

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Akin Adesokan. 2011. *Postcolonial Artists and Global Aesthetics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. xix, 230 pp.**

In *Postcolonial Artists and Global Aesthetics*, Akin Adesokan considers how the processes of globalization and decolonization have shaped the careers of six postcolonial “artist-intellectuals” (p. xii): C. L. R. James, Caryl Phillips, and Arundhati Roy, known primarily as writers; and Ousmane Sembene, Tunde Kelani, and Jean-Pierre Bekolo, known mostly for filmmaking. In the preface and introduction, Adesokan makes the case that analysis of art in any form must consider the “aesthetic typology” (p. xi) that constructs its genre but then press beyond to consider how genres are contoured by global forces. He suggests the West African marketplace as a model: the marketplace is a social space where people and ideas mingle, a crossroads where the trajectories of locals and outsiders intersect and drift apart, and a site where commerce thrives. Conceived broadly, the marketplace brings artists of all stripes into a worldwide conversation with other artists, with political actors, and with larger publics. Yet, these actors must also attend to economic considerations that color the motives of creators and patrons and to globalization’s uneven spread of wealth and technologies, which shape genre expectations and force artists to make do with disparate local realities.

Each of the remaining chapters considers the work of one artist-intellectual, melding careful readings of key works into discussions of the postcolonial contexts that shaped them—and showing how each oeuvre critiques those conditions. In “Toward the Seventh: The Pan-African Congress—Past, Present and Future” (1984) and other works of writer/activist C. L. R. James, Adesokan sees a call for a broader concept of Pan-Africanism that targets not only discrimination based on race but also class and gender. In contrast, Adesokan argues that Ousmane Sembene’s critique of power in the novel and film versions of *Xala* (1973 and 1975 respectively) paradoxically segregates middle-class women from the poor and thus fails to see the groups as potential allies. In chapters on Tunde Kelani and Jean-Pierre Bekolo, Adesokan shows how both filmmakers negotiate local expectations and global financial forces. While Kelani’s *Thunderbolt: Magun* (2001) adheres to Nollywood genre expectations of moral didacticism, it also became the first Nigerian video film to play the international film circuit—making Kelani’s career a critique of both neoliberalism’s inequitable distribution of resources and of the assumption that commercial entrepreneurialism is incompatible with auteur cinema. Bekolo’s *Aristotle’s Plot* (1996), in contrast, presents the director in multiples: expatriate and urbanite, African filmmaker, and dependent of the European art film system that funds him. Finally, Adesokan considers the non-fiction of Caryl Phillips and Arundhati Roy. In Phillips’s *The Atlantic Sound* (2000) and other works, Adesokan sees a paradox; Phillips leaves Europe for the United States, which he finds more welcoming to a minority expatriate, yet he eschews association with the African Americans whose struggles made that environment possible. Adesokan then explores how Roy’s sarcasm-laden attacks on globalization in *An Ordinary Person’s Guide to Empire* (2004) help her navigate her complex position within both the commercial realm of book publishing and the global network of anti-capitalist activism. As the

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/pdfs/v14i1-2a8.pdf>

only artist in the book who has no direct link to the African Diaspora, Roy's inclusion also underscores another of Adesokan's calls: for a more wide-ranging Pan-Africanism à la James, one that recognizes its debts to the anti-imperialist project of tricontinentalism as well as the political work of contemporary cosmopolitan aesthetics, extending its purview to anywhere suffering from the inequalities of globalization. A short conclusion recapitulates his broader theoretical claims.

Readers interested in only some of the artist-intellectuals Adesokan treats may be tempted to read those selected chapters alone. However, to not consider the whole book is to miss the author's larger point: that no matter where they live or work, these artist-intellectuals are subject to the same forces of globalization and decolonization, forces that have shaped the very genres in which they work and made them critics of the postcolonial condition. The resulting admixture of writers with filmmakers can prove jarring at first, but Adesokan is right to point out that such segregation is an academic convenience, and juxtaposing them better conveys how postcoloniality allies these artist-intellectuals in a common struggle. Adesokan's choices also allow a comparison of the projects and genres of two generations of postcolonial artists, from James and Sembene during the transition from colonial rule, to the others, who more directly confront the neoliberal reforms of post-independence. The book's most obvious omission is any consideration of other types of artists: musicians, dancers, painters, and sculptors. But this minor oversight does not detract from Adesokan's compelling argument; instead, it calls for his approach to be extended. In sum, *Postcolonial Artists and Global Aesthetics* makes a much-needed contribution to conversations in comparative literature, film studies, and African Studies.

Brian C. Smithson, *Duke University*

**Allan Aubrey Boesak and Curtiss Paul DeYoung, 2012. *Radical Reconciliation: Beyond Political Pietism and Christian Quietism*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books. x, 196 pp.**

Alan Boesak, a theologian and former leader of the United Democratic Front in South Africa, joins Curtiss DeYoung, professor at Reconciliation Studies at Bethel University in Minnesota, as co-author of *Radical Reconciliation: Beyond Political Pietism and Christian Quietism*. For Boesak and DeYoung, "reconciliation" is often equated with political expediency—some limited accommodation by the rich and powerful who accept only cosmetic changes that do not touch at the deeper issue of justice. They call this "political pietism." When Christians buy into this superficial reconciliation, or cheap grace, denying the demands of the gospel for solidarity with the powerless and oppressed, they fall prey to "Christian quietism." The eight chapters that comprise the book develop this theme, with examples from both South Africa and the United States, and a conclusion charts the path toward radical reconciliation.

The authors analyze reconciliation from a Biblical point of view, drawing from the Old Testament scriptures about the prophets, the New Testament verses about the life and ministry of Jesus, and the record of the first century Church. The Hebrew prophets were called by God to chastise the powerful who deprived the poor of justice and a dignified life. Like the prophet Isaiah, Jesus also puts the poor at the center of God's concern. For these authors, reconciliation

is inextricably linked with justice for the downtrodden. True reconciliation requires not assimilation of the underclass with the powers that be, the lifting up of the weak, but rather the casting down of the mighty. They argue that the first century Church understood the radical challenge of the gospel.

The story from the book of Luke about tax collector Zacchaeus is instructive. Viewed as instruments of exploitation and collaborators with the occupying Roman Empire, tax collectors were roundly despised in Jericho where Jesus was preaching. Though rich, Zacchaeus knew he was alienated from God and his neighbors. When he encountered the preaching of Jesus, without prompting he offered half of all his wealth to the poor, and to those he had defrauded, he promised to pay four times the amount he had taken. Zacchaeus was willing to "give up his status" in order to "do restitution, to make right what he has done wrong, in order to restore his relationship with his neighbors" (p. 67).

The example of Zacchaeus could have been a model, Boesak argues, for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which operated in the 1990s to deal with apartheid-era crimes. Led by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the proceedings relied on Christian notions about forgiveness, and victims were offered the chance to forgive their oppressors as God has forgiven them. Boesak takes issue with the fact that the TRC did not go far enough: "Why is the biblical demand for forgiveness, because it is a demand set for the victims, welcomed and praised, if not to say demanded, but the biblical demands for justice, because they are set for the beneficiaries of apartheid, are 'setting the standard too high?' If one says 'forgiveness,' one must also say 'justice'" (p. 63). He does not fault Tutu. He says that white South Africans "hear only 'forgiveness,' [but] Tutu speaks of conversion, repentance, and change" (p. 136).

Inversion of status is a theme taken up by DeYoung in his chapter on American churches. Contrasting the first century church with the twenty-first century churches in the United States, he finds the latter lacking. The strategy of the apostle Paul was to set up Jewish communities, an oppressed minority within the Empire, who then invited Romans and Greeks, members of the dominant culture, to join them as co-worshippers in Christ. When the privileged Romans and Greeks joined these congregations, they became identified with a socially stigmatized group. Since Jews were in leadership, status inversion invariably took place, and the result of reconciliation between Jews and Gentiles was both healing and redemptive. (DeYoung notes also that status inversion occurred for men, as women took positions of leadership, challenging sexism and furthering reconciliation.)

In the twenty-first century American churches, a very different model prevails. Congregations are defined by race and ethnicity: "Rather than transforming society through a process of reconciliation, congregations have overwhelmingly conformed to a racialized, patriarchal, and class-based society" (p. 85). DeYoung laments that the church reflects a "white, male, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual, exclusive viewpoint. Too many congregations are fashioned on a model of privilege, exclusion, and prosperity" (p. 86). Even multicultural churches that are committed to reconciliation "find their vision and ministry shaped by a dominant culture perspective" (p. 86). Whereas the first century churches aimed, first, to make the oppressed communities comfortable, the exact opposite takes place in the twenty-first century churches which aim to make whites comfortable in attending. Black

members are asked to participate in a process of assimilation, not reconciliation, and certainly not the inversion of status we saw in the early church.

This book is well written and accessible to the general reader. Despite being the work of two writers, it flows seamlessly from one chapter to another. It would be of particular interest to theology students and scholars of transitional justice.

Lyn S. Graybill, *Independent Scholar, Atlanta, Georgia*

**Sakhela Buhlungu. 2010. *A Paradox of Victory: COSATU and the Democratic Transformation in South Africa*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. xii, 210 pp.**

Trade unions have actively participated as social movements in processes of regime change throughout the continent of Africa, which have, in some cases, resulted in more democratic societies (Kraus 2007). However, because of the dual transitions of political and economic liberalization that became common in transitioning states, trade unions have increasingly been faced with what Buhlungu calls “a paradox of victory,” whereby the new institutional framework that trade unions create through popular mobilization in a transitioning state latterly serves to weaken them and often results in fractured and dissolved unions. This phenomenon has occurred in many late developing states, and Buhlungu argues that the factors observed in his study can be applied to a range of states across Africa.

In order to explore this issue, Buhlungu examines the case of COSATU, the largest trade union in South Africa. COSATU’s involvement in the democratic transition has been widely documented (Adler and Webster 2000), and Buhlungu focuses on the factors that contributed to the formidable nature of trade unions in this period, and the factors that led to its decline since the formation of a democratic state in South Africa. In this sense, a tale of two unions is forged, a successful union and a union in decline. In the first part of the book, a positive depiction of the manner in which trade unions became strong and contributed to the decline of the apartheid state is portrayed. From chapter four however a grim picture of the state of unions is depicted, as he illustrates the impact of the double transition of political and economic liberalization on South Africa’s organized workers. Chapters five, six and seven give a damning indictment of the manner in which COSATU has developed since the transition through an examination of its rank and file membership as well as the changing composition of its leadership in the context of a global economic paradigm. Buhlungu argues that COSATU’s organizational culture has shifted from one based on worker solidarity to individualism that fails to take broader workers’ goals into account. This changed composition is argued to have damaged COSATU’s base, leaving it either unwilling or unable to engage with other types of workers, as well as with the state and employers, a feature that he argues is to the union’s detriment. Chapter eight consolidates the argument and contends that COSATU has become a victim of its own success in the post apartheid era with fault lines appearing across the federation.

The strength of the book lies in the rich empirical data throughout, which is broken into thematic areas that explore the development and demise of COSATU including global economic restructuring, generational change of membership, leadership, and race. As a sociological analysis it offers insights into the new institutional framework of COSATU in the post-

transitional society that might be difficult through other disciplines as it attempts to pull these diverse themes together in order to paint a coherent picture of the paradoxical nature of trade union power. The book sets out to explore the political nature of trade union organization “whose implications go well beyond the workplace and the economic sphere” and is “interested in explaining why these unions maintain a keen interest in [the] politics...of liberation and development” (p.1). Although we get an answer to this in the initial part of the book where the author explores COSATU's contribution to South Africa's transition to democracy, this question is not interrogated to a great extent throughout the second part of the book, which focuses more on the factors that contributed to the decline of unions. In chapter one Buhlungu seeks to locate COSATU within the broader sphere of trade union organization in Africa in order to show that the paradox of victory could be transposed to other countries in the region. However, this comparative point is not returned to at all, a regrettable move, as it may have offered a way to evaluate the post-transitional accounts of other African countries. Despite these critiques, the book is well thought out and brings together a wide range of themes that one should bear in mind when analyzing the modern development of trade unions. Because of its accessible style, this book would be of equal use to an academic audience as well as trade unionists, activists and those from civil society groups as well as the interested lay person.

### References

Adler, Glenn and Eddie Webster, eds. 2000. *Trade Unions and Democratization in South Africa, 1985-1997*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan.

Kraus, Jon. 2007. *Trade Unions and the Coming of Democracy in Africa*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ciara McCorley, *University of Limerick*

**Eric Charry, ed. 2012. *Hip Hop Africa: New African Music in a Globalizing World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 390 pp.**

The second major publication to take a continental approach to African hip hop brings in some well known scholars on the topic from diverse disciplines; with music, ethnomusicology, and anthropology heavily represented. The volume impressively details hip hop's evolution throughout Africa, for example, Charry's introductory discussion of hip hop's evolution in West Africa via Europe and the United States. The volume presents important arguments in African hip hop scholarship, including discussions on African hip hop's linkages with US hip hop, and debates over authenticity and imitation. Several authors present strong evidence of African hip hop's indigenization.

Debates over hip hop's origins are also tackled. The debate is whether hip hop is a solely American music genre that Africans adopted, or if hip hop's roots are indeed African. Authors argue both sides of the debate. Charry, Schulz, and Watkins argue the former. While both Shonekan and Kidula present evidence of the latter, defining hip hop as having definite African origins.

There is also a discussion over African identities. Dorothea Schulz puts forth that African hip hop artists claim a more authentic African identity than African Americans. This topic is controversial, and Schulz's oversimplified examination of African identity is out of place. Given the topic of the chapter, it would have been better served in a separate work that could adequately discuss this complex debate. Similarly, Schulz and Watkins examination of race v. economics, and linkages between Africans and African Americans is misplaced. Both discredit racial linkages, arguing that economic ties are more appropriate. By divorcing race from economics, they discredit links between racism and poverty, links that bind people of color.

Much of the volume's strength lies in its examination of local hip hop scenes. Jesse Shipley's detailed account of hiplife's history in Ghana examines early connections between Diasporic music and highlife, and some of the criticisms that highlife faced. He connects that to contemporary criticisms of hiplife. John Collins includes a section that combines Ghanaian hiplife and Ghanaian hip hop, acknowledging that Ghanaian hip hop is its own distinct genre.

Lee Watkin's overview of South African hip hop's elements including graffiti and breakdancing, steps outside of Cape Town and takes a broader examination of hip hop in South Africa, going from Cape Town to Johannesburg, to Durban, Grahamstown, and Port Elizabeth. Watkins addresses the direction of South African hip hop and the debates over authenticity that label English-speaking and commercial artists as unauthentic, while artists that rap in vernacular are seen as authentic.

Stephanie Shonekan provides an excellent look at Nigerian hip hop as a product of both African American hip hop and Afrobeat. While some of the artists, such as 2face, may not be classified as hip hop, she effectively links Nigerian hip hop to urban, inner city Black hip hop culture in America and the Caribbean as well as to urban, post-colonial realities and experiences expressed in highlife and Afrobeat music.

This volume looks primarily at hip hop, but five of the twelve chapters focus on other genres. These chapters (by Reed, Perullo, Collins, Seebode, and Polak) cover African pop, reggae, and drumming. Daniel Reed's chapter, for example, examines reggae as an expression of political protest in Cote d'Ivoire. Reed focuses on reggae, but parallels to hip hop do exist. Reed only mentions one parallel in the area of sampling. The chapter would have been better served if it had included a more extensive discussion of the links with hip hop.

Both Alex Perullo and Jean Ngoya Kidula focus on pop music in Tanzania and Kenya, respectively. While Kidula offers a simplistic breakdown of the different rap genres in Kenya, and inaccurately categorizes pop music as hip hop, his inclusion of the Kenyan Diaspora provides information on an often overlooked phenomenon: the relationship between African artists and their Diasporas. Perullo, a well-known scholar of Tanzanian hip hop, examines Bongo Flava in Tanzania. Perullo provides an account of the evolution of Bongo Flava, its innovations in production and fashion, and a discussion of Bongo Flava "camps"; collectives in which urban youth can improve their skills and share advice.

As a growing sub-field of research, African hip hop scholarship is still finding its way and defining its parameters. The authors in the volume provide extensive background information on hip hop's evolution throughout Africa. Again, much of the volume's strength lies in its examination of local hip hop scenes. While there are some concerns regarding some of the

authors' claims, the book provides a good look urban music in Africa. The book is also a solid contribution to scholarship on African hip hop.

Msia Kibona Clark, *California State University Los Angeles*

**Robert Crawford. 2011. *Bye the Beloved Country? South Africans in the UK, 1994-2009*. Johannesburg: UNISA Press. 182 pp.**

Robert Crawford's *Bye the Beloved Country?* discusses South African immigration to England, primarily using information from newspapers and databases. This work may contribute to general knowledge on both why South Africans leave home and why they re-home in the UK.

Crawford begins his Introduction by highlighting the problem of numbers in South African migration. Scholars have widely debated and disagreed as to just how many South Africans are leaving the country, as well as how many are entering the UK. This is due, in part, to discrepancies between the numbers of people who leave on tourist visas and stay out permanently, those who intend to emigrate permanently but return to South Africa, and a number of other factors. Additionally, Crawford points out, the number of South Africans arriving with their UK citizenship papers in hand as a result of having forebears from the country, further complicates the "magic million" who supposedly are now living in the UK—a figure which could be off on either side by about a half-million people.

Chapter One discusses some of the motivating factors for "chicken runners" leaving South Africa, with a focus on the usual suspects: high crime rates, affirmative action/black economic empowerment schemes, family issues, and relocating for employment opportunities. Crawford also attempts to compare the attitudes of "stayers" and leavers, surveying the wide range of emotions that both people who choose to leave and people who choose to stay in the New South Africa experience. Chapter Two, titled "Greener Pastures" discusses various mechanisms for immigration into the UK, including ancestry visas and temporary work permits. It assesses the attitudes of South Africans in the UK toward their country of origin and ultimately concludes that most South Africans chose to relocate out of a desire to improve their (usually financial) lot in life. Chapter Three expands upon a theme mentioned in previous chapters: the Brain Drain. After mentioning the effects of a mass exodus of skilled workers on South Africa, Crawford discusses here the skills that South Africans bring to the UK. Unsurprisingly, most settle in London, particularly its leafy southern reaches. By 2008, Crawford argues, new visa schemes began making the UK less accessible for South Africans, though the longer-term implications of that are of course presently unclear.

Chapters Four and Five focus more on South African life in the UK—finding community and forging identity, respectively. Crawford focuses on categories of identity, including race, that have been important to immigrating South Africans and discusses how those play into the search for community and belonging in the United Kingdom. In Chapter Six, Crawford discusses how South Africans abroad view the possibilities of returning home. He discusses various efforts, including the Coming Home campaign, to draw expatriates back and engages in a discussion over "prodigals or pariahs"—investigating how returning citizens may view themselves or how what views they might elicit from stayers. Crawford concludes by assessing

the views South Africans both in and outside of the Diaspora hold toward their country and wondering what the nation's functionality level will be, as well as what it might have been had it not suffered the brain drain. He notes that the tightening up of visa laws and regulations may soon stem immigration to the United Kingdom.

*Bye the Beloved Country* is an impressive qualitative work. Crawford presents a good amount of survey information and assessments on the demographics of South Africans who are emigrating. Most of his quantitative data, however, comes from newspapers or secondary works rather than from interviews, making it a little difficult to assess how representative the included comments are. Perhaps a future study could work to expand upon this and to evaluate some of the claims Crawford makes regarding the demographics of those emigrating, including that large numbers are young people who leave to travel or see the world rather than to leave home due to political or economic issues. The book's periodization lends itself to generalities about chicken runners, but Crawford does not fully distinguish between white flight in the early 1990s and the adventures of youth fifteen years later, and it would have been helpful to see him engage more with comparative migration studies or analyses of other countries/regions, in order to wholly contextualize patterns of South African movement.

Myra Ann Houser, *Howard University*

**Ashley Currier. 2012. *Out in Africa: LGBT Organizing in Namibia and South Africa*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 255 pp.**

In the last two decades, international debates over the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals have led to fierce political clashes. In sub-Saharan Africa, local LGBT activists draw on universal human rights claims in their appeals for civil liberties, while opponents invoke tropes of tradition and frame calls for international LGBT rights as neocolonial impositions. Despite abundant media, academic, and political attention paid to these debates and their sometime violent outcomes, little attention has been paid to the specific strategies that African LGBT activists employ when navigating this complex ideological field. They make strategic choices that impact their organizations and the lives of their constituents, but their actions remain under-researched.

Ashley Currier's book is part of a growing attempt to put LGBT activists at the center of analysis. She delivers a well-crafted ethnography of activists in four NGOs in Namibia and South Africa, focusing on the strategic choices they make concerning the public visibility of their organizations and their constituents. Supplementing extensive participant observation and interviews with archival research, Currier offers critical insight into LGBT activists' choices about organizational membership, donor relationships, lobbying efforts, and who can access the NGO headquarters. She also draws attention to the ways in which race, class, and gender shape access to and experience of LGBT organizations, drawing attention to internal debates surrounding identity and belonging.

Currier's introduction provides an overview of the literature on power and visibility within social movements. Rather than seeing visibility and invisibility as beyond the control of activists, she discusses them as context-driven strategies. She argues, for example, that the

persistent association of invisibility with a lack of power offers little in the way of analysis of moments in which organizations *choose* invisibility. Chapter 1 frames activists' decisions about organizational visibility within the historical and political economic contexts of South Africa and Namibia. In South Africa, decisions about LGBT visibility have been shaped by the legacy of apartheid and constitutional equality, and more recently, by violence against lesbians. LGBT organizing in Namibia, on the other hand, emerged in response to outspoken political homophobia. Currier sheds light on the ways in which sociopolitical fields shape, but do not determine, organizational visibility. Rather, she shows how activists deftly negotiate competing expectations, values and norms in their advocacy.

Throughout the second and third chapters, Currier examines visibility strategies that organizations in Johannesburg and Windhoek employed when faced with moments of both political hostility and opportunity. Lesbian activists at a South African NGO adopted an intentional invisibility in the wake of a string of corrective rapes and maintained this discretion through intensely monitoring membership and access to the organization. When faced with politicians' virulent anti-LGBT political stances, lesbian activists in Namibia adopted a strategy of public visibility and became fierce critics of such rhetoric. Currier argues that such strategic orientations must be analyzed with other factors in mind, including interruptions in funding and internal debates about organizational priorities. Challenging the notion that organizational invisibility is always forced on activists, Currier argues that researchers of social movements, particularly those engaging vulnerable populations such as LGBT individuals, must exercise care to avoid deploying assumptions about what invisibility says about organizational development.

Chapter four follows activists' negotiation of the discourse of homosexuality as "un-African." For example, activists were accused of being "gay for pay" because they received funding from Northern donors. Thus, while funding enables continued programming it simultaneously aggravates the homosexuality as "un-African" discourse, which activists seek to counter, thereby shaping decisions that they make about organizational visibility. The book concludes with an argument for a nuanced and human-centered approach to research on LGBT organizing, suggesting that visibility strategies offer insight into how and why social movements make seemingly contradictory decisions about their public visibility. Visibility, she argues, can tell us about activists' intentionality as well as about the structural constraints placed on LGBT mobilization in various contexts.

Ultimately, *Out in Africa* reminds us that nonprofit organizing is comprised of individuals and groups situated within shifting political and historical contexts that shape their work. By examining activists' decisions about organizational visibility in context, Currier places the power within the hands of those driving LGBT organizing without overlooking the structural constraints they face. The book's methodology and overall argument will be useful for students and scholars of sexuality and post-colonial studies. It is particularly well suited for graduate level seminars in the social sciences focused on the complexity of sexuality, globalization and activism.

Matthew Thomann, *American University*

**Souleymane Bachir Diagne. 2011. *African Art as Philosophy: Senghor, Bergson and the Idea of Negritude*. Calcutta: Seagull Books. vi, 210pp.**

Souleymane Bachir Diagne explores in detail Léopold Sédar Senghor's philosophy of Negritude as a product of Africa and its diaspora in an important historical period of transition marked by the questioning of Western values and the breakdown of colonial rule. Negritude is presented in the wider context of resistance to colonialism and affirmation of difference influenced by Black American ideology and Marxism. But the author also presents Senghor's personal philosophical exploration of what he calls Africanity, within universal questions of what it means to be human, drawing from diverse sources of inspiration from Jean-Paul Sartre, Henri Bergson, Lucien Lévy-Brühl, Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels, to Ferdinand Georg Frobenius, Pablo Picasso, and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin among others.

The book makes an interesting analysis of Senghor's reflections on Africanity and African art as a form of philosophy to reject contemporary colonial views of Africa as a cultural tabula rasa, void of civilization. As Diagne explains, "Senghor is a Nietzschean philosopher: like the author... he declares (and it is the matrix of his thought) that we have art so that we may not die of truth. More precisely, he claims that we have the truth of African art, of what was called 'Negro art', so that we may not die of a narrow and reductive rationalism. And, even before this, so that we may not die of the colonial negation" (p. 6).

Senghor (1906-2001) was indeed part of an elite group of African students who lived in Paris in the twenties and thirties at the height of colonialism when African art was beginning to be recognized as "Art," galvanizing the movements of Primitivism and Modern art. Léopold Senghor, Aimé Césaire, and Léon Damas began by writing mainly poetry as a form of self-expression and assertion of difference as blacks. It was Jean Paul Sartre who in 1948 wrote the essay *Black Orpheus* as an introduction to Senghor's *Anthology of New Negro and Malagasy Poetry* identifying Negritude as a major political movement and a philosophical criticism of colonialism. But Diagne also suggests that Sartre criticized Negritude by denouncing it as a nativist discourse, "that its idea of African philosophy amounts to an essentialist racialism employing a process of invention (from the whiteness of Being to the Negritude of Being, from reason to emotion, etc.)" (p. 41).

Key to Diagne's analysis of Senghor's writings on Negritude and his reflections on African art as philosophy is Henri Bergson's idea that one must find the initial intuition from which philosophers develop their thoughts. Diagne writes: "Senghor himself consistently maintains that what permitted the multifarious undertaking of bringing to light an *alternative* African thinking was the intellectual revolution marked by Bergson's first book, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* (1889), which revealed an *alternative* way of seeing, a direction for philosophy radically *alternative* to that which, until then, in order to save reason from the sophistry of the Eleatics, Aristotle had set for it" (pp. 5-6). Senghor's "initial intuition" was that there is a truth in African art which is itself a form of philosophy.

Bergson's ideas of intuition and Senghor's link with African art and aesthetics as essentially "intuitive," at best highlight the sources of Senghor's writings on Africanity, but at worst reduce African art to a mythical and exotic past. What Diagne excludes from his analysis, is the fact that the influx of African art (which was almost exclusively sculpture) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe, was selected to perpetuate colonial ideas of Africa as primitive. The

Benin Bronzes, for example, caused debate for their naturalistic or “European” aesthetics, putting into question their African origin. It is within this context that Senghor’s philosophical ideas inspired by African art needs to be historically read. Diagne nevertheless precludes Senghor’s ambiguity when he says: “The initial intuition—that African art is a philosophy and a humanist one—Senghor never stopped expressing throughout his life in his theoretical texts, most times successfully, sometimes in ways that proved to go nowhere or with formulations that were at least awkward” (p. 9). Although Diagne’s thesis on African Art as Philosophy is more focused on Senghor’s explorations in the wider theoretical context of philosophy, it is less analytical within the field of African art history.

Léopold Sédar Senghor’s writings and Negritude have always been subject to literary criticism, contradiction, and misunderstanding. Despite this challenge, Souleymane Bachir Diagne achieves a quality analysis in the field of philosophy where perhaps he lacks in expertise in African art discourses. The book is an inspiring read with excellent bibliographical references and notes for readings on Negritude that will attract a wide audience of readers. As such, African Art as Philosophy makes an important contribution to African studies from a multidisciplinary perspective.

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

**Martin Evans. 2012. *Algeria: France’s Undeclared War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. xxxv, 457 pp.**

Martin Evans structures *Algeria* around three “analytical threads”: long-simmering hatred engendered by colonization beginning in the 1830s, the rise of Algerian nationalism from the 1920s, and third-way reformism leading to the failed reforms of the 1930s and culminating in the Special Powers Act of 1956. Evans argues these set the stage for the Algerian War, contextualizing the legitimization of violence on both sides as well as the global political *enjeux* that make the war not just a chapter in Franco-Algerian history but a turning point in the break-up of empires and the emergence of new transnational alliances like pan-Islamism and pan-Arabism. It is a clear thesis well supported by this weighty tome’s persuasive arguments and wealth of evidence.

These three factors are largely chronological in nature, and the book follows a linear structure through the first century of colonization, the onset of conflict in the postwar era, and the dramatic apogee of the war in the period 1959-1962. With regard to why the French lost the war, Evans argues it was due to the strength of Algerian nationalism. This was a phenomenon he traces to a variety of Islamic and secular movements developing from the 1920s, and thus he suggests it owed little to the FLN. This organization’s success was instead due to its ability to capitalize on existing nationalist sentiment, a force that had its ultimate roots in widespread land dispossession and the social, political, and economic marginalization of Muslim Algerians during the first century of the colonial project. Consequently the book decentres the FLN’s role in the conflict while simultaneously explaining its political legitimacy as an organization with its finger on the popular pulse. Evans also contends that the events of 1956 are central to understanding the immediate causes of the war, as the conflicting forces of reform and

repression embodied in the Special Powers Act greatly aggravated Algerian grievances and at the same time testified to the Fourth Republic's paternalistic folly and global aspirations.

The book's strength lies in its methodical, detailed, and comprehensive treatment of the conflict, and in its even-handed appraisal of all parties. Making use of a great variety of French and British archival sources, newspapers, interviews, and secondary literature, Evans marshals a compelling account that transcends the war per se and serves as a history of the Algerian colonial undertaking as a whole. And with its balanced and nuanced treatment of the forces involved in the complex history of the war—running the full spectrum from pro-French Algerians to pro-Algerian French—*Algeria* will serve as a reference for those with an interest in Algeria in its own right as well as its influence on France and beyond in the 20th century.

While the book is eminently fair to Algerians, this is a work focused on "France's undeclared war." Consequently, those seeking an account of the conflict squarely centered in Algerian points of view will need to look elsewhere. This, however, is not a fault per se, and is in keeping with the book's aim. If the work does have a weakness, on the other hand, it might be a tendency for undue charity toward certain Algerian actors who are at times undeserving of it, and a concomitant willingness to lay unrestricted blame at the feet of the French for evils new and old. Evans seems ready to accept, for example, that the FLN's ethos of violence only had the momentum it did in postcolonial Algeria because the French drew the conflict out for so many years (p. 335). This allows the FLN to avoid responsibility for the prevalence of violence in the postcolony, a phenomenon for which it was surely a partial cause. There is equally tension between Evans's argument that "in resorting to torture and summary executions, the Algerian army was modeling its counter-insurgency tactics on those of its erstwhile enemy" (p. 358), and his characterization of pre-colonial Algerian society as being oriented toward the cult of the violent warrior and "highly dictatorial" (p. 230). These, however, are minor points. Generally the work is unflinching in identifying hypocrisy on both sides of the Mediterranean, and in holding violent parties, whatever their provenance, accountable for their actions.

*Algeria* combines excellent scholarship with crossover appeal for a general audience. While preserving academic rigor, the book has the clarity and narrative force to draw in general readers as well as lower-level students. Featuring biographies of key players, a wealth of maps and images, and a comprehensive bibliography and index, this work will serve as an authoritative source for students and scholars alike. A fine example of academic work with ambitious scope and a robust allegiance to historical justice, the only thing left to hope for is that other historians of Africa will follow in Evans's footsteps and create such engaging reference works for their own areas of study.

Robert Nathan, *Dalhousie University*

**Sandra J.T.M. Evers, Catrien Notermans, and Erik van Ommering, eds. 2011. *Not Just a Victim: The Child as Catalyst and Witness of Contemporary Africa*. Leiden: Brill. 275 pp.**

*Not Just a Victim: The Child as Catalyst and Witness of Contemporary Africa* is a collection of ten qualitative studies based on a selection of papers presented at the conference, "African Children in Focus: A Paradigm Shift in Methodology and Theory" organized by the Netherlands African

Studies Association in 2008. Acknowledging as its starting point that children's perceptions and ideas are often considered to be unreliable or insignificant, and that therefore African children have historically remained on the margins of social and anthropological studies, this edited collection sets out to challenge the established view of children as victims. However, it is notable that with the exception of Sandra Evers' chapter, "Kinning in the Imagination: Perceptions of Kinship and Family History among Chagossian Children in Mauritius," the focus of the contributions is not strictly anthropological. The volume largely focuses on the methodological implications of a child-oriented approach to social sciences research, underscoring the value of taking children's perspectives seriously and acknowledging the varied and complex roles and responsibilities that children play in contemporary Africa.

As editors Evers, Notermans, and van Ommering make clear in their introduction, "the concept of a child should be defined within specific relational, cultural and local contexts, wherein categories such as age, gender and the criteria for defining a child vary considerably" (p.3). Contributors thus examine the experiences of children in challenging circumstances that range from being orphaned, abandonment, experiencing war, and living on the streets or in exile, in African nations including South Africa, Namibia, Ethiopia, Mauritius, Cape Verde, Morocco, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Kenya. While this might at first sight appear rather a negative approach, questions of agency are central to many of the essays in the collection.

Diana van Dijk's chapter examines children's coping mechanisms in South African child-headed households to argue that greater support is needed, but that the children's strategies, needs, and wishes should always be the starting point for those working with these children. Lorenzo Bordonaro's analysis of children's street-ward migration in Cape Verde argues that while it is important to recognize the agency of working street children or independent child migrants, it is also essential to acknowledge the social and economic constraints that limit this agency. As a further example, Tatek Abebe's chapter, "Gendered Work and Schooling in Rural Ethiopia: Exploring Working Children's Perspectives," engages in debates around child labor, but also recognizes the multiple roles of children as producers, entrepreneurs, careers, and decision makers. Abebe contends that paternalistic approaches that view working children solely as victims "are not only problematic analytically, but also from a policy point of view [as] they denigrate the capacities and meaningful contributions children make in their families" (p. 168).

The evaluation of different research methods with children is an important focus of the collection, and contributors highlight their use of a range of different approaches, from observations to interviews, focus group discussions, and questionnaires, to photo essays and the development of board games. In Chapter Two, Mienke van der Brug describes how a Kids Club was used to talk with Namibian children orphaned by AIDS about the sensitive issues surrounding their circumstances, which was evaluated positively in a follow up study six years later. June de Bree, Oka Storms, and Edien Bartels also raise the question of methodology in their "In Between the Netherlands and Morocco: 'Home' and Belonging of Dutch Moroccan Return Migrant and Abandoned Children in Northeast Morocco," finding the oral life history research method of particular relevance for their work with returning adolescents.

The range of perspectives offered in this volume is impressive and a firm editorial hand has ensured that the quality of the chapters is consistently high. It is striking that African scholars based on the continent contributed none of the essays. However, the volume will be of interest to social scientists and development agencies working with children in different African contexts, and will also be of more general appeal to anyone interested in what the editors term, “the emerging Africa of tomorrow.”

Charlotte Baker, *Lancaster University*

**Zygmunt Frajzyngier and Erin Shay, eds. 2012. *The Afroasiatic Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xix, 687 pp.**

Frajzyngier and Shay’s edited volume, *The Afroasiatic Languages*, is an important contribution to linguistic typology and an invaluable reference book on a major language phylum. Afroasiatic is the world’s fourth largest phylum, consisting of more than three hundred living languages, including an important world language, Arabic, and a West African lingua franca, Hausa. Afroasiatic languages are spoken across an extensive range of North and Central Africa, the Horn of Africa, and on into the Arabian peninsula and other regions of the Middle East, with Arabic continuing as far as Central Asia. The volume includes eight chapters, six of which are devoted to profiles of the individual families that compose Afroasiatic, as well as an introduction, and a substantial 120-page final chapter by Frajzyngier that provides an extensive typological outline of the Afroasiatic phylum.

The editors’ introduction situates the Afroasiatic languages geographically and gives a brief history of scholarship on the phylum. Particularly useful is the section on the state of the art in Afroasiatic scholarship, which together with the extensive bibliography provides a useful starting point for linguists and others interested in pursuing research on these languages. As a typological study, the book aims to inventory the linguistic forms in Afroasiatic languages and the functions these forms encode, and to compare these across families. For example, gemination is a frequent type of morphological exponence in many Afroasiatic languages and can encode nominal or verbal plurality, derive causative or transitive forms from intransitive ones, and mark perfective aspect. It should be noted that this is not a historical study (although the volume will, of course, be useful to historical linguists) and that Frajzyngier and Shay do not enter into debates about the classification of Afroasiatic languages. They see no compelling reason to contest the generally accepted six-family makeup of the phylum, and they accept the inclusion of Omotic as a separate family from Cushitic, the only real area of controversy within the overall classification of Afroasiatic languages.

The chapters profiling the six Afroasiatic language families, each of which includes a useful map, are written by noted scholars and experts in their respective fields. These include both eminent scholars as well as younger researchers, many of whom contribute important insights on under-documented Afroasiatic languages. Maarten Kossmann writes on Berber, Antonio Loprieno and Matthias Müller on Ancient Egyptian and Coptic, Gene Gragg and Robert Hoberman on Semitic, the editors themselves on Chadic, Maarten Mous on Cushitic, and, finally, Azeb Amha on Omotic. The focus of the volume is on typology, and four of the six

chapters constitute a first typological study of the family under consideration, contributing substantially to the originality of the volume. Each chapter provides a survey of the phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax of the individual family, highlighting the characteristics that are typologically important and those that make the family particularly interesting. The chapters are replete with well-chosen linguistic examples from multiple languages, many of which come from the authors' own fieldwork.

The Afroasiatic phylum is characterized above all by its rich typological diversity. Thus it is to Frajzyngier's great credit that he attempts to survey the entire phylum to bring out commonalities between languages and language families and to show places where they differ. In addition to the generally well-known similarities between Afroasiatic languages, such as the fact that all language families have some analog of the familiar pharyngealized or emphatic consonant series in Arabic, manifested elsewhere as either ejectives, implosives, glottalized or pharyngealized consonants, Frajzyngier presents us with some lesser known commonalities.

The clustering of typological features, however, is most generally restricted to languages in fewer than the six Afroasiatic families. For example, Chadic, Cushitic, and Omotic languages are generally tonal, while the others are not, and Frajzyngier provides a plausible scenario for tonogenesis in the former; in Semitic, Egyptian, Berber, and some Chadic languages nouns have underlying vowels while verbs do not, but in Cushitic and Omotic languages both verbs and nouns have underlying vowels; Egyptian, Semitic, and some Chadic languages are verb-initial in pragmatically neutral clauses, but Cushitic and Omotic are verb-final; Cushitic and Semitic have an extensive system of case marking, and they also have the construct state, both of which are absent in other families; and finally, in Cushitic and Chadic the phonological reduction of the word—usually the reduction of the final vowel—correlates with phrase-internal position.

Within his survey, Frajzyngier also offers some tantalizing hypotheses for the correlation of features across language families, which will no doubt encourage new research on the Afroasiatic phylum. His hypothesis on the relationship between tone and the neutralization of syllable codas to sonorants in Chadic languages and syllable reduction in Omotic languages, for example, opens up new areas of investigation in the historical phonology of the Afroasiatic languages. Given the wealth of information within its pages, and the many inviting areas of research that Frajzyngier points the reader to, this volume will surely stand as the seminal work on Afroasiatic languages for quite some time to come.

Fiona Mc Laughlin, *University of Florida and Université Cheikh Anta Diop*

**Diane Frost. 2012. *From the Pit to the Market: Politics and the Diamond Economy in Sierra Leone*. Oxford: James Curry. 226 pp.**

*From the Pit to the Market: Politics and the Diamond Economy* states that it is going to examine “the social, economic and political role that diamonds have played in Sierra Leone’s development since they were first discovered during British colonial rule in the 1930s.” (p. 1) Diamonds are a part of the popular imagery and analysis of a ten-year civil war that devastated Sierra Leone from 1991 to 2001. Much of the academic analysis begins with “blood diamonds” and the transnational role they played contributing to conflict(s), the role of disenfranchised youths in

mining and conflict, patrimonial politics, limitations of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme (2003), and diversification of mining. The popular imagery in films or songs, by performers like Kanye West and Frank Ocean, leans more towards the human bodily cost of diamonds and inequalities that still structure young people's lives delimiting agency. Frost tries to weave these two strands together to give an understanding why such global resources have not benefited the local communities in which they are found.

The book is thus split into two sections. The first part deals with "Colonialism, Post-colonialism & Resource Predation" and the second part, with "The Global Context." In the first part, a historical overview is given explaining the links between colonialism and resource predation. This is where the strengths of the book lie, and the reader gets a sense of how social life, economics and politics intersected in the colonial and post-colonial creation of diamond hubs like Bo, Kenema and Kono. These intricacies still ring true today, as African resources are still highly sought international commodities, inclusive of new actors such as the Chinese. I did expect more analysis of the institutional structures behind the Structural Adjustment Policies and continuity to Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers and what that says about resources and development priorities. That would have explained the strong debt Frost owes to Collier in explaining the role of global capitalism, link to conflict, and dependency of the economy on resources and aid today.

In part 1, I really enjoyed chapters 3 and 4 because this is where the voices, materiality and histories of the workers and grass roots organizations are illustrated. Frost did her fieldwork in 2003 but their voices were not "hidden," which would be marginalized groups such as sex-workers or those disabled by the conflict and diamond mining. She admits she stays on the level of the "articulate" politicized elites, especially in Kono (p. 199). They stay on message looking at communal loss, suffering, environmental degradation, and human rights violations like child labor in the mines but also sex work and its consequences for girls. Like talk about rebuilding the road to Kono, people agree that these are issues that are cogent and urgently need attention but the political will is not always there. One needs to question why and who benefits. When she does that, in questioning the gender dynamics of the pits, you see that Frost has some really interesting fieldwork data. I wished she had looked around the pit and the city. The complexity of the fluid gendered and embodied politics of the pit, "juniors," ex-combatants, migrants, multinationals, increased blasting and interactions with the differing members of the Kono community, Lebanese and other diamond dealers is not explored. Likewise, if one wants to track the move from pit to market and use qualitative methods you also need to interview who controls the market and ask why.

This book would have been stronger if Frost had done some follow-up interviews with this cast and tracked the diamonds to Antwerp and the newer hubs like Dubai. Part 2 deals with this wheeling and dealing of diamonds and also the parallel economies. Much of the work about the connections of diamonds to international terrorism, arms, laundering, drugs, and trafficking was published after Farah but is an open secret in Sierra Leone. Depending on whom you talk to, you gain different versions of "the system." In effect, this book brings it together in an easily read summary that should appeal to students. However, I do think there are some generalizations such as the "Lebanese community" (p. 172), which Gberie has noted is not homogenous. Ultimately, I agree we are in the midst of a scramble for African resources, and

the diamond industry is now changing with the increased role of multinationals, deep mining, and private security companies. With the increased power of civil society organizations and the presence of activist elites in positions of political power, not tokenism but real corporate social responsibility should be high on the agenda—inclusive of past and present abuses.

Maria Berghs, *University of York*

**Kobena T. Hanson, George Kararach, and Timothy M. Shaw, eds. 2012. *Rethinking Development Challenges for Public Policy: Insights from Contemporary Africa*. Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan. xviii, 293 pp.**

The global financial crisis that began in late 2007 brought serious development challenges to African economies. Hence, recovery, amongst other challenges, necessitated that the spotlight be brought to bear upon governance and leadership, which Nelson Mandela, the former South African president, once stated were problematic in Africa. Similarly on 11 July 2009, US President, Barack Obama remarked: “Africa doesn’t need strongmen, it needs strong institutions.” Hence, any book that refracts developmental issues through the governance and leadership prism is a welcome addition to the development debate.

The eight-chapter book (plus a conclusion) is a collection of essays on a number of public policy issues that Africa contends with in its quest for sustainable human development and human security in the 21st century. In essence, the book catalogues development issues and offers a potpourri of solutions that African governments must adopt as they seek to claim the 21st century. Thus, the introductory chapter is a call to action; it urges African governments to develop capacity for strategic thinking and leadership *à la* European Union (EU) and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries as they seek to reinvent themselves.

In chapter 1, Tettey discusses the leadership deficit and proposes the path to good governance and transformative politics. While Tettey grudgingly concedes that Africa’s governance record has improved during the last decade, he argues that the improvement is unsatisfactory as to necessitate transformative leadership that has a zero tolerance for mediocrity, if not total failure as instanced by failed states. In chapter 2, Makinda continues in the same vein of argument by discussing Africa’s leadership and governance crises. As a solution, Makinda proposes the following: establishing a Pan-African leadership institute (to grow and nurture leaders); enhancing democracy institutions; improving access to health care facilities; and strengthening critical infrastructure.

Ayee (chapter 3) and Owusu and Ohemeng (chapter 4) discuss the role of public administration in the development process. Ayee argues that all African governments have experimented with varieties of public sector reforms, particularly, New Public Management (NPM). He argues that NPM failed because of its one-size-fits-all orientation and, thus, recommends that: public administration reforms must be context-aware; public administration reforms must be part of broader public sector reforms; and that there must be a move away from NPM to New Public Service. Similarly, Owusu and Ohemeng advocate for a developmental public administration that entails some of the following: flexible but competent

public service; strong government-business-civil-society relationships; meritocratic and career-building public service; and high ethical standards.

Using various case studies, Chikozho (chapter 5) and Oyama *et al.* (chapter 6) discuss trans-boundary water governance and water crisis management respectively. Chikozho concedes that there is no one best method of trans-boundary water governance but, nonetheless, argues that there should be developed mechanisms that would, amongst others, address conflict avoidance, conflict management and inter-state cooperation. Oyama *et al.* contend that the solution to the water crisis could be found in suitable water management processes and technologies, stakeholder inclusiveness etc.

Arthur (chapter 7) argues the case for Small and Medium-scale Enterprises (SMEs) as engines of growth and catalysts of socio-economic transformation in Africa. Arthur uses case studies to showcase the resilience of SMEs. Based on challenges and problems that they face, he recommends that African governments must harness the potential of SMEs by creating an environment that will facilitate their operation. Sy (chapter 8) discusses climate financing in uncertain periods, particularly fiscal stress. He ends the chapter by proposing a raft of financing options. Lastly, chapter 9, by the editors, wraps up issues discussed in the book and proposes ways to take the development agenda forward.

The book has a number of strengths: importantly, the authors are qualified to talk to the subject because there are specialists in the subject areas. Arising from this, the book is endowed with high scholarship and, consequently, it is extensively researched. Finally, the book is a valuable addition to the literature because it discusses a topical issue; development, and it refracts it through the governance and leadership prism. Notwithstanding the above positives, the book could do with fewer in-text references because they tend to crowd-out the narrative. Ending, did the book successfully achieve its overarching aim; discuss development challenges and recommend public policy solutions? Yes, it did.

Emmanuel Botlhale, *University of Botswana*

**David Harris. 2012. *Civil War and Democracy in West Africa. Conflict Resolution, Elections and Justice in Sierra Leone and Liberia*. London, New York: IB Tauris. 300 pp.**

In light of geographical proximity and cultural similarities as well as prolonged civil conflict within overlapping time periods, Liberia and Sierra Leone are favored cases for comparative politics and there have been a number of books and articles examining the roots and trajectory of conflict, as well as prospects for sustainable peace in the aftermath of conflict. The recent book by David Harris falls in the latter category. However, contrary to much of the literature on these two countries that has focused on causes of war, this book takes as its starting point one of the hallmarks of peace processes in recent years, the conduct of post-conflict elections, and examines the effectiveness of the electoral process as a mechanism to promote reconciliation and lasting peace. In what is perhaps the book's greatest contribution, the author seeks to address a heretofore under-researched aspect of international conflict-resolution initiatives: the nexus between liberal traditions of justice that have increasingly come to dominate post-conflict

reconstruction debates, replacing realist, more inclusive approaches, and the political capacity of former rebel groups.

The author argues that legal and moral imperatives have replaced political considerations in conflict resolution interventions, with a new emphasis on seeking justice for perpetrators through means like special courts and truth commissions, rather than former practices of including belligerents in peace deals. Furthermore, the inability of rebel groups to transform into viable political groups or parties also contributes to the determination of electoral outcomes and ultimately, peace, and stability. For Harris, “the transformation of international discourses and approaches to conflict coupled with the political inefficacy of rebel movements have provided a mutually reinforcing obstacle to peace through elections” (p. 212).

To build his case, Harris examines four elections in Liberia and Sierra Leone (the 1996 and 2002 elections in Sierra Leone, and the 1997 and 2005 elections in Liberia). In the 1996 and 1997 elections, conflict soon resumed in both countries. The two later elections have ushered in a period of relative peace, although he queries the sustainability of this peace in the Sierra Leone case. The question he then seeks to answer is why the difference in outcomes between the two sets of elections.

While acknowledging that explanation rests on a variety of factors including electoral context and arrangements as well as ethnicity and security, Harris includes what he believes are crucial heretofore under-explored explanations: international discourse surrounding belligerents and political capacity of rebel actors. On first glance, Harris makes a compelling case. His detailed description of actors, events, and circumstances surrounding all four elections reveal a great depth of knowledge and intimate familiarity with the details of the cases in question. He does an excellent job demonstrating how both the international community and the political fortunes of the involved rebel groups contributed to their variable showing in all four respective elections.

Less convincing however, is the linkage between shifting international discourses and the question of sustainable peace. A central claim is that more punitively oriented discourses have made peace following elections more problematic, yet the cases do not seem to fully fit the analyses. For example, in Liberia, although Harris points to the late nineties as the harbinger of changing discourses (albeit intensified following September 11), he himself notes that Charles Taylor was unaffected by calls for a judicial process in 1997, and in fact went on to win by a landslide in the elections of that year. To the contrary, it would appear that a more inclusive perspective actually hindered lasting peace given the predatory and violent nature of the Taylor regime, and contributed to the return to civil war.

In 2005, when punitive discourses were arguably stronger, they again made little headway in Liberia. For example, Liberian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) recommendations for the prosecution of those deemed responsible for gross human rights violations have been largely ignored. Additionally, rather than facing criminal charges, former rebel actors were able to take part in the interim government following Taylor's exit from the country in 2003, and voluntarily disbanded prior to the 2005 elections. While the author links Liberia's positive electoral outcome in 2005 to the country's non-implementation of the more punitive discourses in place, it is not implausible that other causal factors may be in play.

In the Sierra Leone case, the author appears to find problematic the Revolutionary United Front's (RUF) marginalization from the 2002 elections, a result of disapprobation from an international community that now advocated punishment rather than inclusion, as well as the poor political organization capabilities of the group itself. However, the RUF's mandated presence in government under the 1999 Lome Peace Accords, including four cabinet posts and four deputy-ministerial positions, accomplished little by way of reconciliation or peace. Concerns that RUF marginalization contributed to SLPP's landslide victory in 2002 which made Sierra Leone "close to a near one-party state" and "did not attend to the grievances and injustices that provoked the conflict in the first place" (p. 129) seem to be a little out of place as RUF inclusion might not necessarily have resulted in a more amenable result.

Moreover, Sierra Leone's two subsequent peaceful elections of August 2007 and November 2012 also seem to indicate that the absence of significant RUF participation has not been a cause for concern. In the 2007 elections, the All People's Congress (APC) unseated the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), and it was re-elected in 2012. In the latter elections, APC success has been attributed not just to incumbency advantage but also a reflection on party performance: an acknowledgement that the party has tried to address some of the grievance-related issues that gave rise to the conflict, including infrastructural development, health care and education, although the problem of youth unemployment that Harris rightly points to as a potential destabilizing issue, continues to loom large.

Finally, as the author himself points out, there are potential problems in the inclusion of rebels in post-conflict administrations and in widening participation, as it potentially "devalues the institution, legitimizes the warring parties and allows impunity" (p. 33). Knowing when the benefits outweigh the costs of inclusion is difficult, and determining the credibility of the warring faction, the legitimacy of grievances, and its motives for power is not an easy task. Thus, while the premise of inclusion is theoretically appealing, there are a number of practicalities in implementation that could have been considered in greater depth.

Aside from these issues, the book provides many useful insights, serving as a check on both the global move to indict rebels as well as the assumption that elections in and of themselves are an indicator of peace. Additionally, the book provides an excellent comparative overview of the history of both Sierra Leone and Liberia, the onset of conflict, and the various arguments and theories proposed to understand its progression and eventual conclusion. Furthermore, Harris comprehensively examines the complexities of the various relationships among political parties, rebel groups and the international community within the two countries, and his description and analysis of the intricacies of the electoral processes, the actors, and the elections themselves provide a valuable insight into the various issues associated with post-conflict elections. The book will be of interest not just to scholars of these two countries, but more generally to policy makers and scholars of conflict resolution, post-conflict reconciliation, democratization, and development.

Fredline A. O. M'Cormack-Hale, *Seton Hall University*

**William J. Hemminger. 2012. *The African Son*. Lanham: University Press of America. 94 pp.**

As George Bernard Shaw wrote, "All Autobiographies are lies"; similarly most of the memoirs or travelogues are mere exaggerations and hardly regulate imagination by reality. However, Hemminger's travelling to Africa is not just a travel book or simply his craze for sightseeing or doing job(s) merely at different places in different capacities in Africa. His description is also not for the amusement but to present a thick description of the social, cultural, spiritual, and economic landscape of Africa. The author very exquisitely presents the interplay of cultures, communities, life ways, and ethnicities along with people's misery and value systems, etc., that govern their lives. The book is not too extensive however; thematically thorough, giving a succinct understanding of nature and life in Africa and perhaps this feature of the book best accomplishes the author's aim behind this revealing work. It is also an eye-catcher because of its colorful look, fine printing and paper quality, besides the depth of the work reflects even the unsaid, not discussed, and unwritten aspects of African life as well.

The book is composed of fifteen small but informative chapters, starting from the author's field description (view) to his various field trips. He hits the pressing African issue in his very first chapter, "A Friend of the Family," describing the death of a boy and expressing his grief, reflecting his humane concern and the absence of the proper health care and above all poverty in Africa. In the same chapter, he turns sociologist though indirectly by mentioning the status and plight of women as he describes his friend, Abdou's wife Maimuna. He writes, "I felt that I was closest to his wife Maimouna, she had told me that she was about 28 years old and had given birth eight times," reflecting the culture of ignorance, women's plight and poverty. The succeeding chapters describe his deep knowledge about African geography, socio-biology, agriculture, food culture, hospitality, rural life style, urban delight, and even faith and spirituality. His interest in describing the social and physical landscapes of different African countries opens up lots of intellectual discourses about African life itself, be that social and economic inequalities, rich African geography and landscapes, etc. He talks of the people's faith and their religiosity and draws inspiration from their abstinence from material lust. To add spice to his work, he pastes the whole amusing curriculum vita of a Cameroonian man (chapter 11), who became his guide-driver, by referring to his bizarre skills. He puts himself as the center of narration, however, but indirectly tells a detailed story of the holistic, diverse and pluralistic African nature and life and masses.

His clearly written but artistic description reflects more the socio-cultural landscape and his style churned with literary and academic flavors makes it inviting for the potential readership. The author, like an expert fieldworker or a trained anthropologist, studied African life in certain roles as a Peace Corps Volunteer, a Fulbright scholar, or as a visiting academician. He is a man of compassion and love and not a hallow tricky author, who just plays with words and jargon but narrates honestly without caring whether his description is reflecting positive, appalling, significant, or insignificant findings. He seems eager to report the pain and suffering of his fellow human beings. He does not sound a slave of his mere perception but reports the context exactly as he witnesses it. He does not even care about garnishing his deliberations or jargonizing his prose; he only speaks to his heart and wants to spread the message about Africa and life within.

I view *The African Son* as Hemminger's memoir of the Africa he saw on his journeys from Senegal to Malawi, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, and Madagascar. Hemminger, like a true social worker, feels responsible to society and aspires for change. While he lives the title he chose for his memoir simultaneously he leaves a message to the world about ignored Africa. The only minor flaw of the book is the lack of images/travel photographs that could have added to the account presentation and beautify the book. *The African Son* deserves a patient reader who can immerse himself/herself deeply in the context of the book and conceptualize the pain and suffering that Hemminger has plainly narrated with empathy.

The beauty of the book is that it does not impose perceptions but leaves the reader free to conceptualize Africa in one's own social and cultural understanding. Like a social anthropologist, Hemminger acts as a field researcher in the African context and meets different people like Muslims, missionaries, clergymen, and common people to gain insights and know about the real Africa. The social but peppery content of the book will attract all except speculative fiction readers, for the book presents culture and life styles as witnessed by the author as a participant observer. The book should attract students of all disciplines especially from the social sciences and researchers on Africa and above all Africa lovers. Moreover, the book can act as a valuable travel book on Africa.

Adfer Rashid Shah, *Central University, New Delhi*

**Catherine Higgs. 2012. *Chocolate Islands: Cocoa, Slavery, and Colonial Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 230 pp.**

Catherine Higgs gives us a thoughtful narrative history of how chocolate production on São Tomé and Príncipe relied upon slave labor during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her account of William Cadbury's interest in worker rights, driven by a Quaker commitment to social justice, shows how a nascent desire for ethical business practices exposed slavery, disease, and the abuses of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. In 1905 Cadbury called upon Joseph Burt, fellow Quaker and former utopianist, to spend eighteen months in Portugal's African colonies "to determine if rumors that slaves were harvesting cocoa on the island colony of São Tomé and Príncipe were true" (p. 1). Higgs deftly narrates Burt's evolution from a paternalist who argued the labor system of the *roças* (plantations) "was good for Africans" (p. 40) to a man convinced, by December 1906, that "Africans were enslaved in Angola...[and] shipped to the islands" where they worked until death (p. 114).

Burt's letters and report were not the first forays into the horrors of chocolate slavery; rather they affirmed the article written for *Harper's Magazine* by Henry Nevinson, whom Burt met while visiting the *roça Boa Entrada* in June 1905 (p. 39). Nevinson was a staunch abolitionist who spent four months tracing the slave routes in Angola, whereas Burt would stay for nearly one year along those same paths. Unwilling to accept Nevinson's evidence for slavery, Burt wanted to follow through on his commitment to Cadbury's mission and to see for himself if such flagrant abuse of international and Portuguese law continued. Despite what he heard and saw, Burt maintained an air of detachment. While sharing breakfast with two missionaries in Benguela, the American missionary William E. Fay "refused on principle to drink cocoa and

directed Burt to 'tell Mr. Cadbury...that cocoa is blood'" (p. 95). Although Burt did not share Fay's association between the two, bad recruitment practices and labor abuse were too evident to deny.

*Chocolate Islands* takes the reader on a fascinating tour of Portuguese Africa, from the offshore islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, to Angola, and then to Mozambique where Burt studied labor recruitment practices for South Africa's gold and diamond mines. Here in Lourenço Marques, 1907, Burt was so charmed by Alfredo Augusto de Andrade, the governor-general of Mozambique, that he wrote a praise-poem about the man. In the poem, Burt extolled Andrade's "love of the dark children of this zone" (pp. 121-23). Burt interpreted Andrade's pragmatic rule as love because it required African men to engage in wage labor or cash crop production to pay their hut taxes. The Quaker emphasis on personal liberty led Burt to conclude that mine recruitment practices were superior to *roça* methods because workers left the mines to return to Mozambique once their contracts were completed. The great benefit here for the reader is how Higgs' narrative of one man's journey provides a window to explore multiple forms of labor and social injustice across a wide region. Burt, like E.D. Morel, used his experiences to lobby for better working conditions and eventually, by 1909 to encourage American chocolatiers to follow the European boycott of São Toméan cocoa (p. 150).

Higgs gives us a solid history, but one that concerns itself with European attitudes about Africans rather than focused on African views on their forced servitude to colonial economies. While wholly sympathetic to Higgs' documentary limitations, this one-way view reveals how human rights histories (or even movements for that matter) fall prey to one-sided narratives. This presents a distinct challenge, but one that can be addressed within the classroom setting. Filled with high quality black and white images, Higgs' text opens up new possibilities for teaching students how to analyze historical photographs and how these photos helped stimulate social awareness. As the history of a commodity and social movement, *Chocolate Islands* is useful because it pulls together so many important narratives within African history. It is a worthwhile companion for multiple university applications, from modern Africa courses to world history, or as an excellent example of narrative historical techniques for graduate students.

Chau Johnsen Kelly, *University of North Florida*

**Charles Hornsby. 2012. *Kenya: A History Since Independence*. London/New York: I.B. Tauris. xviii, 958 pp.**

There have been many books, papers, monographs, and other scholarly works on Kenya's history. Most of have "focused on the colonial era or on specific post-independence topics" (p.1). None has successfully treated the post-independent era of Kenya in its wholeness. This is exactly what Charles Hornsby has accomplished.

As Kenya celebrates its fiftieth year of political independence in 2013, this book questions all the political paths that Kenya has taken since its independence in 1963. It does this by presenting a historical narrative of sequential and connected socioeconomic and political events.

Hence, it is both a reference and a compendium of Kenya's history chronologically presented in twelve parts, beginning with an introduction and ending with a well-written conclusion.

One of the major goals achieved by the author is that readers would compare this account of Kenya with those of other African states and may then understand Africa better. The book's main contribution to Kenya's history begins from the chapter three, where the author x-rayed the period 1964-1965. He refers to it as a period of Kenya's "struggle for the state." This chapter exposes pertinent issues relating to the country's quest to stand as a nation (pp. 93-155). The fourth chapter describes the 1966-1969 period. It interestingly refers to this period as a time of "multi-party non-democratic system" (pp. 156-219). During this period, Kenyans witnessed undemocratic experiences in the country, despite that the government was considered a democratic one by the international community. During these years, state abolition, detentions without trial, restrictions on public meetings, and ethnic preferential policy treatments became a culture of the then government of Kenya. The fifth chapter describes the "golden years" of Kenya (pp. 220-278). This period, 1970-1974, was "when the growth and instability of the 1960s gave way to stability" (p. 220). The book reveals that hidden in this period was the "kikuyuisation of Kenya." This was a period when "the state continued to talk of Kenya as one nation" but focused on "the entrenchment of *Kikuyu* power through its formal and informal networks" (p. 254). The sixth chapter exposes the "rigor mortis" period of 1975-1978 (pp. 279-330). This period saw crises along political, economic, sectoral, and regional lines. The seventh to thirteenth chapters chronicle the periods from 1978 to 2010. The author notes that a lot changed in many ways during these years. In the final chapter, the book notes that Kenya's "economy remains structured along colonial lines" up till today (p. 787). The author passed what could be a damning judgment on Kenyans—that "Kenya's history is poorly understood by most Kenyans" (p. 787). How true is this statement? People may have divided opinions on this assertion. Only Kenyans and keen observers of Kenya would, maybe, have strong opinions on this assertion. What the book has successfully done by making this assertion is to encourage Kenyans to study their own history better.

From the diction and tone of the book, the author appears to have followed Kenya's politics intensely and has authentic views on situations in the country. Without doubt, it presents an encyclopedic knowledge of post-independence Kenya with so much clarity that any researcher, historian, political scientist, and literary enthusiast would understand it. It gives compelling evidences that a minority of people own and drive the political vehicle of Kenya. It provides a historical orientation for understanding the Kenya's 2007/2008 crisis. More so, it provides useful background for understanding the run-up to the highly contentious 2013 presidential elections. The book used authenticated documented evidences to support its message. Newspaper articles, books, journals and official government publications are some of the evidences the author used to back up his messages. The book includes detailed charts, graphs, maps, tables, photographs, and statistics about important aspects of the country's history. This book is a must-read for all those interested in the general political evolution of African countries, in particular, Kenya. It will be captivating for readers who appreciate social and political history of nations.

Uchendu Eugene Chigbu, *Technische Universität München*

**Abdourahmane Idrissa and Samuel Decalo. 2012. *Historical Dictionary of Niger*. 4th edition. Lanham, Maryland and London: The Scarecrow Press. 541 pp.**

Expanding on Samuel Decalo's previous 1997 edition of *The Historical Dictionary of Niger*, Abdourahmane Idrissa significantly contributes to this invaluable resource. The reference volume begins with a chronology of major events dating back to 2000-3000 BCE, reviewing in detail the political events of the twentieth century through 2011. Following this section, the authors provide an introduction to the volume that serves as a country profile. These sections focus especially on the political developments of the country, but given the volatile political history of Niger, this seems warranted, and the expertise of both authors assures that the pithy account is worth reading. The final two sections of the book consist of a 459-page dictionary and a 58-page bibliography.

The bibliography has undergone a transformation in this latest edition, becoming more concise and efficient. Whereas the authors and texts in previous editions often received more than one entry when relevant to multiple sections, this edition only includes single entries for authors and texts. Consequently, the task of perusing sections for new sources is much less daunting, and the shortened size helps one to find particular citations quickly. Further, references to the burgeoning body of Nigerien produced works that emerged during the 1990s and 2000s are an admirable addition to the bibliography. Particularly, the effort to record various dissertations defended by Nigeriens at both French and American institutions is laudable, considering that this reviewer is unaware of any other comprehensive source. Perhaps the most useful part of the bibliography is the list of online resources. This section includes a variety of sources of statistics, economic data, regularly updated compilations of current Nigerien media, and the arts, all of which are accessible online at no cost.

The dictionary remains the main feature of the book, however, and Idrissa's additions to this section are noticeable. Several new entries have been added to account for Niger's history prior to the colonial era. The author's efforts to include this time period signify this edition's greater comprehensiveness. Other entries underscore the author's expertise such as the entry for Islam, which gives a concise, but nuanced discussion of Islam's history throughout the country. Moreover, some entries have been added or amended in accordance with past criticisms. For instance, the entry on Women in Niger now includes references to separate entries on the Association des Femmes Juristes du Niger and the Rassemblement Démocratique des Femmes du Niger, two organizations created in the early 1990s but missing from the previous edition. Idrissa, raised in Niger, demonstrates an in depth personal knowledge of daily life in Niger through the new entries. They thus warrant attention as this reference volume continues to be one of the few resources available in English concerned with this understudied country. For example, the intriguing discussion of the Alhazai merchants of Maradi and their development as an economic power that remains relevant today emphasizes the contributions of the new author to the project. Finally, within the dictionary are a number of entries pertaining to research centers and other pertinent resources of information for the researcher.

There are a few minor errors and omissions to the edition. Noticeably absent is an entry on the Niamey-based research organization, Laboratoire d'Études et de Recherches sur les Dynamiques Sociales et le Développement Local (LASDEL). Its only mention comes in the online resources section of the bibliography, despite facilitating the development of numerous

academic networks and research teams across Africa and Europe for over a decade. Additionally, Dioulde Laya continues to be noted as the former director of the Institut National de Recherches en Sciences Humaines instead of the Centre D'Étude Linguistique et Historique par la Tradition Orale (CELHTO), an error noted in the previous edition by Roberta Dunbar.

Regardless of such minor faults, this edition of the *Historical Dictionary of Niger* stands as a noteworthy reference work for students, scholars, and researchers seeking to establish, develop or enhance their expertise on the country. The work of any author in producing such a tome requires that delicate judgments about balance and selection be made with regard to the content. The decisions of Idrissa on such matters ensure that this reference work will remain a worthy investment for those with little knowledge of the country and those seeking to further their own expertise.

Daniel Eizenga, University of Florida

**Eldred Durosimi Jones. 2012. *The Freetown Bond: A Life Under Two Flags*. James Curry. 174 pp.**

Prof. Emeritus Eldred Durosimi Jones' memoirs starts with the family house ablaze, instantly consuming what he knew as home. It goes back exploring the inhabitants in a well-knit multi-ethnic community and his weekly forays to his matrilineal lineage in the West. But nostalgia for that physical half of his memory of childhood destroyed remains. He explores Empire Day's thrill: marching past the Governor and joyously saluting the British flag.

The ten chapters cover his early life, schooling, university studies, work and life after returning home from lecturer to Fourah Bay College Principal and community activities. Jones' foreword, an index, and an appendix, seventeen black and white pictures, and a map of Freetown are added value. This colorful account unravels Jones' humane upbringing, education, influences and works.

Mrs. Jones searches for details to arouse her visually impaired husband's memory. Structured in a fragmentary pattern, the book foregrounds the author recalling the past, reminiscing whilst foreshadowing coming events conversationally. The historical pageant on Sierra Leone's history he produced in 1957 as part of a National Festival of the Arts draws his memory to the next one in 1977 depicting Fourah Bay College history.

The varying writing styles give this book wide appeal. Students, communicators, and English scholars should find it absorbing. The first chapter tracing the challenges and excitement of educating in Africa is of general interest. The title mirrors his British colonial education and upbringing and working during post-independence disillusionments under the Sierra Leone flag. The author absorbed every positive situation into molding himself into a transformative figure of the African cultural landscape.

The seventh chapter, "West African Travels," devotes far more pages to Nigeria with no glimpse of Ghana beyond its "electric" atmosphere. The memory of time and place resurrects memory of such great friendships as his hosts, the Contons. In exploring Nigeria, the author details places, melding modern and traditional art, interacting with Nigerian authors and familiarizing himself with the Nigerian literary industry. He studied various art forms, visited

art centers and artists, which provided him with a rich experience that informs his critical works on African literature especially his explication of Yoruba cosmology in Soyinka's works. His narrative and descriptive prose blossoms into great vitality, capturing the eloquence of Nigerian art. The ease with which he understood it and his freely moving across the country dropping in to shrines and meeting traditional authorities who he accords the appropriate decorum is admirable. "I could not take my eyes off the view from Jos via Kaduna to Kano. The Jos plateau continued the feature of bare outcrops of rock and gradually gave way to the watershed which fed the Kaduna River" (p. 126).

Chapter Nine, "Books, Words, Causes," is of interest to Africanists. The section on African Literature Today first gives a concise background to its establishment, its purpose, its organization, the hazards of editing it from Africa, resolving such challenges, and the interests and resources generated. That on the Noma Award for Publishing in Africa, structured similarly, describes its establishment, the process for final selections, administrative support, key presentations and how greatly reading expert reports on varying subjects and books enriched Jones' knowledge of the African publishing scene.

This memoir, in spite of some repeated episodes and printing errors, is a compulsive read from an author who is a consummate connoisseur of good literature and art and a master communicator. So when he writes about his life and shares his thoughts on education, broadcasting and governance he does so with a wealth of passion and insight. It is peopled with almost everyone he has met on his way up, particularly great scholars. He has in spite of so many in his canvas gleaned and transmitted telling aspects of their personalities. The work, however, has an overwhelming number of episodes and characters that could have been developed sufficiently in four volumes capturing each stage and aspect of Jones's life and work.

The book has a relaxed conversational style—lucid, clear, and witty with a rich stock of images. Some sections soar to almost poetic lyricism, getting us enchanted with the subject and its conveyance as in the last chapter titled "Twilight and Evening Bell." The poetic title matches the lyrical rhythm of this chapter with its symbolism of their life ebbing. Jones simulates them contemplating winding down their lives in the smaller but even more charming cottage that had lured them into acquiring that property but the arty things they might have to leave behind for lack of space makes them irresolute.

Arthur Edgar E. Smith, *Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone*

**James Kilgore. 2011. *We Are All Zimbabweans Now*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 259 pp.**

To understand post-1980 Zimbabwe through a novel is of course impossible. The author of *We are all Zimbabweans Now* is specifically focusing in fact only on the "Gukurahundi" ("the early rain which washes away the chaff before the spring" in the Shona language) time. It was the civil war that broke out in 1982 soon after the defeat of white rule and the election of Robert Mugabe as Prime Minister. The Gukurahundi War ended with the merging of the two clashing parties, ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) and ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People Union), in ZANU-PF and the beginning of a "one party system" of government. Zimbabwe is landlocked and borders Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and South Africa. Some neighboring

nations played a specific role in Zimbabwe politics. Tanzania and Mozambique, for example, offered military training camps for the guerilla fighters or a logistic base as in Zambia where Herbert Chipeto, the first leader of ZANU and a black barrister in Zimbabwe, in 1975 met his death in a car explosion in Lusaka.

Zimbabwe's northern region is Mashonaland, with the capital Harare ("the city that never sleeps" in the Shona language), Chingwitz, and Mbare as the main cities where the novel is predominantly set. Mashonaland is inhabited by people from the Shona ethnic group. Part of the novel is also set in Matebeleland, a southwestern macroregion inhabited by the Ndebele ethnic group. Ndebele, Shona, and English are then the official languages of Zimbabwe. Moreover, the Ndebele and Shona have a different pre-colonial history and mythology. During the liberation war against Ian Smith and in the early 1980s, Mashonaland was predominantly aligned with ZANU with Robert Mugabe as the leader while Matebeleland was ZAPU with Joshua Nkomo as the leader.

If the main white character of this fantapolitics novel, Ben Dabney (a U.S. Ph.D. candidate researching for his thesis in Zimbabwe), has any prejudices about the black Zimbabweans, they are on the reverse: he is blindly enthusiastic about the "racial reconciliation" politics and Marxist system of government of Robert Mugabe, just elected Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe in 1980. This character is presumably autobiographical since James Kilgore himself is an American scholar of Africa and with a past as a radical leftist. Kilgore, as Dabney, also lived in Zimbabwe working as a teacher at high school during the 1980s. Ben Dabney, as James Kilgore, becomes so integrated in the Mugabe's Zimbabwean society to be sometimes called "comrade Ben." Nevertheless, he gradually discovers the degeneration of Mugabe's regime, which has engaged in a war against the Zimbabwean people through the killing of civilians and mass graves: an ethnic and racist war against the Ndebele tribe in Matebeleland to destroy any political opposition. "But when someone who fights a war against the Rhodesians ends up hating his comrades because they speak another language, then makes no sense" says Ben to Florence, a former ZANLA (Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army) guerrilla fighter, when he returned from a trip in Matebeleland. He had witnessed the violence of the Mugabe's Fifth Brigade (trained by North Koreans) in a rural school suspected of hiding Super-ZAPU members, the organization of dissidents presumably supported by South Africa. During his stay in Harare, Ben is also approached by an eccentric Professor Dlamini who suggests to him that he investigate the death of a liberation leader, Elias Tichasara, who died in a mysterious car accident some days after the end of the second Chimurenga, the war against the white Rhodesians. The story ends with the suicide of "comrade Manyeche," fictional Mugabe's Minister of Education and ex guerilla fighter who has just confessed to Florence, Tichasara's woman, of having been himself the real and hidden driver in her partner's car accident. Apparently, he committed suicide for a sexual scandal, but his death to the readers of the novel sounds as an admission of guiltiness in the Elias' murder.

Apart from Robert Mugabe, most of the characters are fictional except for Tichasara and Professor Callistus Dlamini. As the author has revealed, Elias Tichasara is Josiah Tongogara, the commander of ZANLA who in actuality died in a car accident in 1979 in Mozambique six days after the Lancaster House Agreement leading to the ceasefire that ended the war of liberation. According to a 1979 CIA briefing, Tongogara was at that time a "potential political

rival to Mugabe," and the US agency suspected a murder rather than believing to the accidental car crash of the official version. Tongogara's wife never saw his corpse, and no autopsy was ever conducted or pictures released. He has also been defined by Lord Carrington, chairman of the Lancaster House talks, as a "moderate force" compared to Mugabe. During the Lancaster meetings, the ZANLA commander favored a "power sharing" agreement with the unity of ZANU and ZAPU, a solution that Robert Mugabe opposed. The character of Prof. Dlamini is based on Stanlake Samkange, a prominent Zimbabwean historian who also wrote novels set in the liberation wars. As did Samkange, Dlamini lives in a real English castle in Harare and drives a Rolls Royce. "Since in my book Professor Dlamini engages in an intrigue in which the real Professor Samkange never took part" explains Kilgore "I elected to change the name."

Susanna Iacona Salafia, *Fatih University*

**Linda Kreitzer. 2012. *Social Work in Africa: Exploring Culturally Relevant Education and Practice in Ghana*. Calgary, Alberta, Canada: University of Calgary Press. 242 pp.**

Linda Kreitzer's *Social Work in Africa: Exploring Culturally Relevant Education and Practice in Ghana* provides a strong case study exploring the challenges and failings of social work education in Ghana. This text, one of only a few that looks specifically at West Africa, provides a compelling case study specific to Ghana. While it may be argued that the dearth of scholarly work in the area pertaining to the African context makes for broader application, readers should use caution, as Kreitzer warns briefly in the introduction, against assuming African universality. Kreitzer expresses two purposes for publishing this book. One expressed purpose is "to reflect on, explore, critically evaluate, and take action on the thoughts and ideas expressed" (p. xix), is achieved brilliantly throughout the text. Most chapters are laden with more questions than answers, and thus Kreitzer's work successfully launches a thought provoking reflection on institutions of social work education in Ghana. However, the second expressed purpose, to "challenge African social workers and schools of social work to critically look at their curriculum" and evaluate its pertinence to African culture and society (p. xix), seems to be only partially achieved. The complexity of education and policy in Africa, among other things, makes the hope of widespread exposure of Kreitzer's work to "African social workers" seem only a distant dream. Having said that, this text can still powerfully affect change by being aimed at a different, and arguably more mislead, audience.

As Kreitzer very honestly admits early in the book, this text is yet another foreigner's analysis of the problems of African social work education. Kreitzer uses the engaging Participatory Action Research (PAR) method in conducting research and attempting to inspire grassroots results, however, it is important to note that this text is better suited for Western academics. For Western scholars, Kreitzer's work offers a powerfully faceted understanding of the challenges and intricacies of working in the "development" and "social work" sectors in Africa. While Chapter 6 offers recommended courses for a revised social work curriculum (pp. 154-65), these courses are specific to the Ghanaian case study and should be used as just this—a single case study. The power of this work lies in challenging Western students of social work to recognize the prejudices, misconceptions, and ignorance that are often carried by foreigners into

Africa. With engagement in non-profit work in Africa ablaze, especially among Western students, this work is important to read alongside popular texts such as Dambisa Moyo's *Dead Aid*.

After a Preface, Introduction, and Prologue where Kreitzer briefly describes the research, methods, and purpose of the book, she launches into Chapter 1. Each chapter is beautifully represented by an Adinkra symbol, and the meaning of Chapter One's symbol is "go back and take," a fitting talisman for the literature review and historical context. Kreitzer speaks at length about the effects of Africa's colonial past, a theme that is carried throughout the book. The text challenges African institutions of social work to move away from the traditional European centered social work curriculum and define an African-centric one rich in indigenous case studies and culturally relevant teachings. The literature review in Chapter 1 highlights the absence of an organized and accessible database documenting African social work activities, despite the fact that social work has been practiced in Africa for over half a century.

Chapter 2, "Cultural Identity," takes an anthropological approach to situating social work within a uniquely Ghanaian identity. While short, this chapter is important in challenging scholars to recognize the effects of the "deficit orientation" often applied to Africa, branded the "hopeless continent" (p. 49). Once again, the colonial past is blamed for stripping Africans of their history and pride in their heritage. In conjunction with redefining and reconnecting African's with their rich indigenous history and identity, another important theme arises –the lack of pride and respect for social work in Africa. Kreitzer presents a battery of reasons for this distaste towards social work, most of which center around insufficient training, lack of effectiveness, and the general perception that social workers come to "change" a community that does not necessarily want to be changed. This chapter brings up important questions, especially for Western social workers, about the appropriateness of social work methodology, definitions of modernity, and the applicability of the social work institution in the African context.

Chapter 3 and 4 discuss the overwhelming presence of Western knowledge in social work curricula and the challenges that African states face in a rapidly globalizing and interconnected world. Kreitzer delves more deeply into the problems of higher education in Africa, where a degree is often sought to allow a student to work in the Western world (p. 79). Furthermore, the institutions of social work in Ghana are almost solely reliant on Western texts, failing to provide students the resources to engage appropriately with African communities. While it is not explicitly stated, this chapter reflects deeply on the failure of African education systems. Hopefully, this chapter stimulates reflection by administrators and staff, both foreign and domestic, about where education fits in the complex political and social landscape. It is worth questioning if social work education is more applicable at primary or secondary levels, and further, if the current structure of social work in Ghana is even appropriate. In this vein, Kreitzer reflects upon the global problems of Neo-liberal policy. Due to low salaries and lack of pride in the social work institution, there is little incentive for social workers to engage politicians to address international inequalities. This chapter challenges social workers to consider how to participate at national and international levels to begin crafting a solution to the ruinous global economic order. It is worth considering that the immediate role of social

workers in Ghana might only be at the national level, where a focus on crafting policy that makes social work at community and local levels feasible is paramount.

Presenting a well-recognized argument, Chapter 5 decomposes the current model of international aid, exposing the frequently crippling effects of misdirected money. In this chapter Kreitzer inspires Western students to reflect on how culture powerfully influences behavior. As non-profit work has become popular and almost “trendy” in the Western world, it is critical that Western scholars understand the failures of past aid efforts and use innovation in crafting new and more effective models to empower communities. Domestic and foreign administrators of aid must recognize effective means of working with traditional authorities to achieve community driven solutions. This chapter, rich in analysis of aid efforts in a globalizing world, offers powerful discussion points that challenge and de-romanticize NGO and IGO efforts.

Chapter 6, “Creating Culturally Relevant Education and Practice,” is the meat of Kreitzer’s work. Part fieldwork manual and part research analysis, this chapter, if nothing else, should be read by students of social work, development, and anthropology as they prepare to engage in field work. The PAR research method is discussed in more depth along with the practical challenges of doing fieldwork in Africa where communities usually expect research to result in action (although often hard to express, this is not necessarily the purpose of fieldwork). Kreitzer details the way she and her research group worked in the field and offers the strategy she used to deliver something “tangible” to the community. While this fieldwork analysis and research summary apply mainly to the Ghanaian case study, students can learn from the methods and begin to grapple with the realities of working in both urban and rural settings in Africa.

Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the book with a reiteration of major themes. The themes of creating a proud African identity, a curriculum based on African case studies, and a uniquely African style of social work training and practice provide a spark for discussions of social work in a variety of contexts. The importance of Kreitzer’s work lies in creating a more textured view of the value and possibility of integrating rich African case studies into the global study of social work. While most African students will likely never read this text, its importance in Western universities must not be overlooked.

Brittany Morreale, *Lopez Lomong Foundation and 4 South Sudan.*

**Carol Magee. 2012. *Africa in the American Imagination: Popular Culture, Racialized Identities, and African Visual Culture*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 263 pp.**

Africanist art historian Carol Magee’s first book offers important insight into how African nations and peoples are represented in American popular culture and how such imaginations reflect ideological standpoints. Magee selects four case studies to highlight the normalization of American understandings of Africa created and promoted by enterprises of Western popular culture. Magee also considers the degree to which American representations of African visual culture mediate American self-understandings with respect to black and white racialized identities. Magee eliminates a surprising gap in the literature on the topic within visual culture studies in an engaging, jargon-free, and critical manner.

Although the introduction identifies the audience as persons who engage with Africa passively, through popular cultural, the book is quite relevant for specialists. Indeed, many specialists are aware of the misguided assumptions about Africa that result from media presentations and other popular culture imaginations, but fewer may give critical thought to *how* those ideas are generated. Magee puts a spotlight on these mechanisms and thus serves both Africanists and students beginning to think critically about representations of Africa.

Magee uses four cases to advance her thesis: the 1996 *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issue, Mattel's Ghanaian Barbie, and two elements of the Walt Disney World Resort in Florida. Not only did the 1996 *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issue feature the first cover image of an African American model, it included a feature shoot at an Ndebele village in South Africa. Magee argues that the magazine offers insight into a nexus of ideological positions—fantasy, desire, and race—that ultimately asserts the superiority of white skin over black. Magee considers the representational conventions of the swimsuit issue in relation to those germane to the photographic essay in popular magazines and compares the power relationships and ideological positions that are subsequently conveyed. Regarding the Ndebele village in South Africa, Magee considers both what the photos communicate to an American audience—touristic travel and its attendant associations of Western superiority—and to the Ndebele viewers, who may and did perceive a positive representation, one that speaks to cultural pride, autonomy and economic empowerment. This chapter highlights the depth of Magee's research, and provides for a richer discussion than this reviewer anticipated from an analysis of the iconic swimsuit issue.

Magee considers the Ghanaian Barbie—produced by Mattel as part of its “Dolls of the World” series—as a representative instance wherein an imagined Africa, though positively intended, ultimately reveals the cultural biases of its maker. Magee wonderfully picks up on this tension and analyzes the doll as an expression of nostalgia for an earlier era, one marked by American hegemony and stable cultural identities. Unfortunately, Mattel withheld permission to reproduce images of the doll for the book; Magee provides a detailed description of Ghanaian Barbie in her text, but the lack of visuals unnecessarily hinders the effectiveness of this chapter.

Magee's trip to Disney World first takes the reader to the “It's a Small World” ride and then to the Disney Animal Kingdom Lodge. Magee draws on a discussion of Orientalism to argue that representations of Africa within “It's a Small World” advance “a Disney ideal of a small, white, American world” rather than a world of inclusivity. The analysis of the Disney Animal Kingdom Lodge (DAKL) is perhaps the most interesting in the book, and it is here that the novelty of Magee's discussion is most apparent. In her analyses Magee balances the complex ways that cultural producers such as Disney generate imaginations of Africa that are at once productive and restrictive. The DAKL aims to re-create an African environment, wherein visitors can eat African food, view African art and artifacts, interact with African citizens that work for the lodge, and view African animals. But Magee's analysis reveals that the park ultimately presents a colonial representation of Africa to its American audience.

Each time the reader might ask for contextual information regarding the objects under discussion, Magee quickly answers, often using unlikely sources—who knew the *Sports Illustrated* models kept diaries? While in the end the reader better understands how American

perceptions of Africa are generated, the reader is less informed about how Americans *actually* perceive Africa and African visual culture following their interactions with these objects and places. While the latter issue was not the focus of Magee's study, the thorough examination of the conditioning of perceptions feels disproportionately represented to the realization of them within the American public. Overall, however, the text is an engaging and informative read, and a very welcome addition to the field.

Meghan Kirkwood, *University of Florida*

**Mahmood Mamdani. 2012. *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 154 pp.**

Mamdani's book which is organized into a brief introduction and three short, but concise and insightful chapters, is based on lectures inspired from the author's reading of W.E.B. Dubois's *The World and Africa* (1947) and from his realization that he had given an inadequate answer to an important question posed at one of the lecture events about how British indirect rule was different from previous empires (including the Roman Empire). Mamdani explores the dichotomy between settler and native as separate political identities and shows how this new politics of identity laid the basis of British indirect rule and native administration in British colonies worldwide. He argues that the crisis of the British Empire in the mid-nineteenth century starting with a mutiny in India in 1857 attracted the attention of British intellectuals, especially Sir Henry Maine, who claimed that natives were bound by geography and custom rather than history and law. This view not only led to the re-examination of the colonial mission, but also to the transformation of colonial peoples' cultural identities to political identities and to the establishment of administrative reforms starting in India and spreading to other British colonies in Africa and elsewhere. The author then analyzes the intellectual and political dimensions of the decolonization and nationalist movements in Africa.

The introduction contends that indirect rule was a form of governance considered the "holy grail" of managing pluralism and difference in modern statecraft. He argues that it was different from modes of rule in previous western empires (including Roman and British "direct" rule before mid-19<sup>th</sup> century) in two important ways: first, previous empires focused on conquered elites rather than masses of the colonized; and second, they sought to eliminate difference through a policy of cultural or political assimilation of colonized elites (pp. 1-2). The author views the political identity of 'native' as an invention of intellectuals of a British empire-in-crisis. Furthermore, Mamdani analyzes the distinction between settler and native and between natives on the basis of tribe, and the creation of indirect rule. He argues that the indirect rule state governed natives under the native authority and restricted their rights to land and power on the basis of native tribe or tribal identity designated by the colonial regime. Finally, while citizenship was accorded to the colonial settler, the native was denied the same. He then suggests that "the only emancipation possible for the settler and native is for both to cease to exist as political identities" (p. 4) once such identities are abolished. This was a position achieved in Tanzania under its first president, Julius Nyerere.

In Chapter One, Mamdani explores how Sir Henry Maine, using a theory of history and of law, distinguished the settler from the native by asserting that the former was guided by universal civilization, while the latter was influenced by local customs that were fixed and unchanging. This distinction constituted Maine's theory of nativism. More importantly, Maine's intellectual ideas were incorporated into colonial policies and native administrative practices as his important books, such as *Ancient Law*, were required reading for new and prospective colonial administrators in Asia and Africa.

Mamdani argues that the transition from direct to indirect rule was precipitated by the dual crises faced by the British Empire (between 1857 and 1865): crises of mission and legitimacy. According to Mamdani, Maine's larger point of distinguishing between western and non-western societies in terms of types of laws, identities, and political societies was to highlight his desire to slow down any meaningful change in colonies. He saw such changes in colonies not only as undesirable but as potentially fomenting anti-colonialism as had been the case in colonial India. Although indirect rule's language seemed benign, its doctrine of non-interference in certain domains of colonial societies (such as religion) was contradictory. For example, by defining the customary realm and determining the list of natives to be "protected," the colonial indirect rule state gave itself vast powers over natives (pp. 26-30). Mamdani observes that in the final analysis, proponents of indirect rule "had vast ambitions; to remake subjectivities so as to realign its bearers. This was no longer just divide and rule; it was define and rule" (p. 42).

While Chapter One deals with Maine's theory of nativism, Chapter Two discusses the practice of such nativism. In particular, Mamdani views indirect rule as a new and modern method of governance aimed at understanding and managing differences in British colonies. He believes that the primary focus of colonial power (especially after the 1857 mutiny in colonial India) was defining colonial subjectivity. Colonial civil law was seen as central to managing and reproducing differences in the indirect rule state. It not only recognized systems of customary law but also defined traditional societies as tribes under the jurisdictions of tribal authorities with rights of power and access to tribal lands. The law used the census as a tool of intentionally dividing the population into two politicized identities; race and tribe (rather than between colonizer and colonized). More importantly, as a political strategy, "tribalization was the kernel of native administration and indirect rule" (p. 71). The focus on race-tribe distinctions obscured the pre-colonial history of native migrations and effectively portrayed "the native as a product of geography rather than history" (p. 47). However, the reality is that natives and non-natives alike were influenced by both residence (geography) and origin (history), as Mamdani so clearly demonstrates.

Furthermore, the race-tribe dichotomy laid the basis for discrimination and inequality during the indirect rule state and in some situations continued during the post-colonial era. Indirect rule and its system of native administration institutionalized tribal discrimination under the guise of cultural diversity and the so-called doctrine of non-interference. Mamdani contends that British adoption of indirect rule was "less to civilize the elites than to shape popular subjectivities. In this sense ... indirect rule was vastly more ambitious than what the Romans had imagined or practiced" (p. 84).

Mamdani observes in the final chapter that the intelligentsia and the political class, the two key groups preoccupied with decolonization, were propelled to create a nationalist movement with the goal of establishing an independent post-colonial nation-state. He argues that during the struggle for state formation, the intelligentsia sought to give the independent state a history it had been denied while the political class worked hard to create a shared citizenship within an independent and sovereign state. Among the intelligentsia, the famous Nigerian historian, Yusuf Bala Usman, argued for an alternative approach of understanding the historical movement of political communities in pre-colonial Africa by using multiple sources to deconstruct key ethnic and racial categories starting with Hausa and Fulani speaking peoples in Nigeria. The challenge he set for historians was to locate the development of political identities in an historical context of internal migrations and state formation prior to colonialism.

In post-colonial Tanzania, President Julius Nyerere and TANU peacefully dismantled the structures of indirect rule and ‘successfully implemented an alternative form of statecraft’ (p. 107). During the first phase of nation building, Nyerere not only rejected indirect rule and its racialist policies but relied heavily on the single-party system to create a national language (Swahili) and a national army, and sought to detribalize the Tanzanian society. And during the second phase (1967 to 1977), Nyerere used the Arusha Declaration to intervene in the economy for ideological and pragmatic reasons. Under the era of villagization, Nyerere “called upon peasants to form Ujamaa villages and to increase their productivity and welfare through collective self-help” (p. 119). Unfortunately, once this policy failed, Nyerere and TANU resorted to the use of “coercion” to settle peasants in Ujamaa villages and partitioned the country among donors by region. Regarding Nyerere’s achievements, Mamdani suggests that his seminal accomplishment was “creating an inclusive citizenship and building a nation-state” (p. 108).

Mamdani’s book does not attempt to explore “how the rulers of empire re-examined their own hegemony in the face of the divisions within their own camp and the challenges from the people they were trying to rule” (Cooper and Stoler, p. 609). In particular, it is claimed that tensions among colonizers meant that efforts to define natives as political identities in order to govern them using indirect rule were not always easily accepted, but were rather “problematic, contested, and changing” (ibid.). This implies there was a constant struggle to define and manage difference in colonial states. The decolonization era clearly underscores the tensions and struggles between the colonizer and the colonized.

Overall, the book represents a carefully argued and insightful analysis of the intellectual origins and contextual practices of indirect rule as a new and modern strategy of governance aimed at understanding and managing difference in British colonies worldwide. The book is a must read not only for students of colonial government policies and history but also for contemporary scholars preoccupied with understanding the challenges facing the post-colonial state in Africa and Asia.

#### References:

Frederick Cooper and Ann L. Stoler. 1989. “Tensions of Empire: Colonial Control and Visions of Rule,” *American Ethnologist* 16.4: 617-21.

Johnson W. Makoba, University of Nevada, Reno

**Jack Mangala, ed. 2013. *Africa and the European Union: A Strategic Partnership*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 257 pp.**

While the European Union has been struggling with numerous internal challenges, such as institutional reforms, the Euro crisis, a new self-definition about its global (stronger) actorness, just to name a few critical issues, the increasingly interpolar environment with a “tectonic power shift” signaling “the slow dislocation of the West as the epicentre of world politics” (p. xi) demands that the EU redefines its positions in a broader sense of interregional relations. Among these, Euro–African linkages ‘stand at a critical juncture’ (p. xii) and the partnership needs to be restructured, as politicians on both continents voiced in the middle of the first decade of the twenty-first century. They felt that a “moment of great historical significance” (p. 3.) arrived in December 2007 with the Lisbon EU–Africa Summit and by adopting the Joint Africa–EU Strategy (JAES), which is supposed to deepen the political dialogue with the aim of making the implementation of actions more efficient in a refined strategic framework. With the rise of emerging actors including Brazil, Turkey, India, and the seemingly most fearful of all (to the West), China, and calculating with the positive economic trends across the African continent in the longer run, the EU has to consider an additional dimension: to stay competitive and reaffirm its positions with Africa. On the African side, in the meantime, for political and economic reasons mainly, but also for historic and cultural accounts, a more mature and post-“donor–client approach” is demanded to help the continent’s rise and leave its former image of hopelessness behind for good. The ambitious joint strategy certainly “speaks to the resilience and adaptive nature of historical, economic, cultural, and political ties that so complexly bind Europe to Africa” (pp. 41-42), but it is evidently “cumbersome and difficult to navigate’ the process with all its institutional and non-institutional actors” (p. 42.). Therefore, one must stay critical (even if optimistic) about its future.

Jack Mangala manages to stay sufficiently critical, which is indeed welcomed in such a comprehensive scholarly volume. He is not only the editor of the book, but also author of five chapters out of a collection of eleven. His arguments are clear, solid and easy to follow, avoiding overstatements and sentimentality. Although the book undoubtedly acknowledges the positive developments in African–European relations in the past years, and is in favor of the Lisbon strategy, throughout its discussion it thoroughly presents all the pros and cons, thus intends to provide the necessary critical analysis so that the reader understands both the obstacles and opportunities.

The volume stems from a panel at the fourth European Conference on African Studies (ECAS) held in 2011 at Uppsala University, Sweden, and the follow-up debates. It is structured along the eight thematic partnerships of the Africa–EU Strategic Partnership, and seven chapters are devoted respectively to peace and security, democratic governance and human rights, trade and regional integration, the Millennium Development Goals, climate change and the environment, energy, migration, and mobility and employment. Although the themes science, information society and space are scarcely dealt with (no separate chapter looks at them in detail), they appear in a number of instances, in particular, connected with migration, which, “both historically and politically, represents one of the most important questions in EU–Africa relations” (p. 217). The first of the three-part structure sets the context of investigation by the editor himself: he introduces us to the historical background, the institutional architecture, the

underlying (and sometimes conflicting) theoretical considerations, as well as the significance of the reconfigured strategic partnership. In the largest second section seven scholars analyze the thematic partnerships, then, a neatly formulated closing section of the last two chapters summarizes the major conclusions and encourage the reader to think further about the perspectives and prospects of the partnership. These last pieces can be rightly considered as the most critical sets of opinions, underpinning the fact that “a five-year timeframe is too short to fully assess its substantive impact on Africa–EU relations” (p. 243), also admitted by the editor himself.

The *Africa and the European Union: A Strategic Partnership* accomplishes its stated goals with keeping to a disciplined and well-researched analysis of an evolving European–African context (in light of an even more evolving global setting). Apart from some minor inconsistencies and repetitions (especially with abbreviations and their full meanings keeping returning all over again), Mangala and his fellow authors created a basic timely reading for anyone—students, researchers and policy-makers at the same time—wishing to look into the processes that influence one of the major frameworks of interregional ties in our transnational global world. It is particularly recommended to those who developed an interest in the relatively rapidly changing context of the international relations of Africa.

István Tarrósy, *University of Pécs, Hungary*

**Norman N. Miller. 2012. *Encounters with Witchcraft: Field Notes from Africa*. Albany NY: State University of New York Press in cooperation with African-Caribbean Institute, Hanover NH. 232 pp.**

This is not your usual academic treatise, yet it is full of valuable insights for anybody interested in doing field research in Africa. More specifically, Miller takes the reader on a ride through the complex field of witchcraft in Africa discussing his experience of living with witches, his encounters with witch-hunters and witch-cleaners, the Christian campaigns to eliminate witchcraft, the commercialization of witchcraft in urban contexts, the use of witchcraft in politics, its role in business, and its symbolic use and power as expressed through the arts.

Very few could have produced this very readable book. Miller is an old generation Africanist having begun his research—however tentative at that time—in the late 1950s eventually leading to a Ph.D. in political science from Michigan State University. In 1970, he published a seminal piece in the *American Political Science Review* on political participation in rural Tanzania. Being as much a journalist and photographer interested in reporting as a serious academic, however, Miller never landed a tenured university job but continued to operate as a freelancer taking on consultancies for African governments and U.N. organizations and, at one point, embarking on a documentary film project about “Faces of Change” in Africa, supported by the National Science Foundation.

The book is not only about Africa but also about Miller’s own life and how he has interacted with Africa and its peoples for more than fifty years. He is full of respect for the many interesting persons he meets, for example Mohammadi, a woman accused of witchcraft, Chief Mwansasu who initially denied the existence of witchcraft in his area but later became a

most valuable source of information, Edom Mwasanguti, the witch-cleaner, and Chief Mтуру Mdeka and his descendants of Usagara Chiefdom in central Tanzania, to mention some of those who feature in great detail in the book. Miller treats every one of them with integrity, and there is never an attempt on his part to take the moral high ground. The central theme in his field notes and in the book is to gain understanding of a complex phenomenon that people, both past and present, relate to on a daily basis but few talk about or discuss in public.

I like the way Miller approaches the subject. He never sees the people he writes about as “the Other” but tries his best to see the world from their perspective without ever assuming that he fully knows the way they live in it. Perhaps because he is at the bottom a political scientist with an interest in current affairs, Miller sees witchcraft as a human rights issue of growing significance in Africa. He realizes that witchcraft, including witch-cleaning, can easily encourage mob justice, as the case has been in Tanzania and other countries where, for example, old women become innocent victims. As Miller together with other prominent persons like Professor Amina Mama, with interest in witchcraft as a human right issue argued at a Roundtable at the 2012 ASA Annual Meeting, the assaults of witchcraft on African health, safety, and human rights have reached epidemic, crisis proportions in many areas and are the cause of thousands of deaths, mutilations, and much family strife.

Readers who approach the book from a strictly academic perspective may complain about the lack of a coherent theory or generous references to the literature whether in anthropology or other disciplines. Miller is pragmatic: he uses theory in a parsimonious and instrumental manner to make his points, not really to test data or inform it using a case study approach. The number of references is accordingly also limited.

The book is well written and the material organized in an easily accessible manner. There are unfortunately a number of misspelled names. For instance, Clyde Kluckhohn becomes Kluckholm, David Livingstone becomes Livingston, and the town of Nyeri becomes Nyere. There are also a few factual mistakes. For example, the Ankole people are not cousins of the Hima people; the Hima are the upper caste among the Ankole, Toro, Banyoro and Haya peoples. He also puts the Swahili words *malaya kidogo* in the mouth of a Swahili-speaking person when it should have been *malaya mdogo* (little prostitute). These few blemishes, however, do not take away the pleasure of reading this very informative book.

Goran Hyden, *University of Florida*

**Laura T. Murphy. 2012. *Metaphor and the Slave Trade in West African Literature*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 243 pp.**

The transatlantic slave trade that was responsible for the great dispersal of African people to the Americas had a profound effect on both the enslaved and those who were left behind. But more often than not the literature on the transatlantic slave trade deals with the experiences of those who embarked on the ships, who experienced the Middle Passage, and who were enslaved in the Americas. *Metaphor and the Slave Trade in West African Literature* seeks to bridge the gap between those who went before and those who were left by examining how the memory of the former is kept alive in the minds of the latter.

In this groundbreaking work, Laura Murphy argues that memories of the slave trade are present in African literature but tend to be overlooked because these memories are not revealed in the forms of overt narrativization that is often found in African American literature. Largely focusing on four canonical Anglophone writers from West Africa — Amos Tutuola, Ben Okri, Ayi Kwei Armah, and Ama Ata Aidoo—Murphy explores how the distant past is represented in West African culture and literature in forms of “alternative memory” and metaphorization such as tragic repetition, fear and gossip, and tropes of suffering, bondage, and impotent sexuality.

The book is organized into six main chapters with an introduction and an epilogue. Each chapter discusses a metaphor associated with the slave trade in the novels. She also references letters, diaries, and autobiographies of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century witnesses to the transatlantic slave trade. In chapter one, she argues that the literature, histories, and criticism of the transatlantic slave trade have been dominated by African Americans whose lives were defined by the diaspora experience of the trade. She contends that a reading of West African literature will engender a different system of tropes, figures, and images that represents both the horrors and the cultures produced by the slave trade.

Chapter two is centered on Amos Tutuola’s *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* (1954) and examines metaphors of captivity and enslavement in the landscape of the bush; as well as Tutuola’s use of the trope of “the body in the bag” to represent the enduring legacy and memory of the slave trade in West African culture and psychology. In the third chapter Ben Okri’s *The Famished Road* (1993) and his appropriation of Tutuola’s body in the bag to critique global capitalism is discussed. In this chapter, the writer indicates how the narrative of the slave trade erupts onto the narrative of independence era- Nigeria to show how memory of the past can always be found in the present.

Chapter four examines Ayi Kwei Armah’s *Fragments* (1969) with its focus on the African complicity in the slave trade. Murphy discusses how Armah traces the contemporary materialism in the society to the slave trade where vicious and deadly consumption of human lives were acted out. The impotent body as metaphor for the effects of the slave trade on the African continent is the subject of analysis in chapter five, which focuses on two of Ama Ata Aidoo’s texts; *Anowa* (1965) and *Our Sister Killjoy* (1979). The memory of the slave trade is depicted as the debasement of the human body as a commodity and the desecration of intimacy.

The last chapter explores the long-term effects on the communities that were left behind on the African continent during slavery. Excerpts from Wole Soyinka’s *Death and the King’s Horseman* (1975), Chinua Achebe’s *Arrow of God* (1964), and T. Obinkaram Echewa’s *I Saw the Sky Catcht Fire* (1992) are used in the discussion. Finally, the epilogue turns to more contemporary writings of the historical novel on the slave trade from West Africa, and the potential for the emergence of an African historical novel tradition.

*Metaphor and the Slave Trade* is a book that is long overdue in African literary studies. Using many of the literary canon’s most read texts, the author has presented a new perspective in the reading of these and other texts of African literature, opening the way forward for readers to nuance each and every African text for the subtle metaphors that point to a people’s memory of the slave trade.

One drawback to this book may lie in the inadequacy of literary texts from many countries on the West African Coast beyond Ghana and Nigeria; a shortfall which the writer attributes to the lack of literary texts from these countries. Regardless of this, the book will serve as a great resource for students and scholars of African literature, African cultural studies and the transatlantic slave trade. Its simple and straightforward language would also make it useful for non-academics who are interested in the slave trade and its effects on the African Continent.

Theresah P. Ennin, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

**Beatrice Nicolini. 2012. *The First Sultan of Zanzibar: Scrambling for Trade in the Nineteenth-Century Indian Ocean*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Press. xxvii, 179 pp.**

For Africanists, the innovation in *The First Sultan of Zanzibar* is that it is an “Oman-centric” account of the political relationships established in Zanzibar at that time. This is different than more traditional accounts, which place the European colonial powers, be they Britain, Portugal, or France, at the center of the colonial story. When Nicolini puts Oman at the center of her narrative hub, the relationships between Zanzibar, Oman, and Makran in Baluchistan are highlighted, rather than the European capitals. Ironically, Nicolini does this by using the familiar sources of the British English language colonial archives. Thus, although the story is indeed, as she intended about the Oman-centric trade-based “thallasocracy,” it is still told through the eyes of the British colonial servants who directed The Great Colonial Game.

As is well known, when the Europeans arrived in East Africa in the nineteenth century, they encountered merchant-based trading networks based in Zanzibar that reached deep into the Tanzanian interior. Merchants had by that time established interior trading posts in Tabora, Ujiji, and eventually on into what is now the eastern Congo using the trade organizations of Oman-based Arabs. These Arabs operated from fortresses staffed by their Baluchi soldiers, African allies, and slaves. From these stations the merchants not only received British explorers like Burton and Livingstone, they also exported slaves and ivory to their plantations on the Indian Ocean islands. Indeed, this trade proved so lucrative that Sultan Saiyid Sai’di (1797-1856), the Sultan of Oman, in 1840 moved his capital from Muscat to Zanzibar from whence he continued to rule enterprises extending into central Africa, Zanzibar, the Persian Gulf, and into Baluchistan.

The strength of Nicolini’s book is in the first half, where she emphasizes the Oman-Zanzibar-Mekara relationship and its role in the Indian Ocean world of the nineteenth century. Her use of the obscure term “thallasocracy” highlights that these were trade-based relationships, rather than Westfalian-style sovereignty. Particularly intriguing is Nicolini’s argument that European concepts of sovereignty, with its emphasis on formal boundaries, citizenship-based loyalties, and non-interference are a poor fit for the Oman-centric world relationship she describes. Sultan Saiyid Sa’id, she points out, was the master of a web of far-flung relationships, not a sovereign maintaining a monopoly over the use of military force in a particular territory. She explores this thesis well in the first half of the book.

The book’s second half focuses on the British and French struggles for influence in the Indian Ocean world with each other and in the context of later British opposition to the slave

trade. This half will be of interest to historians studying more traditional colonial relationships, and it is quite different from the first half, which is about relationships between Makran, Oman, and the east African coast.

After reading Nicolini's book, I found myself wanting to know more, which is a sign of an intriguing book. In particular, I want to know more about the role of Baluchi military who supported the Arab Sultans of Oman and Zanzibar. As Nicolini describes, they made their way into the Tanzanian interior probably in the 1830s and 1840s, extending Omani thallosocratic-style sovereignty into unexpected places. I also was curious about what Arab sources, including those in Omani archives, have to say about these events. Indeed, Nicolini cites interviews with the descendants of the Arab trader Tippu Tib, who, lived in Muscat as recently as 1993. What else might be available in Oman for linguistically sophisticated historians interested in nineteenth century east African exploration?

Finally, I wanted to know more about the relationships within the Zanzibar court; despite the title of the book, this is not a biography of Sultan Saiyid Sa'idi. But, there is enough here to indicate that a full-scale biography of a man who ruled over such an intriguing socio-political arrangement is needed.

Tony Waters, *California State University, Chico*

**Mojúbàolú Olúfúnké Okome and Olufemi Vaughan. 2012. *West African Migrations: Transnational and Global Pathways in New Century Child Migration in Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 280 pp.**

*West African Migrations: Transnational and Global Pathways in New Century Child Migration in Africa* examines various avenues by which West African immigrants, specifically in the United States, negotiate their multiple identities in the context of transnational ties. Mojúbàolú Olúfúnké Okome and Olufemi Vaughan are the editors of this book of ten chapters. In chapter one, titled "West African Migrations and Globalization: Introduction" and written by Okome and Vaughan, the authors used this platform to offer insight into how the book came to life, discussed the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that are used in the book, as well as gave synopses of each chapters. They note that this book is one of a two-part volume from papers presented at a symposium, which they organized, on transnational Africa and globalization in November 2008 at Bowdoin College. Based on the scholars' diverse research, "the symposium examined how African migration to various parts of the world after the neoliberal economic reforms of the 1980s transformed African states and their new transnational population" (p. 1). Participants examined the relationship of a variety "of social, political, economic, and religious forces" (p. 1) that impact nature and transnationalism.

Utilizing a form of personal narrative and/or autoethnography, the authors used their personal experiences to highlight their lived transnationalism. Chapter two, by Okome, is titled "'You Can't Go Home No More': Africans in America in the Age of Globalization." Okome argues that African immigrants can only pay a visit to Africa but cannot go back to live there in the era of globalization. She uses her lived experiences to support her claim, touching on a variety of topics, including how she uses her primordial experiences of Yoruba and the

language to negotiate her transnational and diasporic life experiences. Her constant usage of “Ibo” as opposed to “Igbo” was an obvious “post-colonial hangover of British and Euro-Caucasoid colonial miseducation, misrepresentations, and (mis) pronunciation preference.”<sup>1</sup>

Chapter three, contributed by Samuel Zalanga, is titled “Transnational Identity Formation as a Kaleidoscopic Process: Social Location, Geography, and the Spirit of Critical Engagement.” Zalanga critically investigates the process of his transnationalism in the context of identity formation, which commenced from his youthful days. Even though he relives his transnational identity formation in the United States, he also claims that ethnic identity is stronger than religious identity based on his experiences in Nigeria. This chapter is a reminder that there are other minority ethnic groups that exist in the northern part of Nigeria who have been living “under the hegemonic influence of Hausa-Fulani culture” (p. 47). These groups are marginalized because of their socio-religious identities.

Chapter four by Elisha P. Renne, “What to Wear? Dress and Transnational African Identity,” discusses how to dress in the context of transnational African identities. She articulates that as opposed to what is the norm in the Western-dominated culture as related to dress, Africans who are not influenced by Western culture blend in with their environment ethnically, as Africans and as nationalists. She says that a choice on how to dress could depend on if the individual is residing in a rural or an urban area as well what the occasion calls for. This chapter is significant especially because the forces of globalization, including those that influence social behavior, do not provide equal platforms for the Global North and Global South.

Chapter five, Peyi Soyinka-Airewle’s “Insurgent Transnational Conversations in Nigeria’s ‘Nollywood’ Cinema,” provides insight into the Nigerian film industry, known as “Nollywood.” She notes that Nollywood has created competition with Hollywood for African audiences. The industry has generated fresh methods of imagining Africa, as well as becoming a fresh avenue of interpreting Pan-Africanism as it continues to create space that exhibits African identities. She notes that collaborations for film production have become a new trend of Nollywood. This chapter is relevant, articulating Nollywood discourse in the light of transnationalism.

Bruce Whitehouse’s “Centripetal Forces: Reconciling Cosmopolitan Lives and Local Loyalty in Malian Transnational Social Field” (chapter 6) engages ethnographic fieldwork to explore an African community known as Togotala of Mali, which has a population of 8,000, in the context of transnational migration. Whitehouse found that Togotalan migrants establish transnational ties through the remittance of money to their homes in support of relatives. They also finance the building of mosques and public works, observe town politics and send their children back to their ancestral homeland. The practice of sending children back home is dwindling in some African communities, while it still thrives in others. Whitehouse’s research challenges us to think about transnationalism, especially as Africa’s cultures evolve.

In chapter seven, “Toward an African Muslim Globality: The Parading of Transnational Identities in Black America,” Zain Abdullah narrates how for the most part West African Muslims celebrate “Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba Day” in New York City in the context of globalization. He notes that Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba (1853-1927), who is from Senegal, founded the Murid Sufi Brotherhood during the end of the nineteenth century. Even though the

chapter is about how African Sufis negotiate their multiple identities, including Black, African, and Muslim, it also addresses the effects of gender and class. This transnational engagement allows not only Senegalese but other Blacks in New York City to come together and celebrate as brothers and sisters.

In chapter eight, "African Migrant Worker Militancy in the Global North: Labor Contracting and Independent Worker Organizing in New York City," Immanuel Ness revisits how Francophone West African deliverymen, primarily undocumented immigrants, were underpaid and their rights were undercut in New York's supermarket industry. With the formation of the African Workers Association, there were several attempts by some of the deliverymen to call attention to the October 27 -29, 1999 strike which was carried out by the *New York Times*, Manhattan weekly newspapers, and other local publications. This chapter encourages African immigrants to articulate their rights, especially when oppressed in Africa and in the Diaspora.

Chapter nine, written by Titilayo Ufomata, is titled "Transnational Memories and Identity." Highlighting transnational memories and identities, Ufomata discusses ambulatory and transnationalist identities, as well as immigrants' minority identity formation. She notes that minority status is defined based on the host country's discourse. African immigrants are faced with multiple identities in their new environment. In the United States, the identities include African, African American, and Black. This well-articulated chapter deals with identity negotiation in the context of transnationalism.

In chapter ten, "Arrested Nationalism, Imposed Transnationalism, and the African Literature Classroom: One Nigerian Writer's Learning Curve," Pius Adesanmi raises points about African writers, specifically Nigerians who are in the Diaspora and the ancestral homeland. He talks about the tensions that exist at every level of their works, including the tension between African writers in Africa and their overseas counterparts. He shows his disappointment with African writers in the Diaspora who are hesitant to claim their Africaness. This chapter challenges not just African writers in the Diaspora but also Africans in other parts of the world to embrace and take pride in their Africaness as they negotiate their transnational lives.

In summation, *West African Migrations: Transnational and Global Pathways in New Century Child Migration in Africa* examines challenges and progress made by African immigrants both in Africa and in the Diaspora as they negotiate their multiple identities in the context of transnational lives. Overall, the chapters are personal narrative and/or autoethnographical. The authors share their lived experiences and define who they are instead of letting others define them. This book encourages us to tell our own stories especially in relation to transnationalism. I highly recommend this essay collection because they share the stories of understudied groups, particularly as related to transnationalism. Beneficiaries of this book include students, scholars, policymakers, and those interested in African migration and transnationalism. As a scholar who is interested in the second-generation African immigrants in the Diaspora, I personally found this edited collection helpful for my current research: second-generation Igbo in the United States and their negotiation of ethnic and transnational identities.

**Notes:**

- 1 Chido Nwangwu. 2001. <http://www.usafricaonline.com/chido.igbosoribos.html>. Other ongoing debates can be found at <http://www.nairaland.com/595859/igbo-ibo>.

Uchenna Onuzulike, *Howard University*

**M. Anne Pitcher. 2012. *Party Politics and Economic Reform in Africa's Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 328 pp.**

How do we understand the varied reform trajectories of African states? Why have some undertaken comprehensive privatization efforts and developed institutional arrangements to consolidate such efforts, while others have lagged in these respects? And why do we witness varied patterns in the character of government commitments to privatization programs? These are the questions that M. Anne Pitcher seeks to answer in *Party Politics and Economic Reform in Africa's Democracies*. In addressing them Pitcher adopts a novel theoretical framework that focuses on the structuring power of institutions, the role of party politics, and the impact of regime characteristics on reform processes. Employing cross-national quantitative analysis and three meticulous case studies, the book offers important new insights into the varied extent and character of privatization efforts by African states.

Pitcher's primary theoretical arguments are twofold. The first concerns the important role of institutions in helping to solidify state efforts to enact and commit to reform processes. Drawing on the insights of Kenneth Shepsle, Pitcher argues that states that exhibited substantial "motivational commitments," in the form of adopting laws and creating institutions to enact reforms, were more likely at later points in time to display commitments to private sector development that were "imperatively credible." By creating the institutional building blocks to support a market economy, states structure the preferences and interests of key actors in a manner that contributes to the later consolidation of reform programs. The second argument seeks to account for the varied character of private sector development among democracies that expressed initially high levels of motivational commitments to privatization. Here, Pitcher argues that the quality of democracy and stability of the party system shape the ways that governments behave in the context of privatization pressures and conflicts. This in turn has consequences for the nature of private sector development.

Pitcher's empirical analysis and casework offer support for these arguments. In her second chapter, focused on the importance of institutions, she uses a dataset of 27 countries to examine the extent to which greater motivational commitments by states facilitated more far-reaching reform processes. Using an innovative index to measure such motivational commitments, Pitcher finds a statistically significant relationship between those commitments and sales of state-owned enterprises (SOEs). More importantly, she finds a clear relationship between such commitments and the subsequent strength and effectiveness of institutions to support a private sector. This indicates that even in contexts where institutions have been perceived as weak, formal institutional changes can increase the likelihood that commitments to reform will become more durable over time.

The insights on party politics and the quality of democracy are developed in the third chapter as well as the three that follow providing case studies. In the former, Pitcher examines the trajectories of countries that initially made high motivational commitments to reform, but then varied in their subsequent implementation of privatization programs. The character of state behavior, she argues, reflected different political dynamics engendered by the character of party system and level of democracy in different countries. In liberal democratic countries, greater transparency and rule of law inhibited the arbitrary use of discretionary authority to bend or break the rules of privatization. At the same time, greater democratic openness facilitated the articulation of interests by actors affected by privatization. This led to a policy trajectory characterized by compromise over and modification of privatization measures, while retaining the broader policy commitment. In more limited democracies, leaders were less constrained in their use of discretionary authority to interfere with the privatization process for political ends. But how they used it depended substantially on the character of the party system. In situations where the party system was stable, leaders interfered with the privatization process to direct benefits to supporters. The result has been the development of partisan private sectors. Where party systems were fluid and volatile, leaders faced situations where their bases of support were ambiguous, opportunities for elite fragmentation were greater, and particularistic demands more acute. Thus leaders tended to opportunistically use their discretionary authority to change or stall privatization to benefit allies and punish enemies. They also abandoned certain reform measures by embracing populist policies designed to shore up their bases of support.

To illuminate these dynamics, Pitcher offers case studies that trace the reform experiences of Zambia, Mozambique, and South Africa. Zambia serves to illustrate the dynamics of reform in limited democracies with fluid party systems. Here, leaders facing shifting constituencies and volatile elite coalitions engaged in repeated arbitrary interventions in privatization processes to serve their political needs. This included circumventing the state privatization agency to ensure that allies benefitted from the sale of SOEs. This led to ad hoc private sector development. In Mozambique, a limited democracy with a stable party system, governments used their discretion to steer privatization benefits to ruling party supporters. The fact that this occurred early in the reform process was also important as it allowed the creation of a business class that was connected to the ruling party and state. This in turn led to greater policy coordination and continuity. Finally, the South Africa case illuminates the ways that a democratic context can enable the articulation of challenges and pressures by interests affected by privatization processes. State responses entailed compromises on key elements of reforms, while still retaining the institutional arrangements that were at their foundation.

Pitcher's book is quite impressive in a number of respects. The research is exceptionally meticulous and creative. For her cross-national quantitative analysis, Pitcher develops new indexes to effectively capture and measure different dimensions of the reform process. These effectively animate the theoretical constructs that inform her study and help to illuminate the very real differences among countries in terms of the extent and character of their reform efforts. Her conceptual choices and their operationalization are carefully undertaken with detailed justification grounded in the literature from political science and institutional economics. The casework is also notable in this regard. Using existing scholarly and

journalistic accounts, government and policy documents, and material from interviews conducted during fieldwork, Pitcher offers finely detailed descriptions and analyses of reform experiences in her three case countries.

Yet it is Pitcher's theoretical contribution that deserves primary praise. Her analysis effectively demonstrates, first, that institutions matter. Progress with privatization occurred in countries that developed initial institutional building blocks for reform. This insight serves to reinforce an emerging perspective on the importance of formal institutions for African governance and development trajectories. Second, Pitcher highlights the important political variables that shape government choices in privatization processes and the patterns of private sector development that ensue. And in bringing attention to regime and party system attributes she challenges scholars to move beyond earlier understandings that connected African reform processes to state weakness and neo-patrimonial politics. In so doing, she effectively shifts the conversation about African reform experiences to a terrain that allows for more effective comparison with experiences in other regions.

At the same time, Pitcher's theoretical insights might be on stronger ground if she had more forcefully considered such existing and alternative frameworks to explain privatization processes. This is especially the case with respect to the scholarship that has brought attention to the ways that state weakness and neo-patrimonial tendencies have interfered with development and reform processes in Africa. The work of Nicolas van de Walle stands out in this regard. In this view, limited state legitimacy and capacity generate peculiar political constraints, needs and strategies, all of which have implications for economic reform efforts. From this perspective, limited and ad hoc privatization reforms in places such as Malawi, Zambia, or Mali might be tied to factors *other* than the party system per se, even if that system might reflect such factors. This is all the more pertinent when one considers that the choices of leaders have been the central mechanisms undermining privatization reforms. While party systems in places like Zambia and Malawi did little to enhance the security, support base, and operational latitude of leaders, those leaders also faced threats of extra-legal displacement and very high costs of leaving power—both of which operated independently of the party system. Might these also account for some of the attributes of the reform processes observed in those countries? Some attention to questions such as this would have strengthened Pitcher's work.

This notwithstanding, Pitcher deserves high marks for producing an excellent book. She provides a model for research and theoretical innovation and offers insights that dramatically enrich understandings of reform trajectories in Africa. There is little question that her work will inform much of the future discourse on privatization and private sector development. In this regard, it represents necessary reading for those concerned with reform and development on the African continent.

Peter VonDoepp, *University of Vermont*

**Paul D. Williams. 2011. *War and Conflict in Africa*. Cambridge: Polity Press. xiv. 306 pp.**

The book has a useful purpose to bring to fore the dynamics of war and conflict, mostly relying on case studies from countries in various regions of Africa. *War and Conflict in Africa* aims, first, to introduce the reader to try and understand why Africa experienced so many armed conflicts after the Cold War, and, secondly, to stress how international society tried to end those wars and reduce the risk of future conflicts on the continent. In order to do this, Williams addresses three central questions: first, what were the main trends in Africa's armed conflicts after the Cold War (1990-2009)? Second, what accounts for those armed conflicts? And third, how did international society try and bring them to an end? Thus, the book is divided into three parts. The first part has two chapters while the second part has five chapters and deals mostly with concepts and the discourse of peace and conflict in Africa. Part three has four chapters and deals with issues in peace and conflict.

The book's structure revolves around the three central questions noted above. Part I, "Contexts" provides an overview of the statistical, conceptual, and political background on which the author bases the subsequent analysis of the key ingredients in and international responses to, Africa's wars. Chapter one, "Counting Africa's Conflicts (and their Causalities)," provides an overview of the patterns of armed conflict in Africa, thereby providing a broader historical context of warfare in post-colonial Africa in which to situate the analysis that follows in parts II and III and also analyses several attempts to count the number and scale of Africa's armed conflicts, focusing particularly on the post-Cold War period. Chapter two, "The Terrain of Struggle," provides a conceptual and political sketch of the terrain of struggle upon which they were waged. Conceptually, it concentrates on social forces and state society complexes and frames Africa's wars as levels-of-analysis problem. This chapter then summarizes and explains the central political characteristics of Africa's post-Cold War conflict zones.

Part II, "Ingredients," reflects upon the period between 1990 and 2009 in order to understand the relationship between five issues and Africa's armed conflicts. These chapters do not provide an exhaustive list of ingredients, but the author believes they address the most widely debated issues related to Africa's wars during this period, namely, governance, resources, sovereignty, ethnicity and religion. Chapter three, "Neopatrimonialism," analyzes the extent to which governance was related to Africa's armed conflicts by focusing on dynamics within the neo-patrimonial regime found in many of the continent's weak states. Chapter four, "Resources," assesses the extent to which so-called natural resources were a key ingredient in Africa's wars. Chapter five, "Sovereignty," tackles the key issues related to statehood and armed conflict, namely sovereignty and the associated concept of self-determination. In chapter six, "Ethnicity," the author examines the construction and manipulation of ethnic identities as an ingredient in warfare, while chapter seven, "Religion," discusses the relationship between warfare and one of the most powerful belief systems known to humans and religion.

Part III, "Responses," also reflects on the two decades since the end of the Cold War but this time analyzing the major international efforts to end Africa's wars. Chapter eight, "Organization-Building," examines international efforts to build a new African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which despite its title was a collaborative enterprise between African and non-African states and organizations. After providing an overview of this architecture and some of its limitations, the focus of chapters nine ("Peacemaking") and ten

("Peacekeeping") is on its two main policy instruments: peacemaking initiatives and peacekeeping operations. The former discusses international attempts to build stable peace through mediation, while the latter examines the major challenges that confronted the scores of peace operations that were deployed to the same end. Chapter eleven, "Aid," analyzes the main challenges faced by the two principal forms of external aid to Africa's war zones, humanitarian relief and development assistance. The conclusion briefly summarizes the main findings from parts II and III and reflects upon what they might mean for designing more effective responses to warfare in the future.

The book adds to the growing literature about war and conflict in Africa; it documents important contemporary African responses to conflicts from a war and conflict studies dimension; and it offers a different conceptualization of war and conflict. *War and Conflict in Africa* can indeed serve as an introduction to key themes in war and conflict in Africa, but obviously cannot stand by itself as a foundation text in this field.

Oluwaseun Bamidele, *Faith Academy, Canaanland Ota, Nigeria*