Bretton’s *Power and Stability in Nigeria: The Politics of Decolonization* concerned largely with stability of Nigeria at independence.

The authors examine decolonization as a “dilemma” whose time had come. Various factors conflated to birth this dilemma. Nigeria’s introduction to world economy during the world wars and the post war zeitgeist of British colonies, Britain’s economic devastation after the wars, and the consciousness of the antithesis of Western civilization which made Nigerians aware that “those who had long-standing traditions of liberty, rights, and self-

determination were not essentially different from those denigrated as savages” (pp. 29-30). The authors observe that when the Allied Powers described Hitler as the enemy of democracy, they inadvertently paved the way for British imperialists to be reminded that there was no democracy in Nigeria. These were some of the radical events of the period.

Also, the authors study the consequences of the forced union called Nigeria. Whereas the South criticized colonialism, the North criticized indirect rule. Consequently, the demand of the North was reformist. The authors observe that the political parties of the period were not truly “national” but essentially avenues for realization of ethnic agendas. The fear of domination was bolstered by the absence of primordial bonds in a plural society like Nigeria. To whom, then, should self-government be handed over? The imperialists did little to hide their disdain for the educated elite-nationalists who in turn nursed fear of sabotage by British career administrators. Southerners entertained fear of domination by the North and Northerners wanted Northernization as against Nigerianization of the civil service. These, the authors say, were evidences that Nigeria, a conglomerate of 248 ethnic nationalities, was far from being unified.

The dissimilar approaches of the triad nationalists perhaps bear the loudest testimony to the yawning lack of unification in a supposedly unified Nigeria angling for decolonization. The authors point out that while Azikiwe dreamed of utopian Africa with a revived glorious past, Bello saw no structural problem in one region outweighing the other two in size and population and in a political party that clearly excluded the rest of the country, and Awolowo knowing the socio-economic and political advantage of the West pressed for regionalism.

The authors note that the national question remains unresolved and attempts to “satisfy” sections of the country have only contributed to division and disunity. Despite the wobbly nature of the Nigerian union, however, the authors rule out its disintegration claiming that the centripetal forces of self-interest are stronger than the centrifugal forces of religion and ethnicity. It remains to be seen how far and well a country can survive on self-interest of few instead of on cohesiveness of all its units.

Oluchi J. Igili, *Adekunle Ajasin University*

Toyin Falola and Wanjala S. Nasong’o (eds.). 2016. *Contentious Politics in Africa; Identity, Conflict and Social Change*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press. 354 pp.

The eighteen essays in this volume—one of several Toyin Falola has put together with collaborators in recent years—deal largely with Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa and their neighbors; in other words the most populous areas of Africa, but that doesn’t mean this work doesn’t shed light on problems facing Africa as a whole. It does.

In Chapter 1 Falola and Nasong’o provide a summary of the papers and explain they have divided the volume into four categories: Violence, War and Political Change, Socioeconomic Change and Development, Social Movements and Identity Politics, and the Politics of Revolts and Protests. But, some readers might observe that since all these categories overlap, why not simply let the papers speak for themselves.

The papers were given at a conference, and carry with them the burden of providing a theoretical framework in less than ten pages, followed by an outline of a conclusion; some of

the authors struggle less than entirely successfully with this dual imperative. In N. Jackson's piece on Cameroon (Chapter 15) rarely has so much abstract explication been imposed on such a small polity, though the second half of the piece is engaging. P. Eke's piece on the Niger Delta Militancy and Boko Haram in Nigeria (Chapter 12) exemplifies the opposite quandary: a praiseworthy review of current definitions of social movements is presented, but followed by a hurried summary of the two Nigerian movements, with only tentative steps towards a conclusion.

In the second piece in the anthology O. Balogun and M. Balogun assess Hobbesian concepts of self-defense and violence with regards to contemporary Africa, but find their application today problematic. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 deal with war on the continent of Africa and are recommended for their unique perspective, focusing as they do on war as presented first by historians, then by newspapers, and finally in imaginative literature. The choice of the Boer War in Chapter 3 serves as a reminder of that relatively recent (1890–1902) but often forgotten conflict. The author highlights a common feature of the historical reports by Hobhouse, Doyle, St. John, Cull, and Pakenham, all of whom mention the notorious "concentration camps" set up by the British in the period 1900 to 1902 and the frightening death toll from disease and malnutrition, particularly among children; yet make no mention of the even greater number of black "native" populations similarly incarcerated and suffering even greater losses. This could hardly be bettered as an example of colonial myopia. Today, in Borno Province, Nigeria, camps for the Internally Displaced People are fulfilling a similar role in the campaign against the terrorist movement Boko Haram.

The focus of Chapter 5 is the Nigerian Civil War (1967-1970) using two novels as exemplars, the *Season of Anomy* by Wole Soyinka and *Half a Yellow Sun* by Chimamanda Ngoze Adichie. For those interested in lexical structures and detailed linguistic analysis, this chapter will be a delight. The interrelationship between historical accounts and novelistic accounts is well made. Historians' views are seldom objective *vide* the accounts of the Boer War mentioned below. Some translations of Hausa words given are incorrect. "*Ranka ya dede*" means "May your life be long," a greeting reserved for emirs, chiefs, and other in authority. The word "*nyameri*" though used by Hausa people is regarded as a corruption of an Igbo request for water. "*Allahu Akbar*," is, of course Arabic.

Some might complain that Alexius Amtaika's topic of post-liberation South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique (Chapter 6) requires a book, not a mere twenty-six pages, but Amtaika, moving at a sprinter's pace, presents several thoughts and observations mostly related to the juncture of ideology and economic progress that need not be taken as exhaustive conclusions. Among his musings are that liberation movements had difficulty navigating the transition from waging war to governing the liberated nations, and that democratization is not safe without demonstrable economic progress. This is perhaps one of the best essays in the book.

The fraying of national identity and public security in Kenya following the violence of the 2008 election are the topics of B. Muhonja and G. Obaso in Chapter 9. Following the election the "land of peace" became the nation where over eleven hundred Kenyans were killed, citizens reverted to thinking of themselves as Luo, Kikuyu, and so forth rather than Kenyans, and ambitions became smaller (can I obtain food today, etc.). Lina, the subject of Muhonja's and Obaso's account, moves back to her smaller, ancestral town. This is a tale of devolution on all levels.

In Chapter 13, M.O. Odey presents a gloomy yet accurate picture of a Nigeria in which personal identity is bound up with ethnic and religious affiliations, which are played upon by leaders in both spheres to the detriment of national unity. In the following chapter, I.D. Sule adds to the gloom by pointing out the deleterious effects of globalization on African society in general and Nigeria in particular. The chapter relates uneasily to Marxist-Leninist theory, mentioning favorably state-inspired censorship of the internet as allegedly practiced by China and North Korea. Chapter 16 by N.G. Esew describes the issue of Indigene versus Settler. The irony of the liberal, explicit, definition of nationality against the parochial definition of indigenous status is pointed out. *Colonialism by Proxy*, a recent publication by Moses Ochonu, adds further support to Esew's arguments.

It has been said that, "in Nigeria, politics is warfare conducted by other means," thus reversing the famous von Clausewitz dictum. Chapter 18 by B.A. Ojedokun describing the elections of 2003, 2007, and 2011 illustrates this, mentioning also the huge salaries and allowances of elected officials as being something engendering violence. The subsequent 2015 election was better, so some lessons were learned. A suggestion of using Proportional Representation to reduce conflict is welcome. Chapter 19 by G.A. Animasawun and Y.A. Aluko is also critical of the repression of protest and the use by the government of the day of police who do not hesitate to shoot to kill. They quote examples of both military and civilian governments using similar tactics showing, through the theories of both Marx and Gramsci, that coercion by the Nigerian state of its citizens shows little difference from its colonial predecessor, whether under military or civilian control.

Other pieces have a more modest and tighter focus, and their challenges are less daunting. The items on Women's Movements in Kenya (Chapter 7), Marianist Projects in Kenya (Chapter 8), NGO-Government Interactions in South Africa (Chapter 10), and the role of the South African Development Community (SADC, Chapter 11), all expand our understanding of the mosaic of NGOs and trans-national entities active on the continent. In their essay on Women's Movements Musalia and Wasonga make the apt observation that the efficacy of the movements in Kenya has been directly proportional to the extent to which the movements are autonomous, and not chained to any incumbent administration, or to one charismatic figure. In the item on the SADC, K. Goto and M. Langelihle describe the economic collapse of Zimbabwe and note the difficulty in dealing with a charismatic leader of the struggle for independence. They find that the SADC must clarify its own goals and not shy away from taking on a more political role, both considerable challenges.

Regarding N. Esew and A. Johnson's piece on the role of youth in the revolutions in South Africa and Tunisia (Chapter 17)—and we can see why they picked those two nations: they bracket the continent—this is more a sketch of a paper than a paper, but the subject is one which won't go away and cries out for further study. Rulers take for granted the quiescence of their youth at their own risk, though the situations in South Africa and Tunisia were very different. The overturning of apartheid in South Africa was the result of decades of organized struggle, whereas the eruption of the Tunisian uprising in December 2010 and January 2011 took most of the opposition parties and entities by surprise (see for example Anne Wolf, *Political Islam in Tunisia: A History of Ennahda*). In the Tunisian case, the leaders of opposition parties had to rush tardily into the streets in order to catch up to the demonstrators. The significance of a single "trigger event" looms large here. But the youth played key roles in both revolutions.

It would of course be unrealistic to expect that this volume could summarize political activity in all of Africa with its fifty-four nations, but Falola, who has edited five other volumes on African themes, no doubt believes that with continuing efforts the concerns and current needs of the continent will emerge with growing clarity. These volumes are making progress in presenting just such a panorama of topics and challenges.

Paul Turton, formerly of *Ahmadu Bello University*, and Kenneth Meyer, *Western Washington University*

Sati U. Fwashak. (ed.). 2017. *The Transformation of Central Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola*. Austin: Pan African University Press. xxxii + 485 pp.

The book is divided into four parts, namely: economic, political and religious transformation; infrastructure; women, language, and cultures; conflict and security. There are forty-two contributors.

Major concerns in Part 1 include scholarship on economic development in agriculture. It remained a self-sufficiency and viable practice in central Nigeria. Another concern in the book was political transformation. Central Nigeria had participated in politics of forty political parties and produced people into viable positions at local, state, national and international levels. Nevertheless, the challenge of egocentricism remained the bane of development and caused crises in the area. The economic transformation had been enhanced by Zakat distributions among the Muslims in Jos as it was critiqued from Pentecostalism perception that extension of the hand of friendship increased economic transformation of both individual and church.

Part II examined infrastructure: water, energy and railway transportation. Water and power suffered distribution difficulty until recent times when devices were deployed to address it for the sake of transformation. Settlement of Shendam and colonial people was demarcated and the influx of the Tarok at lowland area Nding-chu (site close to water) distinguished them on the plateau. However, information communication technology (ICT) was examined and discovered immense contributions to teaching and learning in the transformation processes. Eight relevant creative skills were identified. The scourge of HIV/AIDS was first discovered in 1981 but diagnosed in 1986 in Nigeria. Interactions between independent bodies and governments on awareness and providing ways of reducing it were taken seriously and effective in the economic and political transformation of central Nigeria. Women were not left out in the transformation struggles. Activities of women in quarrying and mining were explored. It was discovered that women were not indolent; they were as active as men were in other economic and political spheres. In quarrying, a woman earned about N8,000 per trip load between nine to ten hours. They equally participated in small and medium agro-allied business and social works.

Chapters 22-27 examined the linguistic landscape with reference to Cara language. The fear of extinction of indigenous languages because of insensitivity to them by various original speakers motivated scholars towards examining a paradigm between endangering and sustenance of indigenous languages (p. 317). Through broadcast news practice, the socio-communication context in central Nigeria was examined. Findings included an emphasis on socio-economic development strategies and a support plan-structure was suggested for journalism development (321-332).

Using Plateau and Nasarawa states as a target, the significance of cultural festivities and social cohesion were explored. They agreed that culture was rich in scholarly definition and it remained a potential way of life of people. Pu'us Ka'at, Achili and other festivities were identified to be unifying socio-economic transformation of Mwaghavoul people on the Plateau. The organizers were recently scouting for sponsors like Coca-Cola, MTN, NASCO, Globacom, and the rest. Music took a very crucial position in cultural dance. FESTAC 1977 was examined in the development of the economic transformation of central Nigeria. Traditional music was identified to be derived from cultural practices. Mahku could not hold his scholarship; he explored historical antecedents of music ethnography and some popular songs. The year 1955-1960 marked as an era of the big bands in Lagos and known as the period of touring to central Nigeria especially by the Hubbert Ogunde cultural and theatre group from Yorubaland. 1960, therefore, engaged developmental stages in music, and 2005-2015, according to the author, was music digitization with the help of technology.

Tensions, conflicts and incessant crises adversely affected the socio-economic and political transformation in central Nigeria. Ethnic groups attacked one another in the name of the settlers and the indigents since 1994; it persisted through 2010 and till date. This brought about negative thinking towards environmental planning and gender issues. Part four examined conflicts and security issues. Recently, a rift between meat and food called for reflection on the space of agriculturalists and pastoralists. Governments were blamed for the inability to provide space for the duo. The Fulani were known to be a resource of meat and farmers provided food in central Nigeria until recent they engaged themselves in conflicts. It had grown to a level of using sophisticated weapons and its effect slowed down the transformation. However, state police were suggested in providing required security and sustaining peace for effective transformation. Contributors and the editor used efficient methods in preparing and writing the book.

Huud Shittu, *University of Jos*

Sandra E. Greene. 2017. *Slave Owners of West Africa: Decision Making in the Age of Abolition*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 126 pp.

Sandra E. Greene's latest book, *Slave Owners of West Africa*, is a welcome and timely addition to the historiography of slavery and abolition in West Africa. It provides an insight into how slave owners from what is now southeastern Ghana responded to the increasing criminalization of slavery in that region between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by focusing on the lives of three prominent members of that group: Amegashie Afeku of Keta, Nyaho Tamakloe of Anlo, and Noah Yawo of Ho-Kpenoe. Greene's previous research focused on this exact same region, especially on the Anlo-Ewe. Consequently, the book offers a detailed and at the same time refreshing look into the rationale and anxieties of West African slave owners towards the impending loss of their human property under foreign, colonial rule. Finally, the book comes after a stream of publications, several of them Greene co-edited, centered around African narratives of slavery and the slave trade, a perspective often underrepresented in studies about two of the most dreadful yet fascinating events of human history.

Slave Owners of West Africa is divided into three chapters, accompanied by an introduction and a conclusion. The introduction immediately calls attention to the book's main point. "By analyzing not just what these individuals did, but *why* they took these particular approaches to slavery and its abolition," Greene argues, "these sketches bring to life the complexities that made it possible for slave owners to make such different decisions about how they would handle the massive disruptions that accompanied the colonial abolition of slavery" (p. 5, emphasis in the original). The following chapters then discuss three, separate cases. The first, on Amegashie Afeku, focuses on a resolute attempt at preserving slavery and the old hierarchical order in the region. The second, about Nyaho Tamakloe, examines a dramatically different approach, aimed at adjusting to abolition and erasing the stigma associated with slave descent. The third case, on Noah Yawo, centers on what could be, perhaps, termed a moderate approach: it accepted abolition but only when economically feasible. Finally, the conclusion points out that, although the slave owners' responses to abolition differed significantly, they were similar in at least one respect: "All sought to preserve their economic and social status" (p. 85).

Readers unfamiliar with the historiography of slavery in Africa may find Greene's book rather naïve or its conclusions only too predictable. Where have slave owners ever given up their property willingly? When did they do so without demanding compensation or caring after their own status or wellbeing? It happens, however, that historians' understanding of slavery in Africa is not so straightforward. There has long been a tendency of separating slavery for social or political aggrandizement from mere economic enrichment. Moreover, slavery is often described as an institution that transformed over time, almost in linear progression, from a primitive form of expanding lineages through the accumulation of dependents to a fully-fledged system of economic exploitation, thanks in large part to external forces, meaning the presence of Europeans or Arabs in the continent. Greene's book further complicates this picture. It shows that one form of slavery does not necessarily preclude another. Additionally, regardless of their backgrounds or motivations, when confronted with the imminent loss of their captives, slave owners could not help but reveal the underlying nature of the practice: a greedy move towards self-preservation and growth at the expense of others, rooted, of course, in violence and relations of power.

The history of slavery in Africa will remain a controversial subject for many years to come, especially in this age of heightened cultural sensibility. Not every book will address the issue directly or without reservations. Greene's, however, offers a frank, balanced, and honest assessment. It does not have all the answers for, as it often happens, the sources themselves do not always provide them, but it asks the right questions. It is a must-read book for anyone in the field.

Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, *Rice University*

Dinah Hannaford. 2017. *Marriage Without Borders: Transnational Spouses in Neoliberal Senegal*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 170 pp.

Dinah Hannaford's *Marriage Without Borders* provides a critical examination of transnational marriages within a neoliberal Senegalese society. Hannaford argued that transnational marriages are reflective of a contemporary global rupture in family networks...signal[ing] a move away from more traditional companionate values for marriage, in which love and emotional closeness long have been seen as constitutive of a successful marriage" (p. 4).

Through a number of oral interviews conducted during her fieldwork in Senegal, Hannaford dissected the various elements of transnational marriages and their impact in the social, economic, and domestic spheres. Analysis of gender dynamics, economic expectations, and the role of social prestige in the determination of a marriage's success served as crucial parts of Hannaford's work.

The book opened with a cultural analysis of the marital institution in Senegal and deconstructed the social implications of identifying as *Immigre*. In chapter one, Hannaford detailed the compulsory nature of marriage in Senegal and how the mythical image of affluent migrants disrupted existing class hierarchies. The perpetuation of these myths made marriage a highly competitive arena in which Senegalese men attempted to fulfill idealized gender roles as husbands and caregivers. Chapter two built upon this examination and moved away from the domestic sphere, instead, examining the "precarious" lives of Senegalese migrants in Lecco, Italy. Hannaford's personal interviews highlighted the challenges migrants faced of living and working abroad, including fidelity, the distribution of remittances, and the burden of fulfilling the "image of the migrant worker as a hero" (p. 49).

Chapters 3 and 4 served as the most compelling parts of *Marriage Without Borders*. In these chapters, Hannaford critiqued the impact that these marriages had on women and the gendered power dynamics within these kinship networks. Although migrant men faced difficulties in fulfilling idealized expectations of masculinity, Senegalese women juggled multiple gender expectations. When a male migrant traveled abroad to find work, women often moved in with the husband's family and served as an intermediary who distributed money on the husband's behalf. This often increased tensions between a wife and her in-laws. Additionally, Hannaford argued that because hierarchical class norms have broken down in neoliberal Senegal, stress on wives increased when urban women were forced to cohabit with in-laws in rural areas and vice-versa.

It is clear that men possessed a disproportionate amount of power within these transnational marriages. Husbands possessed numerous means to communicate with their wives and families in Senegal, including services such as Skype or Facetime. However, in an attempt to obscure details of their financial struggles and possible infidelities from their wives, men controlled the means of communication. This is perhaps best illustrated in the discussion of the presence of landlines in the homes of migrants' wives. Husbands used landlines in an almost Foucauldian manner to surveil and control their wives' social behaviors by calling the house at all hours of the day to ensure their presence in the home. In one instance, a husband timed his wife's route to a friend's home and called the friend to ensure that the wife did not make any unscheduled stops. Hannaford's integration of these personal stories illustrated the salience of gender expectations in transnational marriages.

The final two chapters focused on the creation and maintenance of intimacy in transnational marriages and the complications that occur between a husband and wife when they reunite in Senegal. The author found that women used sexual relations in these marriages as a counterbalance against men's threats of withholding financial support from the household. However, sex was not solely a transaction to ensure financial support, but also a means through which wives built closer relationships with their husbands and overcame problems created by distance. The maintenance of a strong relationship while apart often smoothed the reunion process. However, Hannaford showed that a husband's

return from abroad could disrupt the domestic sphere and create tensions over a wife's ability to work, cramped living quarters, and a loss of income.

In its totality, this book is a finely constructed examination of transnational Senegalese marriages with few weaknesses. The author seamlessly transitions from discussions on socially constructed myths of wealthy migrants to in-depth analyses of surveillance from abroad and the tensions that arise within the domestic sphere. The scope of the book is impressive, as it covers a diverse set of complex issues like gender, class, kinship, economic standing, and cultural understandings of prestige and power, all under the conceptual framework of "transnational marriages." Yet, despite its ambitious scope, the book is quite accessible to the reader and avoids the trappings of becoming too jargon-laden. *Marriage Without Borders* is useful for undergraduate and graduate students alike, providing a nuanced discussion of the influence of neoliberal and globalized economic systems on Senegalese socioeconomic and political institutions. This book is an excellent piece of scholarship, perhaps best suited for students in the fields of gender studies, African studies, or sociology.

Michael R. Hogan, *West Virginia University*

Danny Hoffman. 2017. *Monrovia Modern: Urban Form and Political Imagination in Liberia*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 232 pp.

The complexity of modern African political vision, according to Danny Hoffman in *Monrovia Modern*, is at once artifact and architect of the built forms of urban space. In this text, Hoffman mobilizes many years of thinking through violence and its aftermath in contemporary West Africa. In particular, *Monrovia Modern* extends and elaborates analyses linking political life and built forms that Hoffman introduced in his earlier text, *The War Machines*. He begins with the 2008-2010 eviction of ex-combatants of the Government of Liberia Armed Forces, from the still-unfinished Ministry of Defense Building. The story that he seeks to tell, while animated by a striking visual ethnography of built forms, is not one of architectural theory. Rather, he seeks to outline the contours of the contemporary African political imagination. Locating the limits of political possibilities in the sinews of the built form, Hoffman focuses on four buildings in the city of Monrovia. Each of these structures is representative of the modernist architectural planning that Hoffman argues is most salient for contemporary African cities (p. 14). The style of *modernist international style*, Hoffman argues, divorced architectural function from cultural or ethnic form and rendered impossible the development of lasting identities around which individuals might coalesce politically.

Borrowing from Chatterjee's (2004) conception of "political society," Hoffman laments the development of urban life ruled by pragmatism and profitability, in lieu of political mobilization that might lead squatters to fight back against eviction. As a contribution to the debate on the habitability of modern urban space, Hoffman's description of life in Monrovia seeks to document the processes by which residents "learn how to inhabit" Monrovia amongst the ruins of failed modernist planning (p. 4). While he tells us that political futures and creativity are only thinkable in what is known in Liberian English as the "gaps" in urban space, he warns us neither to overstate the political imagination, nor to think of these space as Foucauldian heterotopias. The ex-combatants and other residents that he follows, themselves fall short of seeing their own inventive practices as sites of political life. Pointing

to an important analogy Hoffman outlines early in the text, we must see his interlocutors as the residents of Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya. Even though its residents live in urban space, “politically they belong nowhere” (p. xxi) and are thus incapable (by circumstance) of forming collective demands on the state, or otherwise operating as political citizens with the right to make demands on their government.

As a crucial intervention to visual ethnography, Hoffman’s work also reminds us that Africans are media consumers as well. Often the subject of violent images, Hoffman argues that throughout the unfolding of the Liberian civil war, the ex-combatants that Hoffman follows were as aware of the “political economy of the photograph” (p. 30) as its western producers and consumers. They are astute participants in the production and circulation of images of African violence. Through his commitment to photo writing as both theory and method, Hoffman tells us that photography is both a constitutive element of modern architecture as well as the character of African modernity. The camera itself, Hoffman argues, is a crucial element in the debate over modern urban space and how individuals might dwell in it. Thus what it means to inhabit urban space is not primarily about the conduct of one’s body in space. Rather, it is about the work of the camera to produce images that shape and make demands on built forms.

On one hand, this text is about the urban lives of ex-combatants in Monrovia. On another, it is about contemporary life in African cities and the limits and future of African political imagination. As Hoffman’s dissatisfaction with Liberian political life emerged from a comparison with the global Occupy movement and the Arab Spring; it is important to remain cognizant of the political forces in urban refugee camps (Rawlence 2016) as well as the political ethos that is demanding radical change throughout the continent (Branch and Mampilly 2015).

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Zachary Mondesire, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Steve Itugbu. 2017. *Foreign Policy and Leadership in Nigeria: Obasanjo and the Challenge of African Diplomacy*. London/New York: I.B Tauris & Co Ltd. 275 pp.

In territories with a longer history of Weberian statehood, foreign policy decision-making appears so routinized and bureaucratized to the extent that every major foreign policy decision tends to be a product of dialogue, consultation, and consensus among the various stake-holders within the state apparatus. However, this truism would seem not to be the case in Africa in which foreign policy decision-making processes are not only de-bureaucratized but also personalized by the heads of government. This state of affairs, over the years, would seem to have impacted on the quality of African states’ responses to

foreign policy challenges. Perhaps, the observation of this scenario motivated the writing of this book. As author Steve Itugbu avers, “aside from the political intrigues within the AU and its insistence upon assuming sole responsibility to resolve conflict, the events in Darfur demonstrated that many African states had strongmen leaders who personalized the conduct of foreign policy” (p. 1).

With an empirical insight from how Chief Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigeria’s president (1999-2007), handled the Darfur crisis, the 275-page book attempts to lay bare the problematic associated with de-bureaucratized and personalized diplomacy in Africa. It starts with a well crafted introduction in which the author not only sets the background and the rationale that informed the writing of the book but most importantly presents the methodology and the theoretical framework that frame the major arguments in the book. Specifically, he anoints Graham Allison’s classic foreign policy decision models for this task. In the author’s words, “this book seeks to explore, scrutinize and determines the constituency of Allison’s model with regard to African realities” (p. 4). In the first chapter, the author would seem to have set out to achieve two tasks. First, an attempt is made to x-ray Obasanjo’s personality and the historical, cultural, and sociological variables that shaped it. Perhaps, the aim here is to explain the roles these variables have played in influencing Obasanjo’s attitude towards foreign policy. Second, the author dissects operational factors that had for decades shaped Nigeria’s Afro-centric policy. The central thesis that the author seems to put across to readers in this chapter is that Obasanjo’s action to lead the intervention in Darfur was informed by the country’s foundational principle of putting Africa first.

In the second chapter, the author on the one hand historicizes the background to the Darfur crisis and on the other hand explains why Nigeria and other African states’ responses to the genocidal crisis in Darfur were lackadaisical and slow. Drawing on an avalanche of secondary literature on state formation processes in Africa, he informs the reader that the Darfurian crisis like many others that have plagued the continent had its root in the arbitrariness that characterized the formation of the Sudanese state. The slow response of Nigeria, the AU and other states in Africa to the genocide, the author informs the readers, was due to these actors’ poor reading of the events that led to the genocide. The concern of the author in the third chapter is the exploration of the philosophical principle that motivated Obasanjo’s diplomacy on African conflicts. Although, he admits that many philosophies tend to shape statesmen’s approach to external intervention, he establishes, notwithstanding, that Obasanjo’s approach was informed by the African communitarian spirit.

The author’s preoccupation in the fourth and fifth chapters is the presentation of the primary data collected from the in-depth interviews with some sampled elites who worked in close contact with Chief Obasanjo while in office. His message to the readers in these two chapters is that the greater percentage of the elite interviewees affirms that Obasanjo’s strong personality impacted on the country’s foreign policy sector especially during the Darfur crisis. It is on the basis of this finding that the author concludes that Obasanjo’s approach to African diplomacy confirms the reality that has confronted the foreign policy sector in Africa: the personalization and de-professionalization of foreign policy.

Over all, the book is a worthy addition to the burgeoning literature on Nigeria’s African diplomacy. It addresses, with an empirical study of Chief Obasanjo’s towards the Darfur crisis, the challenges of institutionalizing foreign policy decision-making in Africa.

However, one major lacuna observed is that the author in the data analysis chapter fails to synthesize and corroborate the results from the interview data with extant desk studies on the subject. This would have further balanced and strengthened his conclusion. This, notwithstanding, the book is an inspiring read and would, undoubtedly, be of great relevance to African scholars and researchers with keen interest in foreign policy research in Africa and beyond.

Adeniyi S. Basiru, *University of Lagos*

Ching Kwan Lee. 2017. *The Spector of Global China: Politics, Labor, and Foreign Investment in Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 256 pp.

Ching Kwan Lee's *The Spector of Global China* adds to both a rich ethnographic history of labour in Zambia (Burawoy's *The Colour of Class* and Ferguson's *Expectations of Modernity* as two key examples) and an emerging body of work exploring China in Africa (including Alden's *China in Africa*, Brautigam's *The Dragon's Gift*). Building upon the former's focus on Zambian copper workers' responses to structural change, Lee differentiates between the practices of specific companies through a detailed ethnography. To the literature on "China in Africa," Lee first contributes a relatively rapid dismissal of the characterisation of Chinese involvement in Africa as neo-colonial or imperialist. She then notes the problematic way that "China in Africa" is used to conflate Chinese traders of all sizes and all waves of migration with the Chinese state. Despite focusing on Chinese capital in Africa, one of Lee's initial realisations was that national origin was not the best way to categorise investments when analysing them. She pushes past the varieties of capitalism literature in order to understand the differing ways different types of capitalism operate in the global economy. Accepting that global capitalism, in some guise or another, is pervasive throughout Africa, Lee claims that focusing on types of capital (rather than origins of capital or types of capitalism) allows from a more nuanced understanding of foreign investment.

The Spector of Global China focuses on Chinese state owned enterprises. It argues that conceptualising their activities as a form of capital "state capital" is a productive way to differentiate these activities from the financial capital, which comprises the majority of global investments. Building from this, Lee's core claim is that state capital's greater interest in long-term relationships, when compared to financial capital's focus on short-term profits, actually provides for a more flexible relationship with African governments, civil society and labour. This claim is supported by ethnography with three Zambian mining companies: Mopani Copper Mines, KCM and the Chinese state run NFCA, as well as a Chinese managed construction company. While Mopani is owned by the Swiss giant Glencore and KCM is owned by the India-based Vedanta, both are traded on the London Stock Exchange. Lee claims that the imperatives of this form of ownership encourage a focus on short-term profits, a key feature of what she refers to as financial capital. Across six chapters Lee differentiates State and Financial Capital; compares their relationship with African labour; managerial ethos; and interactions with the state and civil society; before providing new prescriptions for the study of China in Africa. For example, when discussing a company's relationships with the state, Lee explains that unlike Mopani and KCM, NFCA did not oppose a substantial increase in mining taxes, viewing its long-term relationship with the

government as more important than the profits lost. Later, Lee argues that the same long-term focus ensured that NFCA did not retrench workers or force them onto non-ongoing contracts when copper prices dropped, but that they paid ongoing staff much less than the other mines.

It is this depiction of state capital that offers the most promise for future research, and it is also the most interesting aspect of the book. Lee freely admits to presenting both financial capital and state capital as perfect types and it appears that there has been increasing convergence between NFCA and the activities of the other mining companies. In particular, since the end of Lee's fieldwork, NFCA has attempted to move many workers onto temporary contracts and threatened to fire others. In that context, I wonder how Chinese state capital's imperatives change in response to trends in China, Africa, and globally. Similarly, while Lee speaks rightly about the need for more nuance in exploring China in Africa, I would have also liked to learn more about how Zambian understandings of the Chinese, especially national and the whole of Copperbelt discourses affected interactions between Zambians and the Chinese. In another paper Lee notes that Zambians rely on colonial narratives of care and paternalism when negotiating with South African and British management. How do frequently Sinophobic narratives about the relationship between Zambia and China affect similar negotiations? Building upon Lee's observation that NFCA did not object to the mining tax in the same manner as Mopani and KCM, how important is national distrust of the Chinese in constraining the political activities of Chinese firms? More generally, how is Chinese state capital shaped or constrained by Zambian understandings of development and labour, which have been formed through ongoing (exploitative) relations with the west?

Ching Kwan Lee is an excellent ethnographer and the access she obtained to mining companies through her friendship with Zambia's former acting president is exceptional. For academics studying mining or construction in Zambia, with or without a Chinese focus, this will prove an invaluable text purely for its details. Its core depiction of Chinese State capital is an interesting insight that opens productive space for the ongoing study of both China and other forms of capital.

Thomas McNamara, *Université de Liège*

Hilary Matfess. 2017. *Women and the War on Boko Haram: Wives, Weapons, Witnesses*. London: Zed Books. 270 pp.

Boko Haram may have faded from the limelight since the insurgency's peak in 2015, but the group still presents an interesting puzzle for scholars of Northern Nigeria and experts on civil conflict alike. Hilary Matfess, a PhD candidate in Political Science at Yale University, recenters and explores Boko Haram through the lens of gender in her 2017 book *Women and the War on Boko Haram*. Matfess casts light on the sect's previously misunderstood relations with the female population of the Lake Chad Basin region and convincingly argues throughout that the highly gendered nature of the conflict is absolutely critical to understanding the insurgency. Relying on a trove of personal interviews with women ensnared in the conflict, Matfess at once debunks popular narratives surrounding Boko Haram and furthers our understanding of how the group functions, particularly in relation to the women caught up in its violence.

The book comprises ten chapters. The introduction explains the book's research puzzle and methodology. Here Matfess clarifies the thoroughness of the research, comprising of nearly one hundred interviews with female members of the sect, IDPs, and political figures in Northeastern Nigeria. This methodology permits an exploration of the insurgency in a way that would otherwise be impossible. The following two chapters, "Understanding Boko Haram" and "Precursors to the Insurgency and the Sharia Debates" provide critical background information on Nigerian politics and Boko Haram, as well as the intersection of these with gender.

"Being a Girl in Nigeria" (Chapter 3) segues into the book's core research question. The ethnographic research method allows for considerable inferential leverage and consequently Matfess debunks popularly held narratives surrounding Boko Haram in Western discourse. In contravention to popular thought, many women are willing members of Boko Haram. Further, Boko Haram provides advancement opportunities absent elsewhere in Northeastern Nigerian society. Matfess relates the story of a commander's wife who stated unequivocally that "there was 100% better treatment under Boko Haram" (p. 61).

Matfess does not dwell on the events of the 2014 Chibok abduction too much. She notes that though the action came to be enormously symbolic, it was only a small proportion of the group's total abductions and, in the context of African insurgencies, not entirely unusual. Indeed, in the mass-abductions of schoolgirls Matfess notes parallels between Boko Haram and the Lord's Resistance Army in East-Central Africa (pp. 96-99). Equally we learn the insurgency does not practice gang rape as a socialization mechanism, something that ultimately sheds light on the organization's internal culture and recruitment tactics (p. 89).

Chapter 5, "Women at War," discusses women's role in the insurgency from economic, social, religious, and military angles. The heterogeneity of the female experience in Boko Haram is enormous, ranging from willing participants, content to assume a veil of ignorance about the group's most brutal practices (pp. 126-27), to female suicide bombers whose willingness to participate in the violence is clearly highly suspect (pp. 132-134). This chapter is hugely important because of the valuable insight into an aspect of the insurgency (and insurgencies in general) that is typically overlooked.

In the final chapters, Matfess turns her lens to the women in Northeastern Nigeria's IDP camps. This is followed by assessments of the humanitarian response to the crisis as well as policy recommendations. By considering this group of women specifically, Matfess naturally zeroes-in on the scale of the humanitarian catastrophe caused by the group. Her conclusions, however, are not entirely tragic, taking heed of other post-conflict success stories she sees reasons to be cautiously hopeful for positive social transformation in Northeastern Nigeria.

The only shortcomings of the book (and these are limited indeed) are that the timeline of events surrounding the insurgency is hazy, particularly the temporal variation in the devastation caused by the group before 2009 and after 2015. And, in light of the enormous heterogeneity of experiences the book reveals, for scholars of micro-mobilization in civil war, there could have been a more explicit explanation of the patterns of the trajectories of the women caught up in the insurgency. But, these criticisms are slight. On balance, Matfess' work is a resounding success. Her interviews grant her remarkable purchase on her subject matter and consequently we know more about the secretive insurgency. The result is a book

that is both useful for the scholarly community as well as one that is eminently readable for a popular audience, too.

Louis Metcalfe, *University of Oxford*

Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Siphamandla Zondi (eds.) 2016. *Decolonizing the University, Knowledge Systems and Disciplines in Africa*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press. 285 pp.

The book is a timely and worthwhile read, as it addresses challenges, circumstances where students are refusing to be taught using, “white curriculum” in South Africa, calling for teaching to be a “negotiated activity” thereby pausing issues of context and relevance. Tertiary tuition for South Africans demands attention from policy makers so as to be inclusive to people of all backgrounds. In that light, approximately a dozen of scholars wrote thirteen chapters calling for the decolonization of not only the South African universities, knowledge systems, and disciplines but can also be used for other universities outside South Africa. The book grapples with the question of coloniality of knowledge using different viewpoints, which include, methodology, African research subjects, the decadence of disciplines, and disciplines as carriers of coloniality. Some examples of academic disciplines that are illuminated encompass political science, anthropology, psychology, law, and other humanities.

The experienced African decolonial scholars Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Siphamandla offer the introductory chapter of the book, whilst Ndlovu-Gatsheni independently focuses on the second chapter. The first chapter contextualizes the gist of the book within the background of South Africa’s universities attacking coloniality from the vantage point of the “Rhodes Must Fall” decolonial discourse (p. 4). The book is identified as that which deals with complex connections among power, epistemology, methodology, and ideology. These aspects have been used by all the authors of the book to provoke questions about the role of knowledge in society as well as possibilities of epistemological decolonization (p. 5). The book is thematically organized into three main parts, first part encompassing issues of Modernity, Knowledge, and Power; the second part Decoloniality, Disciplines, and Ideology; whilst the final part focuses on Methods, Methodology, and Subjectivity.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni and S. Zondi address a critical question on the position of Africa in knowledge production. In chapter 2 the problem of the university in Africa is that it has failed to produce indigenous and endogenous knowledge. African people must stop the habit of normalizing coloniality and rise up to embrace decoloniality, which enables them to unmask the constitution of Euro-America-centric modernity and to pass critical judgments on the enduring impact of the critical slavery, imperialism, colonialism, apartheid, neo-colonialism that constitute coloniality (p.31).

Coloniality causes mental confusion among Africans with some Africans who are socially located on the oppressed side of the colonial difference, thinking epistemically like the ones in the dominant positions. A decolonial thinker is not neutral since s/he is not in a neutral world formulates an imperative tenet that other like-minded thinkers should embrace at all times. The professors and other academics require decolonization of the mind and an introduction to decolonial epistemic perspectives before they can be entrusted with the challenge and task of producing decolonized and fully Pan-African students capable of implementing the Pan-African vision (p. 42). Decoloniality, thus is interpreted as redemptive

epistemology, a liberating force and an ethical-humanistic project gesturing towards pluralism in which different worlds fit.

In Chapter 3, there is a call for the Africanization of social sciences as most universities suffer from the effects of colonialism that is an overreliance on Euro-American models of epistemology. Serges D. Kamga in Chapter 4 critiques the role of the international law in subverting the cause of decolonization of the principle of “sovereign equality of states.” He employs the Third World approaches to international law and sovereignty as the basis of the contested idea of the so-called cooperative equality, justice and fairness.

Part II has four chapters that critique disciplinary decadence that is argued to epitomize the knowledge presented through academic disciplines. W. Mpofu demonstrates an appraisal of Ngugi Wa Thiongo’s *Devil on the Cross*, at the same time unmasking the satanic machinations on African politics, economy, and social life in the form of poverty, environmental pollution, political violence, class exploitation, and muzzled voices among others.

Part III focuses on “Methods, Methodology, and Subjectivity” with four chapters that succinctly tackles disciplines such as political science, story telling, African politics, and lastly, Afrocentric analysis of African integration. However, the decolonial scholars all in all may not be appealing to amateur readers due to dense decolonial jargon which demands some (re)orientation. Having noted the above, the book remains a thorn in the flesh for academics and policy makers to re-think, re-energize their approaches in dealing with tertiary institutions not only in South Africa but Africa as a continent, not leaving out other Third World countries.

Brian Maregedze, *University of Zimbabwe*

J. Oloka-Onyango. 2017. *When Courts Do Politics: Public Interest Law and Litigation in East Africa*. New York: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 380 pp.

Oloka-Onyango draws from a distinguished career as a teacher and litigant in his *When Courts Do Politics*. Among other things, the book succeeds in grounding theoretical concepts of personal interest law in East Africa’s contemporary legal questions. Oloka-Onyango evinces his considerable legal prowess in an inviting narrative, but more importantly the work offers a comprehensive survey through constitutions and regimes. This longitudinal study restricts itself to Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, and necessarily draws on courts’ experiences with both colonial and post-colonial governments. Oloka-Onyango’s topical concentration on public interest law concentrates on the pressing human rights questions of our time as they play out in East African courts.

Oloka-Onyango chooses contemporary examples of incendiary public interest legal case law for the book. For Oloka-Onyango, public interest law rests on concepts such as establishing standing (Chapters One and Two), public interest within transformative constitutionalism (Chapter Three), establishing the legal status of gender (Chapter Four), the legal duty of the state with regards to poverty (Chapter Five), and the courts’ contentious role elections (Chapter Six). The author continually piques readers’ interest with subtle glimpses into implementation hypocrisies, likely court intents and juxtaposing state acts, and lively discussions of *de jure* versus *de facto* law in East Africa. Oloka-Onyango guides the

reader through the depths of human rights abuses in courts and public life. Though at times the manuscript reads as Uganda-centric, Oloka-Onyango can be forgiven for driving East African public interest questions from his experience as an attorney in Uganda's courts.

A question that motivates Oloka-Onyango's study is the "political question" doctrine. East African constitutions treat this differently, with Uganda's constitution perhaps being the most empowering. While "there is virtually nothing beyond the purview of judicial scrutiny (Tumwine-Mukubwa 2004, Herman 2013)" (p. 66), imperial executives often weigh in on courts' decisions. Oloka-Onyango, as an officer of the court, is rightfully proud of pivotal moments when courts and attorneys successfully argue against oppressive executives; as such, this book needs to feature in graduate student reading lists, university libraries, and the personal libraries of any serious student of Commonwealth legal studies or East African politics. The reasons are obvious. This book chronicles judicial victories against executives and executive dereliction when court decisions do not affect statutory changes. *When Courts do Politics* highlights when the courts attract lay interest: When courts enter politics and when political calculations subvert courts decisions.

When Courts do Politics summarily condemns colonial courts for representing Britain instead of the African public but notes their contributions to contemporary case law. The book also summarizes foundational cases in post-colonial case law. Where states attempt to reset rule-of-law following extra-legal constitutional change, as in the case of Uganda, foundations for public interest litigation become nebulous. Oloka-Onyango notes, however, that when a constitution accounts for public interest law, the need for litigation to define "matters of social or civic concern that relate to the process of governance in all aspects that have aroused the attention of a community or prominent section of it" (p. 80). Anticipating questions, constitutions like that of Uganda are able to circumvent some problems by being (a bit more) inclusive.

When Courts Do Politics provides an essential starting point for anyone interested in the history of case-law, pivotal legislative decisions, and (the seldom lauded) effort of East African courts to support the rule of law despite budgetary neglect and executive interference. Readers will be satisfied with another exemplary piece from Oloka-Onyango, and the book further enhances the position of Cambridge Scholars as a publishing house.

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Ryan Gibb, Baker University

Robert J. Priest and Kiri Barine (eds.). 2017. *African Christian Leadership: Realities, Opportunities and Impact*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books. 297 pp.

This book is a compendium in twelve chapters of research undertaken by African scholars. It showcases some of the issues being faced by African Christian churches with reference to Anglophone, Francophone, and Lusophone countries of Africa.

Chapter one reports the historical background to the emergence of the Africa leadership study which was stimulated by discussions within the Board of the Tyndale House Foundation, the composition of ATS team and their characteristics, which helped in carrying out a reliable and valid research. Priest ends with the foundation of the book: founding, research, collaboration, African authorship, contemporary focus, global relevance, and augmented by online resources.

Chapter two highlights “Characteristics of Influential African Christian Leaders” as church commitment, vocational excellence, community connectedness, cultural flexibility, endurance, learning, mentorship, technology, and civic engagement. David Ngaruiya discusses areas of influence of leaders as drug abuse prevention, children/youth and sex education, fight against HIV/AIDS, entrepreneurship, among others. He expatiates on childhood homes, educational backgrounds, and broadening experiences as criteria that are germane to the formation of African Christian leaders and their implications of the findings.

Chapter Three traces the patterns of “Formation of African Christian Leaders” as parents/parental figures, extended kin, environment, church leaders, Christian organizations working with the youth and children, life-skills curriculum-based programs, undertaking of various forms of unremunerated services, high levels of formal education, mentoring and opportunities to exercise leadership in diverse areas of life. Chapter four examines that many of the influential leaders and organizations are bridging social capital among ethnic, denomination, and religious groups by building inter-ethnic churches, networks, and organizations. Steven Rasmussen concluded that investment should be made more in relationships, human capital, churches, organizations and research.

Chapter five discusses “Leadership Responses During Armed Conflicts,” which involved engagement in humanitarian and partnership activities, training and teaching institutions, peace building, social cohesion and faith enhancement learning from the conflict that broke in CAR during the ALS research. Chapter six explains “Word and Deed—Patterns Of Influential African Christian Organizations,” which has become norm for most evangelicals. Evangelism was combined with a broad range of concerns that have relation to human flourishing, which is a new face successful for Africa and the church.

The focus of chapter seven is on “African Christian Organizations and Socioeconomic Development,” emphasizing their opportunities and advantage as mobilization, networks, trust, faith motivation, and grass-root presence with impact in health, education, training and leadership development, income generation, employment and poverty reduction, and other socio-economic challenges, especially while maintaining religious identity.

Chapter eight reports on the realities and opportunities of African women in leadership by exploring experiences of the seven women leaders and three of their organizations. Despite marginalization and discrimination against women, they were able to make impact in public and non-government sectors through holistic approach. Therefore, for women to be better placed, their writing and mentoring should be of high priority and follow the older women footsteps. Chapter nine reports that empowering leadership is a new dawn in Africa leadership style by discussing tools for empowerment toward servant leadership as education, exposure, choir/music, prayer, and mentoring with accessibility and ability to identify opportunity and risk as characteristics of servant leadership and ability to sail through the challenges of empowerment. Chapter ten reports the reading and leading challenges for African Christian leaders. Robert Priest, Kirimi Barine, and Alberto Lucamba

indicate that African Christians and leaders are good readers, highlights favorite authors of African Christians, reading pattern in a globalized world, focus of books by favorite authors, factors contributing to these patterns, implications and what it requires.

Chapter eleven states that the family, churches, and other social units have roles in influencing would be leaders. In the same vein, the qualities and roles of influential people, socialization, the kind of equipping of leaders, modeling, mentoring, coaching, discipling, reading, and writing have an influence on leadership.

Chapter twelve narrates how the Tyndale House Foundation started the progress made over time, expectations, and visions of the foundation. Mary Kleine Yehling explains that it has created room for partnership with scholars to undertake research and publish resulting relevant works. The book concludes with the joint reports on lessons learned through the ACL study.

In conclusion, each chapter has a list of references, a bibliography, and rounds off with an index. The book highlights various problems with suggested solutions and gives recommendations on improving the situation of Christian leadership in Africa. However, the book's potential reach is limited in the sense that it is a research project compiled by Africans scholars within African countries, which may not allow it to have the expected global recognition and impact.

Oti Rotimi Alaba, *The Redeemed Christian Bible College, Ogun State, Nigeria*

Ratsimbaharison, Adrien M. 2017. *The Political Crisis of March 2009 in Madagascar: A Case Study of Conflict and Conflict Mediation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 171 pp.

Ratsimbaharison's book is an excellent contribution to the scholarship on conflict analysis and mediation. Its main objective was to investigate why the 2009 political crisis occurred in Madagascar when its economy was flourishing and why it took the mediators over two years to resolve it (p. 8). The author's main argument centers on the personal animosity between President Ravalomanana and the Mayor of the Capital City, Rajoelina, which escalated to the stages of political-crisis due to the prevailing political environment between 2002 and 2008 (p. 9). Per the book, the crisis is traceable to the 2001 postelection conflicts (p. 2) where Ravalomanana, the then Mayor of the Capital City (p. 32), organized public protests to overturn the 2001election results and eventually sent President Ratsiraka into exile.

Rationalizing why the crisis occurred, the author attributed it to the undemocratic nature of the Ravalomanana's regime that incentivized his opponents led by Rajoelina to resort to unconstitutional means. According to the author, Ravalomanana's despotic inclinations made him shutdown Rajoelina's VIVA-Television station for broadcasting interview with former president Ratsiraka. Rajoelina gave Ravalomanana a 25-day ultimatum to reopen the television station or witness street protests. Since that was not done, Rajoelina led the protest in March 2009. Ravalomanana attacked the protesters killing 28 and injuring 172 (p. 60). Consequently, the Defence Minister resigned, the military divided, and the CAPSAT unit led a mutiny to overthrow Ravalomanana's regime. Conflict-mediation teams were established to resolve the crisis. Meanwhile, the citizens had high expectations for Ravalomanana's regime, which were partly met with unprecedented economic-growth (2002–2006) at the expense of the poor. Indeed, the percentage of the poor

living on less than US\$1.90 a day increased from 69 percent in 2001 to 74 percent in 2005 (p. 22). Moreover, the economic growth benefited only those closer to the regime, leading to a general sense of discontent. Finally, the book argues that aside these Rajoelina also exploited the necessary triggers to whip public sentiments against Ravalomanana. First, the regime had secretly leased about 50 percent of Madagascar land under cultivation to Daewoo Logistics for 99 years. Rajoelina argued that Ravalomanana was unfit to govern for breaching an ancient tradition of not selling land to foreigners. Second, the administration had fraudulently purchased another presidential jet costing \$60 million (equally paid by the state and Ravalomanana). These factors exacerbated the protest. The writer was worried that the crisis could recur since the causes had not been addressed.

The author argued that the conflict mediation was unduly prolonged because the actors especially, Rajoelina adopted contending negotiation styles (they were unyielding on their entrenched positions). Finally, evaluating the impact of the mediation teams, the book argued that the Filankevitry ny Fiangonana Kristiana eto Madagasikara (FFKM), a local Christian mediation team which had successfully mediated similar conflicts in Madagascar failed in the current one because it was imposed on the parties. Second, its timing was wrong since the combatants were not ready for mediation. Third, FFKM was not considered neutral due to its closeness to Ravalomanana. Again, there was division within FFKM; the Protestants supported Ravalomanana while the Catholics supported Rajoelina. Finally, FFKM had no clear objectives and capacity to punish and reward the parties. The Southern African Development Community (SADC), a regional mediation team, had the ability to reward and punish the parties and was successful due to its neutrality and competent membership of people like Joaquim Chissano, an ex-president and accomplished diplomat. Also, the conflict fatigue among combatants and mediators facilitated SADC's work.

The book made four significant contributions worth stressing. First, it shows why it is dangerous for society if political actors would resolve conflicts outside the legal framework. In 2002 and 2009 Ravalomanana and Rajoelina respectively resorted to street protests to resolve their grievances that led to regime changes unconstitutionally. Second, it affirms the inherent contradictions of semi-democracies (they are partly free and repressive and therefore susceptible to instability). Third, imposing mediation teams on combatants and using mediation teams that do not have the power to reward obedience and punish default is futile. Fourth, it shows how factors that escalate a conflict to a crisis stage may also cause its de-escalation. The author argued that this happens "if one party succeeds in overwhelming the other and the other yields" (p. 77), it de-escalates the conflict and that explains why Ravalomanana's deployment of mercenaries to massacre the protesters when confronted with the CAPSAT mutineers who supported the opposition did not escalate to civil war.

My main criticism of the book concerns its explanation of how SADC was successful in comparison with FFKM. The explanation is contradictory. First, it argues that FFKM was successful in resolving the 2001-2002 political conflicts between Ravalomanana and Ratsiraka. During that mediation, Ravalomanana was in control and had special relationship with FFKM, which was created in 1979 to protect Christians against Ratsiraka's dictatorship (p.94). Therefore, it could be argued that FFKM provided victor's justice in 2001-2002 because of its support for Ravalomanana. The same can be said about the SADC which mediated the 2009-2011 conflict where under the September 2011 Roadmap, Rajoelina

remained the only president of the transition (p. 108). Moreover, the SADC mediated similar conflict in Zimbabwe and had failed (p. 121). Also, the international sanctions imposed on Madagascar had no effects on Rajoelina (p. 109). Despite these reservations the book nonetheless is a must read for conflict-analysts and Africanists.

Samuel Kofi Darkwa, *West Virginia University*

Rachel Sullivan Robinson. 2017. *Intimate Interventions in Global Health: Family Planning and HIV Prevention in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 279 pp.

In 1968 Stanford ecologist Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* startled Western audiences, highlighting the ecological impact of overpopulation and making somber predictions regarding upcoming global catastrophe.¹ Rapidly expanding populations in the Global South were targeted as a particular cause for concern. Within a decade, *The Population Bomb* had sold over three million copies.

It was in this intellectual environment that Western donors began to promote family planning initiatives, the first of the "intimate interventions" explored in Rachel Sullivan Robinson's excellent new study. The uptake of population policies and the acceptance of NGOs concerned with family planning were neither immediate nor universal. Some governments were resistant to international pressure or sceptical about the place of contraception in the traditional African family. Some nations lacked the infrastructure and personnel to distribute contraception or to promote effective campaigns around its use. While early uptake was sporadic, family planning initiatives were widely implemented throughout the 1980s, with economic recession and growing demands for universal education providing greater political incentive. At the same time, the World Bank began to tie fertility control to the economic assistance provided under its Structural Adjustment Programs. It was also in the 1980s that the HIV/AIDS epidemic began in earnest and that HIV prevention, Robinson's second intimate intervention, became a growing concern for donor-funded and government health programs.

Focusing primarily on the 1980s and 1990s, this study offers a measured and thorough exploration of the relationship between family planning and later approaches to HIV prevention. Throughout the book, Robinson's main argument is that, because of significant similarities between pregnancy prevention and HIV prevention, historical variations in family planning provision offer insight into the relative success of HIV prevention during the first decades of its spread. HIV and unwanted pregnancy certainly both weigh heavily on African health. Unwanted pregnancy can undermine maternal health and the health of the wider family. HIV, when untreated, leads to AIDS. HIV and unwanted pregnancy also both share heterosexual sex as the primary causative mechanism. Since family planning initiatives and HIV prevention programs both ultimately seek to regulate the same sensitive behaviors, nations with family planning policies and NGOs established prior to the onset of the HIV epidemic were best primed to share the resources, discourses and strategies which had been developed to limit unwanted pregnancy. National and international HIV prevention programs found that they were able to utilize and modify the systems and donor bases, which had grown up after years of hard-won progress in family planning.

To make this argument, Robinson begins with detailed surveys of the relationship between family planning and HIV prevention globally, as well as in Africa specifically. The

bulk of the study, however, rests on the individual histories of Malawi, Senegal, and Nigeria, each chosen for their distinct approaches to population management and the subsequent epidemiology of their individual HIV crises. Through these case studies Robinson also stakes out the complex transnational, political, sociocultural, and economic factors which first shaped family planning policy and then HIV prevention. Unlike Malawi, which suffered an extremely high incidence of HIV, Senegal and Nigeria were both early adopters of population policies and housed family-planning NGOs prior to the onset of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Senegal and Nigeria also both have high levels of male circumcision, an important bio-cultural determinant of HIV prevention, as well as histories of technocratic leadership, strong civil societies, and a relative openness to international discourses regarding health policy. Malawi's initial response to both population growth and HIV was, by contrast, shaped by the socially conservative and anti-intellectualist dictatorship of Hastings Banda. Other factors, such as religious and ethnic fractionalization, also help to explain the relative success of both interventions.

This is a thoughtful and nondramatic account of health programming in Africa, setting itself as a valuable counterpoint to more political or polemical studies of population control such as Matthew Connelly's *Fatal Misconception*.² It is, moreover, an excellent piece of medical history and should become essential reading for anyone interesting in the history of HIV in Africa. As evidence of path dependency and policy feedback in national responses to health crises, we can also only hope that it finds a readership in public health circles as well.

Notes:

1 Paul R Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968).

2 Matthew James Connelly, *Fatal Misconception: The Struggle to Control World Population* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008).

John Nott, *Maastricht University*

Lorelle Semley. 2017. *To Be Free and French: Citizenship in France's Atlantic Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 382 pp.

With the exception of the Haitian Revolution, scholars have written sparingly about the history of France's Atlantic empire. In *To Be Free and French*, Lorelle Semley extends the historical narrative of the region geographically and chronologically by investigating how women and men of color navigated status, identity, and citizenship in French Atlantic urban areas from the late eighteenth to the late twentieth centuries. Semley draws on a variety of sources—ranging from artwork to oral data and petitions to performance—to weave together vivid tales of “trans-African” migrants and exiles whose claims of French citizenship revealed how “to be black and French was not a paradox” (p. 13). Semley engages with important themes such as gender and processes of transnational identity formation and argues that women and men of color “suggested they could be French and something more at the same time, redefining the meanings of citizenship in relation to their circumstances and a wider world” (p. 14). Furthermore, her study shows how women and men of color triggered anxieties within colonial spheres as they negotiated and shaped the

discourse on citizenship throughout a post-revolutionary French Atlantic world, thereby exposing the fragile nature of imperial foundations.

Semley divides the book into three interconnected parts: revolutionary foundations, colonial constructions, and planning after empire. She explores in detail how people of color lived in and moved between urban areas throughout a French Atlantic world “as they transitioned between slavery, colonization, and citizenship” (p. xv). The approach results in a seamless chronological tale that begins in late eighteenth century Le Cap, Sainte-Domingue prior to the French and Haitian revolutions and traverses the Atlantic by examining debates about citizenship in Gorée, Senegal; Saint-Pierre, Martinique; Porto-Novo, Benin; and Paris, France. Rather than portraying these urban spaces as lying at the margins of empire, Semley situates them as multilayered imperial centers where engaged women and men, free and enslaved, demonstrated “a multi-sided sense of self” (p. 150). Semley’s depictions of individual actors and descriptions of events in the cities lends a pulse to historical places historians often have difficulty capturing in their studies. Readers will find themselves transformed to these spaces, imagining the sights, sounds, and scents of the past.

Urban sites serve as important complimentary textual foundations for the chapters, with each otherwise focusing on a core legal document, interrelated correspondences, or specific revolutionary and political moments. Semley breaks ever so briefly from this approach in the final chapter, where she investigates the roles Antillean and African women and men played in shaping debates about citizenship in the Fourth Republic following World War II. She closes the book, however, with an epilogue that examines the 1966 First World Festival of the Negro Arts in Dakar, where participants and patrons realized that “the art of citizenship—and the challenge—has always been a striking balance between multiple communities of belonging and getting the world to recognize and respect that feat” (p. 301).

This is an important book that will stand out as a major contribution to Atlantic World, imperial, and diaspora histories for many years. There is so much to like about it. Scholars will appreciate how Semley compels us to rethink the periodization of Atlantic World history. Historians often frame an Atlantic past in terms of an early modern era, with transatlantic slavery and abolition serving as the main thematic anchors. Semley breaks through this temporal boundary with force. She also shifts the emphasis of scholarly debates away from the violence often associated with revolutionary activities. Her investigations of historical actors moving within and out of the urban areas at the center of her study demonstrates how a fluid discourse on citizenship and belonging “between Africans, European, and women and men of color ranged from profound violence to detached indifference to intimacy, sometimes simultaneously” (p. 17). Her concept of trans-African mobility is among the more important contributions, insofar as it attributes a stronger sense of agency and shows how individuals who hailed from or lived in Africa and participated in debates about citizenship remade an Atlantic World.

The biographical sketches Semley sews into the broader narrative fabric add much to the book and allow her to connect times and places in new and refreshing ways. Although she does not discuss the discourse on the biographical turn in Atlantic World studies specifically, it makes an Atlantic past seen far less abstract. Semley also includes personal thoughts and experiences, which enlivens the study and should appeal to broader audiences interested in the region. Put simply, this is a tremendous book.

Marcus B. Filippello, *University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

Landry Signé. 2017. *Innovating Development Strategies in Africa: The Role of International, Regional and National Actors*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 208 pp.

Many development strategies have been implemented in African states since the independence period. The main reason behind these strategies is to introduce administrative, sectoral, and structural reforms. Signé conceptualizes innovation by focusing not only on content but also on processes. According to author, “innovations do not necessarily imply an immediate and radical change of earlier institutions. They can also occur through the addition of new institutions and policies that may imply great changes or broader innovations” (p. 3). He illuminates how African governments choose and the institutional means by which they chose them.

The book has six chapters in addition to an introduction and a conclusion. Chapter one presents a literature review and examines their ability to explain innovation in development strategies in Africa. In chapter two, the author uses the neo-institutionalism approach by paying particular attention to the four key variables—ideas, interest, institutions, and time—in explaining change from the point of view of political and institutional innovation. The author also analyzes dimensions of innovation at three levels—international, regional and national levels.

Chapter three attempts to answer the question “what is the role of temporal and contextual factors in emergence, configuration and trajectory of political and institutional innovation in Sub-Saharan Africa’s development strategy” (p. 49). In this chapter the author identifies how, where, when, and why temporal, contextual and historical factors affect innovation in Africa. According to Signé, major innovations emerge when there is a conjunction between international and regional/national crises or between favorable contexts at the international and national/regional levels.

Chapter four analyze the dynamic of ideas for analyzing actor’s interests and strategies, since ideas are considered as constitutive of interests. Signé points out that the relationship between ideas and innovation, change or stability, depends on how ideas are defined and understood to influence political actions. The author also demonstrate the divergence between the ideas of international and national actors by examining historical context and principal orientations of national strategies and structural adjustment programs (SAPs) of selected African countries by dividing the sample countries on the basis of their type of economy, either socialist- leaning or liberal/mixed.

Signé in chapter five analyzes the process by which poverty reduction strategies (PRSPs) emerged and the role national and international actors played in their process. The author discusses the convergence and divergence of interests and strategies between national, regional and international actors according to period and goals of economic development strategies in this chapter. He found that interest play a dominant role in the process of policy innovation in Africa. Chapter six is about the conclusions drawn from earlier chapters. Signé identifies that ideas, interest, institutions, and temporal contexts explain each innovation by specifying the role played by national, regional and international actors. The conclusion of the book emphasize the contribution it makes to advancing the understanding of change, especially of political and institutional innovation in Africa

through the use of an universal perspective that includes the public administration and policy, comparative policies and international relations.

The strength of Signé book is the depth of its historical excavation and the synchronization of relevant literature on innovation in Africa. This book is an interesting scholarly piece which attempts to fill the gap that scholars have rarely had theoretical and heuristic goals to improve understanding of the processes by which development strategies in Africa have emerged and developed as well as the relationship between international, regional, and national actors in the emergence and evaluation of development institution and public policies in Africa. His approach challenges other scholars to think analytically about the procedure of policy innovation on the continent and to take seriously the ways in which national governments and regional organizations are reshaping the outlines of development strategy. Signé has succeeded in applying accurate, original thinking to one of the most important development issues of our time—that is rapid economic and political changes occurring in Africa.

Priya Dahiya, *University of Delhi*

Erin E. Stiles and Katrina Daly Thompson (eds.). 2015. *Gendered Lives in the Western Indian Ocean: Islam, Marriage, and Sexuality on the Swahili Coast*. Ohio: Ohio University Press. 406 pp.

Being a good Muslim includes the knowledge of what counts as “authentic” and “appropriate” (p. 2). This is the concern of all Muslim communities. *Gendered Lives in the Western Indian Ocean* addresses this concern by focusing on women, gender, and sexuality since little research in the Indian Ocean has been done from this perspective. A few commentators have disagreed with the title of the book, suggesting the subtitle *Islam, Marriage, and Sexuality in the Swahili Coast* to be the main title because of the book’s content. I disagree with these commentators because the book intends to show how gender influences one’s conceptualization of marriage and sexuality and being a good Muslim. Engendered lives play a crucial role in forming distinct subjectivities and lived experiences. The cover image of a married woman’s hand decorated with *henna* and bangles clearly depict the study’s project to analyze the centrality of gender in understanding the normative constructs of sexuality, femininity, etc. that ought to be “performed, negotiated, or rejected within and outside marriage” (p. 2). However, the study is geographically limited to a few areas, mainly Zanzibar, and doesn’t broadly cover the western Indian Ocean as it claims. Yet, its contribution to mark the presence of women in Indian Ocean studies literature and bring the *private* sphere (consisting of marriage, sexuality, and motherhood) to the mainstream cannot be overlooked.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, “Historical Transformations of Gender, Sexuality, and Marriage,” consists of three chapters. Each of these chapters reflects the difference in the perception of gender, sexuality, and marriage in terms of the following: (1) Girl and Woman, (2) Transition from slave to ex-slave, (3) from twentieth to the twenty-first century. The first chapter, “Schoolgirls and Women Teachers” by Corrie Decker, discusses the transition from girl to woman in Zanzibar tradition as marked by a ritual *ukungwi* where an elder female instructor taught a girl about sexuality (including the mechanics of sex) when she attained puberty. Elisabeth McMahan, in chapter 2, “The Value of a Marriage,” explores “the history of marriage among slaves and ex-slaves on Pemba Island and the

different approaches men and women took to marriage over time" (p. 60). While freed men saw marriage as an opportunity to "recreate patriarchal households of their former owners" (p. 61), women ex-slaves saw it as an opportunity to gain social respectability. In the third chapter, Pat Caplan traces the changes in women's perception about marriage, sexuality, and Islam since 1960s by studying two cases (one in 1960 and the other in 2003) closely. Interestingly, in 2003, the perception is shaped more by essentialist Islam as compared to 1960.

Part two explores contemporary expressions of coastal femininity and womanhood. Chapters 4 thru 7 delve into the understanding of discourses about sex as closely being bound up with "ideas of what it means to be a morally good person and a good Muslim" (p. 119). While both men and women are taught "techniques to enhance sexual pleasure" (p. 117) through rituals like *singo*, the instructions have become more private—initiated only before wedding—due to the growing threat of HIV and AIDS. Brides-to-be are trained through "gender socialization" and "language socialization" (p. 171) so that they learn about sacred and profane speech while developing their identity as a "Muslim wife and adult woman" (p. 169). Throughout this section, the friction between Swahili culture and rituals, and Islam is brought about.

The third part logically moves to the discussion on masculinity. The broad theme covered in the last four chapters is regarding the definition of masculinity in ritual and marriage. It discusses various pre-marriage and post-marriage customs that the groom undergoes. It also lays out the intentions of a man for polygyny, if he can afford to take care of all the family members (as stipulated in the Qur'an). They view it as "both a symbol of success and an Islamic virtue" (p. 350), considering it as an attribute of a good Muslim man. However, the first wife of a man can initiate a divorce if he intends to marry another woman. Failure to satisfy one's wife sexually can also be the grounds on which a woman can initiate a divorce.

Gendered Lives in the Western Indian Ocean presents an inter-disciplinary approach to depict women's sexual agency, acknowledging their pious commitments, through well-contextualized examples. It goads one to rethink gender relations and marriage, and the role of institutions such as schools in shaping those relations.

Muhamed Riyaz Chengenakkattil, *Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi*

Jennifer Tappan. 2017. *The Riddle of Malnutrition: The Long Arc of Biomedical and Public Health Interventions in Uganda*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. xx, 218 pp.

Hunger and starvation persist in many places, though their intolerability and obscenity have propelled much humanitarian action in the past decades. Without going into the complicated aetiologies of hunger, the historian Jennifer Tappan's absorbing *The Riddle of Malnutrition* examines the history of nutrition research and anti-hunger measures in Uganda. She proposes one explanation for the inefficacy of such programs—what she identifies as a failure of the aid industry to institute mechanisms to learn from past experiences and build on local successes. This stands in marked contrast to common Ugandans' memories, where she suggests that the effects of long past medical experiments had sedimented. The riddle Tappan unpacks is how a highly successful, locally embedded

and innovative nutrition rehabilitation program in Uganda could fall into oblivion after being on the forefront of global nutrition research in the 1940s and 1950s. With compelling details and drawing on the personal papers of doctors working at Kampala's Mulago hospital, she shows what turned the Mwanamugimu pediatric nutrition ward into a huge success and model for other African countries. This was its local ownership, which it pushed beyond the narrow confines of biomedicine, and mixed treatment and preventive measures. Tappan foregrounds the story of charismatic expat and later Ugandan doctors who devised this program and in post-independent Uganda held a faltering infrastructure together through their own efforts, expertise, their ingenious ability to stretch scarce resources and their devotion to helping fellow Ugandans. A surprising finding is that Mwanamugimu was able to expand its services throughout the dark years of Obote (I and II) and Amin, whereas the 1980s neoliberal reforms caused significant service cuts in the national health system and the unit's demise. Critical of quick fixes delivered by donors that have filled this gap left by crumbling national budgets, like many medical anthropologists before her, Tappan argues convincingly for the value of long-term and sustained investments in national public health systems that seem to have little place in today's economized aid landscape that ticks according to the clock of short-term projects. Nonetheless, in the absence of a discussion of dynamics driving hunger, I took her to be disproportionately damning of the aid industry at times, dismissing important ongoing efforts to tackle severe undernutrition.

While offering a critique of the downsides of short-term and targeted interventions so prevalent in global health today, the book could have benefited from connecting the Ugandan case more firmly to changing paradigms in global nutrition and public health. For example, her critique of the medicalization of nutrition could have been bolstered by the fact that more recent thinking in public health nutrition highlights the need for networked, ecological, and holistic approaches to nutrition, ideas that indeed were prevalent early in Uganda as she so lucidly shows. Or, Tappan suggests that interest in nutrition has waned (p. 5), when the UN general assembly has just declared the "Decade of Action on Nutrition (2016-2025)" (http://www.who.int/nutrition/decade-of-action/information_flyer/en/, accessed 15.1.2018). She may, however, be referring to severe acute malnutrition (SAM) only, where most progress was made over the past decades and from where the funding focus has shifted away towards to all forms of malnutrition (including being overweight, obesity etc.; see <http://www.fao.org/state-of-food-security-nutrition/en/>, accessed 15.1.2018).

The difference she teases out between the institutional forgetfulness of medical pasts and local Ugandan remembrance is captivating. Still, I sometimes wondered whether she could have extended her research more into the present. Whereas Tappan's story suggests a gradual demise of Mwanamugimu since the 1980s, it remains unclear in what ways the program has frazzled; particularly as it is still operative today. The epilogue speculates that the use of ready-to-use-therapeutic food (RUTF), a peanut paste distributed to children with severe acute malnutrition, as medicalized quick fix may displace the long-term programs and compete with the so-called *kitobero*, a nutritious dish cooked with traditional cooking methods. However, a closer engagement with the current staff at Mwanamugimu could have revealed that RUTF plays a role in rehabilitation as one item in a portfolio of treatment options and is administered before children are sent home and are instructed to consume the *kitobero*.

These are minor shortcomings. Overall this is an intriguing book that tells a forgotten history of African-based research, a book that highlights African agency and creativity, and

a story that reminds of the critical importance of adapting globally circulating models, technologies and programs to local circumstances for them to be successful.

Sandra Calkins, *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology*

Samuel Totten (ed.) 2017. *Sudan's Nuba Mountains People Under Siege: Accounts By Humanitarians in the Battle Zone*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co. 263 pp.

The context of this edited volume is the situation of a land-locked area at the southern border of Sudan, the Nuba Mountains, which has been a battleground between the Sudan People's Liberation Army-North and the Government of Sudan since June 2011. This violent conflict is part of a long struggle over the region's position in Sudan's unsettled state building and was in a previous war (1983-2005) part of the same fights that led to separation of South Sudan but no comparable "clarity" for the Nuba Mountains. When this renewed war broke out, shortly before the South's independence, the Government of Sudan (GoS) imposed a similar policy it had followed during that previous war: no humanitarian access was granted, despite all diplomatic and advocacy efforts.

This book contains mostly autobiographical texts by people who did not wait for GoS permission to deliver medical and food aid and to document the ongoing atrocities. It gives insights into the way these individuals perceive the war and their role in it, their political thinking, their reconstruction of own motivations and acts in front of a global audience, often also including an open call out to this audience. The texts often remained unedited, factual errors uncorrected, and claims on unwitnessed events without references, which makes them rather highly personal oral history material than studies of the ongoing conflicts. But some of the texts succeed in bringing about the level of ongoing suffering in heart-wrenching and deeply touching ways, much so Tom Catena's text, not so much just because of the gruesome details, but because of the pervading sense of moral duty, occasional frustration, and honest concern to fail, enunciated by somebody constantly in the midst of it.

Most contributions have been written by short-term visitors, whose accounts are interesting, from a regional studies point of view, most of all for details of coming to and moving in the Nuba Mountains, as they give glimpses not just into how SPLM-N and other entities stayed connected outside their areas and—especially in Totten's paper—organized humanitarian efforts, but also into the functioning of the young South Sudanese state, partly before it exploded into violent conflict. At the same time, several of them carry familiar stereotypical notions of Africa—this "rough and wild part of the world" (p. 104); Tomo Križnar most of all presents a paternalistic and romanticizing view of "the natives," culminating in the proposal to establish a natural park for their protection, "as enjoyed now by gorillas in Virunga National Park in the Congo" (p. 36).

While the book provides only a very rudimentary analysis of the conflicts, it portrays very well the biographical and intellectual background of those who actually engage on the ground in the Nuba Mountains nowadays. The authors' position and convictions inevitably create their own blind spots, among which the unquestioned support of Christianization is probably one of the first to be picked up by a less than sympathetic reader, as it contradicts the concomitant evocation of a pure and/or ancestral Nuba identity and culture, which

seems to be challenged here only by Muslim-Arab influences and often unquestionably violent policies, but not by a strongly missionary Christian presence that, historically seen, is much younger in the area and has several issues with practices that were seen as normal just one generation ago and others that have come up recently.

Another blind spot is that a differentiated look at the Sudanese political landscape is made impossible by the overshadowing figure of the Islamist dictatorship represented by Umar al-Bashir. Under this figure, political alliances, splits in movements, relatives fighting on opposite sides for different reasons, defections, deals and agreements disappear. There is also a strong focus on armed resistance against marginalization, which is by far not the only way Nuba have resisted their systematic discrimination. This has much to do with contextualization of *why* this violence happens, which is often—not always—fit here in the narrative of a one-man project of genocidal attacks of Arabs Muslims on Black African Christians. Much can be, and has been, said about this narrative, but the aspect sticking out here is how it interlinks with how “the Nuba” are reduced to those residing in the war areas and how SPLA-N’s legitimacy is generalized in a way that wouldn’t work in any other political analysis: in fact, there is a spectrum between arduous support via indifference to hostility as elsewhere, especially if one looks outside the areas under their control. In fact, the experience of and struggle against discrimination and marginalization is *not* limited to these—or even just the southern—areas in Sudan or to Nuba; a recognition of this shines sometimes through, especially in Ryan Boyette’s piece, but is not what informs most of these pages.

However, as Tom Catena, and others in other ways, stated self-reflectively, “to maintain some sort of perspective is a challenge” when surrounded by mutilated victims of cluster bombs, and none of these critical qualifications devalues what witnessing the last years in these areas of the Nuba Mountains means, for now and even more for the future. The mayhem caused by the government’s armed forces in the region over six years has been documented extensively and was committed in such an obvious way among non-combatants that refutation is about cynical denial, not lack of evidence.

Overall the book confronts with the pain-staking question how to balance between an emphatic account of ongoing suffering and accurate contextualization, which requires distance and a certain detachment that comes with it. Neither alone can be fully claimed to “do justice” to what goes on, which makes both indispensable for representation. Where to lean more to seems political in its implications, and it is likely safe to say that those involved in this volume rather lean to the former and are, righteously so, comfortable with it, as it means for them also to lean towards remedial action. Therein lies both the documentary and, more importantly, human value of the book and, as the book authors ultimately argue, a moral imperative.

Enrico Ille, *LOST Research Network*

Olivier J. Walther and William F.S. Miles (eds.). 2018. *African Border Disorders: Addressing Transnational Extremist Organizations*. New York: Routledge. 209 pp.

This collection of papers demonstrates the utility of combining network analysis and geographic analysis methods to understand cross-border conflicts and transborder organized crime in Sub-Saharan Africa. Even for those unfamiliar with these methods, the volume provides plenty to learn from the focus on both current and historical conflicts in

Central and West Africa. This edited book includes a Preface and Conclusion by the book's editors and nine chapters authored by fifteen academics.

African Border Disorders grew, as the Preface/Forward acknowledges, out of a conversation following a DASTI-funded workshop at the division of Global Affairs at Rutgers University. The volume's strengths and weaknesses reflect its origins. All are experts in social network analysis and new quantitative security analysis methods, and all but two of the authors are male. Despite writing on transnational security challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa, there is not a single author from the region. This distribution reflects the narrow interest and expertise in these methodologies at this time, and the particular genesis of the volume itself.

Divided into three sections, the reader can jump to the section that most closely matches their interest: the first uses GIS and network analysis to analyze armed group behavior; the second uses similar methods to approach the spread of Boko Haram in the Lake Chad basin; the third examines violent extremist groups' understandings of operating across state boundaries and the responses from states and civil society in the region.

The specific audience for the volume is clear throughout, as many, though not all, of the chapters are more proofs of concept than contributions to the field of African security studies. Eager to show their practical applications, the authors tout the possibility of their use in prediction of attack locations, splintering within groups, and fighting among non-state armed groups (NSAGs). As the editors describe in the introduction, "Thus far, the *social* networks underlying political and religious movements in the region and the *spatial* patterns of attacks have often been considered separately" (p. 5). While these approaches have been considered together in other parts of the world, the authors aimed to fill the gap in the literature in Central and West Africa and the Maghreb. These methods are introduced as a complement to existing analytical methods, especially for predictive analysis.

African Border Disorders is most appropriate for the researcher or policymaker already steeped in the politics and conflicts in the region. It may be of particular interest for those whose research focuses on ethnography or case studies, as these methodologies provide interesting opportunities for complementary partnerships. For researchers already employing these methods or similar methods, the proof-of-concept nature of the volume may prove less useful.

Despite its set up as a calling card for the authors with potential funders and adopters of these methodologies, individual chapters provide useful insight for those interested in non-state armed groups (NSAG) dynamics in Africa. Many of the authors have used familiar data sources (e.g. ACLED) for novel reflections on ongoing conflicts and to examine historical patterns. For researchers and policymakers following Boko Haram, Catriona Dowd and Nikolas Emmanuel both provide worthwhile chapters that appropriately place both the spread and response to Boko Haram in a regional context. Without a strong background in the region, and an independent understanding of conflict dynamics, drivers, and group behavior, researchers have a model disconnected from reality and are unable to readjust assumptions to reflect reality on the ground. As the various authors acknowledge, all models must be reviewed and adapted based on researcher knowledge of the conflicts. Overall, the authors make a convincing case for policymakers to adopt these methodologies,

and for qualitatively-focused peers to consider adding these methodologies to their analysis for greater depth and predictive capacity.

Emily Cole, *United States Institute of Peace*

Anne Wolf. 2017. *Political Islam in Tunisia: The History of Ennahda*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 269 pp.

Here controversy starts with the title, since there is more to *Political Islam in Tunisia* than the contemporary party Ennahda. But, whatever reservations one might raise, this volume presents a coherent (if by design limited) narrative and includes a wealth of new source material. The book can be seen as a kind of companion piece to Kenneth Perkins' *A History of Modern Tunisia* (2014) to which Ms. Wolf refers. Among the new source materials presented are translations from the Arabic of several Ennahda party congress documents (including an April 2001 party history), as well as portions of interviews with Rachid Ghannouchi and other party leaders. Even a few cables from the U.S. embassy in Tunis appear (courtesy of Wikileaks)—though the judgements expressed therein are only occasionally on-target and make no contribution to Wolf's narration of the party history. Ms. Wolf has done painstaking research, and if Ennahda leaders have at times been reticent, held their cards close to their chests, or disagree with each other, that doesn't diminish her achievement.

There are many shoals to be navigated in Tunisia's current political environment: to what extent to cooperate with centrist and moderate parties, how to balance the needs of rural areas with those of the urban population (see for example Intissar Kherigi's October 2017 article in www.middleeasteye.net), to what extent persons associated with the pre-2011 regime might be rehabilitated—but the buried headlines in this story are the facts that: a) the majority of the Tunisian electorate has repeatedly voted either with the centrists and moderates, or negatively against Islamist platforms, and b) over the past twenty years Ennahda has steadily moved to the center. Looking past the alarmism of the European and North American press, election results tell the tale: in the constituent assembly elections of October 2011—and this was the high-tide of Ennahda's popularity—the party received 37 percent of the vote, not a majority. A coalition called the troika was then formed with centrist elements and alliances. The October 2014 assembly elections are even clearer: the big tent centrist coalition Nidaa Tounes won 38 percent of the vote, Ennahda 28 percent and left, right and Arab Nationalist groups another 13 percent. So what really emerges in Ms. Wolf's work is Ennahda's reinvention. Today the party leadership endorses the principle of multi-party governance, acknowledges the contributions of women in contemporary society, and has even been heard to call itself merely another Tunisian party (Ghannouchi, July 2013). In the May 2016 party congress members resolved to embrace "Muslim democracy," leaving behind "political Islam." The latter banner the party had found increasingly problematic in light of Muslim Brotherhood missteps in Egypt, the ensuing fall of Morsi, and the tumultuous fortunes of ISIS. Just as national leader Habib Bourguiba did in an earlier age, Ennahda leaders have kept a watchful eye on developments in the rest of the Arab world.

The post-2011 failures of the party fall into two areas: national security and economic planning. In the first area, Ennahda repeatedly underestimated the danger from extreme Islamist groups such as the Salafists, the Battalion of 'Uqba Ibn Nafi (note the martial echoes;

the name of an Arab conqueror), and others. While since the 2011 revolution secular and leftist forces have been frequently inchoate, opponents on the right, though fewer in number, have often been deadly: the Salafists were legalized then proscribed again, and violence flared repeatedly with the assassination of Democratic Patriots Movement leader Chokri Belaid (February 2013), People's Movement founder Mohammad Brahmi (July 2013), the attack on the Bardo Museum (March 2015), on a resort in Sousse (June 2015), etc. In 2013 it was estimated Tunisia had perhaps two thousand young people fighting in Syria and another fifteen hundred associated with extremist groups in Libya. Those youths need to return to a country that can provide jobs and hope for the future, which leads to the second point: the economy. Ben Ali's fall had more to do with economic stagnation and unremitting high unemployment (especially among the youth) than any tension between a secular line and the need to respect Islamic tradition. Both Nidaa Tounes and Ennahda lack a robust vision to deal with economic challenges. If the two parties separately or working together cannot make progress on this front, the times ahead will be increasingly dangerous.

Politics is a messy business, but to paraphrase Churchill: "Tunisia has made the least progress of any of the post-Arab Spring regimes—except for all the rest." This work is very timely.

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