

BOOK REVIEWS

Alexius Amtaika (ed.). 2017. *Socio-Economic Development in Africa: Challenges and Dimensions*. Austin, Texas: Pan-African University Press. 461 pp.

Socio-Economic Development in Africa: Challenges and Dimensions, edited by Alexius Amtaika, is a collection of essays written by an assemblage of scholars from diverse areas of the Social Sciences. In all, it contains seventeen chapters, organized into six broad parts, with a foreword, a preface and an introduction written by the editor. The first part, titled "Theoretical Perspectives," contains three chapters. It opens with a theoretical exploration of the divergent perspectives towards understanding the ontology of development. Drawing extensively on classical and contemporary literature on development studies, Amtaika attempts to lay bare the contending theoretical frameworks that have informed development policies in Africa in the last five decades. Following Amtaika's theoretical piece are two chapters focusing on the state versus the private sector and participatory development. The central issue that seems to cut across the two chapters is that neither the state nor the private sector in Africa is developed enough to serve as the agent of development, due to a combination of certain historical factors.

Part two, "Poverty and Expectations," contains two chapters and as its title suggests, the chapters focus on the various dimensions of poverty and inequality in Africa. What the contributors of the two chapters would seem to be telling the readers is that growing poverty and inequality among citizens are the greatest threats to realizing democracy-development transition in Africa. Local government is the focus of part three of the book. The contributors, using South Africa's LG system as empirical referent, x-ray the various contradictions that have shaped the contours of local governance and development in South Africa since 1994. They posit that LG administration in post-apartheid South Africa has been bogged down by crisis of human capacity building.

In part four, titled "Violent Service Delivery," with two chapters, the contributors dwell on the phenomenon of Violent Service Delivery (VSD). Instructively, while the ninth chapter written by the duo of Benolo Selebano and Alexius Amtaika focuses on explicating the theoretical constructs that best explain the problematic of VSD in South Africa, Mbekezeli Mkhize attempts to lay bare why South Africa's cities have become the protest capital of the world. Succinctly put, the authors of both chapters submit that an atmosphere of unfulfilled expectations has resulted in rising frustration which has in turn played out as violent service protests across major municipalities in South Africa.

Part five, titled "Experiences of African Countries," draws on comparative experiences of a few selected African countries. Specifically, the four chapters in this part of the book dwell on the issues of neo-liberal globalization, developmental actors and financial crimes. Ben Weiss' chapter eleven explores the impact of structural adjustment policies in Zambia on the copper industry and the medicalized sector. What he seems to be teasing out for the readers is that the adopted policies by the governments in Lusaka forced them to abandon their social provisioning roles and thus paving the way for the ascendancy of westernized medicalized institutions. Interestingly, a similar conclusion was drawn by Moliehi Motseki-Mokhothu, following his exploration of the impact of globalization on the rural people of Lesotho. Both would seem to say that neo-liberal globalization has transformed state-citizen relations in Zambia and Lesotho.

Faith Akor's chapter thirteen examines the role of women in development in Nigeria and submits that despite the transformation brought about by rapid modernization in Nigeria, women

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v18/v18i4a4.pdf>

have continued to be a major partner in the development process. The last chapter in part five, by Mansur Lubabah Kwambo, x-rays the impact of financial crimes on democracy in Nigeria. He posits that the inability of the governments, especially at the local level, to put in place effective governance mechanisms to check the incidences of financial crimes has impacted the quality of governance.

Part six, titled “Regional Integration and Continental Experience,” opens with Kenneth Kalu’s chapter fifteen that interrogates how perverse institutions have accounted for poor economic performance of the continent. Conclusively, he canvases for a greater role for the international community in ensuring that institutions, that promote state-society relations, work in Africa. Peace Jiboku and Ufo Okeke-Uzodike’s chapter examines the democratic deficit in development regionalism and calls for the bringing of civil society organizations (CSOs) back-in into the continent’s integration process. In the last chapter of the book, M.O Odey dwells on a myriad of issues that have straddled environment-development nexus in Africa. Specifically, he argues that climate change has affected people’s livelihood and thus contributed to food insecurity.

Overall, the book is no doubt a worthy addition to the burgeoning development studies in Africa. The chapters addressed myriads of issues on Africa’s developmental trajectories. However, a few blemishes were observed. Firstly, there are also a few syntax errors in the book which ought to have been rectified with another round of proofreading. Secondly, since many abbreviations were used in the book, an appendix should have been created for the list of abbreviations. Thirdly, the title of chapter seventeen and issues raised therein have no connection with the theme of the part. These observations, notwithstanding, the book will, without any doubt, be of great relevance in the research, policy and advocacy circles in Africa and beyond.

Adeniyi S. Basiru, *University of Lagos*

Beyene Atakilte (ed.). 2018. *Agricultural Transformation in Ethiopia: State Policy and Smallholder Farming*. London: Zed Books. 192 pp.

Atakilte’s edited volume brings together eight chapters written by renowned Ethiopian scholars to examine the achievements, prospects, and challenges of smallholder agricultural transformation in Ethiopia. It grounds analysis through a historical and “contemporarist” framework that privileges the dynamism of smallholder agriculture, and one that extends beyond the family farm to include how a multitude of other forces limit agricultural change in the country. Using ethnographic, archival, and other written sources, it presents specific case studies of such aspects as institutions governing farmers’ access, transfer, accumulation and resource distribution, cultural and socio-political values, food customs, and smallholders’ health and well-being.

A discussion of post-1975 state policy on land is exciting. To achieve social justice, the government nationalized land and redistributed it to the landless Ethiopians. While such socialist reforms eliminated the previous inequalities which the age-old feudal system perpetuated, the land was fragmented into smaller units, rendering agricultural transformation virtually impossible to achieve without land consolidation. Both Atalkite’s introductory chapter and Daniel Ambaye’s discussion on land rights, for example, criticize subsequent governments for advancing contradictory state policy hostile to smallholder agricultural transformation. While showing commitment towards commercializing smallholder farming, land consolidation has not featured as a priority area. Instead, the law restricts the permanent land sale or mortgage at the pretext of safeguarding farmer’s tenure security.

Land certification, moreover, has not been a panacea to tenure security for some categories of Ethiopian farmers, chief among them are women-headed households Mulunesh Alebachew discusses. Constrained with patriarchal societal attitudes that limit them to domestic circles, and limited access to plow technology, such women cannot effectively use their land. Prolonged land

rentals have resulted in permanent loss of rights in it often through the aid of male kin, corrupt judicial officers, and land administrators.

Shortfalls in the production sector have matched land reform challenges and others. Smallholder farmers cannot effectively access agricultural inputs (such as fertilizer, improved seed, and agrochemicals) and output marketing systems, a subject which Fentahun Tesafa discusses at length. Such obstacles as poor road network, inadequate information on input prices, themselves a product of weak supply chains, compound the problem in question. One way of mitigating such shortfalls, we are told, is to reduce state monopoly in rural agriculture while encouraging the private sector's participation. Even with that, interventions into the rural economy should be less hierarchical and aim at understanding specific farmer interests. A large-scale smallholder intensification program the state launched in the 1990s is illustrative. While it proved successful because of its unique Participatory Demonstration and Training Extension System (PADETES) that also provided credit and inputs, such successes were not sustained beyond the first ten years. Over time, farmers resorted to using local maize seed because it was cheap, readily available, and locally tested for its reliability as opposed to that obtained from the market. Again, farmers resented top-down extension services that did little to tap their local knowledge (p. 27).

One question whose answer remains unclear in the volume concerns the agency of smallholder farmers as actors with the capacity to triumph over production, marketing, and related challenges. For instance, in reflecting on how value addition could be achieved in potato marketing, Kassa Alemu's chapter recommends contract farming, with smallholders benefitting from the best skills of large-scale agricultural experts. In Alebachew's chapter, female farmers, often lacking knowledge of the legal system, cannot reclaim their rights to registered land. For a country boasting 60,126 primary cooperatives with 9,393,201 farmers and 326 cooperative unions with 8,932 primary cooperatives (p. 39), one wonders why Ethiopia's rural farmers should display a knowledge gap in diverse aspects affecting them. Some insights could be gleaned from Nigisie Abadi and Girmay Tesefay's discussion on climate-resilient agricultural practices manifesting through the Gogo Dam which the state constructed to supply water for irrigation. The Water Users' Association, so they argue, could not convince its membership on "cluster farming and upscaling" (p. 74). Top-down strategies of setting up the farmer's management team precluded a sense of ownership over the scheme. The cooperative movement in Ethiopia needs attention even though this does not feature as one among the book's recommendations (pp. 180-85).

That said, *Agricultural Transformation in Ethiopia* is a work that speaks to multiple aspects affecting smallholder agricultural commercialization in the African continent. Packaged through a simple language, it should be a readily available resource book for policymakers. Again, its multidisciplinary touch should appeal to students and scholars from diverse areas, including those interested in agrarian studies.

Gift Wasambo Kayira, *West Virginia University*

Christopher Ballantine, Michael Chapman, Kira Erwin and Gehard Mare (eds.). 2017. *Living Together, Living Apart? Social Cohesion in a Future South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press. 197 pp.

Living Together, Living Apart? Social Cohesion in a Future South Africa succinctly captures the prevailing social, cultural, racial, political and cultural discontinuities. Njabulo S. Ndebele's "At Ease with Being Citizen and Human Being" is a paradox of complexities of the history of South Africa hewed from personal experiences as well as social and political dichotomies in its search for social cohesion through the literary lens of Chinua Achebe's novel, *No Longer at Ease*. He charged that "it is time South Africans began to appreciate the value of aspiring towards the universal and then to

live in it, to become a part of it to the cumulative value of the experience of the being free in the specificity of their historical circumstances, where dream and effort are inseparable” (p. 15).

Himla Soodyall and Faye Reagon’s “Human Variation: What Can We Learn from Genetics?” posits that human beings can be different in physical structure but that this is not of genetic structure and social cohesion. David Spurrett explores social cohesion through the philosophical lens in “Agreeing to Disagree.” He argues that in order to pursue a healthy society, disagreement, contestation and controversy cannot be ruled out. From political point of view, Kira Erwin submits that the call for social cohesion is not new and unique to South Africa, other countries have also used the term while addressing inequalities but there is the need to avoid the politicization and rhetoric of the subject matter. However, Gerhard Mare noted that there should be a call for new social cohesion in the post-apartheid South African which will break the barrier of poverty and inequality between the rich and the poor. Monique Mark’s use of wall as a symbol of barrier against criminal acts among the upperclass homes is instructive. She argues that the high walls are more than just physical barriers; they are obstacles to creating solidarity between people in South Africa.

Kathryn Pillay’s “Ama Ndiya, They’re Not South Africans! Xenophobia and Citizenship,” reiterates that the contributions of media and South African musicians towards painting negative image especially of Indians and other immigrants can never be over emphasized. In chapter nine, Michael Chapman on the dichotomy of “Them and Us” suggests that the public voice needs to be more alert than it is at present in South Africa. However, Rajend Mesthrie in chapter ten declares that linguistic insight can remove sectarian emotion while identifying the creative potential of language diversity and change. Christopher Ballantine argues that music is one of the vital instruments that bring people together in their diversities as it combats stereotypes, transcends national and ethnic particularism and thus creates images of coexistence.

Nevertheless, Schmahmann points out the representation of diversity of creative arts and its reflection on the histories and how it can bring people closer together as a form of social cohesion and nation-building. Meanwhile, Ahmed Bawa’s “Broad Social Agency: A Way to a Better Society” reiterates that social cohesion has to do with the continuous development of a society that progressively builds broad social purpose and action towards the intensification of its human rights and social justice agenda. In chapter fourteen, Michael Gardiner focuses on a reimagined educational system as one of the vital instruments for workable social cohesion. He offers conversions of educational theory into practical and achievable goals for the fostering of a more enlightened corps of education and learners. Jackie Dugard and Bonita Meyersfield in chapter fifteen discuss how sexual harassment and violence in the higher institution has become order of the day. To achieve social cohesion, they argue that there is the need for better understanding of the dangers of harassment and intimidation in education. On the other hand, Leigh-Ann Naidoo sees sport as another tool for social cohesion and submits that sport is often seen as the vehicle that best brings people from different geographical areas, histories and cultural backgrounds together. In chapter seventeen, Nicole Fritz addresses another ramification of global demands and recommends implicitly that South Africa be ever-cognizant of the ramifications of its foreign policy. Finally, Jacob Dlamini reflects on how South Africa may heal the division of the past whereby some heroes are to be remembered for their good contribution after apartheid South Africa. This compendium contributes towards a practical social cohesive society as captured by scholars from different areas of life. While the chapters tackle key challenges and obstacles to social cohesion, they also frequently suggest possibilities for how to overcome them.

Babatunde Aderemi Adedibu, *Redeemer’s University, Nigeria*

Herman L. Bennett. 2019. *African Kings and Black Slaves: Sovereignty and Dispossession in the Early Modern Atlantic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 226 pp.

Herman Bennett's *African Kings and Black Slaves* opens our eyes to a different and more nuanced and balanced narrative of late medieval or early "modern" encounter between "Europe" and Africa. The book examines the Iberian experience in Africa in the fifteenth century which has been largely overlooked by historians of Africa, of the 'European-African' encounter, and of Atlantic history and the slave trade. It certainly challenges the orthodox account of the rise of Europe/the West and the advent of modernity. Bennett argues that the early connections between Africans and Europeans were not solely and predominantly economic, but involved conflicting understandings of diplomacy, sovereignty and politics. His book shows how African kings (or chiefs) possessed their own refined diplomatic rituals and practices in dealing with Iberian merchants, in establishing treaties, and in making other deals. This, of course, clearly means that Iberians used to negotiate with autonomous territories. Similarly, he demonstrates how Iberians understood African sovereignty by reference to medieval European political principles grounded in Roman civil and common law. Their assessment of this sovereignty determined who, according to them, could be enslaved and who could not. This suggests that earlier exchanges between Africans and Europeans were based on those notions of African sovereignty and that the slave trade was not a practice easily imposed and carried out by Europeans on Africans.

African Kings and Black Slaves troubles the ongoing tale of early modern African-European encounters as being exclusively dictated by the slave trade and racial difference. The four centuries (15th -19th) of diverse and complex exchanges between Africans and Europeans cannot be reduced to the history of a singular phenomenon of slaving mediated through the nineteenth-century prism of liberalism and the popular narrative of the African-European contact that was defined by conquest, possession and dispossession, a history that no longer withstands solid evidence. The history of these encounters was not only a history of conquerors and conquered, winners and losers, colonized and colonized. It was also one of intersecting, mutual, and reciprocal relations, where Africans, not Europeans only, showed and imposed their forms and rituals of sovereign power and sovereignty. While it is true that part of the African past is a component of the narrative of Europe/West since the fifteenth century, but Africa has its own past, which predates Europe and the West.

The narrative of modernity, which considers that European expansion was a secular and liberating force conceals a more complex history, featuring competing interest among clerics, traders and nobles. Europe was not a monolithic entity and Europeans were different socio-culturally, politically and economically. They remained above all and until very recently competitors and hostile to one another. Their encounters with Africans (and others as well) could not have, therefore, been uniform. The history of Europe associated with the slave trade in the Atlantic should be rewritten with more subtlety with regard to a long and complex process and far from the triumphalism, which has so far characterized most of it. African rulers were not all despots and did not all trade in humans and were not all, consequently, responsible for the slave trade and slavery, as they were most often depicted. In the same vein, the advent of Europeans, state formation, capital and free trade did not constitute a "liberating and civilizing" scheme, which curtailed despotic African rule, the slave trade and slavery altogether.

On the basis of travelogues and chronicles, Herman Bennett masterly demonstrated how rituals, ceremonies and symbols played a crucial part in the interaction between Africans and Europeans in the first century of encounter between them. These traditions were at the heart of the nature of power that triggered the slave trade and slavery. These symbolic expressions of power were vital aspects of the slaving and colonial past and used to determine sovereignty, politics, and subject status. *African Kings and Black Slaves* has the merit of providing historicity, an outlook and

nuance to the history of the first encounters between Africans and Europeans and to the history of “western modernity.”

This book is now a must to everyone interested in the history of the early transatlantic slave trade and slavery, the emergence of “modern Europe” and most importantly the interactions between Africans and Europeans.

Adel Manai, *Qatar University*

Kathleen Bickford Berzock. (ed.) 2019. *Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time: Art, Culture, and Exchange Across Medieval Saharan Africa*. Evanston: Block Museum of Art, Northwestern University and Princeton: Princeton University Press. 312 pp.

Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time is a companion to a groundbreaking exhibition at the Block Museum of Art at Northwestern University (2019), the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto (2019-20), and the National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C. (2020). Both the book and the exhibition examine the history of the Saharan region by showcasing medieval remains from Mali, Morocco, and Nigeria and highlighting Africa’s central role in world history, before the Atlantic slave trade and colonialism. More than thirty institutions lent items for the exhibit, including those from Canada, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Edited by Kathleen Bickford Berzock, a specialist in African art history and associate director of the Block Museum of Art, the book is intended to appeal to both scholars and general readers.

Twenty-one authors contributed to the book, including archaeologists, art historians, curators, and historians from Africa, Europe, and North America. Much more than an exhibition catalog, the book contains a detailed series of essays on medieval Saharan Africa’s connections to the wider world. The first section, “Groundwork,” discusses material fragments, Arabic language sources, the gold trade, and “protecting Africa’s medieval cultural heritage” (p. 35). The second, “Sites,” surveys key locations in Mali, Morocco, and Nigeria that have yielded evidence on medieval trans-Saharan exchange. Section three, “Matter in Motion,” features case studies that reveal specific aspects of trans-Saharan trade. The last section, “Reverberations,” looks at the legacy of trans-Saharan trade after the fifteenth century, when West African coastal trade began to flourish. The book is richly illustrated with color photographs of sculptures, pottery, jewelry, ceramics, rock paintings, Arabic language manuscripts, coins, textiles, gold and ivory objects, and archaeological sites and excavations. It also includes many helpful maps of early and contemporary Africa. This is a handsome book that beautifully captures the items on display at the physical exhibition.

Caravans of Gold is more than a mere coffee table book, however. Its nineteen chapters cover a diverse range of topics and are clearly written and insightful. The essays are distinct rather than part of a single overarching narrative. One essay (chapter 5) discusses the dangers facing West Africa’s archaeological sites, many of which have been looted, damaged or destroyed over the years. Another (chapter 7) shows that much of the gold mined and minted in Africa became the basis of currency in Europe and the Middle East. Chapter 12 shows the extent to which West African gold, ivory, and copper were coveted across the Mediterranean world. It also briefly discusses Mansa Musa, the fourteenth century king of Mali who made a famous pilgrimage to Mecca. The authors of chapter 14 explain how gold was mined, processed, refined, and made into coinage and correct the assumption that all gold processing occurred north of the Sahara. In an essay on Islamic literacy and Arabic manuscripts (chapter 16), another author demonstrates that West Africans did not just receive or absorb Islamic scholarship but contributed to it with their own writings and intellectual traditions. The last essay (chapter 19) discusses contemporary migration across the Sahara, which has risen steadily in recent years as West Africans seek higher wages and educational opportunities in Europe. The author draws parallels between slave traders of the past and contemporary human traffickers, both of whom exploited West Africans and facilitated their passage to North Africa. The

bibliography at the end of the book is extensive and up-to-date and includes primary and secondary sources in English and other languages.

As wide-ranging as *Caravans of Gold* is, a few topics merit additional attention. There is no substantive discussion of Timbuktu, which might disappoint some educators and the wider public. Similarly, a more in-depth discussion of Mansa Musa would interest general readers and those who teach African history. Also deserving of more attention is the extent of damage done to artifacts, manuscripts, and historic structures in West Africa by Islamist groups in the twenty-first century. The book would also have benefited from an index.

Despite these small gaps, *Caravans of Gold* is a treasure. The diversity and quality of the archaeological evidence unearthed, displayed, and discussed show that medieval trans-Saharan exchange played a key role in connecting West Africa, Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, foreshadowing the globalism of today. Reflecting on the exhibition, Annelise Rice, director of Northwestern's Buffett Institute for Global Studies, wrote, "By coupling cutting edge scholarship with beautiful objects, the exhibition makes the history of Medieval Africa captivating and accessible to a broad range of people – including many who will be introduced to this history for the first time" (p. 10). The same could be said about this excellent book.

Steven Gish, *Auburn University-Montgomery*

S. Elizabeth Bird and Rosina Umelo. 2018. *Surviving Biafra: A Nigerwife's Story*. London: Hurst Publishers. 238 pp.

Reading *Surviving Biafra* is in many ways exceptionally thrilling. The text is a combination of history, autobiography, biography and strands of a story including what could be described as semi-fictions to make a new literary genre. Biafra, the Nigerian civil war which began as a national reaction to a secession attempt by the Igbos in the southeast of the country, is the book's main focus. To the greatest possible extent, the authors have composed an objective and apolitical presentation of a Nigerian historical phenomenon.

Both authors have admitted adopting an anthropological approach (p. 5), which builds the text with sources including "observation, interviews, surveys, letters, diaries" (p. 5), rumor and even myths; hence, the claim that Rosina Umelo's initially took the stance of "an outsider." The concept of outsider however is not to be taken too seriously. Rather, it helps to describe the authenticity and perceptual reliability of the epistemological values that have produced the text. The outsider stance has contributed to making the original compiler acutely aware of mundane things that any local would have taken for granted and that as war dragged on she became fully integrated like any other Biafran experientially (p. 5). The anthropological ingenuity of the blend notwithstanding, the text remains a true first-hand phenomenologically driven record of an eyewitness rather than an intellectual interpretation on the Biafra war. The records were carefully woven into a unique literary genre.

The first of the three parts of the text pictures the pre-Biafran Nigeria, describing the hopes and fears that attended the eve and dawn of the independence. The second part deals with the war especially as it affected Rosina and her Umelo family. This was crafted in unique style and language so calm, clear, informative and beautiful in its description of day-to-day living during the war (p. 6). Like most other popular stories about Biafra, *Surviving Biafra* also describes the political scandals that attended the newly independent Nigeria, the valor of the Biafra soldiers in spite of the initial paucity of their war arsenal, and the food shortage which created the ugliest scenes. The text refrains however, from making the usual popular claim that the starvation was a deliberate device of the Nigerian government to scuttle Biafra. Nevertheless, it bemoans the colossal destruction of lives, property, and trust among Nigerians and the quagmires that eclipsed the nation in a torrent of lasting instability (p. 209). The third part involves an interpretative report of Rosina's record by

Elizabeth Bird. *Surviving Biafra* is a laudable tale of the untold personal dimensions of the overall war.

Surviving Biafra distinguishes itself in a number of ways. The dissimilarities lie in the fact that most previous Biafra story records were an overly display of masculinity (p. 5). Given the choice of literary style, the text places minimal interest on providing stories of heroes and their heroic actions, or of justifying the secession and the resulting war (pp. 15-16). In spite of admitting “there were no panics” in the story lines (p. 207), there are some recorded events that could make even the Lucifer weep. For instance, it describes the extent of abuse of civilians during the war using the case of one Pius whose last memory glimpse of his mother was when she was being smuggled away by heartless soldiers who were laughing as they were pulling off her dress behind a moving army lorry (p. 21). One can imagine the psycho-social effect on Pius and the like.

In spite of their intention to write a reliable and credible story, it seems evident from a few comments in the text that the authors mostly edited the script of a pro-Biafra citizen. Nevertheless, the text builds up a phenomenological challenge to some existing positions in philosophy, anthropology, history, and even beyond, relating to Africa. Some of the most intellectually thought-provoking aspects relate to issues of polygamy, corruption, patrilinealism, cross-racial marriage, and womanhood in Africa, (pp. 202-05). The book has equally challenged the minds of readers towards re-examining the interests of Britain and the international community regarding Nigeria.

Cyril-Mary Pius Olatunji, *Adekunle Ajasin University*, and Mojalefa J.L. Koenane, *University of South Africa*

Crystal Biruk. 2018. *Cooking Data: Culture and Politics in an African Research World*. Durham: Duke University Press. 277 pp.

Crystal Biruk's *Cooking Data* traces the processes involved in collecting, analyzing, and using demographic health data in Malawi. The three central questions asked and answered in the book are: (1) How do survey responses become statistics used to inform policy and practice? (2) What effect do on-the-ground practices and reality have on data production? (3) How do numerical data and culture mingle to affect the economy, expertise, and experience? The story of data collection is cogently told. The introduction aptly introduces the reader not only to the author but also to the background, purpose, and outline of the book. Biruk notes that “cooking data refers to fabricating, falsifying, or fudging the information one is meant to collect from survey respondents in a standardized and accurate manner” (p. 3).

Chapter 1 relates the process of developing a survey including the negotiation between researchers who are often from abroad and local resource people as to what questions and procedures will work culturally to gain the desired information. Biruk notes that even the questions that are asked form a vital part of the data which is ultimately collected.

Chapters 2-4 focus on the fieldworkers and the activities and procedures used to collect and analyze the data in actual practice. The research leaders train data gatherers how to ask the survey questions and coach them how to conduct themselves and how to dress to narrow the perceived educational and social gap between themselves and the respondents. The author discusses the ethics and rationale behind the common practice of giving soap as an acknowledgement of the time respondents spent participating in the study or giving blood samples rather than other potentially more welcomed forms of payment. Although field workers need to develop relationships with the local people, as many of the research studies are longitudinal, Biruk notes that this can seem to taint the data. Even with the familiarity of the process from years of participation, the respondents are not always forthcoming with answers and the fieldworkers must learn to probe to get the most accurate responses even when those responses do not fit into one of the projected answers as demarcated by a box on the survey form. As an ethnographer, Biruk laments the respondents'

stories that are lost or only told between fieldworkers because there is not box to tick on the form to accurately relate them.

Chapter 5 continues the story of the gathered, analyzed and presented numbers through to policy formation. The choice of which research generated numbers to use and the way they are spoken of fall under the charge of the media and policy makers. Ethical management and reporting of the results of research data are not guaranteed. In the conclusion, the author turns her research eyes back on herself and ethnographic research. She notes: "In this book, I have tried to keep data themselves at the center of the story, without losing sight of the people, places and things that cohere around them" (p. 212).

Cooking Data has minor errors in formatting and editing. The Chichewa word "azungu" is introduced on page 81, but not explicitly glossed until page 149. Although readers should be able to deduce the meaning "foreigner," they may erroneously include "youth" or "student" in the meaning from the earlier mention. Finally, it would have been helpful to have a map of Africa with an inset of Malawi and a list of colonial names paired with current country names for readers not familiar with the continent's geography or history. These minor faults in no way diminish the overall understanding or appreciation of the book.

The book is recommended for researchers of any level in Africa or elsewhere. The author modeled the use of varied styles of rhetoric and verbs of attribution which will help those reporting research who are stuck on "wrote" and "stated" to diversify. The author also reveals problems that can arise in both quantitative and qualitative research which will serve to build awareness and caution when designing a research project. Research can and will continue, but with a pinch of caution added to the recipe as the author "encourages us to more critically engage with the kinds of evidence we too often take for granted, whether inside or outside our discipline or training" (p. 27).

Amy Crofford, *Africa Nazarene University (Nairobi)*

Vicki L. Brennan. 2018. *Singing Yoruba Christianity: Music, Media, and Morality*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. 210 pp.

This book is an ethnographic research on music and other elements central to church worship as a tool for the making of individuals and members of the Cherubim and Seraphim (Ayo Ni O) Church in Lagos, Nigeria. Chapter One portrays singing as a unifying medium through which a shared set of values is embraced. By singing the same song with the same mind, members became parts of a larger imagined society that extends time and space and share an ethical orientation toward the world where one can achieve a good life. Chapter Two explores the history of the Church with emphasis on the development of its repertoire of hymns which served as a repository of history to members and its performance as a way of bringing the past to the present. Rather than seeing the past as a source for contemporary moral breakdown of Nigerian society, it integrated a powerful and efficacious Yoruba history into Cherubim and Seraphim's version of Christianity.

Chapter Three explores the creative strategies and choices made by musicians who in 1978 created a commercial recording of the church choir to enable an audience outside the church to understand Nigeria's political economy and religious experience. Those responsible for this recording drew on meaningful cultural forms to make authoritative claims about morality and engineered a re-organization within morally legitimate historical frameworks of interpretation. Also, there was a discussion on funding, growth, and relationship of the church compared to other Christian denominations.

Chapter Four considers the kind of religious experiences and ethical orientations the choir produced through musical recordings. It shows that electronic media and its forms of circulation extends the reach and power of the church into members' daily lives and allowed them to achieve a

certain desirable religious mode of experience. However, the use of electronic media in religious practice did not diminish the role live performance play in worship nor did it invite complacency on the part of church musicians. Chapter Five discusses the relationship between the church's cosmological conceptions and forms of media that enabled members to bring it to life. Members drew on angelic symbolism and mimicry to produce a direct connection between paradise and the church, collapsing the space between "world" and "heaven." Religious text and sacred forms of dressing were combined with music and dance to re-enact visions of angels worshipping before the throne of God. Thus, music and other media were manipulated to produce multiple, simultaneous effects that activated sensory domains. These sensory effects became materially linked through white robes, candles, incense, lighting, church's interior space, singing, and bodily comportment.

Chapter Six emphasizes the emulation of Jesus by following "In His Steps" to achieve one's goals as a Christian. Though life is filled with trials and temptations, endurance is needed for a final rest with God in heaven. Through dramatic recreation, people understand that life choices, as well as past, present, and future, help shape their actions. To navigate these issues, a particular moral and ethical stance was required to achieve well-being in life and final salvation in heaven. At the same time, the church was positioned as an answer to troubles and tribulations, doubts and frustrations while mimicking Christ. Chapter Seven examines the transformation of individuals and their behaviors through proper religious practices via Christ and the Church. The Holy Spirit was a crucial and necessary interlocutor through which the process of transformation and rebirth is experienced. A key medium through which the Holy Spirit worked to cultivate good character and reanimate the body towards sanctified spiritual practices was discipline through sound practices. Chapter Eight articulates the way members conceptualized the purpose and efficacy of their worship practices: the congregation glorified God in their worship thereby received divine assistance. In other words, worship was a form of ethical action that ensured one's well-being in the world.

To conclude, each chapter of the book has endnotes, rounded off with an epilogue, glossary of terms, bibliography and index. The book examines musical media and worship practices which are the social ways through which members of the Cherubim and Seraphim (Ayo Ni O) Church articulated and embodied the moral prescriptions needed to be a Christian and organize the world. Moreover, this book juxtaposes the link between Pentecostalism and the global, as opposed to the local, as well as reliance on notions of rapture and conversion that are used to make sense of global/local relations in studies of Christian globalization.

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

Jonas B. Bunte. 2019. *Raise the Debt: How Developing Countries Choose their Creditors*. New York: Oxford University Press. 276 pp.

Bunte's book is a must-read for political scientists, particularly those specializing in international political economy and comparative politics. Without a doubt, the systematic and methodical manner in which the author approaches the issue of international finance in the developing world, focusing specifically on Ecuador, Colombia and Peru, provides an interesting guide on how similar studies could be organized and executed. Bunte's book brings back the issue of international finance in the developing world to the forefront of academic discussion to revalidate the importance of credit in the domestic affairs of developing countries. In this regard, Bunte argues that "loans are extremely important to developing countries: they help recipients overcome financial crises, fund critical infrastructure, and facilitate economic development. Without credit, governments' capacity to function would be severely limited" (p. 1).

The book is principally designed to answer the question: "why do countries borrow money from some creditors and not others" (p. 3). To answer this question effectively, the *terminus a quo* is

to acknowledge the diversity of credit sources to developing countries. The author identifies these sources as Western governments, multilateral institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, private foreign banks or the bond market, and more recently BRIC countries—Brazil, Russia, India and China. In terms of the influence on the choice of creditors, among competing credit sources, by the recipient countries, the author emphasizes the incentives created by domestic forces or societal coalitions in debtor countries. The findings of the study are quite revealing. In Ecuador, as a result of the influence of the corporatist coalition, politicians prefer BRIC loans to Western creditors. Due to the incentives created by the capital coalition in Colombia, politicians rely on bonds and private banks. Considering the influence of the consumer coalition in Peru, politicians prefer bilateral loans from Western governments and private creditors.

The theoretical and methodological orientation of the book would make it attractive to readers. First, the study makes some exciting contributions to theory. The application of the “distributional consequences” thesis to the specific issue of international finance in developing countries is indeed novel. In the context of this thesis, there are two critical factors that determine which type of loan is preferred: the preferences of domestic interest groups or coalitions and the distributional consequences of creditors. While the interests or preferences of all domestic groups/coalitions may be recognized, politicians pander to the interests or preferences of the most politically powerful social groups in deciding between competing loan offers. These assumptions clearly allowed the author to generate interesting propositions that gave direction to the study. The systematic and logical manner in which the author develops and articulates the thesis and then tests the propositions represents a major strength of the book. Second, to arrive at its conclusions, the study also employs the qualitative and quantitative research tools. The work combines specific country case studies, fieldwork and elite interviews, and detailed statistical analyses of data.

However, the study has an obvious pitfall. For a study that is supposed to make generalizations about the developing world, the three cases studied (Ecuador, Colombia and Peru) were drawn from South America. This approach belies the criterion of representativeness. In terms of categorization, the developing countries of the world are mostly found in the regions of Africa, South America, and Asia. Therefore, to make valid conclusions that would stand the test of further empirical investigation, each region in the developing world should have been represented in the study’s dataset or sample. The narrow focus of the book on South America and the three specific case studies may have some merit in that it would allow the study to fulfil the criteria of criticality and exhaustiveness in research, however, the broader analysis of issues—as a result of more diverse and heterogeneous dataset—about how developing countries choose their creditors is what is being compromised.

The limitations notwithstanding, the study makes some exciting contributions to knowledge. It is not only a comparative analysis of factors that shape the choice of creditors in the case studies; those choices also have political and economic implications on the debtor countries. The contributions of the study to theory building, particularly in the field of international political economy, are apposite. The choice of the “distributional consequences” thesis has no doubt extended the frontiers of knowledge on how developing countries make strategic decisions about international finance. Again, the reliance on qualitative and quantitative evidence represents a strong point of the study.

Segun Oshewolo, *Landmark University (Nigeria)*

Jeffrey Butler. 2017. *Cradock: How Segregation and Apartheid Came to a South African Town*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press. 256 pp.

Jeffrey Butler’s (1922-2008) history of his childhood hometown begins in the 1920s. Described at this time as “a sleepy town of some 6,800 souls,” Butler depicts Cradock as a place of quiet

commercial activity located on the edge of the Karoo, a place lacking many basic services and whose almost equal parts African, Coloured and white population lived alongside each other under the town's superintendent (p. xi). Drawing analogies elsewhere, Butler compares Cradock to towns in the southern United States at the same time, places whose histories should be similarly told from within as they resisted "systematic national, regional, or local intervention" (p. 2).

But Butler's overarching argument is that not even the quietest town could escape the great changes of South Africa's tumultuous twentieth century. By the time the book reaches its conclusions in the 1970s, Butler has carefully traced the town's many transformations, including the establishment of a health center, a new sewerage system, state-run schools and a whole array of other services. But in apartheid South Africa's own cruel inflection of modernity, this was not all. Butler shows how Cradock's once relatively fluid racial milieu was replaced with a set of far stricter racial lines. By the 1970s the African and Coloured population had been forcefully uprooted and relocated outside Cradock's borders, housed in separate settlements and largely deprived of the services extended to the now exclusively white population of the old town.

Central to Butler's understanding of how this change came to Cradock is his distinction between the segregation era (1910 to 1948) and the apartheid era (1948 to 1994). While some authors stress the continuity across these periods, Butler pushes against arguments that see apartheid as "simply an evolution and reinforcement of white supremacy and traditional racial separation" (p. 185). Citing Deborah Posel's argument that there was no single apartheid "master plan," Butler remains steadfast in upholding the distinction between the two eras. Apartheid, he writes, "was far more clearly articulated, its provisions were more precise and consistent, and it was imposed much more rapidly—too rapidly for local opinion to grasp it fully." (p. 193).

By positioning his argument against Posel's in this manner, Butler threatens to reopen an old debate that may distract the less careful reader from the novelty of his account of local politics. This would be unfortunate for while Butler most frequently uses the terms segregation and apartheid to describe the monumental changes he so well describes, there are times when he adopts a more precise register, describing the tussle for power in terms of the shift from municipal governance to a far more centralized and uncompromising form of governance after 1948. Reading beyond the introduction it becomes increasingly clear in the book's richly detailed chapters that it is less apartheid's ideological coherence or consistency that distinguishes it from the segregation era, but the means by which a shared ideology of white supremacy was imposed that accounts for its revolutionary and transformational character.

For example, Butler shows how following the Public Health Act (1920), health officials became increasingly regular visitors to Cradock in the interwar years, producing weighty statistical reports and pushing reforms onto the town. Butler writes that because of these visits, "local officials took steps they would not have taken otherwise" (p. 186). But Butler maintains that the power these officials wielded remained limited; visiting officials "had little to offer but the occasional public scolding and well-informed advice" (p. 189).

The balance of power in these negotiations, however, tipped definitively after 1948. Despite sizeable resistance to the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950), including from much the town's white population, Butler shows how ultimately powerless all Cradock's residents were in preventing their town being reshaped in apartheid's image. In May 1961 a proclamation was issued "defining, setting apart and laying out by the municipality of Cradock... a location and Native Village" (p. 164). With only minor changes, this wildly ambitious vision was realised.

The struggle for power in twentieth-century South Africa has most often been told as a struggle between the black and white populations and of their competing visions for the future. But alongside this struggle was a struggle between the center and the periphery, and a competition for control over local resources in the here and now. By plotting Cradock's history along both these axes, Butler has produced a text rich in insight and with conclusions on the changing dynamics of

state power that extend far beyond this small locale. It is only sad that the author is not with us to enjoy its reception.

Oliver Aiken, *Trinity College, Cambridge*

Nathan R. Carpenter and Benjamin N. Lawrance (eds.). 2018. *Africans in Exile: Mobility, Law, and Identity*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. 337 pp.

Exile is manifested in its ability to cause dislocation and, according to Said (1993) this is “predicated on the existence of, love for, and a real bond with one’s native place.” Africans have been exposed to exile from the pre-colonial period to the present; and this can be traced to the socio-political blues instantiated by colonialism and, by extension, neo-colonialism. Hence the narration of exilic experience is pervasive in African narratives. Africans’ proclivity towards migration confirms Kofi Anyidoho’s (1989) claim that “Africans are not necessarily the world’s most travelled people, but it is hard to find any other people so ruthlessly flung across a hostile world, clearly against their will and choice.” Exile as a social phenomenon has revealed the tensions and contradictions in the world; the exploration of this experience has created awareness about how exile impinged on both personal and collective psyche with focus on socio-political and cultural nuances arising from displacement.

There are not many contemporary studies that combine historiographical details and qualitative research as interpretative tools for the reading of exile subjectivities in Africa as we have discovered in the contributions and the focus of scholarship in *Africans in Exile: Mobility, Law, and Identity*. The book is divided into three parts: “The Legal Worlds of Exile,” which deals with how law is implicated as frameworks in exilic contestations; “Geographies of Exile” elucidates the provenance of exile across spaces in the articulation of state power and terror; and “Remembering and Performing Exile” that accounts for the resilience and testimonial recuperations that accentuate criticism of state oppression and power. The thirty-six-page introduction provides an entry to the varieties of exilic contemplations as it foregrounds the contributors’ painstaking efforts at enacting the socio-political and cultural imbrications of exile. The book contains sixteen essays that can pass as “textual archive of exile in Africa” (p. 9), The chapters resonate with narration of oppressions, of protests and petitions stimulated by different enactments of exile. The narratives of exile in this book focus on African experience, showing the complex ways of enacting and coping with absence, trauma, psychic rupture, pathological pressures and resilience that exile connotes.

The contributors present exile from historical narratives, personal/collective testimonies, legal, geographic, political, cultural and economic viewpoints to accentuate the social contexts in which exile manifests forms of resistance, incarceration, collective trauma, self-definition and escape from slavery. Taking together, the contributors in their various historical and imaginative *oeuvre* underpin the creativity and confrontations of exile as forceful eviction, voluntary border crossing as a form of protest, the making of terror, and its propensity towards resistance and productive enterprise. The high point of the book is in the rich historical and often dramatic approaches in unraveling the exilic possibilities across the African continent. The contributors through the multiple approaches are able to reveal the varied aspects of exile which raise questions about all human possibilities through a dialectic rendering of the workings of exile as freedom, on the one hand, and oppression, on the other hand.

On the whole, *Africans in Exile* projects its discourses with peerless accomplishments that have set the pace for an enduring discourse of exile as a socio-political global phenomenon. In the introduction, Carpenter and Lawrence claim that the book is an encompassing volume that “reconsiders exile in its totality . . .” (p. 4); but in my view, this is disputable as there is no consideration for exile as a world or global phenomenon, especially the experience of many African exiles set in motion by visa lottery contests that seem to dominate the phase of migration in

contemporary time. Aside this and a few typos in the book, the contributors have been able to graft personal history, desires, hopes and frustrations within their apprehension of the geography of exile. The critical outlook engaged in the book will ultimately become useful in identifying the tropes and provenance of exile in African historical and literary discourses.

Henri Oripeloye, *Obafemi Awolowo University*

Lukas Engelmann. 2018. *Mapping AIDS: Visual Histories of an Enduring Epidemic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 254 pp.

Lukas Engelmann offers a comprehensive view of HIV/AIDS from a mostly pictorial standpoint in three ways, mostly corresponding to the three sections of the book. These include pictures of HIV and AIDS patients from clinical photographs; map models of disease diffusion of HIV around the world; and images of the retrovirus and its cousins from under a microscope. Alongside each section comes a set of narratives and informational comments from a social science perspective regarding medical and non-medical perceptions of HIV and AIDS.

In the first part of the book, the natural history of HIV and AIDS is examined through the viewpoint of the illness being a disease of homosexual males within the USA. Pictures, both de-identified and identified, of HIV- and AIDS-afflicted MSM are shown throughout this section, more specifically, the complications of the disease are given strong attention, such as Kaposi's sarcoma. Throughout this part of the text came a discussion of what it means to "humanize" AIDS, as well as retrieval of sexual identity from amongst the pictures and clinical information for both patients and clinicians alike. Retrieval of sexuality also is discussed as a point of contention, as is the depiction of AIDS in social structures outside of a US context (SE Asia, South America, and sub-Saharan Africa) very briefly touched on. In the second part of the book, disease diffusion and medical geography—or rather, its incipient stages—modeling the spread of HIV from sub-Saharan African simians and Haiti to other locales is both shown and discussed at length. A history of epidemiology is also reviewed in this part of the book. The final part of the book focuses more on likening HIV and AIDS to previous pathogens of concern, such as tuberculosis (per Koch's postulates.) Here, images from electron microscopy and 3-D computerized visualizations of the virus, and related viruses including HTLV, are given more attention for the aforementioned purpose.

The first part of the book seems somewhat lost in a sea of theoretical debates regarding what it means to humanize the disease. While it correctly asserts that the virus created questions about human sexuality (including amongst clinicians who may have been attracted to their patients), it seems more a reflection of what the attitude of the virus was in the US at the time rather than posing a discussion about what was being done about the issue at the time at the activist level, which was not even mentioned until the epilogue.

Both the second and the third parts of the book presented a more "natural history" of the disease than the first portion, focusing heavily on both biology and epidemiology and the respective importance of each. From the vantage point of familiarity with other mapping software (ArcGIS, MapX, etc.) the Gallo model and others seem rudimentary, but sufficient for depiction of the disease spread. The second part of the book, however, did more due diligence of discussion with regards to heterosexual transmission of the virus—a discussion absent from the first part of the book. Actual depictions of the virions budding and a diagram of how the virus invades and infects cells serve as a strong visual that refreshes those trained in biological sciences as to how retroviruses operate, however insidiously they do. A discussion of HAART, or ART, also occurs more towards the end of the book altogether, transitioning HIV to a more chronic illness.

This reviewer asserts that the book overall mirrors more an of understanding of AIDS through time from a social science or history standpoint, rather than just "mapping" AIDS; hence,

reworking of the title is likely a wise move. Very few narratives came from the patients themselves, bringing up the question of what the true consideration of the patients' needs and wishes are with regards to HIV care. Further work could explore what the patient wishes are with regards to their care and how that matches—or does not match—the wishes of physicians, nurses, and other professionals that may see them, at least in a US context. In an overseas context, health education efforts, understanding patient perceptions, and strengthening health systems remain the predominant issues, and where work continues to be most warranted.

Sonal Sathe, *Florida State University*

Rosalind Fredericks. 2018. *Garbage Citizenship: Vital Infrastructures of Labor in Dakar, Senegal*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. 200 pp.

The publication of *Garbage Citizenship* comes amid a renewed scholarly interest, not only in the politics of environmental sanitation in Africa, but also in the emerging field of discard studies—an interdisciplinary specialism which contextualizes the economic and socio-political materiality of waste, and the infrastructure of its management. From Edward Hume's *Garbology* to Martin O'Brien's *A Crisis of Waste?* scholars in this field have examined the complexities of modern trash, and the technical structures and politics of their disposability. Rosalind Fredericks contributes to this body of literature. However, unlike most of the works on the material politics of waste in urban centers of the West; Fredericks situates her study of garbage infrastructure at the intersection of urban social movement and neoliberalism in a densely populated African city. She shows how the materialist approach to environmental sanitation in Dakar opened space for participatory politics under the state-led neoliberal reforms through which urban poor citizens made economic and political demands against the state.

The urban cultural geographer documents the agency of urban working poor, including the municipal sanitation workers of Dakar under the imposed austerity of the state's neoliberal Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). For Fredericks, the object is to establish an urban "theory from the South" with which to reject the conventional hegemonic singular script of neo-liberalism that is often projected as a "global bulldozer, wreaking havoc on a passive local victim" in most urban studies in Africa (p. 5). She successfully accomplished this task by theorizing Dakar's garbage "crisis" and the material power attached to its disposability as one functional tool of urban governmentality which "serves the consolidation of hegemony or its fracture in specific historical conjectures in Senegal" (pp. 20-21). In her Dakar case, urban working poor mobilized household waste (in the spirit of the *Set/Setal* (Make Clean) social activism of 1988/89) as an instrument for the expression citizenship at one point, and as a weapon of popular rejection of the state's nefarious neoliberal policies.

The monograph, based largely on the author's ethnographic fieldwork in Senegal's capital city, is divided into four chapters together with an introduction on why "Trash Matters" and a concluding remark on the book's major arguments. In the first chapter, "Governing Disposability," Fredericks historically shows the changing structure of Dakar's waste management sector from the 1980s to the 2000s. The author not only presents a nuanced view of SAP within the context of state's infrastructural power, but also demonstrates that the sanitation of the city, like other African densely populated urban centers, is deeply embedded in moral and socio-political context. As the shrinking budget of Dakar translated into fragmented investments in sanitation infrastructure, the state-led neoliberal development degraded and ordered the bodies of youths and women by placing the burden of municipal garbage management on them.

This political-economy chapter on the volatility of the waste sector serves as an avenue to the second chapter on "Vital Infrastructures of Labor" in Dakar. Following Abdou Moaliq Simone's "People as Infrastructure," Fredericks goes beyond the conventional view of waste infrastructure as

capital equipment by drawing from labor studies. She expands the literature on urban citizenship by conceptualizing Dakar's working poor as waste infrastructure whose social responsibility, political actions, and religious ideology shaped state-society relations. In this agential context, Fredericks renders poor Dakarois infrastructural as they dealt with their government's failure. The author's emphasis on the rhetoric of women's empowerment which justified the Yoff trash collection project and its attendant gender stereotype in chapter three is indeed, a welcome critique of the triumphant arguments that often accompany community-based development initiatives in Africa. Together with the moral and spiritual language of piety deployed by trash labor union in chapter four, degraded and stigmatized bodies challenged undervalued labor and dismantled social hierarchies through religious ideology of purity/pollution and collective claim-making protests for improved working condition.

While Fredericks's story of sanitation in Dakar is seminal, her alarming silence on the availability of and access to water obscures the reader's understanding of how SAP impacted public health in Dakar despite the opportunity to engage with these themes in page 87 and 90. Given the burgeoning literature on Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH) in Africa, a brief discussion of communicable diseases during the period under study would have strengthened the monograph. However, this does not diminish Fredericks's contribution to the field of urban and discard studies as she provides additional lens with which to study material politics in African cities.

Adebisi Alade, *McMaster University*

Zachary Kagan Guthrie. 2018. *Bound for Work: Labour, Mobility and Colonial Rule in Central Mozambique, 1940-1965*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press. 225 pp.

In this path breaking study, Guthrie offers a fresh perspective on labor historiography of Southern Africa. Based on extensive interviews as well as wide-ranging research in the colonial archive, *Bound for Work* offers an important insight into labor migration in central Mozambique. The most critical intervention is his argument against studying labor through the lens of an archetypal working class. His work thus, analyses the histories of workers beyond the work site to encompass the process through which workers moved into and out of different occupations. It shifts our attention to the individual lives and experiences of workers who travelled in central Mozambique, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia, repeatedly using both forced and voluntary migration. Deploying extensively the concept of labor mobility, which pays particular attention to the mobility of workers rather than the broader history of labor, Guthrie reveals that labor was actually a process that started before the workers arrive at the site and continued after they had left. Labor mobility thus, reveals the workers lives beyond the boundaries of labor. By analyzing how individuals moved between different types of labor, Guthrie provides exciting new lines of inquiry showing how the interlocking worlds of love, affection, colonialism and migration made working across various places a meaningful action in a person's life.

There existed a large spectrum of competing desires that shaped workers' choices beyond material considerations. As much as workers wanted to earn more money they also wanted to be close to their families (p. 9). Contrary to the conventional wisdom that gender played a minimal role in migration choices, Guthrie reveals that gender dynamics were fundamental in shaping worker's experiences and choices. Evidently, labor mobility was intricately linked to the gender question. Guthrie convincingly argues that marriage was not just a material transaction but a human relationship which was decisive and affected decisions about migration and labor. Despite the fact that women did not participate they were essential in shaping how migrant labor was pursued. Thus labor was integrated in the broader working lives of workers.

Bound for Work provides a new way of conceptualizing the interactions between African workers and colonial authorities. It goes beyond the hegemony/agency model to analyze how the

fractures in the colonial system allowed for uneven developments. Colonial rule in Mozambique was not coherent; rather it was a highly “capricious” force with an “unpredictable impact on lives of individuals” (p.12). Evidently, the ability of workers to move in and out colonial state’s nodes of control shows the stark yet limited power of the colonial state. The uneven power of the state afforded workers autonomy and rendered them vulnerable to despotic exercise of the state authority. Domination and agency were not mutually opposed as has been previously suggested but they were longstanding realities that governed the universe of possibilities in which laborers operated.

The book presents six chapters which provide both chronological and thematic structure to the exciting story of how workers integrated labor in the broader working lives. He begins his study with an introduction which lays out his central argument and gives a comprehensive analysis of the concept of labor mobility. The first chapter chronicles the history of forced labor commonly known as *contrato* in central Mozambique. Chapter two examines how migrant workers used their mobility to engage in various wage labor options available to them. The third chapter examines the intersections between gender and mobility focusing on how gender dynamics shaped workers’ choices and options. The fourth chapter explored the structure of the colonial state particularly the role of local chiefs. The fifth chapter explored the gaps between law and practice in the Mozambique labor system. Both workers and colonial authorities took advantage of absence of law to maximize their autonomy. The sixth chapter examines labor reforms which later abolished forced labor. These reforms aimed at improving relations at the worksite instead of reforming the broader system.

What makes this book so valuable to labor studies readers is its broad and convincing crossover appeal. *Bound for Work* can be read at various distinct, yet complementary levels: it is a book about African migrant labor history; it is a book about colonialism and colonial labor policy; it is a book about forced labor and African lives and it manages to connect these different sub-plots in a meaningful and exciting way.

Perseverence Muguti, *University of Zimbabwe*

Anne Heffernan. 2019. *Limpopo’s Legacy: Student Politics & Democracy in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. 254 pp.

Anne Heffernan’s work is an excellent attempt into inquiring about the dimensions of history and contemporary student protest in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa, particularly in the Limpopo Province. The book has three parts, containing seven informative chapters which generate a healthy and conceptual discourse. Heffernan brings to the fore the rural and peripheral histories that have been marginalized in the national story of struggle. The book examines the intersection points where history cuts across movements and geographic spaces intersects with a generation of activists rooted in Limpopo.

The author introduces this book with the scenes of student protest at the Turfloop campus of the University of Limpopo in 2016. The rise of new political struggles in the age of information technology gives an edge to the protests through social media, a propellant for the mass movements. In late 2016, university campuses in South Africa witnessed the student protests with hashtag: #FeeMustFall. Even then the body of the text, about Turfloop and Limpopo as a whole, has moorings in a much deeper history of student protests and youth driven social change in the historiography of South Africa.

This book shows how regional and local experiences played a critical role in shaping national politics by student activists and youth, at a juncture when their aspirations have been broadly neglected in favor of scholarship that focuses on urban politics. Heffernan traces the history of student activism to the late 1960s, famed for the cultural revolution that had engulfed America and

Europe. She especially refers to the events of the Paris revolution of May 1968, when French students and workers jointly protested against fascism, imperialism and hierarchies of all sorts, to further and contrast most of the literature on student politics elsewhere, which from Mexico City to Dar es Salaam is predominantly urban in its focus. During the same period in South Africa, the student politics took a surprising, and to some a reactionary turn. In protest against the apartheid ideologies of the South African government, black students of South African universities formed their own racially exclusive student organization, the South African Students Organization (SASO), while white students formed their own organization, the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The formation of SASO changed the rural Northern Transvaal (today's Limpopo Province) into a center for politically active black students. It became a site for integrating many levels of protests through the closely intertwined roles of Black Consciousness, Africanism, non-racialism, Black Theology and Christianity in the students' organization. The activists of SASO served an important role in representing Turfloop and the radical politics that had developed on campuses that were to engulf the rest of South Africa and bring other student political activists into the anti-apartheid cause.

The historical scenario takes us back to the liberation of Mozambique by FRELIMO, which took power on 25th September 1975. This event echoed and percolated across the border into South Africa as an opportunity to celebrate and herald the turn to the majority rule in the region. The Viva-FRELIMO rally represents a turning point in protest at Turfloop. This was the biggest planned protest since the university's founding. It culminated into the first use of state forces against the students on campus, as well as the first incident of student violence against the university staff. The author vividly captures how the robust pressure after the release of the Snyman and Jackson Commission Report of February 1976 resulted in appointment of the university's first black rector, William Kagware, in 1977, who was just a figurehead masking the unchanged white supremacy at Turfloop. The Soweto uprising of 1976 brought the beginning of coordinated student politics on a more local level, changing the face of student resistance in South Africa. By the 1980s Turfloop became the first university in South Africa to have military troops garrisoned on its campus, a harbinger of an oppressive and dwindling authoritarian government.

The author further recounts the early 1980s, marking an unprecedented regional expansion of student and youth politics as well as an ideological shift to Charterism, and how critical groups in this model arose in the rural Northern Transvaal. With the advent of Congress of South African Students (COSAS) in 1979, Charterism once again became the founding ideology of a student group in South Africa, the first time it had been so since the banning of African National Congress (ANC) Youth League in 1960. In 1985 COSAS was banned, and other groups and leaders were increasingly harassed by the repressive government with a heavy hand. This led to a shift in strategy, for in March 1987 the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) was launched. SAYCO united all the charteristic youth groups under a single banner. In terms of its relationship with the more established ANC Youth League, SAYCO tactfully placed and confined itself with educationally specific agendas, while the Youth League primarily focused on non-educational agendas. In this way SASCO would operate within the campuses, and the Youth League similarly demarcated its activism outside the educational institutions. Both SASCO and the Youth League acted as feeder organizations for the ANC itself, reflecting the aspirations and struggles of the regional organizations and their youth. Julius Malema and Peter Mokaba are two most predominant figures emerging as a product of the deep history of youth political leadership in Limpopo. Further, Malema's new party, the Economic Freedom Fighters, emerged from this space of youth politics and has come to lead the Students' Representative Council (SRCs) at many universities in South Africa, including the University of Limpopo.

The deep roots of students and youth struggles embedded in regional and local issues on university campuses across South Africa with the specific importance of the Limpopo Province becoming all the more pertinent upon reading this book. The polity and the social structure of

South Africa become more comprehensible, for this book aids, abets, and complements the reader in enriching the understanding of the past, present, and future of this nation at the southern tip of the African continent.

Utsav Kumar Singh, *University of Delhi*

Cajetan Iheka. 2018. *Naturalizing Africa: Ecological Violence, Agency and Postcolonial Resistance in African Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 211 pp.

In recent times, issues pertaining to the environment seem to have taken center-stage at several levels of engagement. It is noteworthy that, gradually, there is a conscious effort at beaming fresh insights and foregrounding such issues. While it is indubitable that, before now, the mass of critical offering in African studies generally and its literary oeuvre specifically, have been preoccupied with environmental degradation and pollution as a result of economic activities in affected regions, it appears that the campaign is gradually assuming a wider dimension. This suggests that, beyond widespread activism-driven advocacy and a few publications by members of the civil society and journalists, there is a gradual shift or to put it succinctly “an environmental turn” in African literary and cultural studies that is now complementing the existing thematization of environmental consciousness in African literature.

It is against the above backdrop that Cajetan Iheka’s new book can be evaluated. Beyond its “grandstanding” as a piece of literary criticism, the author leaves no one in doubt as to the political cum nationalist motivation that birth the work. This explains why, from the outset, there is no pretension in the book as to the source of its inspiration. The author clearly sets out to contribute to a growing debate on the issue of oil politics in Nigeria’s Delta region. He however does not just comment; rather, through a combination of robust critical insights steeped in transnational comparative lenses, Iheka draws attention to earth’s angst and the dynamics of its multifarious implications on the ecosystem.

The analysis in the book is profound and well-informed. It benefits from the author’s connection with the subject-matter from several angles. Apart from its depth, the book affirms the interconnection between literary productions and environmental consciousness. It also demonstrates that African literature is an encompassing field of humanistic enquiry that continues to be relevant to socio-historical issues. What Cajetan Iheka does differently is the skillful fusion of literary history with contemporary critical paradigms such as agency, postcolonialism and ecocriticism. Actually, the book benefits from the author’s critical standpoint that African literature possesses a heritage of environmental consciousness as demonstrated in his references to Fagunwa’s works which are classics in indigenous language literature that pave the way for Iheka’s study.

Naturalizing Africa is a timely book. Its strategic exploration of nature as source of artistic motivation no doubt is a pointer to the fact that, the humanities is a worthy partner in a globalizing knowledge order. Interestingly, the book touches on aspects of life which can be located in the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals. Herein lays the beauty of Iheka’s study.

Iheka re-reads African literature in a special(ized) way. What makes his book stand out is the way the author defamiliarizes and familiarizes the subject matter in one breath. The depth of the analysis in the book is clearly enriched by the avalanche of references to primary and secondary sources. These all combine to evolve a valuable work whose relevance resonates across disciplines and consciously blurs boundaries in knowledge which is the hallmark of scholarship in the twenty-first century. The author interrogates (mis)conceptions with a view to enriching the critical discourse of environmental/ecological criticism in African literature. In addition, he makes important epistemologically inroads such as his idea of proximity, resistance and agency thereby enlivening the theorizing of contemporary African literature.

This book comes out strongly as a worthy and resourceful complement to existing works on nature and the environment. It deepens existing studies on such writers as Chinua Achebe, Niyi Osundare and Tanure Ojaide who have been subjects of ecocritical studies. Iheka demonstrates that several writers on the African literary horizon inscribe nature in their works thereby creating a body of texts which signpost a tradition of environmental consciousness in African literature. Beyond these, one can safely assert that, in *Naturalizing Africa: Ecological Violence, Agency and Postcolonial Resistance in African Literature*, Iheka acquits himself well by unifying both the human and non-human elements thereby countering grand narratives and repositioning the direction of environmental criticism in African literature. With this book, Cajetan Iheka adds his voice to a growing body of African scholars charting fresh paths. The critic opens a debate that will ignite subsequent lively conversations across the humanities.

Oluwole Coker, *Obafemi Awolowo University*

Cajetan Iheka and Jack Taylor (eds.). 2018. *African Migration Narratives: Politics, Race and Space*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press. 310 pp.

African Migration Narratives draws upon various cultural productions from different parts of Africa and the African diaspora to study the manifestations of migration in Africa today. The book is divided into four parts and fifteen chapters that—from the perspectives of film, visual culture and African literature—articulate themes such as deterritorialization, forgotten diasporas and the impossibility of return, the ambiguity of return, forms and literary circulation of migrant narratives. By articulating these themes, the book problematizes the notion of “migration as a linear process (linear in both space and time) [as against a] circular [process] involving many departures and returns” (p. 112).

In paying attention to the representations in film, visual culture and African literature, *African Migration Narratives* asks significant questions such as: “How do African cultural productions represent migration? What contributions do they make to understanding globalization? How does one’s racial subjectivity and national identity shift by virtue of occupying a new space? What is the role of the state in the transnational trajectory that these narratives evince?” (p. 2).

The book answers these questions by centering the text—focusing on form and literary circulation—as an agent of migration. Most often, people, cultures, and ideas have been the subject of analysis in African migration studies, even though these agents are sometimes referenced from a text. However, the focus on the text opens an interesting area of inquiry about what can be referred to as transnational/translocal texts as well as transnational publics and reception of African literature. Specifically, one of the essays in the book asks, “What are we reading when we read African writing today?” (p. 173). This question draws on the notion that texts are embodiments of the flows and poly-directional patterns of African migration, and it also foregrounds the notion that texts that embody African migration narratives can significantly embody and represent narratives of other nations of the world. In addition, texts narrate the world not only through the stories they tell, but even through the stories they do not tell—stories that focus on the production of texts such as those of international publishers and their influence in the global marketing and to an extent, canonization of African literature. These areas of inquiry are often debated in African literature, and they have found even more urgency with the increase in the spate of migration in Africa.

Furthermore, *African Migration Narratives* demonstrates the complexity of African migration through the “portrayal of the debilitating conditions that propel migrants to leave the continent, the experiences of migrants abroad, their relationship to the homeland, and the negotiation of a possible return, be it physical or psychological” (pp. 5-6). Several of the essays in the book allude to the fact that after leaving the continent basically because of unbearable socio-economic situations, migrants are often confronted with the reality of living as “object[s] of simultaneous desire and

dejection" (p. 40). However, this marginalizing and sometimes cruel experiences do not necessarily trigger a feeling of nostalgia and an unsurmountable desire to return home because home, in fact, remains for the "migrant... a place of ambivalences" (p. 209). Therefore, the contributors in *African Migration Narratives* call us to rethink: first, a simplistic definition of home in a time when "migration functions not through a binary opposition of places and spaces, but rather through an interpenetrating and multiaxial spatial network (p. 145), and second, the overt notion of nostalgia and loss in the conception of home by migrants.

Altogether, Cajetan Iheka and Jack Taylor's edited collection is a refreshing addition to the scholarship on African migration. Not only does it privilege and represent the dynamics of African migration across different countries in Africa, through its representation of migration from different cultural productions, it emphasizes that to adequately understand an issue that has seemingly defined a people, all systems and genres of cultural production and means of self-representation should be assessed. However, arguments about the possible merits of African migration to the African continent—which may be beneficial in further understanding how migration continues to strengthen the transnational ties of states within the continent—are not explicitly articulated in the book. Notwithstanding, the way several articles in the volume complicate the notion of migration and oscillate between a celebratory and pessimistic perspective to the phenomenon offers a direction that can be adopted for subsequent research on African migration.

Theophilus Okunlola, *Mississippi State University*

Damascus Kafumbe. 2018. *Tuning the Kingdom: Kawuugulu Musical Performance, Politics, and Storytelling in Buganda*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press. 151 pp.

Powerful social institutions of ancient origin are alive in East Africa today. In *Tuning the Kingdom: Kawuugulu Musical Performance, Politics, and Storytelling in Buganda* (2018), ethnomusicologist Damascus Kafumbe documents the nexus of music and politics of the Kingdom of Buganda. The *Kawuugulu* drum, song and dance (*ngoma*) ensemble of the Butiko Clan sustains complex connections and social hierarchies of kinship, clanship and kingship. Through musical performances, social nuances of politics, and multimodality (p. 8) of storytelling, all narratives weave together relationships between individuals, families, and clans to sustain Buganda's kingship today.

Damascus Kafumbe, a Muganda himself, documents well the *Kawuugulu* musical ensemble's status in a postcolonial world. Kafumbe's patriline lies with the Ndiga clan, and his matriline lies with the Butiko clan, providing unusual access to the music and politics of this *ngoma* institution as a *mujjwa*—one who is neither insider, nor outsider. As their mother's children, *mujjwa* occupy a socially liminal space in the Butiko Clan and its *Kawuugulu* ensemble, not unlike Kafumbe's position as an ethnomusicologist.

The book begins with a preface describing Buganda's inner history, and placing the Baganda themselves into the chronological and historical context of modern Uganda. Colonial and postcolonial politics of the mid-twentieth century in fact led to the demise of Buganda's political power, sending the *Kawuugulu* ensemble into a deep sleep for nearly three decades. When Buganda's formerly abolished kingdoms rose again (restored by Museveni's government) in a postcolonial context in 1993, so did the Butiko Clan's *Kawuugulu* ensemble rise again with many of its original members.

In the first chapter, Kafumbe introduces the *Kawuugulu* Clan-Royal Music and Dance Ensemble and their performance paraphernalia, drums, and each drum's history (p. 26). This is the most important nexus of human and non-human, because the *Kawuugulu* ensemble's drums are venerated as living beings with supernatural powers. Kafumbe illustrates how components of the

drums and performers' paraphernalia is rich in symbolism, which performatively connects the kingdom of Buganda's clans. If the ancestors are like elders and the drums embody ancestral spirits, then the Kawuugulu ensemble's drums are living relatives and treated as such during rehearsals and performances. Performance even extends into the silence, as drums have their own houses, sustaining their elevated hierarchical status as living members of the Butiko Clan. In this way, the visible and the invisible, life and death come together. This *ngoma* social-political institution sustains the complex interwoven relationship between kinship, clanship and kingship, where a tenuous balance is tuned through the agency of Kawuugulu.

In the second, third and fourth chapters, Kafumbe details the concepts of kinship, kingship and clanship. Chapter 2, "Kawuugulu and Intra-clan Politics" illuminates Kawuugulu's relationship to the Butiko Clan itself. In "The Origins of Kawuugulu and the Butiko Clan," it becomes clear that the drums symbolize and embody the clan's origin stories. Butiko Clan cosmology reflects the importance of twinning, or the complementary natures of things. The diversity of narratives about the Butiko Clan's origins, as told to Kafumbe by clan members, are not all the same, and sometimes these stories seem so different. An ethnographer might ask, which origin story is the truth? But this would be a mistake. It is this plurality of narratives, woven together, dissonance finely tuned by the musical ensemble, that compose the Butiko Clan. Stories become songs which unify and reinstate social hierarchies and values of Baganda connectedness, such as the importance of kinship established at birth, marriage, or those kin and dependents established through community, food sharing, hospitality, and reciprocity. The drums, as ancestors embodied, serve as performative mediators between complementary concepts and dialectical relations and illuminate the twin or double natures in social relations and the dialectical balance between ancestral obligations and contemporary obligations.

Chapter 3, "Kawuugulu and Royal Politics," illuminates the Kawuugulu's relationship with the *kabaka*, the royal kingship of Buganda, through time. The drums and other paraphernalia of the Kawuugulu ensemble are intimately related to the kings of the past and therefore Buganda's present king. As stated when Kafumbe introduced the ensemble, Buganda's Butiko Clan have the responsibility to protect and entertain the kings through the clan's Kawuugulu ensemble, and this relationship is reciprocal. Although the clan members' stories differ, no story is right or wrong. There are, instead, a plurality of narratives that reproduce the histories and ethnicities of clan and kingdom. The ensemble's dance variations and polyrhythms embody the stories people tell. Kafumbe collected several multi-faceted stories on the origins of the ensemble's two small drums and royal stool, going back to king Ssekabaka Mulondo (1524-1554).

In Chapter 4, "Kawuugulu and Inter-Clan Politics," Kafumbe describes how the Kawuugulu ensemble weaves together distinct Buganda clans. Primary members of the Butiko Clan are eligible to perform in Kawuugulu through their patriline, yet performers who are secondary members of the Butiko Clan, through their matriline, are also granted access to perform in the Kawuugulu ensemble, which is how Damascus Kafumbe himself became a performer in Kawuugulu. In this way, all clans may have connections to the Butiko Clan and its Kawuugulu ensemble. Yet some clans have special histories with the Kawuugulu ensemble, revealed through stories, and these intimate inter-clan relationships are embodied and performed through Kawuugulu performers' regalia. Complex social connections, kinship and multi-faceted narratives are a reflection or "double" of the Kawuugulu songs' complex, polymetric musical structure. Politics and kinship influence each other, becoming inseparable. This means Kawuugulu ensemble's performance of consanguinity (p. 94) is also performance of politics in Buganda. Kinship, clanship, and kingship are all performative, marking the importance of music in Buganda politics.

In the Conclusion (Chapter 5), Kafumbe provides a dense description of the performance ritual complemented by musical notation of the unique intertwining parts of the Kawuugulu drums, dancing and singing. A multi-modality of different stories woven together to create the whole of Butiko Clan ethnicity and Buganda identity suggest the importance of the royal kingship integrating

and mediating all of the diversity within the kingdom of Buganda, and the importance of *ngoma* drumming, singing, and dancing music to politics. How does the importance of socially and politically mediating inter-clan and intra-clan differences and contrasting narratives apply to Buganda kinship and Uganda political leadership today?

Kafumbe's monograph stands as a rich case study for Africanist scholars of ethnomusicology. At times, the dense and exceptional documentation of this monograph may be too much for those outside of Uganda ethnomusicology studies. The book's careful focus on the Kawuugulu ensemble might be strengthened, and the book's appeal broadened, with more explicit links to other East and Central African associations of *ngoma*, such as those presented in Janzen's (1992), Van Dijk, Reis and Spierenburg's (2000), or Schoenbrun's (2006) anthropological and historical literature on *ngoma* of medicine and politics. Kafumbe's *Tuning the Kingdom* shows how East African social institutions of ancient provenance, particularly those of *ngoma* and its music, play important roles in contemporary social and political organization in postcolonial and contemporary East Africa. Van Dijk, Rijk, Ria Reis and Marja Spierenburg (eds.). 2000. *The Quest for Fruition through Ngoma*. Oxford: James Currey.

Christina Quigley, *California State University, Chico*

Emmanuel Katongole. 2017. *The Journey of Reconciliation: Groaning for New Creation in Africa*. New York: Orbis Books. 189 pp.

Emmanuel Katongole sets out to achieve one main aim: how to recreate Africa in light of God's intervention in human affairs. God's intervention is expressed in his reconciliation as a gift and an invitation. Although a gift may be a free offer, the recipient has a critical role to play—accepting it. This paradox is well illustrated by the text, 2 Corinthians 5:17, which resonates with the thrust of the arguments put forward throughout the book. A new creation is reinterpreted as not only depicting the believers who have turned to Christ for redemption, it also radically extends to the whole of creation that earnestly waits for reconciliation. The holistic vision of reconciliation leads to a brand new world, an ideal, peaceful and loving world where violence perpetrated by the same people awaiting the new world is antithetical to the same reconciliation sacrificially offered by Christ. In addition, even though this reconciliation is spiritual ("spirituality of reconciliation," p. 50), it is also very political because it has to be lived out in the human community. The "metaphysics of this reconciliation" (p. xi), as a gift and an invitation, made concrete in the Eucharist, which disbands ethnic, political, gender, and social differences, depicts a powerful symbol of God's self-sacrificing love for all humanity, to whom all are invited to be recreated—becoming the "new we."

Even though Christ is the body of this reconciliation, those who receive the gift at once receive the burden of reconciliation. The latter is enacted not only in religious life but also in political actions that reflect the vision of a new world—the world reconciled. The gift and the invitation therefore have recourse to political identity (and if you like, the politics of reconciliation), which ought to be geared toward the Ephesian model where discrimination of any kind becomes anathema. Reconciliation thus should be understood not as an after event only but prior to it, because, as it is a gift from God, it precedes the political misadventures that now provide the empirical analyses that Katongole amply examined in light of the thesis of reconciliation.

If the theoretical backdrop of the book is hinged on reconciliation that leads to a new world, the empirical evidence illustrates how reconciliation, though difficult, is possible. Here the stories and experiences drawn largely from the Rwandan genocide rationally challenged the theoretical thrust of reconciliation. If reconciliation had by Christians in Rwanda at the Eucharist did not bond them together in the body of Christ, if the body and blood of Christ did not suffice as a gift offered, if the Christ events being reenacted at Easter did not provide a bulwark against violence, then what does Christianity hold for Africa? What is the essence of Christianity if the ethnic bond is stronger in

determining the reactions and relationship among African Christians? What is the need for ecclesiological, theological, spiritual contextualization of the Bible if it is only a mental acceptance minus heart-appropriation? Why accept the gift of reconciliation and reject its invitation? It is these mind-boggling questions and others that bring out the finesse of *The Journey of Reconciliation*. Katongole's responses to them are a critical reminder of the 430 years the Israelites spent in Egypt, the influence of which continued on them even when they had been long delivered. In relation to Africa, Katongole x-rayed how the colonial powers not only influenced and changed so much about the Africans, but still continue to do so in post-colonial Africa. Like the Israelites, the Africans have uncritically continued to be divided and ruled. The modern political imagination, steeped in colonial strategies, is the womb that continues to bear violence in Africa.

But why would there be eleven "Judas" rather than one among the disciples of Christ in Africa? Cast in another way, Katongole's examples that give flesh to his theory of reconciliation are in the minority. The majority of Hutu and Tutsi who participated in the genocide are Catholics, while those who held on to the 'body and blood' of the Eucharist were insignificant in number. This reverses the calculation of one Judas among the twelve disciples. This also is at once a reality and a challenge that the church must brace up to address more pragmatically not only in almost ethnically homogenous Rwanda but also in other more heterogenous countries like Nigeria. That again cannot be isolated from the metaphysics of reconciliation: Katongole presses to the last the message of hope—HEAL Africa! This is the radical call to which the church in Africa should heed—"a church that is working, that is doing its job" (p. 178).

Benson Ohihon Igboin, *Adekunle Ajasin University*

Michael Keating and Matt Waldman (eds.). 2019. *War and Peace in Somalia: National Grievances, Local Conflict and Al-Shabaab*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 607 pp.

In this fine volume, Michael Keating (Executive Director of the European Institute of Peace and former UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Somalia) and Matt Waldman (Director of the Center for Empathy in International Affairs and previous fellow at Harvard University's Kennedy School) assemble an august group of scholars, analysts, and specialists to examine war in Somalia, including its myriad forms, various causes, and potential solutions. These accomplished contributors examine a remarkable breadth of critical issues and offer sound suggestions for the way ahead, including assessing why conflict in Somalia has proven so persistent and what can be done to mitigate and resolve it in the long-term. These authors have an abundance of relevant experience and include the best experts worldwide on the range of challenges impacting security in Somalia. The work considers the past thirty years of fighting, examining its root sources and complex dynamics and should prove useful for students, scholars, policymakers, and general readers interested in conflict resolution, war and society, violent extremism, and Somalia, as well as their many linkages.

This impressive book is the result of an initiative of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Somalia (UNSOM), which Keating supervised and Waldman guided. They sought through this effort "to serve as a resource for the government, and to ensure that national, international and UN policy-making is well informed, up-to-date and improves the prospects for peace" (p. 1). In pursuance of this lofty goal, the editors invited a diverse group of practitioners to examine conflict in Somalia, uncover what drives and perpetuates it, and propose how to lessen or solve it from a number of distinct perspectives. The result is *War and Peace in Somalia*, which is the most thorough available context on this topic and represents a remarkable achievement of leveraging multidisciplinary research toward more informed policy with the ultimate goal of mitigating conflict in Somalia, improving stability there, and bettering the lives of the many people whom it has impacted.

Methodologically, the contributors take a holistic approach, examining numerous social and cultural issues, including the respective roles of men, women, youth, ideology, motivation, and foreign influence in turmoil in Somalia, as well as considering the prospects for peace. Many of the chapters contain significant field research, including surveys, focus group discussions, and in-depth interviews conducted throughout Somalia and in neighboring countries. Throughout this massive volume, the authors leverage a wide array of sources to support their arguments, including government records, United Nations documents, non-governmental organization reports, think tank studies, newspapers, scholarly books, and journal articles. In doing so, they also impart an array of assessments using a valuable multidisciplinary approach, using sources from sociology, political science, history, anthropology, law, human rights, and religion, among others.

The editors organize their work into forty-four chapters, covering an immense array of subjects that shed much-needed light on discord in Somalia. To organize their work into a manageable form, the editors wisely partitioned it into eight major parts, examining impunity, illegitimacy, and exclusion; local conflict; national peace and reconciliation; human diversity; Al-Shabaab; international linkages; prospects for engagement; and reconciliation. The three overarching themes that emerge are the vital role that clans play in grievances, the localized nature of disputes, and the central influence of Al-Shabaab in Somalia. Specific topics include political inclusivity, marginalization, legitimacy, state collapse, impunity, reconciliation, state-building, lessons learned, prospects for peace, natural resources, traditional peacemaking, Sharia courts, peace initiatives, AMISOM, transition processes, political dialogue, and inclusion of Somali women and youth, as well as the motivations, ideology, recruitment, and engagement prospects of Al-Shabaab.

In this excellent collection, the contributors have uncovered the complicated and multifaceted nature of conflict in Somalia. Two particular strengths of this work are the accomplished group of authors and its multidisciplinary approach. The editors and their respective authors should be most commended for both achievements, and the result is that they accomplished their stated goals and much more. *War and Peace in Somalia* represents an excellent foundation both to understand the causal factors in Somalia's war-torn past and present and to contemplate ways to move toward a more peaceful future. Policymakers and specialists working in conflict resolution should heed its counsel and apply its recommendations. This work will become the standard work on Somalia for quite some time, offering its readers unique insights and unparalleled coverage. It should be required reading for anyone with a serious interest in contemporary security issues in Somalia and the layered and diverse causes underlying them.

William A. Taylor, *Angelo State University*

Mick Moore, Wilson Prichard, and Odd-Helge Fjeldstad. 2018. *Taxing Africa: Coercion, Reform and Development*. London: Zed Books Ltd. 276 pp.

For governments to provide goods and services which the market does not provide, for example defense and police protection, or provides in insufficient quantities, for example education and health delivery, they must levy taxes to finance the provision of the same. Thus, taxation is critical for it lies at the heart of state formation and viability. State formation and viability is a challenge in a majority of developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, due to underperforming tax regimes which are mainly characterized by narrow tax bases, low tax effort and illicit financial flows. Therefore, an offering such as Moore et al.'s is an invaluable addition to the fledging literature on taxation in Africa. Helpfully, the book does not only catalogue Africa's tax problems but goes a step further to offer recommendations that address canons of taxations such as equity, efficiency, effectiveness, simplicity, accountability and transparency in line with Adam Smith's canons of taxation.

The overarching objective of *Taxing Africa* is putting Africa's taxation issues under a microscope and offering policy recommendations to beget efficient and effective tax regimes in Africa to, among other things, help African states deliver on developmental objectives. Vital to note, delivering on the book's objective is fraught with a lot of problems due to the diversity of African countries and their varied colonial experiences. It is notable that African tax regimes are a product of colonial experiences; that is, they are hand-downs from the former colonial powers. Despite these varied colonial experiences, there are cross-cutting taxation problems such as narrow tax bases, low tax effort and illicit financial flows as lucidly argued by Moore et al. These commonalities form the basis for general recommendations in the book. To deliver on its overarching objective, the book is divided into nine chapters, the last being the way forward (laying out policy recommendations).

Chapter one answers the overriding and/or all-important question "what does tax matter?" The authors hold that tax matters for, through taxation, the government is very favorably circumstanced to undertake key functions such as the provision of goods and services and economic development. Chapter two sketches the history of taxation (the colonial period and attendant handed-down experiences loom large). Chapter three situates the African continent in the wider context; global forces, and poses the question "is Africa a victim of global forces?" Chapter four argues that the African continent has to contend with unfavorable global forces and proposes ways in which the former can make the best out of the unfavorable situation. Chapter five discusses challenges relating to taxing the extractives sector: oil, gas and minerals. Chapter six discusses tax administration regimes in Africa in relation to tax yield and discusses a few successes juxtaposed with challenges and/or problems. Chapter seven explores the vexing issue of small and informal taxes and tax burdens that they exact on taxpayers. In a related vein, the chapter explores the issue of multiple layers of taxes, particularly, from local to subnational and national levels. Chapter eight explores the correlation between taxation on the one hand and state building and accountability on the other. Particularly, it explores the question of "how can taxation be an enabler of good governance?" Lastly, chapter nine brings the book to a close by discussing the imperative need for tax reform in Africa with the ultimate goal of improving tax administration. Commendably, the chapter calls for a locally owned tax reform agenda.

To conclude, the book addresses one of the most important issues in public finance; taxation. Taxation is critical for state formation and viability. In this regard, in the face of weak taxation, state formation and viability will be compromised. At the same time, with weak taxation, the government will be encumbered from providing goods and services, therefore, leading to a disaffected citizenry. That this book addresses the topical issue of taxation makes it an invaluable addition to the fledgling literature on taxation in Africa. Therefore, it provides useful reading material for policymakers, readers and scholars who are interested in taxation in Africa. The book has a lot of strengths. Some of them are: it covers key aspects of taxation in Africa; it is written by experts on taxation; it is written in jargon-free language as to be comprehensible to those with a passing acquaintance with African taxation literature; and lastly, it is neither paternalistic nor prescriptive.

Emmanuel Botlhale, *University of Botswana*

Eric Morier-Genoud, Michel Cahen, and Domingos do Rosário (eds.). 2018. *The War Within: New Perspectives on the Civil War in Mozambique, 1976-1992*. Rochester, NY: James Currey. 268 pp.

Understanding the 1976-1992 Mozambican civil war is crucial but differing accounts depending on places, sources, and perspectives and endless debates on the origins, nature and action of the *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Renamo), had left the field messy and off-track. Departing from

the historiography of the civil war centered on Renamo, *The War Within* analyzes the conflict as “a complex and dynamic phenomenon that engulfed the whole of society, changed over time, and altered everything and everyone in complex and often, unintended ways” (p. 179). The book provides a much-needed overview of the existing literature and new case studies drawing on long-term work and original materials. The analysis of Renamo documents, accounts of surviving villagers, interviews with militiamen, and religious archives, shines light on the spatial and temporal variations of the conflict, restores the agency of actors that had often been ignored or depicted as passive victims, and rehabilitates non-military dimensions of the war. This turns *The War Within* into the most complete yet synthetic account of the civil war and a necessary read.

Though *The War Within* is organized by geographical areas, the north, the south, and a world system perspective—the full read is needed to grasp the added value of the nuanced and complementary approaches. Chapters 1 to 3 highlight the multiple sources of violence and counter-violence as well as the fluidity of wartime loyalties. Sérgio Chichava explores the dynamics of several armed entities in Zambezia. These included Frelimo brigades, the opposing *Partido Revolucionário de Moçambique* (PRM) formed in 1976, Renamo, which merged with the PRM in 1982, Frelimo-trained inhabitants, Naparama, a self-defense movement vested with magical powers, and Mulelepeia, a force set up by Renamo to counteract Naparama. The resulting devastation of the province is located in a long-term perspective. Domingos do Rosário documents how disorganized logistics and lack of means made it difficult for the army to contain Renamo’s progression in Nampula province. This reverberated in increased violence against society, leading do Rosário to conclude that “the war was not only the result of the villagization process, but also the result of the military policies of Frelimo [...] strengthen[ing] the social basis of Renamo in Nampula province” (p. 59). Yet, exhausted societies also supported Naparama groups in Nampula, as Corinna Jentzsch further investigates. Jentzsch focuses on the security arrangements in which populations actively engage. They take the form of peasant militias spiritually protected by traditional healers in northern Mozambique. Though they succeeded in retrieving abducted people, their spiritual power was quickly challenged internally and externally, generating an ever-increasing fragmentation of the war.

Chapters 4 to 6 dive into the political and material dimensions of the conflict. Michel Cahen decrypts over 3000 Renamo messages contained in notebooks seized by the Mozambican security services in 1985. He demonstrates the fragments published were “doctored” to turn Renamo into armed bandits acting on behalf of South Africa (p. 101). Contrary to this interpretation, Cahen’s reconstruction of military statistics, geographical strategy and internal communication shows the 1984 Nkomati accords spread Renamo into the entire country and drove its politicization. Renamo could favor macro-political imperatives (expanding to the north) over tactical necessities (stabilizing conquered zones). Its progression rooted in previous oppositions to the colonial and post-colonial State turning it into a centrally organized “coalition of marginalities” (p. 145). Eric Morier-Genoud and Lily Bunker locate these interventions into a broader analysis of the war as a total social fact in Inhambane and Maputo provinces. Catholic archives demonstrate the church took a pro-dialogue position against the dominant discourse of a war of aggression. In Inhambane, Renamo built on local discontentment, but Morier-Genoud shows it could not develop large administrative territories as the army controlled the productive coastal area. Not only did the government adapt its strategy over time, partnering with private militias in the end, it also took advantage of droughts to transfer its social duties to NGOs and focus its efforts on the military (p. 170). Lily Bunker analyzes experiences of harm in the Frelimo stronghold of Ilha Josina Machel. This more conventional depiction of the war, grounded on the memories of those who survived rape, abduction and terror, is key to complement the inside perspective. Narrating the conflict from the point of view of the exposed makes sense of the contradictory accounts of the civil war and thus enriches both its historiography and the book.

In the last part, Georgi Derluguian considers the Mozambican civil war in a world-system perspective. Reflecting on the Cold War, capitalism, bureaucracy, post-colonial intelligentsia, modernity and foreign aid, he reads the war as the internationalization of a local conflict rather than as the internalization of a foreign one. This brings stimulating elements to think about the war in Mozambique and calls for a renewed world-system perspective on the internationalization of contemporary frustrations. Though all the provinces are not covered, the 26-page bibliography as well as the numerous maps, will help readers to navigate across the case studies, extrapolate the arguments, and triangulate their observations. *The War Within* thus constitutes a crucial resource to understand how the civil war deeply, though heterogeneously, affected all segments of the Mozambican society and to investigate current violence, grievances and politics.

Nelly Leblond, *Ben Gurion University*

José-María Muñoz. 2018. *Doing Business in Cameroon: An Anatomy of Economic Governance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 242 pp.

Doing Business in Cameroon: An Anatomy of Economic Governance is an ambitious book that closely examines the interconnected dynamics of four different economic sectors that converge in the city of Ngaoundéré in Northern Cameroon to illustrate how shifting regulatory frameworks affect the daily dealings of government and business actors. It is an immensely detailed account that weaves together legal analysis and ethnographic data to reveal how the original intent of regulation is often different from its practice in a reality of shifting configurations and actors. The main construct assessed in this book is that of economic governance. José-María Muñoz defines economic governance through the production of legality by various business and government actors within the economic sphere. Muñoz deftly uncovers the complex processes surrounding the production and experience of legality via the lenses of economics, legal analysis, and anthropological ethnography in Cameroon; mostly focusing his attention on the 1980s to the early 2000s.

The book is structured into five chapters that weave a comprehensive narrative of economic governance utilizing the four sectors of cattle trade, trucking, public contracting, and NGO work. The chapters of the book are fairly balanced in relation to one another; there is no single chapter that is particularly central to the main point of economic governance. Muñoz does an excellent job of putting legal texts within their historical and economic context while taking local-level ethnographic data and merging it into greater frameworks at the national and international socioeconomic spheres.

Chapter one details the political and economic life in Ngaoundéré through the ethnographies of four ethnic Fulbe Muslim men that continue to be expanded upon throughout the book. It functions as an introduction to each economic sector and exemplifies economic governance as actors move through entrepreneurial risks and legal grey zones in their daily lives. Muñoz's deep familiarity with Ngaoundéré and the larger legal and economic structures that affect local people is clearly evident by the first chapter.

Chapter two details the public contracting sector, the result of multiple reform efforts to eliminate "bad practices" that were mostly defined by the Public Contracts Regulatory Board (ARMP). Muñoz's ethnographic stories highlight the intersection of corrupt bureaucracy and local entrepreneurship in which ARMP reforms have been absorbed by long-standing business practices. Fundamentally, reforms did little to change the pattern of how business actors moved through state formalities; including the cultivation of personal relationships with public officials that allowed multiple intended principles to be subverted. This book as a whole does an excellent job of avoiding the generalization of those who navigate complex legal processes, rather revealing the mechanisms by which legality is constructed and operated in on a daily basis.

Chapter three examines the cattle sector as business actors interact with each other, state officials, and the railway company Camrail. At differing points in the business, government regulation largely succeeds or fails. The focal point of this chapter is the trader's daily practices within Camrail's cooperation with the Cameroonian government for the purposes of tax collection under the constraints of limited freight space. Fundamentally, government control over the cattle market is unevenly distributed amongst differing points of time and space. In this chapter, the reader receives a clear illustration of how economic governance is practiced within these uneven distributions.

Chapter four analyses the trucking industry to highlight the potentials and limits of economic governance throughout differing points in time. Economic factors such as export trends and infrastructure projects are assessed in relation to neocolonialism, government organizations, policy implementations, union behavior, and road enforcement decrees. This rich narrative provides clarity for Muñoz's main argument by illustrating how global economics, policy visions, and daily realities interact to form the variable construct of economic governance. It is in the depiction of this convergence between the local and the global that Muñoz's dynamic approach makes *Doing Business in Cameroon: An Anatomy of Economic Governance* uniquely appealing.

Chapter five focuses on the role and ambiguities surrounding NGO work during the late 1990s and early 2000s. Here, Muñoz forms a complex narrative of semi-legality, organizational labels, and strategies to attain World Bank financing, and contracts as they relate to the Chad-Cameroon Pipeline and HIV/AIDS prevention. The line between non-profit and for-profit is blurred repeatedly as Muñoz illustrates throughout the chapter by interviewing different people and analyzing policies such as World Bank initiatives that have stricter mandates for NGOs. The NGO scene in Cameroon became an intersection by which individual motives met the legality mandated by contracting cycles to illustrate economic governance in action.

In conclusion, Muñoz does a very thorough job of making the point of economic governance stand out while not reducing the daily complexities of people navigating the economic realities of Ngaoundéré. His method of anthropological ethnography and legal analysis within both local and global socioeconomic contexts is a unique and inventive methodology that not many scholars are able to successfully conduct. His point about legality being a highly variable construct is definitely clearly illustrated by the numerous examples he provides in the book. The sources are extremely detailed and are used with a high degree of precision. Muñoz's ethnographic fieldwork in Cameroon from 2003–2014 features prominently in the book and is always placed in the historical, economic, and legal context with other supporting sources such as the French archives, scholarly journals, legal documents of the Bretton Woods Institutions (including the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank), the legal documents of the Cameroonian government, and the policies of numerous associated governmental organizations. The ambitious scope of the book, the extensive use of ethnographic accounts, and Muñoz's detailed analysis of economic and legal structures leave nothing more to be desired. However it must be said that the sophisticated, detailed, and often nuanced accounts limit the recommended audience to a strictly academic one that specializes in modern African political economies and legal structures.

Shanee Cohen, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Nyabola Nanjala. 2018. *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How the Internet Era is Transforming Politics in Kenya*. London: Zed Books. 273 pp.

Nyabola Nanjala is a political analyst, a writer, and humanitarian advocate based in Nairobi. Her accomplished academic achievements include two MSc degrees from the University of Oxford, which she earned as a Rhodes Scholar. Additionally, she holds a J.D. from Harvard Law School. This highly refreshing, innovative, and descriptive narrative sheds light on contemporary Kenya,

highlighting the impact of technology on its political and social systems, and plumbing the depths of the intersection between technology and politics.

The introduction begins with this riveting sentence: “It began with a rumour.” Nanjala then proceeds to comprehensively narrate the (in)famous role that social media played in the near demise of an indigenous bank, Chase Bank, Kenya in April 2016, when messages on various WhatsApp groups announced that the bank was financially troubled. The rumour jumped onto Twitter with a well-known Kenyan personality, Mumbi Seriki tweeting that the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK) while conducting audits of Chase Bank had discovered billions of Kenyan shillings missing from its books. The alleged fraud spilled over to Facebook and other social media platforms, overheating Kenya’s financial landscape. This, coming months just after the collapse of another Kenyan indigenous bank, Imperial Bank, where depositors had lost their money, led to a massive withdrawal of funds at Chase Bank, affecting the bank’s liquidity. All measures by the government and bank officials to negate these allegations and calm the polity failed to yield positive results. The bank eventually went into receivership with the government, the Central Bank, and most industry watchers strictly laying the blame for the bank’s misfortune on the social media furor. This story emphasizes the importance of digital spaces in Kenya, and Nanjala uses it to relay how social media has emerged as one of the most powerful political spaces in that country and in the world.

Following this gripping introduction, the book’s subsequent chapters give a summary of Kenya’s political history after its independence in 1963, eventually outlining the violent origins of Kenya’s digital decade which began with the 2007 election and culminated in the country’s 2017 election, believed by some to be Africa’s most expensive, due in part to the development of an IT infrastructure for voter identification and result transmission. Ironically, the 2017 election originally envisioned as the union of politics and technology, promised great things and completely failed to deliver and was just as riddled with issues of systemic lack of transparency and distrust in the electoral process as previous elections, resulting in post-election violence. As the author aptly pointed out: “What is possible online is dependent on what exists offline. Any freedom, interest or capacity with which people are able to use digital spaces to advance their political interests is entirely dependent on a number of offline factors, from practical ones like availability of infrastructure to more ideational factors like the state of the public political participation in the society in question” (p. 31).

Succinctly put, the digitalization of politics does not translate to more democracy. Into this medley, Nanjala throws up areas of collision in Kenya between the analogue and the digital system, and technology and politics—traditional and new media, the public and the state, mobile money (m-Pesa) and the traditional banking system, and the case of Ushahidi, the crisis-mapping platform formed in 2007. The author further illuminates ways in which digital spaces impact democracy in Kenya and how social media has become an extension of the analogue public sphere and a tool to aid community building. A notable instance is the #KOT (Kenyans on Twitter), a hashtag which “has come to encapsulate the identity of the country, the diversity of the country and the wit and humour with which Kenyans approach daily life” (p. 89). Nanjala also examines the way social media interactions and digital spaces are altering how Kenyans perceive and relate to one another by encouraging users to re-evaluate ingrained prejudices and reconnect; the growth of young, radical feminism and the intensification of women’s voices and experiences through such movements like #MyDressMyChoice.

The book is an engaging and well-researched read which stays not only true to the purpose of its conception, but also connects the Kenyan narrative to relevant happenings across the world—the Arab Spring, the #BringBackOurGirls movement in Nigeria, the US 2016 election, and Brexit among others.

Oluwayemisi Adebajo, *Bowie State University*

Obi Nwakanma. 2017. *Christopher Okigbo: Thirsting for Sunlight*. Rochester, NY: James Currey. 276 pp.

The real tragedy of the Biafran conflict is its tearing apart of the young Nigeria and the extinction of some of her brightest flames. One such flame was Christopher Okigbo, the subject of Obi Nwakanma's book. Okigbo, although ultimately recognized as a talented poet, was an all-rounded individual who excelled in whatever he gave himself into: an avid sportsman as cricketer, footballer, boxer, athlete, and hockey player; actor, and musician who played the guitar, piano, trombone, and clarinet. He was lively and highly intelligent, or as one of his teachers put it, an "effortless genius" (p. 43). The picture that Nwakanma manages is of a complex and energetic individual.

Okigbo discovered his poetic prowess late—and accidentally. He may have been involved in editing the university journal, but his contemporaries reveal that Okigbo wrote nothing while at University College, Ibadan. In 1958, life nose-dived when he lost both his job in the civil service and his business venture. He became bankrupt, depressed and suicidal. Okigbo was saved by his friend Alex Olu Ajayi who convinced him to deputize him as principal at the Fiditi Grammar School. Going to Fiditi, the book notes, opened the creative chambers because here Okigbo started to write "to reconstruct his private history, to create a mythos of the self, and to stabilize his sense of identity" (p. 123). Okigbo's poetry thus is a revelation of his acute consciousness to the social order and uncertainty regarding the imminent end of colonial rule, a realization of his alienated self and a desire to return to his duties to Idoto, his family deity, and an expression of his inner emotions following the tumultuous spell in his life.

Okigbo, the book's sources all agree, was overly generous "even if sometimes at great personal discomfort" (p. 188) and possessed a geniality that "quickly endeared him to many people" (p. 40). The author further suggests that Okigbo's capacity to make friends easily and openly explains his famed womanizing nature. However, the author is sympathetic in his portrayal of this behavior. The death of his mother when he was only five affected him enormously—a fact discernible in his poetry. Okigbo had difficulty reconciling with the loss so much so that he failed to form a relationship with the woman his father married thereafter. Thus, the author explains Okigbo's famed womanizing as an oedipal desire to connect with an absent mother. He even cites Okigbo's adoption, in his poetry, of Idoto, the water goddess, as a surrogate mother. On the other hand, the author argues that despite his womanizing Okigbo respected women and even implicitly advocated for their independence. The author attributes this to Okigbo's humanist education which molded him to detest any form of racism and, even before feminism was fashionable, resist the patriarchal hold on women, and "was in search of the truth...the truth of everything" (p. 195).

Correspondingly, Okigbo was keen to search for justice and fairness. Okigbo was inherently a revolutionary spirit and a rebel, but the author underscores that his sensitivity to injustice is what prompted him to play an integral role in the planning and execution of the Biafran war. He was among the intellectual elite that were perturbed by the political conflagration threatening the first republic and were seeking a quick and permanent solution. His friendship and influence over the university educated military men instrumental in the 1966 coup and the 1967 declaration of secession is insightful. The reader is left wondering whether Okigbo wasn't being irrationally driven by his boyish "love for drama and adventure, and a life-long fascination for what was difficult and dangerous" (p. 53).

Benefiting greatly from interviews of people who intimately knew Okigbo, Nwakanma's book is a compelling read. It presents a full picture of the man described as a "deeply flawed and vulnerable individual" (p. 141). The book delightfully probes the sources of his personal anxieties and motivations, and poetic inspiration, starting with the Ojoto cosmology and belief in Idoto. The contradictions in Okigbo's life are laid bare; the failures and successes are scrutinized: he failed as civil servant and businessman but excelled as school master, librarian, publisher, and poet. His early death is almost an allegory for a Nigeria whose dream of becoming a prosperous post-colonial

nation-state was quickly extinguished because its leaders failed to tame their egos. Nwakanma succeeds in contextualizing Okigbo's poetry and resurrecting the man to claim his rightful place as a modern (not just African) poet. Okigbo, it seems, is still thirsting for sunlight.

Joshua Ondieki, *Kenyatta University*

Ebenezer Obadare. 2018. *Pentecostal Republic: Religion and the Struggle for State Power in Nigeria*. London: Zed Books. 214 pp.

Given the title of the book, *Pentecostal Republic: Religion and the Struggle for State Power in Nigeria*, one might ponder what new perspective Obadare is bringing to the debate on the linkages between state, political struggle and religion. Scholars such as M. H. Kukah (1993) has in his work *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, revealed how religion is a dominant factor in politics and the struggle for power, most especially in Northern Nigeria. Additionally, Toyin Falola (2001), in *Violence in Nigeria: Religious Politics and Secular Ideologies* conducts an analysis of the nexus between religion and politics in the Nigerian political landscape. However, *Pentecostal Republic* stands unique, as it presents quite a fresh perspective to the ongoing debate on the nexus between religion, politics and the struggle for state power in Nigerian, most especially "since the country's celebrated return to civil rule in May 1999" (p. 1).

In the *Pentecostal Republic*, Obadare, a professor of sociology at the University of Kansas, traces the inextricable nexus between religion and politics in the Nigerian milieu, and the unending dialogue between the Muslim-Christian community over who wield state power. Throughout the eight chapters of the book, Obadare cogently portrays his argument that attempting to understand the political trajectories of the Nigerian state, particularly since the beginning of the fourth republic, outside the framework of religiosity could be far from the realities on the ground. His position is in tandem with the views of Benjamin Tyavkase who in a 2019 article on the role of magico-spiritual powers in Nigerian politics submits that "The African world has always been involved in magico-spiritual activities....Africa is unshakably rooted in religion and incurably religious." The *Pentecostal Republic* is divided into seven chapters, with an introduction, notes, abbreviation as well as acknowledgment and references.

Chapter One provides an array of individuals' testimonies strongly suggesting that the seat of political power (Aso Rock Villa) is an epicenter of spiritual confrontations between the living and the dead. These unending struggles have seen many who desire to reside in the Villa to acquire some level of spiritual fortifications if they must survive their political ambitions. What Obadare did in Chapter Two was to show the paradigm shift from how the Nigerian Christian community, which prior to 1999 had always clamored for the secularization of the state to an outright Christianization of the state with Obasanjo's ascendancy as the "God-sent" President of the republic. This shift took the unending power tussle between Muslim and Christian to a new dimension. Two critical issues both within and outside the Christian domain, however, dented Obasanjo's Christianized era: first, sharia politics, and second, his insatiable desire for an unconstitutional third term. Further exhuming the tussle for political power in Nigeria, Obadare reveals three pertinent points that characterized the period between 2007 and 2010, which he referred to as "A Muslim Interlude?" (p. 73): the Pentecostalization of civil society groups, the fear of Muslim North losing the grip on power again to the Christian South, and the deeper intercourse between the political elites and the theocratic class. While this scenario cannot be said to be quite new in Nigerian political history, Obadare, however, went a step ahead of other literature to show how the instrumentality of Boko Haram, which hitherto was non-radicalized became a radical tool for the Muslim North to assert their claim over political power, especially among Muslim extremists. Obadare further shows that in the midst of the Christian-Muslim power play in Nigerian politics, traditional religious worshippers are yet to be taken into account in the power tussle.

For purpose of clarity, Obadare compartmentalized President Jonathan's administration into segments showing how each episode was steeped in a Pentecostal circle. Understanding that the Nigerian political landscape is trapped in religiosity, President Jonathan swiftly cashed in on the prevailing Pentecostal atmosphere at the time of his inauguration through "gratuitous modesty and pornographic piety" (p. 111), to which Obadare argues that "such performances were directly correlated to his political ambition" (p. 112). However, what is deduced from the whole gamut of narratives on Jonathan's administration is the fact that the same Pentecostalism that had earlier "sacralized" his presidency, would eventually turn out disastrous towards the tail end of his administration. This ultimately cost Jonathan his second term bid as his failure to protect Nigerians, most especially the Christendom against the scourges of insurgency proves quite costly. Chapter Five depicts how the struggle for state power between Muslim North and Christian South deepens as both presidential candidates explored every religious avenue and strategy to outdo the other. Albeit, the theocratic class itself was often time beset with internal strife, which came with its own consequences. In exploring the role of Pentecostalism, particularly doing the 2015 general elections, Obadare skillfully reveals the extent of influence some Pentecostal leaders (of the theocratic class) wields in deciding the outcome of elections, even though Obadare omitted the role of Muslim societies in Western Nigeria such as NASFAT, in political maneuverings.

That notwithstanding, Obadare through the *Pentecostal Republic* has deepened our understanding of how since the beginning of Nigeria's fourth republic, political permutations have consistently revolved around religiosity, thus, painting a picture of a pre-Westphalian society where church and the state were fused as one. The *Pentecostal Republic* shows that since 1999, Nigeria has gradually but persistently dropped into the abyss where the struggle for state power has a religious undertone, much more than socio-political coloration, a new trend that may be leading the Nigerian State onto the rocks. Therefore, Obadare's book is an important exposé that has through historical narratives, captured the ever-changing nature of religio-political interplays in Nigeria's fourth republic. I recommend the book to every Nigerian who is interested in understanding the role of religion in Nigerian political space, most especially since 1999

Patrick Chukwudike Okpalaeke, *University of Uyo*

Adebayo Oyedabe and Gashawbeza Bekele. 2017. *The Long Struggle: Discourses on Human and Civil Rights in Africa and the African Diaspora*. Austin, Texas: Pan-African University Press. 225 pp.

What are human and civil rights without the right to have them? In *The Long Struggle: Discourses on Human and Civil Rights in Africa and the African Diaspora*, scholars from various disciplines interrogate how blacks advocate, challenge, and ensure both their human and civil rights. Introducing the book, Adebayo Oyebade and Gasgawbeza Bekele note that while considerable progress has been made in ensuring human and civil rights in Africa and its diaspora, the global black population still "struggles with critical rights issues" (p. xxii). In five parts and thirteen chapters, the book investigates these issues from multidisciplinary perspectives.

In chapter 1, Bessie House-Soremekun links the origin of the travails of blacks in Africa to colonialism, and in its diaspora to the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Next, Martha Alibah contextualizes House-Soremekun's argument by looking at the history of British oppression and aggression in colonial Ghana and America. Ultimately, Alibah concludes that both colonies shared much in common: they were administered through discriminatory legislation and violent practices. In chapter 3, Abolade Adeniji investigates the "enthusiastic" coverage of apartheid in the Nigerian press to foreground Nigeria's commitment to ridding Africa "of the vestiges of colonialism and apartheid" (p. 49).

The fourth chapter focuses on the life and work of political theorist, Claude Ake. Here, Tokunbo Ayoola unpacks Ake's criticisms of the global idea of human rights as an "irrelevant" Western concept that privileges the "fights for the rights of individuals as opposed to that of the collectives" (p. 61). In chapter 5, Bernard Steiner Ifekwe exemplifies how black Jamaicans collectively fight for their rights through reggae music. Ifekwe opines that the phenomenal work done by Reggae artists such as Bob Marley and Peter Tosh helped highlight the agonies of blacks in Jamaica, proclaim black consciousness, decriminalize ganja, and successfully ensure black group rights.

Chapter 6 begins part 2, which focusses on minority group rights. Two linguists, Ngozi U. Emeka-Nwobia and Chinwe E. Obianika, unpack the linguistic and gender dynamics of domestic violence on Igbo women in Southeastern Nigeria. Accordingly, they argue that gender-based violence and other forms of rights violations are not always physical. They are, more often than not, built into linguistic practices that portray "women as inferior and subordinate to men" (p. 95). In chapter 7, Sarah Iriogbe-Efionayi depicts how the education sector and criminal justice system in the U.S. function as the state's mechanisms of containment and proliferation of black mass poverty. Cynthia Gadsden in chapter 8, however, argues that through art, blacks in the U.S. have been able to interrogate their past, reimagine their present, question divisive narratives of identity, and reimagine the future through a new definition of African-Americanness that is "fluid and accommodating of diverse origins" (p. 125). In chapter 9, Guangzhi Huang cautions against the racist state-backed representation of blacks as *sanfei* (illegal) in China. Huang believes that such representation is stoking a fear of blackness in the country.

Next comes a focus on the roles of the state in issues of human and civil rights. Leslie Stubs in chapter 10 highlights the plight of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria. Essentially, she argues that the Nigerian Government is inefficient and deficient in ensuring the human and civil rights of IDPs. Similarly, in chapter 11, Biale Zua examines incidents that reveal that democratically elected leaders in Nigeria have a history of using the military to respond to security threats in ways that violate human and civil rights, especially those of minority groups. In chapter 12, Felix Omoh Okokhere berates the repressive "modern state system" for its failure to provide and guarantee the human and civil rights of all. The final chapter, 13, examines human and civil right issues from a literary perspective. Here, Rebecca S. Dixon analyzes Caryl Philips' *Dancing in the Dark* for its commentary on the African American experience, particularly that of black men. According to Dixon, while black performers such as Philips helped many African Americans "unburden themselves of the restraints they found overwhelming," they also, unfortunately, celebrate stereotypes and distortions of Black identity" for profit (p. 205).

Overall, *The Long Struggle* beautifully aggregates how scholars in various disciplines think about human and civil rights issues. However, for a book that sets out to interrogate the struggles for human and civil rights in Africa and its diaspora, it's disappointing to not see discourses on human and civil rights in North Africa.

Ola Oladipo, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Kate Philip. 2018. *Markets on the Margins: Mineworkers, Job Creation & Enterprise Development*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey. 222 pp.

South Africa is a country where the mining industry plays a central role in shaping labor markets. It is a country where the issues of land and labor are integrally linked. Kate Philip is a senior economic development advisor in the Government Technical Advisory Centre (GTAO) of South Africa's National Treasury. In this book, she describes the earlier period of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) history and its role in supporting small enterprise development in the marginal and rural context. The lesson these experiences taught still hold true for enterprise development strategies. For the author, this book is indeed is a familiar terrain, having headed the development

strategy of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in a very critical period in the history of South Africa.

For South Africa, in its transition from apartheid to democracy, the role of politics and history in shaping inequality in the present were stark. “South Africa was at war with itself during 1980s, with the apartheid state confronting the ongoing armed struggle. In this context, the trade unions under the banner of the congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), played a catalytic role in regularly bringing the economy to a standstill. NUM was only formed in 1982 and became the country’s biggest trade union” (p. 6). The NUM development program grappled with how to empower people in poor communities to create employment for themselves through enterprise development activities in a context in which entry points into formal employment in the core economy were largely closed to them.

The book’s sixteen chapters begin with the mineworkers strike of 1987. While this form of general strike later become a regular occurrence, but in 1987 it was the first time the mining and industrial heartland of South Africa was brought to a standstill (this strike was also termed as “Transvaal Stay-Away”). One of the many consequences of this strike was that some forty thousand workers lost their jobs. According to Philip “the strike was in relation to the struggles over wages and working conditions on the mines, the challenges of organizing workers in the industry, the relationship between industry leaders and the state, the role of migrancy, all are the issues characterized during that period and they all are still present in old or new forms, even after twenty years of democracy in South Africa” (p. 3). Further, she argues that, in the labor market, history has shown that there is no scope to contest and change the terms on which this particular market operates. Philip questions “are there analogous ways of shifting power relations in other markets, in ways that change distributional outcomes in favour of the poor?” This question plunges us into a wider debate of the role of markets in society and the role of society in shaping markets. All these debates have their roots in early political economy but still remain at the heart of politics and economics today, informing different policy approaches that have real impacts on the distribution of power and resources and on poverty and inequality in societies.

Internationally, a paradigm shift was taking place within the small enterprise support sector that crystallized into the market development approach to business development services (BDS)—later absorbed into a wider approach characterized as “making markets work for the poor.” The paradigm shift was certainly a game changer. She explains this paradigm shift in terms that we were confronted with at the time: “While the approach had deep flaws, the irony is that it opened our eyes to dynamics we had not analyzed before. It certainly shifted the terrain of debate in the small enterprise development sector and there is no way now to close Pandora’s box” (p. 117). Besides this, she also discusses the lesson we should learn from the microcredit revolution in various countries across the world. And she highlights that at an overall level, a key shortcoming in the approach was, ironically, its weak understanding of markets in the marginal areas.

The book places a lot of emphasis on a market development approach, as it removes distortions so that the market works for the poor. But the limited framework within which distortions were defined assumed a blank slate. “The absence of organizational depth in poor and marginalised communities and the inability to resource such organisation in ways that allow ‘holding power’ reinforces institutional biases in society towards those who hold economic power. In the process this deepens inequality: rendering the task of making markets work better for the poor elusive indeed” (p. 140). So, while the paradigm brought challenges to MDA’s praxis, it also brought new insights. In context of an MDA approach, the author emphasizes redefining the role of development actors to act as facilitators or catalysts for the development of markets.

The strength of Philip’s book is the depth of its historical excavation and the synchronization of relevant literature on the NUM. This book is an interesting scholarly piece which attempts to fill the gap that scholars have rarely done and offers a clarifying lens for understanding this critical and multifaceted concept. And further, it sets forth heuristic goals to improve understanding of the

processes by which development strategies in Africa have emerged and evaluation of development institution and public policies in Africa. It is an important contribution to study development theory and practices to the current public discourse on small business and job creation and of interest to academic scholars and policy makers alike.

Readers will hence find this book as not only stimulating and interesting but also a useful addition to their literature collection and perhaps one of the first scholarly and most comprehensive works on the quest to build effective strategies to support the development of enterprise on the margins, in South Africa's mine labor sending areas, to create jobs and to reduce poverty. Philip's approach challenges other scholars to think analytically about the development policies and to take seriously the ways in which national governments and regional organizations are reshaping the outlines of development strategy. Philip succeeded in applying accurate, original thinking to one of the most important development issues of our time—the rapid economic and political changes occurring in Africa.

Rinki Dahiya, *University of Delhi*

Mohammed Bashir Salau. 2018. *Plantation Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate: A Historical and Comparative Study*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press. 236 pp.

This is a comparative study and a quality addition to the historiography of slavery and its abolition in West Africa. Though it is arguably the first monograph on the history of plantation slavery in the Sokoto caliphate, it appends itself to a line of scholarship that focused on individual plantation complexes in some emirates of the Sokoto Caliphate. Moreover, it analyses diverse source materials including Arabic documents written by jihad leaders, oral interviews and secondary sources in order to determine the extent to which racial theories served to justify enslavement in the Sokoto Caliphate. It also questions the notion that jihad leaders deliberately performed or employed blackness rhetoric in order to marshal support for jihad. In a way, it disagrees with the assumption that a closer look at the Arabic records left by the jihad leaders reveals that racial arguments were probably used to justify enslavement in the Sokoto Caliphate. Though this study did not deny that racist ideologies were spun out by the jihadists, it is critical of singling out claims of Arabic ancestry as a feature of race.

The book is divided into seven chapters, accompanied by an introduction and a conclusion. In the introduction, the book analyses the assertions of the previous studies of the Sokoto Caliphate and it provides new light on many of the previous assumptions. Chapter one discusses race and slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate, and it explains that in most slave societies people divide the world into “insiders” and “outsiders” and those who are regarded as “insiders” harbored various types of prejudices against the “outsiders.” Chapter two traces the roots of the Sokoto Caliphate plantations to Islamic ideology, which was “mainly concerned with the establishment of a just, ideal, and viable Islamic state modeled after that centered Arabia in the seventh century” (p. 47). It explains that the establishment of ribats helped to shape plantation development by encouraging enslavement and by fostering internal security, trade and the expansion of the Caliphate.

Chapter three focuses on the course of plantation development. It accounts that, by the seventh century, there was an export trade in the Sahara, Mediterranean, and Middle East and slaves were mainly acquired through warfare and were exchanged for items like horses and iron implements. Moreover, it reports that the Sokoto jihad expanded first when Gobir, Kano, Zaria, Katsina and other Hausa states and Gurma societies were conquered (1809-1850) and second, when the Caliphate was expanded to the south especially towards the Nupe and the northern Yoruba areas (1850-1890s). Chapter four focuses on the types, structures and characteristics of plantations. It states that caliphal slaves were allowed autonomy but the estates in which they worked were rationally managed. It also, highlights the types of plantations as plantations

attached to political offices, estates owned by members of the aristocracy, and private estates owned by wealthy non-aristocrats. Chapter five explains that the slaves in the Sokoto Caliphate were captured through warfare and kidnapping, or obtained through purchase and natural childbirth. It reports that among the socioeconomic and political factors that produced the slaves were the self-serving interpretation of jihad leaders to enslave those who were not ready to embrace Islam, intra political rivalries among jihad leaders, resistance to leadership control in the various emirates, consistent attacks from external enemies, and the desire to capture slaves.

Chapter six x-rays the importance of plantations to the Sokoto Caliphate. It explains how slave-based agricultural enterprises equipped the state to have more dominion over freeborn citizens and to magnify its power in the colonization of newly conquered land and boosted its revenue. Chapter seven compares plantations in the New World to that of coastal East Africa. It explains that the development of the plantation sector in coastal Africa was similar to those of Brazil, Cuba, and the United States of America which were fueled by the demand of the global market.

However, as for the main scope of the book, I think that the Sokoto Caliphate was not given enough attention in chapter seven where the plantations in coastal East Africa are compared with those of the New World. An emphasis here on the Sokoto Caliphate would have added some freshness to the work and further differentiate it from the previous publications. However, the book is a worthy quality addition. Moreover, historians and researchers especially those with keen interest in slavery-related studies will find it very informative and inspiring.

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Elizabeth Schmidt. 2018. *Foreign Intervention in Africa After the Cold War: Sovereignty, Responsibility, and the War on Terror*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 462 pp.

The end of the Cold War marked the beginning of a period of exceptional political instability in Sub-Saharan Africa. Immediately after the fall of the Berlin Wall, a wave of rebellions driven by greedy warlords engulfed the Gulf of Guinea, from Sierra Leone, to Liberia and Guinea Bissau, while more than half a million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were massacred under the impassive eye of the international community in the Great Lakes region. The high number of victims and refugees of these conflicts pushed the international community to intervene in Africa to restore peace and stability. The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine adopted by the United Nations more than ten years after the Rwandan genocide justified foreign military intervention when states were no longer able to protect their own citizens. After the attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11), another principle known as the War on Terror (WOT) was used to justify military interventions abroad. This principle assumed that states could intervene in another country to combat international terrorist organizations that could potentially destabilize the world order.

Foreign Intervention in Africa after the Cold War aims to show how the response to instability and WOT paradigms have shaped the military interventions conducted by the international community from 1991 to 2017. Elizabeth Schmidt's book brings a much-awaited follow-up to a first volume dealing with the period from 1945 to 1991. The book builds on six detailed studies that cover most of the conflicts of the last twenty-five years. The author shows that foreign intervention in Somalia, Sudan, the Maghreb and the Sahel were justified by the response to instability and WOT paradigms. In the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Guinea, regional stability and the protection of civilians justified external intervention.

The study of these case studies shows that the structural adjustment policies imposed on African countries from the early 1980s contributed to an increase in conflicts in Africa after the Cold War. State elites lost the financial support of their foreign donors and were unable to redistribute state resources to their clients, opening the door to violent competition between

political leaders. The book also convincingly shows that the WOT paradigm promoted by the United States after the 9/11 attacks ultimately led to a militarization of Africa that bolstered authoritarian regimes who presented themselves as the guarantors of international security. *Foreign Intervention in Africa* is keen to remind the reader that the United States is only one of the many actors that intervene in African politics in parallel with other Western states, the African Union, the United Nations and African regional organizations. The book concludes that in most cases external interventions do more harm than good to African countries because they lead to an intensification of conflicts.

The main challenge for a book dealing with foreign interventions in Africa is to balance the factors that result from external action from those that result from internal dynamics specific to each country. While the book focuses explicitly on the consequences of foreign intervention, the author provides a detailed assessment of the historical roots of each conflict. In the chapter devoted to the Boko Haram insurgency, she notes for example that “civil strife had specific local catalysts as well as overarching causes that grew from Nigeria’s political, economic, and social structures” (p. 310).

In the Sahel, assessing the respective importance of internal and external factors is particularly challenging. The book argues that the NATO intervention that led to the fall of Colonel Kaddafi in Libya in 2011 “fueled a separatist movement, a jihadist insurgency back by al-Qaeda affiliates, a military coup, and foreign intervention” in Mali (p. 293). However, as the author also acknowledges, the deterioration of the security situation in northern Mali predated the Libyan conflict by many years. In the mid-2000s, northern Mali had gathered all the ingredients for a long-lasting disaster: a corrupt regime that turned a blind eye on religious extremism, a rebellion in search of more political autonomy, and armed groups circulating almost unimpeded across the country’s borders.

Evaluating the importance of external factors on the Boko Haram insurgency is equally difficult. The book suggests that instability in Libya and Mali “contributed to an insurgency in Nigeria’s northeast that in turn led to foreign intervention” from neighboring countries (p. 309). To justify this claim, it focuses on the ties that Boko Haram and its splinter group Ansaru established with Al Qaeda and the Islamic State in the Lake Chad region. This is highly debated. While Boko Haram did receive funding and training from global jihadist movements in the early 2010s, much of Boko Haram’s political agenda and military tactics do not appear to be directed from abroad. Also, most of its weapons seem to have been stolen from Nigerian military sources rather than imported from Libya. Attributing the origin of the Nigerian crises to external influences tends to minimize the role of local dynamics and the responsibilities of national elites in the course of African conflicts.

Foreign Intervention also tends to attribute a direct causal relationship between climate change, human migration and conflict. “Massive population displacements caused by climate change,” the author argues, “have resulted in competition for increasing scarce arable land and water, which in turn has generated conflict between farmers and herders and between different ethnic groups, clans and lineages” (p. 13). Common in political forums and the media, this explanation builds on disputed empirical foundations in Africa, where extant studies show that environmental changes rarely lead to radicalization and that migrants tend to be motivated by economic considerations. In northeast Nigeria, for example, the shrinking of Lake Chad has created a new agricultural and pastoral front that Boko Haram seeks to control by restricting access to markets, smuggling routes and grazing lands.

In spite of its explicit focus on external forces, the book makes an important contribution to the literature on African conflicts. Specifically written for non-specialists, it contains many illustrations, beautiful maps and useful reading suggestions that will appeal to policy-makers, humanitarian actors, students and the general public interested in understanding the consequences of foreign interventions in Africa.

Olivier Walther, *University of Florida*

Hennie van Vuuren. 2019. *Apartheid Guns and Money: A Tale of Profit*. London: Hurst Publishers. 611 pp.

Hennie Van Vuuren's *Apartheid Guns and Money* contains a treasure trove of information on illegal weapons trade and money laundering activities that the government of apartheid era South Africa indulged in. The period largely in focus is the 1970s and 80s, especially after the UN Security Council placed the mandatory arms embargo on South Africa in 1977. This book exposes how private and public entities from around the world at the behest of South African agents undermined the arms embargo. The publication of this book is in itself an achievement because of the great lengths individuals and organizations are prepared to go to keep such information away from the public scrutiny. For example, ANC leader Dulcie September was assassinated in Paris in 1988 to keep her from revealing the illegal dealings between South Africa and France. Van Vuuren manages to acquire the materials for writing this book with the help of a dedicated team of researchers who along with the author scoured through two dozen archives located in eight different countries (South Africa, Germany, France, England, Belgium, Switzerland, Netherlands, and the United States of America).

Although most of the book is concerned with a plethora of illegal activities carried out in the 1970s and 80s, these serve only as a heuristic to understand the present day term—"state capture" (p. 6). By state capture Vuuren is referring to oligopolistic tendencies to preserve corporate profits at the cost of individual freedoms. This concept has become very popular in recent times in South Africa after several corruption scandals involving many senior politicians and wealthy businessmen were unearthed. According to van Vuuren, South African history has been a history of consistent oppression which has since the days of the Dutch East India Company been intrinsically linked to corporate and individual greed. So, the author opines that only by unpacking the relation between profit motive and oppression will we be able to understand South Africa's past. Therefore *Apartheid Guns and Money* seeks to establish an economic continuity despite the massive political rupture that took place in the mid-1990s when South Africa transitioned from an apartheid regime to a democracy. The non-recognition of this continuity has given rise to several myths which the book seeks to dispel.

One of the myths that van Vuuren tackles is the belief that the current corrupt government in South Africa proves the inherent corruptibility of black political leaders. Throughout the book there are numerous examples showing how apartheid South Africa was not only more corrupt domestically but also actively tried to manipulate leaders and infiltrate institutions in several parts of the world. But probably the myth that the author is most concerned with is that present day South Africans cannot do anything about the economic malpractices that took place during the apartheid era. Van Vuuren shows the paradoxical situation of how democratic South Africa was burdened with debts from loans that the apartheid era government took out precisely to keep the country non-democratic. Many of these loans were highly beneficial to private parties but their repercussions, according to the author, are being felt to this day as South Africa has become one of the most unequal countries in the world. So, just as the South Africans attained political justice with the demise of apartheid, they should also according to van Vuuren actively pursue economic justice.

The problems one encounters in this book are basically epistemological. This is not a history book nor is it written by a historian, but it deals with a historical issue and asks a classical historical question, i.e., how does history help us understand the present. So, it is only logical for readers to expect a narrative which follows a historians' methodology, but this never transpires, thus leaving the book vulnerable to many problems of which the following two are the most glaring. Firstly, the author hardly distinguishes between the importance or the relevance of different sources and so he ends up giving the same weight to all kinds of information some of which are speculative at best. This in turn creates the second problem which is that many a time the author tries to

compensate for the low quality of the sources with quantity which just creates confusion about the author's objectives.

But despite these weaknesses, Vuuren's *Apartheid Guns and Money* is a must read for any researcher aiming to learn more about the global politico-economic arrangements which sustained apartheid in South Africa for decades.

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Sarbani Vengadasalam. 2019. *New Postcolonial Dialectics: An Intercultural Comparison of Indian and Nigerian English Plays*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 243 pp.

Sarbani Vengadasalam's *New Postcolonial Dialectics: An Intercultural Comparison of Indian and Nigerian English Plays* is a model of comparative postcolonial analysis because she discusses the specific context and history of each colonial and postcolonial experience and each playwright while arguing convincingly for similarities. In other words, she finds important common ground without losing sight of what makes each nation's history unique and each author's experience individual. Her overviews of the existing scholarship on postcolonial studies, performance studies, and historical writing on each national experience are exemplary. In her preface, she claims that "theatre is a crucible for change" and argues for the "urgent need for an intercultural dialectic" in comparative postcolonial and performance studies. This topic is also timely as Vengadasalam breaks new ground in her intercultural discussion of theatrical work in English by Rabindranath Tagore, Wole Soyinka, and Badal Sircar.

Vengadasalam sets up her terms with admirable clarity in the preface and first chapter, grounding her ideas of culture and colonialism in the work of Fanon, Said, and Bhabha and detailing the function of the English language in "deracinating and deculturating" in both Nigeria and India, creating an "English-educated elite." Here, she turns to Sartre's work on the elite and goes on to discuss the "colonial cringe" created by the British as they devalued local customs and traditions. The work of anti-colonial movements, Vengadasalam explains, was in part to create "a resurgence and revitalization of traditional institutions," and she compares the Negritude movement in Africa and the Swadeshi movement in India, arguing that nationalism created new problematic myths around issues of identity. Providing context on Tagore, Soyinka, and Sircar, she discusses the tensions around the Nobel Prize awards and reception in the cases of Tagore and Soyinka, and ends the first chapter by arguing for "interculturalism as a critical tool." The structure and argument of her book set up two phases for each nation's interculturalism, with alternating chapters on each phase of Indian and Nigerian drama. A final chapter, "Intercultural Scaffolding—Deductions, Conclusions, and Inferences" brings the extensive work in the previous chapters to bear on a sustained final argument for this kind of comparative analysis.

Throughout the sections of the book, Vengadasalam uses the specifics of history in the colonial and postcolonial experiences of both nations to contextualize her discussion of the plays. In the case of Tagore's *Red Oleanders*, she explains the ways that the East India Company, the First World War, Christianity, and British education in India created a backlash in Indian nationalism. Of Tagore, she argues that he was a universalist—or internationalist—at a time when the general mood was militantly nationalistic. In a wonderfully apt turn of phrase, she argues convincingly that Tagore saw colonialism as "organized artifice" and claims that *Red Oleanders* inspired the audiences in their ideas of revolt against colonialism. A helpful discussion of the history of Nigeria's indirect rule as compared to various other methods of colonialism follows, then Vengadasalam charts the rise and fall of African Negritude and early rebellions in Nigeria. After praising the goals of this movement as a "counterfoil to white Western myths," she describes its limitations and the ways that Soyinka's *The Lion and the Jewel* provided a critique of both Negritude and Neo-Negritude as movements that

were useful only up to a point. Soyinka's goal was to offer complex cross-cultural understanding with inner, mental liberation as the result.

Her discussion of Sircar's 1972 play, *Micchil, or Possession*, begins with a brief history of Indian Independence and the cultural and the material ramifications of that shift, the attendant "transitional trauma." She describes the influence of Sircar's international travel and his interest in communism and a public theater that is not commercial. Vengasalam sums up the tensions in post-Independence India as reflected in *Possession*, and in her summary of the events and characters not only in this example but in the many plays she discusses, the book comes together in the service of her larger argument about interculturalism. She manages to explain to a reader who has not seen these plays nor lived through these historical moments how theater strengthens her argument. This ability to write about performance in context makes the book both a convincing and an enjoyable read.

New Postcolonial Dialectics provides a theoretical framework that is both succinct and far-ranging enough to provide the tools for an intercultural discussion of two phases in the theater and histories of India and Nigeria. Her discussion of each of the three playwrights animates both the colonial and postcolonial experience that produced each play. At the same time, her intercultural analysis argues convincingly for connections and patterns in the experience of the writers and the plays they produced.

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Federic Volpi. 2017. *Revolution and Authoritarianism in North Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 232 pp.

Volpi's work employs a constructivist approach to examining the Arab Spring which resists focus on particular individuals, parties or structures. The author is interested in the moment of confrontation, areas of contention, decision-making in crises, and identifying ideational factors and "momentum"—though obviously the latter is impossible to quantify. Such an approach has a particular utility in the North African setting in particular and the Middle Eastern setting in general, where at least a vocal plurality of experts had repeatedly declaimed that "nothing changes in the Middle East."

Tunisia, which ignited the Arab Spring, would be the prime example of a political setting where many felt no change was imminent. In the 2000-2010 period, the leader of the largest opposition party, Ennahda, Rachid Ghannouchi, was in exile, and many members of the party were accepting the government's amnesty program (see this journal's review of Wolf, *Political Islam in Tunisia* in Vol. 18, Issue 1). With its relatively low expenditures on military spending, clearly discernable middle class and a more or less stable tourism sector, Tunisia did not look like a candidate for an explosion. Early statements from demonstrators indicated they were fighting for the government to change, not necessarily a change in government. One of the strengths of Volpi's approach is his shrewd citation of such concepts as preference masking (i.e., in an authoritarian climate, citizens will hide their resentments and true aspirations; for example, in Czechoslovakia "everyone supported the government" until the Velvet Revolution broke out; change can happen suddenly) and availability heuristic (the tendency to be more impressed by recent events than by older ones, for example: "The Tunisian government fell within a month, so surely Qaddafi's regime will also fall quickly too"—justifying allied air suppression of Qaddafi's forces). Several such references to human psychology enrich this work, and, if they don't supply definitive answers, they at least suggest new avenues for further research.

Although Tunisia eight years after the toppling of Ben Ali does not lack for difficulties, Volpi describes examples of admirable calm during what could have been a chaotic initial period of ferment and political realignments: after the departure of Ben Ali, as demonstrations persisted, the

Army Chief of staff General Ammar remarked coolly that his troops would not intervene, since “We have to protect the constitution.” Similarly, a demonstration in a Tunis suburb some weeks later sported the reassuring theme, “Let us build our country, let us study and work.” There were few acts of retribution against veterans of the Ben Ali regime. A center coalition dominates the government today.

Cultural affinity and the prevalence of similarly authoritarian governments may explain why Tunisia’s revolution echoed throughout the Arab world, but events took a very different turn in neighboring Algeria, Morocco and Libya. As Volpi describes, the Algerian army—contrary to their reaction during the civil war of the 1990s, in which atrocities against civilians were reportedly committed by all sides—created a kind of firebreak by reacting with restraint to protests and demonstrations. Numbers of demonstrators in the streets did not swell; there was no “lift-off.” In Morocco, the king and opposition parties (here we are unable to escape structures) came to an understanding, only a few party notables took to the streets; no momentum in the area of contention developed. In Libya, some might argue that foreign intervention in the air removed Qaddafi, but it is likely that his government would have fallen anyway, it simply would have taken more time and cost more lives.

Volpi’s work might have benefitted by the inclusion of the revolution in Egypt, since Tunisians consistently look to that nation to assess trends in the Arab world (see this journal’s review of Perkins, *A History of Modern Tunisia* in Vol. 16, Issue 2), but in this case Tunisia set the trend, with Hosni Mubarak resigning less than a month after the flight of Tunisian President Ben Ali. Egypt is also an authoritarian state which manifested similar institutional reactions, or in Volpi’s parlance, the “moments of contention” were similar, but consideration of events on the Nile would have necessitated a longer book.

Why the Arab Spring swept away governments in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Yemen, but failed to do so in Algeria, Morocco, and Syria—whose agonizing civil war persists with the participation of combatants from several foreign states and entities—is not a question which will be resolved in one book, but Volpi gives us several intriguing lines of inquiry to follow.

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