BOOK REVIEWS

Wale Adebanwi (ed.). 2022. *Everyday State and Democracy in Africa: Ethnographic Encounters*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 427 pp.

Wale Adebanwi's edited volume, *Everyday State and Democracy in Africa: Ethnographic Encounters*, is a rich addition to the everyday lives of African states' quotidian citizens. Its emphasis on studying daily life recaptures the state activities, what and who constitutes state agencies, how individuals understand democracy, the language (grammars) they use to talk about their states, the function of state institutions, and the future of states in postcolonial Africa. In contrast to the theoretical narratives of state and non-state actors of statehood, the book used authors and personally lived experiences to depict the enduring concerns of citizens in postcolonial African states.

The text opens with an introduction from the editor discussing the writers' use of ethnographic methodologies to study the everyday life of the citizens and statehood in Africa. Then, by describing the enduring experiences of citizens in Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique, South Sudan, Kenya, Chad, Rwanda, South Africa, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, and Ethiopia, the contributors respond to questions about the role of the state institutions and agencies and how everyday experiences of ordinary people, in both their symbolic and material dimensions, give meaning to the state and democracy. As a result of these interactions, Bernal's description of a "cynical relationship in which states don't trust citizens and citizens don't trust the state" (p. 408) applies to postcolonial African states.

Everyday State and Democracy in Africa consists of five parts with different chapters. Part one, "Experiencing the Bureaucratic Machine," examines state bureaucracies and the citizens' experiences using machines created by the state to develop Marko's bifurcated state. These machines include using identity cards as proof of citizenship, unlike the Western understanding of citizenship as a birthright. The citizens see citizenship as what can be "renegotiated from time to time with various military clusters" (p. 58). Other machines such as developmental projects, refugee camps, and consulates determining a country's visa application have created paper games of forgery, falsification, and fakery by the citizens "going abroad against all odds to make money" (p. 73).

Part two, "(Un)Making Lives: The Social Economy of Infrastructure and Shortages," expresses the significance of basic amenities. Shortages in infrastructures in postcolonial African states brew on corruption and leadership ineptitude, compelling the ordinary people's lives to "devise specialized skills of interpretation and prognostication" while providing their water, electricity, petrol, roads, drainage, railways, and cooking gas (p. 142). Parts three and four address the everyday life repression, reprisals, protest, political subjectivity, and violence in African states and how citizens protect and preserve their lives. The chapters narrate how ordinary people relate to power, accept oppression, and respond to military intimidation. The authors' narrative on inadequate military response to insurgents and how ordinary people create security through community-based armed groups surveys everyday state violence, threat, and death in Africa. The outcome of these survival conditions presents the everyday

conversations (grammars) of what defines democracy in Africa. Citizens understand democracy as using voter cards during elections and the government's installation of surveillance cameras "to intimidate potential enemies of the state" (p. 267). The outcomes of elections are determined by the government and its agencies, not the citizens—in other words, elections in postcolonial Africa are (s)electorate. The experiences at Cameroon checkpoints further reveal ordinary people's definition of democracy as "a sort of violent intimidation and extortion" (p. 281).

The final part, "Everyday Politics of Rights and Responsibility: Education, Welfare, and Health," interrogates the state's and citizens' rights and responsibilities by examining the school curriculum, teachers' responsibilities, and the importance of local dispensaries and how they responded to ordinary lives and democratization in Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Burkina Faso. In Ethiopia, teachers use the school curriculum to encourage discourses about the function and meaning of the state, while in the DRC groups of parents are seen as parliaments at Lubumbashi every morning, discussing "school fees, the quality of education, politics, and state institutions" (p. 358). Similarly, the poor public services in the dispensary centers in rural Burkina Faso express the depressing fact that the government consciously ignored the people who live in absolute poverty and suppressed the living standards of ordinary people. The interpretation of these complexities of the challenges that many in Africa face is that "the institutions of the state are present (the president, the army, the hospital, the school) but at the same time is absent in the sense that many state institutions do not manage to deliver basic services to the public" (p. 390). The effect is to further repress the citizens and hinder them from achieving a secured and stable state.

The authors employed ethnographic methodology to examine how ordinary citizens interpret democracy, those everyday activities manifesting the "architectures of governance, the concrete abstraction, that bear down on the human beings who create and inhabit them" (p. xiii). In this regard, I recommend the text to policymakers, postcolonial scholars, diplomats, and government agencies. Nevertheless, the book's conclusion leaves readers with the open question of what democracy, democratization, civil society, and the state looks like and how they should manifest themselves in the future of postcolonial African republics.

Mathias Chukwudi Isiani, *University of Pennsylvania*

Daniel E. Agbiboa. 2022. *Mobility, Mobilization and Counter/Insurgency: The Routes of Terror in an African Context*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 236 pp.

Traditionally, scholars and researchers of conflicts, of all genres, have focused on root causes of conflicts. The routes (trajectories) of conflicts have, for years, taken a back seat. Perhaps, the need to bridge this knowledge lacuna, in a globalizing world, would have animated the writing of *Mobility, Mobilization and Counter/Insurgency.* Daniel E. Agbiboa attempts to frame the routes of insurgency and other low-level conflicts in Africa through the lens of mobility and immobility. He uses such lens to lay bare the dynamics of insurgency and counterinsurgency in Northeast Nigeria and the Lake Chad region: "in this book, I aim to reclaim the logic of mobility in matrices of armed conflicts, with northeast Nigeria and the Lake Chad Basin (Cameroon, Nigeria and Chad) as a regional focus" (p. 6).

Aside from the introduction and the conclusion, the book has five main chapters, with each further sub-divided into thematic sub-chapters. The introductory chapter robustly provides a general overview of the *raison d'être* behind the book as well as teasing out its conceptual and theoretical frameworks. In the first chapter, "Dangerous Work(ers): Youth, Motorcycles and Stuckedness in Nigeria," the author's objective is to explore the origin and socio-economic dynamics that spurred the emergence of motorcycles riders as a powerful socio-economic force. Leaning on extant literature that have explained why a social category (in this case, the youth) could be "stuck," Agbiboa notes that the ascendancy of motorcycle (*achabas*) riders was attributable to certain socio-economic and political forces that interrupted the social mobility of this category of people. As a result, this social category, having been "stuck," resorted to the motorcycle taxi business, which later became a security albatross for the region under focus.

The author's preoccupation in the second chapter, "Local Immobility and Mobilization into Boko Haram," is to demonstrate how state politics and policies created the immobility that led to the mobilization of youths into insurgency groups. Building on the theoretical arguments in the previous chapter and drawing from the experience of a socially neglected group—the *almajirai*—in northern Nigeria, Agbiboa contends that the hostile socio-political and economic environments paved the way for the enlistment and mobilization of *almajira* into extremist groups, notably Boko Haram. Putting this in context, the author notes that "many *almajira* were compelled to join Boko Haram as a way out of their existential immobility, that is, their sense of lacking progression" (p. 31).

In the third chapter, "The Motorcycle Helmet Law and the July 2009 Violence," the author demonstrates how the implementation of laws that affect the livelihood of immobile youths could escalate an ongoing conflict. Using the Conflict-Spiral Model (CSM) and focusing on Borno State's helmet law, the author argues that bureaucratic corruption and the highhandedness of security officials that characterized implementation of the helmet law led to the escalation of conflict between Boko Haram and security forces. This was because this state of affairs provided an opportunity for Boko Haram to mobilize the frustrated youths against the government. What Agbiboa attempts to do in the fourth chapter, "Mobile Warfare, Abuses by Security Forces, and Civilian Resistance," is to explain how Boko Haram and other ancillary groups in the Lake Chad region were able to effectively deploy techniques of mobility warfare and auto-mobility to give the security forces a run for their money. Indeed, as inferred from several lines in this chapter, the deployment of auto-mobility strategy supports the insurgents' strategic objectives but also facilitates their illegal activities. According to the author, "Boko Haram smuggling business is buttressed by its 'mobility capital'" (p. 122).

Chapter five, "Subversive Mobilities, State Counterinsurgency and the Politics of Dispossession," examines the strategies deployed by the Nigerian state to mobilize (counter mobilization) against mobility in its counter insurgence operations. The author notes that in dealing with Boko Haram mobility the state perceives auto-mobility as the central driver and in the process tends to lump together terrorists and non-terrorists into a "suspect" community. With this position, measures such as roadblocks, curfews, identifications etc. were deployed to restrict the mobility of people and goods. Indeed, one such measure—the total ban on motorcycles (*acharbas*)—aggravated the security situation, for "the ban allowed Boko Haram leaders to mobilize dispossessed and confused *acharba* drivers searching for living wages and

purpose in life" (p. 162). In concluding the book, Agbiboa sums up the key arguments and ideas as presented within the context of a "new mobilities paradigm."

Overall, Agbiboa's timely book is a worthy addition to the burgeoning literature on armed conflicts, securitization, and counterinsurgency. Each chapter, thematically arranged, navigates issues and actors in modern mobile warfare and counterinsurgency. Another beauty of the novel book is the author's painstaking efforts in combining empirical data (sourced from ethnographic studies conducted in Borno, Yobe, and Adamawa) with extant literature in an eclectic fashion to demonstrate the nexus between mobility, mobilization, and counterinsurgency in conflict situations. The only lacuna in the book is the absence of the list of abbreviations used, since the book includes so many of them. Notwithstanding, *Mobility, Mobilization and Counter/Insurgency* is a theoretically and empirically grounded masterpiece that will be of great relevance to the academic community. It should be a pocket companion to students of security studies, political science and international relations, as well as those interested in insurgency and counterinsurgency.

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In Koli Jean Bofane. 2022. *Casablanca Story*. Translated by Bill Johnston. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 154 pp.

Bofane's work might remind some of Camara Laye's Kafkaesque *The Radiance of the King* (1954), or Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautyful Ones are not Yet Born* (1968). Like the character Clarence in the first, Bofane's central character, Sese, is on a journey through a (to him) strange land, though in his case with a globalist framing. Sese is bound for, or hopes he is bound for, Europe. He feels no particular admiration for European political systems or desire to emulate things European, for he is merely interested in material advancement. He dismisses Spain as "the crappiest of all EU countries, but still awash in Euros." Therefore, it was a desirable destination. Like Armah's character, Bofane's Sese must deal with a world full of corruption and imperfect practice. How to survive? Sese becomes a scammer and fraudster himself, he is a *brouteur,* an on-line seducer, and a *shayeur,* a shady "salesman" (p. 11).

Because of the setting, one might think to compare this work with the writings (such as *M'hashish,* 1969) of Mohammed Mrabet, but that author's stories are solidly rooted in Maghrebi culture, idioms, and social settings; they are not easily accessible by outsiders. Bofane's subject is the world in general and the shortcomings of all humanity. This isn't a novel about Morocco; the story is only set there, or "passing through" there. Although he describes the streets and layout of "Casa," Bofane does not speak Arabic—perhaps Morocco was a waystation on the author's personal odyssey.

Unfortunately, there is no merciful Islamic God in this story, and no loving Jesus either. When Sese says he "stands with" Moroccan Muslims, this is merely a glib rejoinder; he isn't Muslim and knows little of Islam. He is quick with a palliative phrase. The corruption and moral failings displayed in the story are the failings of all men and women—but mostly of men.

Two things stand out from this tale, one, that women without protectors, partners, or family are inevitably prey; and immigrants or transients in Casa are in roughly the same position. Both groups suffer assaults and fatalities. Ichrak is born after her mother, Zahira is

raped (pp. 120-22), Ichrak is later assaulted by the same person (pp. 79-80), and Sese's immigrant friends are attacked by a mob (pp. 127-31). Danger might appear on the streets of Casa at any time, such as when Ichrak is subjected to hectoring and threats in the street (p. 95). One of Ishrak's denigrators shouts, "What can you expect, she gives herself to Africans!" Meaning she is a loose woman, associating with migrants. But the reader knows that there is no intimate connection between Sese and Ichrak, and furthermore, isn't Morocco also in Africa? It gets worse: imprecations can quickly morph into murderous action, as is clear when one of Sese's friends is killed by an anti-immigrant mob.

Author Bofane gives malefactors an out when he describes "Chergui," the wind that can drive inhabitants of Casa mad, but it's clear that he doubts the flaws are anywhere other than in our natures. He also draws a connection between the repeated victimization of women and the bad treatment of migrants. Bad treatment of some people facilitates the bad treatment of anyone, or perhaps everyone. Education is no sure road to liberality and enlightenment either: Monsieur Berwich, the professor of literature, eventually makes improper advances to the student he is tutoring (pp. 54-53, 125-26), and without much resistance joins the mob that kills Sese's friend.

Although it is finally revealed that Ichrak was killed in a freak accident, the reader may be justified in fearing she would have been killed by someone eventually. The story averages one sexual assault (or near-assault) every fifty pages, and several immigrant workers are killed in mob actions, which seem to erupt for no particular reason, except as general expressions of anger against interlopers and immigrants.

Despite the dismaying train of events of the story, Bofane hints that Sese will somehow solidify his status (perhaps through marriage to a foreigner) and make his way to another country. He has a winning face and manner. Whether on the internet or in person in Morocco, women find him attractive and want to help him, even to the point of sending him money. The world Bofane describes is pitiless, but there are still occasional positive outcomes, and there is even luck.

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Judith A. Byfield. 2021. *The Great Upheaval: Women and Nation Building in Postwar Nigeria*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 320 pp.

Judith A. Byfield's *The Great Upheaval* is a socio-historical thick description of women's resilience in post-conflict and postcolonial African societies with special reference to Nigeria. It reflects the idea of a women historian doing conflict and post-conflict sociologies and demonstrates the art of gendering war and postwar situations. It does so by locating women's agency in terms of their politics, nationalism, nation building, and fight for economic change and freedom along with carving an equal space for them amid the dominant masculinist state power. This work in its coherent and lucidly written six chapters brings together a variety of discourses on the evolving topic of women's position, strategies, activism, and resilience in the post-conflict societies such as Nigeria. It seems a pure case of Byfield's conscious effort at recasting African women's history where she as a woman historian is writing her fellow women's historical sociology of gender politics during and after the conflict along with

women's role in nation building. She thus is bursting myths on gendered notions of heroism and fighting for freedom, thereby carving a significant role for women in their motherland in postwar situations and using their agency for economic change and their role in forging equity and justice and gendered spaces.

This is a timely book which shows that the political and social imperative of women's agency can help shape gender equal societies in postwar and postcolonial nations and women can lead alongside men in all sectors of any functional democracy. The author without employing jargon narrates women's efforts to make themselves visible in a highly androcentric society. The work covers a range of topics from the making and unmaking of a nation to masculinity and nationalist politics in a colonial space to the fine interaction of race, nation, and politics during the war period, to the situation of women during the war crises in Abeokuta, to the ideas of protest and the postwar scenario to the women's issues and resilience in Abeokuta. Together, the chapters describe the careful sequence of events during and after the war crises and finely locates the women's position and documents how women of Abeokuta were equal players in shaping the post Second World War history, driving economic change and boosting nationalism. The work is a rich interdisciplinary and authentic source on social and economic transformation of postwar Nigeria and appears as if it is documented by an insider.

The work appears as one of the finest feminist historiographies on Africa and portrays how systematic discrimination and exclusion of women's significant roles should help us in rethinking histories, especially conflict or war histories of Africa, as well as women's role in social movements, peace building, economic welfare, and the quest for freedom from colonial powers. The book helps the reader understand why documenting war and postwar histories is important and why historians and sociologists need to do feminist historiographies to celebrate the unsung women heroes who played crucial roles in war and postwar times. The critical and intersectional nature of the book is attested to by a wide-ranging selection of interconnected themes that look at the connection between women's resistance and aspirations for change in a seemingly impossible situation. The author's effort is to deconstruct the grand narratives of nation building through colonial and chiefly power establishments and describe how the actual nation building is a micro phenomenon that women as individuals worked for. It also reflects how women's efforts and participation in colonial and postwar times has historically been overlooked by colonial and androcentric chiefly powers in the West African context as well by historians that shaped a biased, masculinist, and incomplete history. The author argues for how women forged ideas and responded against things that were exploitative and how they brought change. For example, it was Egba women who under the British colonial rule boldly challenged the colonial tax regimes in what is called the "Egba Women's Tax Riot." The author argues how Egba women refused to pay taxes, boycotted working, and demonstrated an anti-colonial spirit and at times responded to violence with violence only. Inspirations and the unsung warriors and women leaders like Funmilay Ransome Kuti, also called as the mother of Africa, showed how women should be anti-colonial, suffragist, and feminist and as well found the Abeokuta women's association that led to the Abeokuta revolt.

Judith Byfield thus writes about how women were not just following men or were just the victims or silent spectators but instead were active agents and direct drivers of change. Her book is important because it aptly scrutinizes the normative and masculinist ideologies and

theorizes the idea of how postwar recovery, welfare, nation building, and economic change were issues owned by women alongside men. It also states how women broke patriarchal and dominant narratives of state and power by rejecting what was unacceptable to them—issues such as unjust policies and increased taxes—and bargained strongly for their political space and equity in the affairs of the state and power. *The Great Upheaval* is a useful multidisciplinary source and can significantly benefit researchers in African history, gender historiography, gender studies, political science, sociology, colonial studies, and peace and conflict studies along with social studies researchers mor generally.

Adfer Rashid Shah, *Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi*

Philippe Denis. 2022. *The Genocide Against the Tutsi, and the Rwandan Church: Between Grief and Denial*. Woodbridge: James Currey. 342 pp.

Churches were involved at multiple levels with the Rwandan Genocide, also known as the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Since European colonization and up to the genocide, Christianity has played a significant role in shaping Rwanda's ethnic divisions and violence. Many churches became epicenters for the genocidal killings. The Church's relationship with post-colonial governments from 1962 to 1994 significantly spread the division between Rwanda's Hutu population against Tutsis. Anti-Tutsi beliefs were endowed with religious acceptance and praise. The significance of the churches' role in public policy and genocide ideology led many researchers to focus on this critical topic. Denis's contribution to this field of research will benefit our understanding of the role, particularly of the Catholic Church, of Christianity in the lead-up to the genocide, and Rwanda's post-genocide reconstruction.

The book is divided into three main sections. The first section comprising the first three chapters is a relatively standard examination of the church's role in Rwandan history, whether Presbyterian or Catholic. While the author provides some interesting details, he does not offer any ground-breaking new information. Instead, Denis provides the appropriate historical context for the latter two sections. The following section, composing chapters four to seven, focuses on the role of the churches after the genocide. Specifically, it illustrates the differences between the Catholic and Presbyterian Churches as well as missionary groups that have been involved in Rwanda since the introduction of the White Fathers in the early twentieth century. Denis can illustrate the divide between these Christian groups and the internal divisions within each one.

The final section provides case studies of the French priest Gabriel Maindron (Chapter Eight) and the churches at Congo-Nil (Chapter Nine). Where the book excels is in these two chapters. Specifically, there is the question of whether Father Maindron should be considered a genocide saviour, based on his claims of putting his life in danger to help Tutsis, or a villain, from his association with genocide parties such as the Coalition pour la Défense de la République (CDR) and leaders like Jean Kambanda. Additionally, the question illustrates the problem of reducing to a single descriptive those who were neither purely good nor evil. The complexities of individual actions and the hypothetical assumptions of what individuals could have done during the genocide leads to difficult questions which Denis engages with during the

final two chapters. It illustrates the complex identities of those who lived in Rwanda during the genocide. Chapter Nine focuses on how the genocide impacted the parish at Congo-Nil.

Also within these chapters are questions surrounding the president of the Presbyterian Church in Rwanda, Michel Twagirayesu and the bishop of Gikongoro, Augustin Misago. As with Maindron, the book thoroughly examines the complexities of these men's actions during the genocide. Chapter Ten departs from the previous two chapters to discuss post-genocide forgiveness and reconciliation between Rwandans and the society and the Church. Its discussion of Rwanda's *gacaca*, the localized truth and reconciliation method to handle the large caseload of suspected genocide perpetrators, showcases how the post-genocide government and the churches tried to engage with each other despite levels of distrust as the two (Catholic and Presbyterian) saw and engaged with the process for different purposes and outcomes.

While the book is an excellent addition to the existing literature on the role of Christian institutions in Rwanda before, during, and after the genocide, there will inevitably be critiques of its political positionality. The divide within the academic community in Rwanda is significant enough that some will criticise Denis' lack of criticism of the current Rwandan government and President Paul Kagame. Its lack of engagement with current political trends, however, helps promote this book as a credible examination of Rwanda. Yet, the book should have discussed in greater depth how the Catholic and Presbyterian churches' relationships with the former Juvenal Habyarimana regime (1973-1994) and genocide government impacted the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) perception of Christianity both on an individual and on a societal level. Additionally, the book could have added how other faiths, which do not have historical ties to past regimes, have flourished since 1994. The book does mention this but not until the Conclusion. Nevertheless, *The Genocide Against the Tutsi, and the Rwandan Church* is a great addition to how we understand the role of Christianity, specifically Catholicism and Presbyterianism, within Rwandan society.

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Katharina P.W. Döring, Ulf Engel, Linnéa Gelot, and Jens Herpolsheimer. (eds.) 2021. *Researching the Inner Life of the African Peace and Security Architecture*: *APSA Inside Out*. Leiden and Boston: Brill. 276 pp.

Researching the Inner Life of the African Peace and Security Architecture: APSA Inside Out embraces methodological pluralism to understand the complexity of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). This edited volume challenges three main trends in the literature on APSA which stem from conventional perspectives and approaches in international relations (IR). The first is state-centrism that "has resulted in an almost exclusive focus on states as the only relevant actors at the international level" (p. 5). Second, is the tendency to portray states as unitary actors by considering both "state" and "non-state actors" at national, regional, and trans-regional scales (p. 6). Third, is the reliance on formal texts, structures, and procedures that deal with policies and a narrow set of practices (p. 6). These three trends tend to result in the dismissal of African agency because the behaviors of these actors do not fit always neatly into these categories. So, in highlighting the shortcomings of the discipline, this book proposes various methods to research APSA—rollcall analysis, archival research, content

analysis/discourse analysis, survey research, media analysis, interviews, research collaboration, and work-based research/insider research.

APSA is the strategic framework for Africa's goal for inclusive and sustainable development, and its successful implementation has implications for all areas of African peace and security. Central to its implementation is the African Union (AU). Ulf Engel notes (Chapter Two) that there is "surprisingly little knowledge available on the concrete interests and policy preferences of AU member states, the RECs of the various parties of the AU Commission" due to the literature's engagement with only "the first layer of written available resources" (p. 39). This research gap is caused by the unavailability of required sources at the continental, regional, and national levels readily accessible to researchers; inadequate methodological underpinnings on the part of the research community; and a lack of detailed, continuous, and critical reporting (p. 41). This lack of access to information is echoed in the following chapters.

Dawit Yohannes and Fana Gebresenbet (Chapter Three) analyze the adage of "African solutions to African problems" (AfSol) and argue for the need to be more self-reflexive and critical in this research especially given the influence of outside actors and donors. They examine the International Peace and Security Institute's (IPSS) role in constituting a "community of practice" that aspires to shape norms, policies, and strategies as is related to APSA but argue that it has been unable to establish a coherent agenda.

Antonia Witt (Chapter Four) points out the lack of research into how people and groups experience African regional organization's (RO) policies and interventions. For Witt, an understanding of these societal perspectives is essential, and she offers three ways to study them: media analysis, survey research, and focus groups/interviews. Linnéa Gelot and Alin Hilowle (Chapter Six) address this gap by highlighting the contribution that research collaboration and knowledge co-production can make in shifting the focus of research on African interventionism. This chapter "expands on Witt's analysis through a reflexive and practically oriented discussion on focus groups and interviews in order to research societal perspectives on the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)" (p. 210). Thomas Tieku (Chapter Five) further emphasizes the importance of relationships by discussing the manner in which informal international practices and the actions of outsiders contribute to the implementation of APSA. He notes that key documents were drafted by "outinsiders" who are not formal representatives but well-known and respected individuals in policy circles in Africa (p. 105). Yvonne Akpasom and Lillian Seffer (Chapter Seven) build on this by using their positions as insiders to examine the complex relationships between the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and development partners.

Amandine Gnanguênon (Chapter Eleven) also investigates the role of elites in APSA's implementation but uses it to highlight the gaps between theory and practice. Gnanguênon acknowledges that national elites do not always operate, either formally or informally, through the AU or RECS. Rather, these political leaders sometimes chose to form regional (ad hoc) coalitions and that sociological surveys would allow for a fuller understanding of coalition-building in these spaces.

Katharina P.W. Döring and Jens Herpolsheimer (Chapter Six) use critical geography to investigate the notion of "space" and how it has been understudied with regard to APSA. For them, is imperative to acknowledge "*how* different actors construct and shape space" and the

horizontal and vertical relationships between them (p. 124). In a similar vein, Michael Aeby and Jamie Pring (Chapter Nine) discuss the inclusion of civil society organizations in peacemaking and how this plays a role in mediation efforts by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in Sudan and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in Zimbabwe. Both cases showcased the dynamism and informality of inclusion where the process is rarely linear but also takes place outside formal consultative mechanisms (p. 202).

Toni Haastrup (Chapter Eight) notes the AU's commitment to gender-mainstreaming evidenced by Women, Peace and Security (WPS) and the value of using feminist institutionalism to assess APSA. This feminist lens highlights the need for a more critical investigation into how gender can be better integrated into APSA's structure.

This book emphasizes the complexity of African agency and the various levels and spaces in which it is exercised. The unifying thread among these chapters is a commitment to methodological plurality. By not prioritizing one way of "doing research" it emphasizes the different ways in which we can understand APSA's opportunities and challenges. It is an important read for academics, practitioners, and anyone with an interest in the complexities of African organizations and how they deal, not only with matters of security, but other aspects of African development.

Anna Kapambwe Mwaba, *Smith College*

Thomas Hendriks. 2022. *Rainforest Capitalism: Power and Masculinity in a Congolese Timber Concession*. Durham: Duke University Press. 294 pp.

There has been much written about the effects of neo-liberalism and the economic exploitation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Hendrik's contribution to this literature is to focus exclusively on the pseudonymous Congolese Timber Industries (CTI) concession in the eastern Congo and how power, capitalism, and masculinity works amongst a tapestry of the people who inhabit the camp. They range from the European expat managers to forest surveyors, chainsaw operators, the skidders who remove the logs from the forest, mechanics, the families living in the company compound, fuel smugglers, and the surrounding villagers.

Hendriks makes the compelling argument that viewing the power of the lumber company as a top-down structure that can violently assert its will over the Congolese people and nature is too simplistic. A more complex picture emerges when you examine how power interacts between and within the many people in camp. As he points out, "European managers…portrayed themselves as relatively powerless victims of an environment over which they had barely any control" (p. 4). Conversely, the "workers and villagers alike were not so much concerned about CTI's excessive power (though they sometimes happened to be its victims) as about its incapacity to make a [material] difference to their lives" (p. 4). To be sure exploitation and violence existed, but for Hendriks there was also a certain amount of chaos within the concession.

The guiding thread for his analysis is the Greek concept of *ecstasis*. Hendriks defines the term as the "condition of possibility…a placeholder for a set of complex feelings of vulnerability, penetrability, and even impotence in the face of larger forces, structures, and histories—as well as for the frustration, anger, and resistance these feelings generate" (p. 9). In

the end, power is not "a zero-sum game between agents of domination that are bent on co-opting us completely…" While ecstasis does not negate the power of CTI it "proposes a different relationship to power" (p. 233).

Hendriks finds ecstasis everywhere. Chapter by chapter he explores how it weaves its ways through all the different actors. So, for workers trying to balance keeping a job in a volatile industry—goofing off in the forest, sleeping on the job, boredom, drinking after work, going to church, and navigating their own family dynamics—ecstasis is the process to synthesize these complex feelings and emotions. Hendriks also discusses the villagers who both depend on the concession for livelihood but can resent it presence. Villagers routinely pushed back on the company setting up roadblocks, staging protests, and demanding that the company live up to its promises to the local town. Ecstasis here manifested itself differently—as a struggle between autonomy and independence with the material benefits a foreign company provided. There are also chapters on the European expat managers—their ecstasis plays out in their own masculine images, racialized sexual fantasies, paternalistic racism, and contrary to what may some expect their own powerlessness to completely control the environment. A telling interplay of power dynamics was the discussion of rumors of white cannibalism and the use of zombie labor that persisted throughout the region (p. 239). But instead of seeing these fables as ways to explain the dominance of western firms—it was not. Instead for the local inhabitants any "magical" powers came at a cost. The expat managers were consumed by the same forces. Control came at a price (p. 239).

Thomas Hendriks presents a well written and argued work about how power operates in a Congo timber concession. In many ways this short review cannot do the book justice. One of the strengths of the book is how Hendriks writes about the people he meets—as real people. He meets them on their own terms. I also found myself fascinated by the minute details of running a lumber concession, which to Hendriks's credit is something he understood before his study. His background as a forestry engineer not only allowed him gain access to the camp in the first place, but it brings a certain level of gravitas to his descriptions. The question left for the readers is whether you buy ecstasis as a guiding principle. Hendriks is clear that his intent was not to bludgeon the analysis under "the weight of one over-arching concept." He is forthright about the limitations of ecstasis (p. 232). But in this Eastern Congo camp ecstasis uncovered interesting questions and generated puzzles about how power operates. Hopefully, we can see a continuation of this research agenda.

Christopher R. Cook, *University of Pittsburgh at Johnstown*

Candace Keller. 2021. *Imaging Culture: Photography in Mali, West Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 453 pp.

Imaging Culture: Photography in Mali brings together a discussion of the evolution of photography in Mali from 1890 through the 1980s that is deeply rooted in socio-political histories of the region with discussions of photography's social and aesthetics roles. Photography, in the case of this book, is primarily limited to portraiture traditions by studio photographers working both in and outside of brick-and-mortar studios. The subtitle, "Photography in Mali, West Africa," provides further insight into the scope that Keller covers.

While ostensibly simply referencing Mali's geography in west Africa, it also points the ways that Keller sees photography as able to permeate borders. She focuses on photography created in and around Mali, addressing work that is not tied to national borders or specific cultural groups. As such, many of the upwards of eighty photographers discussed are not Malian, but their careers have in various ways been embedded there.

Proportionally longer, Section One, "Development of Photography in Mali," weaves together interviews with photographers and first-hand accounts with a detailed historical background in such a way that introduces new photographers and breathes fresh life into the many studies that have been written on the Malian greats Seydou Keïta and Malick Sidibé (although they remain at the center of Keller's book as well). The combination of artist quotes and the comprehensive socio-political background that Keller outlines provides the reader with a complex and nuanced understanding of the shifting role of photography, and specifically photography studio practices, during the political turbulence of the times in Mali. Split chronologically, Chapter One traces the origins of the medium in the region from 1890 until the 1940s, with a particular focus on photography as a technology of the colonial regime. Chapter Two, which covers the 1950s until the 1980s, discusses the peak of studio photography in Mali amidst the cultural movements that bridged national liberation, socialist rule, and dictatorship.

Section Two, "Imaging Culture," takes a more thematic approach, examining portraiture through an iconographic and social history lens rather than tracking a chronological trajectory. Chapter Three, "Photography as Social Agency," addresses Mande conceptions of *fadenya* (that is "father-childness," often associated with individuality) and *badenya* ("mother-childness," often associated with unity and cooperation) and their influence on studio practices and photographic aesthetics. Chapter 4, "Visual Griots: Photographic Artistry and Invention" investigates the idea of a griot—that is oral historians, musicians, and poets—which arises across Keller's writing as a central framework for approaching the function and significance of photographers and photography in Mali and west Africa more broadly. Mande aesthetics return in Chapter Five, "Portraiture and Mande Aesthetics;" however, the chapter kaleidoscopes outward to discuss the Mande aesthetic concepts of *jeya* (clarity) and *dìbi* (obscurity) and how they resonate with *fadenya* and *badenya* and inform photographic practice in Mali. Keller's focus on unpacking material decisions through a socially informed lens shines in this chapter: from her discussion on Malian preference for a glossy finish on prints to maintain the revered sharpness of an image, to her in-depth analysis of lighting and dark room techniques informed by deeply rooted cultural skin tone preferences. Chapter Five is also marked by the most references to nonphotographic material. Keller discusses photographs in relation to the children's acrobatic comedic performance Yokoro, as well as *jirimooni* and *jonyeleni* sculpture featuring the female figure, underscoring the ways in which photographic aesthetics are informed by larger cultural trends.

Chapter Six turns to the complex relationship between photography and Islam. Keller complicates notions of the aniconic status of Islamic art, demonstrating the ways in which photographers in Mali cater to Muslim clients and how religious leaders across west Africa utilized photographic portraits. As with the previous chapters, Keller grounds her discussion in local belief systems—in this case *nyama* (life force) and *ja* (identity)—which allows her to extend beyond socio-political readings of the fraught relationship between figurative imagery and

Islam to photography's metaphysical dimensions in a Malian context. Section 2 concludes with a discussion of contemporary photographic practice and the international market for African photography in Chapter Seven. Although the chapter covers the 1990s to the present Keller first returns to Seydou Keïta, beginning with his 1993 show at the *Rencontres d'Arles* that brought the Malian photographer to the attention of the international art market. This cyclical approach highlights the importance of the earlier waves of photographers in the development of a global understanding of West African photographic practice.

Keller concludes with a discussion of the ways in which international market preferences have shaped the global conception of Malian—and through it African—photography. These short sections on topics such as "Authorship and Ownership" and "From Mali to International Contexts" bring the reader back to the previous historical scholarship outlined in the previous chapters. Here Keller quotes Clare Bell, Okwui Enwezor, Octavio Zaya, and Olu Oguibe's 1996 lament that "Whenever marginal peoples come into a historical or ethnographic space that has been defined by the Western imagination, 'entering the modern world,' their distinct history quickly vanishes" (p. 373). In response, Keller has written a book that dives deeply into the specific social and historical trends that shaped the development of the medium in and around Mali. This richly illustrated book serves as an important source for scholars of photography looking to broaden the field of twentieth century photographic practices.

Michelle Fikrig, *City University of New York*

René Lemarchand. 2021. *Remembering Genocides in Central Africa*. New York: Routledge. 150 pp.

René Lemarchand's contribution to the scholarship on violence and ethnicity in Africa, particularly Central Africa, is significant. In *Remembering Genocides in Central Africa*, Lemarchand explores the connotations of genocide and ethnic categorization, as well as the parameters that determine the recognition and validation of genocide or mass killings by the international community and the public. The author attributes the structural features of political and social affiliations, particularly ethnicity, as catalysts in the nature and outcome of violent actions. He considers three states of ex-Belgian Africa—Rwanda, Burundi, and the Congo—in six chapters, exploring variations of dimensions, considerations, and reactions to similar violent events in different territories, and emphasizing the need to avoid the error of attributing sole responsibility for an ethnic clash to an ethnic group.

The first chapter provides an overview of the colonial exploitation of the Congo and the immediate post-colonial atmosphere. This sets the tone for cross-examining identity politics (Hutu and Tutsi) featuring ethnic sentiments, inter-group conflicts, and political clashes. The second chapter traces the instigator of the Rwandan genocide to the pre-colonial deliberate exclusion of the Hutus vis-à-vis the upliftment of the Tutsis, highlighting the differences between the 1959 Rwanda conflict and 1972 Burundi massacre (considered the first genocide in independent Africa). Chapter Three addresses the conditions responsible for the non-recognition of the Burundi genocide and the silence surrounding cases of genocides. Lemarchand interrogates issues such as the rate of civilian casualties validating the severity of violent action, Western powers' affiliations in a violent conflict, particularly in African

countries, and the ripple effect of a chain of ethnic violence and vengeful attacks in the political and social domains. He also examines factors that ensure the international recognition of genocidal events in a society. The author fills his book with case studies depicting violent actions and repression of ethnic groups with the support of European powers, extending the analysis of the Tutsi refugees' roles in shaping the history of Burundi. He also criticizes publications on the Hutu genocide in Burundi, analyzes issues of objectivity, and historiographical considerations of credible sources. The case studies presented shed light on the collateral damage and the blame game regarding the impacts of violent inter-ethnic relations.

Chapter Four continues to bolster the extent of ethnic clashes and politically instigated violence through the author's first-hand experiences with political officials, ethnic leaders and fanatics. Others include the instigators of genocides (p. 102), pro and anti-Kagame-inclined reports, the US role in propagating violent leaders' actions, and the ineffectiveness of the ICPR in ensuring justice. Chapter Five unequivocally contemplates 'the fake twins' concept: the similarities and differences between Rwanda and Burundi. Beyond debates regarding the terminologies—'genocide' and 'mass killings'—the author suggests recognizing massacres in Rwanda and Burundi in reconciliation and development efforts. The final chapter affirms the ascendance from theoretical recommendations to practical applications. It offers lessons learned regarding international apathy, ethnic amnesia, and variations of peace resolutions in documenting the political, social, and cultural effects of violence in Rwanda, Burundi, and the Congo. The level of human rights infringements, such as killing civilians (mainly refugees, women, and children) and recruiting child soldiers, shed light on specific events in African history that have been unreported with little or no local and international attention. This implies not only silence but also a lack of legal recourse.

Remembering Genocides in Central Africa adopts a comparative approach detailing Rwanda's and Burundi's connections from pre-colonial to independent Africa. The author answers two fundamental questions of 'who' and 'why' in interrogating genocidal elements in Rwanda and Burundi, most significantly, the reasons for the understudy of Burundi's genocidal situations vis-à-vis Rwanda. As oral sources, credence is given to the author's experiences, recollections and gathering oral testimonies of key actors such as perpetrators, victims of the genocide, and survivors of various ethnic clashes. The problem of sources regarding accessibility and freedom of information did not dispute the prevalence of detailed footnotes. There is also a rich consultation of French and Swahili phrases whose meanings would have been lost in translation. Sources consulted include archival reports, previous academic research by historians and researchers, activities of civic organizations and reports of international organizations such as the Unities Nations and Human Rights Watch. This book will be valuable to genocide, identity politics and violence discussions in Africa, especially the history of the Great Lakes. It is a must-read for scholars, policymakers, and anyone interested in understanding the complexities of ethnic conflicts in Africa.

Oyinade Adekunle, *McMaster University*

Russell McDougall. 2021. *Letters from Khartoum D.R. Ewen: Teaching English Literature, Sudan, 1951-1965*. Leiden and Boston: Brill. 449 pp.

Letters from Khartoum D.R. Ewen is the first volume in the Postcolonial Lives series. The awkwardness of the book title may imply a double entendre for the word "letters." Much of the material for the book came from letters to Ewen's mother Agnes; however, he taught literature—also called 'letters.'

The introduction consists of seven sections that provide the reader the reason for English teaching abroad in the colonial era, Ewen's personal history, the background of the rocky relationship between Britain and Sudan, Sudan's educational structure, and more. This provides all the necessary background information to read the book with a good understanding. Foreseeing the time when foreign countries and territories would demand independence from the British Empire, Britain sent English teachers and other subject matter experts to instill their values and ideas in local potential leaders. The author stated he was keen to learn how the lives of English instructors in Sudan were affected by their experience as well as how they impacted the lives of their students. Ewen, at times, wondered about the worthwhileness of teaching English in Sudan. He taught several men and a few women who indeed did later hold high governmental and organizational posts. It was unclear to this reader how Ewen was impacted by his students. He was friendly with students, but "wouldn't treat them as equals" as a colleague did (p. 402).

The remainder of the book is divided chronologically (1951-1965). Years of higher activity result in longer chapters which vary in length between ten to fifty-six pages. In the longest chapter, "1952—Crossing the Bar," Ewen travels to the southern part of Sudan, Kenya, and Uganda. In 1955, Ewen moved from a university hostel to an individual house with a yard. The next year, Sudan gained independence and the college where Ewen taught gained university status. During the ensuing years, Ewen travels to Egypt and other African nations with colleagues or students. His mother comes to visit and was taken to heart by those who met her. He takes part in radio broadcasts and theater productions. Primarily though, he lectures and marks papers—a lot of papers. In 1965, just before leaving Sudan, Ewen met Queen Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh.

Also included is "A Who's Who of Ewen's Sudan" which lists people who are mentioned in the narrative. The roles of only four people were placed in parentheses—two servants, a cook, and a gardener. This could be indicative of the relationship or lack thereof between colonialists and their helpers. Ibrahim, who was Ewen's gardener for eight years, is listed as "Ibrahim, the Gardener" (p. 403). When Ewen travelled with his servant, "it never occurred to Ewen to ask where Mohamed was accommodated, or how he was fed and watered…Ewen accepted his services without question" (p. 103). Michael Lado Aginski, Ewen's servant for nine years, is the only one of the four listed with a family name. Ewen wrote of Michael, "If ever I respected anyone, I respected that man" (p. 387).

A few editing issues are evident in the book. For example, on page 176, a near repeated sentence gives the reader pause. A paragraph about 1960 found in 1962—Backwater Paradise on page 331 is misplaced. Smaller errors are also noted such as a missing word— "It as if…" (p. 379) and a typo— "It was in Soad's house that the final meeting … too place" (p. 389). Even so, the readability of the book is not hampered.

A gender difference in referencing was striking for a modern reader. After the first introduction of a person, women are called by their first names throughout the narrative. Male colleagues are designated by their last names. This may reflect the bias at the time and in academic circles specifically. *Letters* is written with British dating (26 January) and vocabulary. Some words and phrases may take some pleasant puzzling out for American readers. For example, proctoring an exam is invigilating and being very pleased is being chuffed.

Letters from Khartoum D.R. Ewen is recommended for those who want to understand the process of culture shock. At first, Ewen was fascinated: "Nothing could detract from the romance of Ewen's first night in Khartoum dining al fresco on their veranda under a desert moon and attended by turbaned *suffragis* flitting silently about in the candlelight" (p. 37). Later, he "lost interest in the place, the people, the job and he felt pointless and horribly lonely" (p. 128). Finally, he adapts, learns to communicate in Arabic, and is generally content with only some bouts of malaise. Also, those interested in the history of these years will find much to attract them in this volume. The author explains events in Sudan and other locales as they impacted politics, Ewen's job, and his mindset.

Amy Crofford, *Independent Scholar*

Courtnay Micots. 2021. *Kakaamotobe: Fancy Dress Carnival in Ghana*. Lanham: Lexington Books. 299 pp.

Kaakaamotobe is a street parade or competition in southern Ghana where participants clad themselves in brightly colored fabric costumes and imaginative masks, and brass band music puts the audience in awe. "Fancy Dress" developed as a mix of African and European performance traditions. It has moved from the peripheral (satirizing colonial administration, frightening children, and moral enforcers) to central culture (tourism, releases tensions from economic depression, and keeps children busy) in southern Ghana. Micots' *Kaakaamotobe: Fancy Dress in Ghana* explores the motivations and desires of performers using the historiography, performances, and deeper meanings of *Kaakaamotobe*. The book offers an in-depth examination into how Ghanaians through carnivalesque performances showed their abhorrence and resistance to colonialism. Micots must be commended for doing over a decade of extensive ethnography, Fante language analysis, and archival research to study the masquerade performances. She must be applauded for accepting her vulnerability as an outsider (pp. 23-24) which is reflected in some of her erroneous use of some Fante words (such as *ɔkɔmfo* and *bosom*) and her inability to grasp the meaning of generic words like "Ankos" used in Takoradi. While "Ankos" is a name of masquerade group in Takoradi (p. 105), the people of Sekondi/Takoradi also use "Ankos" to describe all Fancy Dress groups.

The book consists of eight chapters and two methodological appendixes in a chronological fashion beginning with ecstatic performances and carnivalesque meanings that separates *Kaakaamotobe* from other African masquerades (pp. 1, 14). Micots argues that Ghanaian elites initially dismissed *Kaakaamotobe* as "silliness performed by fishermen" (p. 6). Also, she then documents the Ghanaian elite eventually shifting from European Fancy Dress balls and championing "traditional" *Kaakaamotobe* groups (p. 59). Chapter Two details the historiography of *Kaakaamotobe* from colonial, post-independence Ghana, a community identity in Winneba,

and its wide adoption in Cape Coast, Takoradi, and Axim. In situating British allowance of warrior character exhibitions by Fancy Dressers, Micots argues that the British could not grasp the obscured meanings of these performances but instead concentrated on the carnival practices they were exposed to (pp. 12, 45).

Chapter Three focuses on traditional religious beliefs and *asafo* companies' influence on *Kaakaamotobe*. Although both *asafo* and *Kaakaamotobe* can be linked to colonialism, the former's militarism distinguishes it from the latter (p. 73). Micots is right for centering *juju* and other harmful spirits in *Kaakaamotobe* performances, but this also shows that the recitation of prayer is a secular ritual. Micots' claim that "mask and costumes are not 'possessed'…transformed into the spirit" (p. 97) and "mask allows a person…[to]transform into another…personality" (p. 250) are debatable because there cannot be any metaphysical transformation without spirit possession (p. 97). Further, meaning eluded Micots with her use of *ɔkɔmfo* and *bodua* by fancy dressers because a performer dressed like *ɔkɔmfo* was not possessed by spirit, so they did not have power over nature. Thus, masqueraders dress like *akɔmfo* to depict Akan culture.

Chapter Four discusses the basics of group organizations, membership, expenses, and uniforms, while Chapter Five documents the historiography and Masquefest in Winneba. Chapter Six gives an overview of Fancy Dress carnivals in Takoradi and compares it with Winneba Masquefest competition. Due to her extensive fieldwork in Winneba, the work's analysis of the Winneba Fancy Dress festivities is quite strong. Micots also shows that most groups in Takoradi wear simple dress (p. 187), while costumes in Winneba are "planned, inspired by dreams and chairman's ideas" (p. 152). Furthermore, while Takoradi groups choose their names from neighborhoods and countries of patrons (pp. 184-85), Winneba club names have deeper meanings and were coined from *asafo* groups (pp. 139-40). Chapter Seven situates Fancy Dress in the Black Atlantic especially Afro-Brazilian contribution to Ga Fancy Dress. Finally, Chapter Eight examines the parallels among Fancy Dress and carnivals in Ghana, Sierra Leon, South Africa, and the Caribbean.

Overall, *Kakaamotobe: Fancy Dress Carnival in Ghana* is a strong text that benefits from years of ethnographic fieldwork. If there is a criticism of this book, it is that the meaning of "secrecy" in Fancy Dress eluded the author. Micots misconstrued secular secrecy among fancy dressers for the sacred. For instance, "Group meets in secret in the bush…secret ritual to deal with *abosom*" (p. 109) and keeping dances secret from other groups was a secular ritual to prevent another group from copying a dance. It is a secular ritual repeated yearly. From her standpoint, Micots may not have been aware that there are several forms of secrecy among the Akan. Meaning is socially and culturally constructed and must be understood within the societal frameworks in which it operates. Masks and costumes were worn for aesthetics and more profound meaning that the locals could relate to (pp. 107-08, 244), but not for protection (p. 253).

Emmanuel Kumah, U*niversity of Louisville*

Burkhard Schnepel and Julia Verne (eds.). 2022. *Cargoes in Motion: Materiality and Connectivity across the Indian Ocean.* Athens: Ohio University Press. 337 pp.

Research on connectivities that economic activity has forged across the Indian Ocean has tended to focus on people. Challenging this status quo, *Cargoes in Motion* shifts attention to cargo,

"focusing on the ways in which the cargoes themselves have informed and continue to shape processes of exchange across the Indian Ocean" (pp. ix-x). Contributions cohere around cargo ranging from both commercial items such as pearls, tea, salt, cloves, cowries, cattle, and beads to non-commercial ones like letters, bride wealth in the form of elephant tusks, and diplomatic gifts in the form of animals (giraffes and elephants) that polities in the Indian Ocean world exchanged. This wide range of cargo, originating from different parts of the Indian Ocean world and equally destined to divergent locations, allows this book to trace and retrace networks in the Indian Ocean world that intersect and diverge in equal measure. Contributors arrive at these networks by examining how "different cargoes are formed and made, adapted, appropriated, put to use and transformed" (p. xi). The breadth of the areas under study is quite expansive, extending from the South China Sea through the Bay of Bengal and the Red Sea to Zanzibar and the Mozambique channel.

The book is neatly organized into three sections of four chapters each. The first part, "Cargoes in the Making," showcases processes of making and preparing cargo. The cargoes examined in this section are pearls from the Bay of Bengal, salt from the Red Sea, Bohea tea from Wuyi mountains in China, and Zanzibari cloves. I take this section as an example of how this book adequately and elaborately shows the ability of cargo to lay bare systems of relations in the Indian Ocean world and beyond. An example is Kunbing Xiao's chapter that traces the circulation of Bohea tea from Wuyi mountains in China where the tea was produced to its large market in Britain in the 17th-19th centuries. Here, we find different actors working together—tea growers, makers, dealers, laborers, tax officials, merchants, inspectors, buyers, and retailers. These actors are situated differently both temporally and spatially, highlighting the ability of a single commodity to connect many people and places. The second part, "On Board," more directly gestures to the title of the book and explores the processes and the attendant complications of transporting cargo. Two chapters focus on live cargo—giraffes, elephants, and cattle—and another two on Maldivian cowries and written documents including letters. The final part, "Cargoes in Use," examines the appropriation of cargo and shows how processes of adapting, utilizing, and transforming cargo underlie connectivities within and beyond the Indian Ocean world. Cargoes used to make this point are civet, a secretion by the civet cat that is used as an aromatic; glass beads and beadwork in Malaysia's Penang city; elephant tusks as bride wealth among the Lamaholot in East Indonesia; and tails of the *Phelsuma* gecko which are transformed to organic matter for use in laboratories before they are translated to information on the evolution and habitat of this species of geckos.

The twelve chapters approach cargo from multidisciplinary perspectives, producing a rich and fertile ground from which to imagine the ability of cargo to fashion networks along and across Indian Ocean coasts. Historians, linguists, anthropologists, and geographers variously apply two theoretical and methodological perspectives on objects, both of which treat cargo as objects with lives of their own. The division of the book into three parts separates otherwise intertwined processes of preparing, shipping, and distributing cargo. These processes are often chaotic, disorderly, and messy aspects that the current layout gloss over. At the same time, a side-by-side focus on multiple elements of each cargo—its preparation, its transportation, and its appropriation—would perhaps take away from the scrutiny with which individual cargoes are attended to in the current layout.

Although the editors state from the onset that they are shifting focus away from human-centered analyses of connectivities in the Indian Ocean world in favor of a method that centers on cargo, it might have been productive for this book to also include contributions on human cargo, particularly slaves. Already, the book focuses on both commercial and non-commercial as well as live and inanimate cargo. Including human cargo would foster a more complete picture of cargo in the Indian Ocean world.

Overall, *Cargoes in Motion* is a timely and valuable book to researchers in the field of Indian Ocean studies. The in-depth engagement with which authors handle their respective topics makes this book invaluable for experts, and its clarity and neat outline invites non-specialists as well. What stands out is the interdisciplinary focus on cargo, which makes this a great read for researchers from varied disciplines.

Jacky Kosgei, *University of Tübingen*

Ryan Shaffer (ed.) 2021. *African Intelligence Services: Early Postcolonial and Contemporary Challenges*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 294 pp.

The anthology entitled *African Intelligence Services: Early Postcolonial and Contemporary Challenges* is an important and much needed addition to the fields of intelligence and African studies. As the editor Ryan Shaffer states, "African intelligence services play a vital role in security and stability for their countries but are largely unexplored by scholars" (p. 3). A considerable reason for this absence of investigation is because African countries are often viewed as passive recipients in the international political arena, an attitude that can be attributed to a complex history of colonialism and coup d'états. As Shaffer's publication demonstrates, however, a better understanding of African intelligence services can aid in navigating the history, politics, and security of Africa. Likewise, it affords Africans the ability to "learn about their intelligence services' history as well as issues of security and intelligence oversight because that knowledge can build trust and transparency with the government benefiting all parties involved" (p. 4).

African states encounter many of the same challenges that all states in the world face such as those emanating from the rise of globalization, regional integration, and the changing nature of conflict. More specifically, African intelligence services face issues revolving around the rise of terrorism, transnational crime, and even cyber threats. By examining the historical development of African intelligence services from the early postcolonial period up to the contemporary era and the aftermath of independence together with these multitudes of challenges this volume delivers examples of how African states are viewing, responding to, and evolving in the face of these growing threats.

The first part (Chapters 1-4) details the early postcolonial period of six states: Angola, Kenya, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Tanzania, and Zanzibar. What can be extracted from the empirical evidence provided is how these states have in some way continued to utilize aspects of the previous colonial structures within their newly established intelligence services. Furthermore, one can glean that many of these services have retained a focus on state development and security, conversely translating into an emphasis on regime survival.

The book's second part is less unified than the first. Instead, the next seven chapters (5-11) cover the states of Botswana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania,

and Uganda and investigate unique institutional and legal perspectives and challenges faced by African intelligence services. For example, Chapter Seven, "The Sudanese Intelligence Services between Continuity and Disruption," discusses how Sudanese intelligence services have used a method called "displacement" to ensure the permanence of the service and "demarcate their institutional interests from those of the state" within a highly turbulent political environment (pp. 182-83). Others, such as Chapter Six, "Intelligence and Political Power in Neo-Patrimonial Systems," examines the bureaucratization of the Liberian intelligence service overtime, while Chapter Eleven, entitled "Meeting the Needs of the State," provides a legal perspective by highlighting and comparing the varying degrees and levels of legal regulation and accountability among the East African states of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania.

Overall, the publication does not develop a clear argument or broader analytical framework other than highlighting the necessity of investigating and analyzing African intelligence services to the same extent as their counterparts in other parts of the globe while also stressing that "the history of intelligence services is vital to any study on modern Africa (p. 4)." This should not be taken as a negative, however, since the assortment of chapters contained within the volume reinforces the diversity of history, politics, and society in Africa as well as the multitude of ways possible for researchers to explore intelligence services. Furthermore, it introduces readers to challenges faced by African countries from a local perspective rather than a Western or international viewpoint as is generally the case.

Ultimately, and arguably most importantly, *African Intelligence Services* makes an impressive introduction to the role of intelligence services in Africa and themes of importance in contemporary African politics. While there remain many unknowns within the area of intelligence, particularly in Africa, it does provide a generous starting point and creates a convincing incentive for scholars to pursue African intelligence services in greater detail by presenting them as a "key institution and actor in African history and government (p. 4)." Therefore, this anthology is a must read for scholars and professionals who wish to expand their knowledge of security and intelligence in Africa.

Michael Schuster, *University of Florida*

Maboula Soumahoro. 2022. *Black is the Journey, Africana the Name*. New York and Boston: Polity Press. 103 pp.

First published in France in 2020, *Black is the Journey, Africana the Name* is a scholarly examination of race, identity, and homeland. Professor Soumahoro asks what it means to be a Black African French woman, born in Paris to a mother from the Ivory Coast. She takes the reader on her journey from the French Hexagon (metropolitan France) to America and back, sharing her questions, thoughts, interactions, and realizations. The book is part-memoir, part-academic investigation, and wholly compelling.

Soumahoro begins with herself, "a daughter of the French Hexagon and Atlantic" (p. 1). Her active and creative mind is immediately on display as she examines the importance of language to identity: "French is my mother tongue though it is not my mother's tongue" (p. 18). This is the first of many clever plays on words in her book and it is a pleasure to follow along with her as she thinks out loud and connects herself and her place within the African diaspora.

The translator, Kaiama L. Glover, has enjoyed a more than twenty years friendship with the author. Because *Black is the Journey, Africana the Name* is such an intimate and vulnerable exploration of identity, homeland, and return, it could not have been translated so effectively by a stranger. Glover's translation captures Soumahoro's passionate style perfectly. Soumahoro has an arresting way of writing; at once casual and conversational, then intellectual, asking probing and demanding questions. She is intense, fierce, emphatic, wryly funny, and playful at times. *Black is the Journey, Africana the Name* is a torrent of words, ideas, questions and answers, declarations, and indictments. This short book is not an easy read—passages challenge the reader to pause, re-read, and examine their reactions—but it is worth the time and effort to expand your perspective, empathy, and worldview.

The author describes the Triangle: Africa, Europe, and the Americas, and the impact of the European slave trade on generations of people. She comments that the trade left no records or archives, leaving the known narrative to the loudest or most dominant voices. So how does one explore this history? With perspective—the author had to leave France and live abroad in America for a decade to see it clearly.

Black is the Journey, Africana the Name dares to have a scholarly discussion about identity while focusing on the author herself. This is real and personal, but without a doubt, also highly relevant for millions of people across the globe. Asking "Who am I?" requires an examination of family, race, nationality, heritage, religion, and, of course, the boxes that the dominant culture forces upon us. Soumahoro's path is her own, but we can glean insights from her, and ask ourselves some of the same questions.

When Soumahoro came to the US as an exchange student, "everything was upended…both personally and intellectually" (p. 42). She explains that her courses "amounted to a veritable feast. They inspired a real intellectual awakening, a genuine initiation" (p. 43). But imagine her shock at returning to France with the credits and thesis to receive her post-graduate degree, only to be accused of racism and told that her thesis would not be accepted because "…the notion of Black nationalism did not exist" (p. 43). She was dumbstruck. She explains that racism "…is rarely spoken of in France. Yet—and this is crucial—it is felt every time" (p. 47).

It took studying and living in the US for almost ten years for Soumahoro to realize that Paris and the Hexagon is her homeland, her place of return. "No one was more astonished than I," she said, with deadpan humor (p. 53). She admits to this conscious choice, despite everything, including her heart's pull toward America.

In her third and final chapter, "The Hexagon: An Ambiguous Adventure," Soumahoro turns to French rap to expand on her thoughts. This reviewer recently attended a lecture on Eko Fresh, the German rapper. The role of rap and hip hop in pushing boundaries, and challenging convention and the status-quo cannot be ignored. Rappers take on issues like immigration, identity, and culture in a way that transcends any academic approach.

With Soumahoro's decision to stay in France comes the typical racist reactions: anonymous letters telling her to either stay in her place or go back to where she came from; open doubts about her academic credentials. Nevertheless, she says, "I have decided to be Black," (p. 98) and it is beautiful.

Sharon Brown, *University of Florida*

Timothy Stapleton. 2022. *West African Soldiers in Britain's Colonial Army, 1860-1960*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press. 390 pp.

West African Soldiers in Britain's Colonial Army, 1860-1960 examines the history and development of the British West African colonial army from the region's conquest to decolonization. It also attempts to ascertain that the military forces of modern Nigeria, Ghana, the Gambia, and Sierra Leone are a continuum of the colonial military institutions. The text significantly relies on archival sources scattered across Britain and the four West African countries in proffering this analysis.

The book consists of eleven chapters thematically structured into four subjects: identity, culture, daily life, and violence. The first three chapters detail the recruitment process for the colonial army. Chapters that focus on religion and military symbols analyze the transformation of the army's cultural character. The author examines the daily life of the military across the colonies in the sixth chapter, with its focus on health, and the seventh, which examines the role of women. The violent parts of the colonial military are well documented in sections that interrogate flogging, mutiny, murder, and mayhem. The last chapter is dedicated to West African veterans and their lifestyles after retirement.

In the first section, Stapleton affirms that the British military were flexible with their recruitment policies even though they believed in the notion of a "martial tribe." The British recruited soldiers from all who were willing to enlist and this made West African colonial army heterogeneous in composition. Stapleton's analysis of the British's preference for the Hausa tribe as a "martial tribe" sheds further light on the prevalence of Hausa as a language of authority in the region. As early as the 19th century, the military officers had imposed Hausa as the official language of the Nigerian colonial army before the language attained the status of a lingua franca for the West African Frontier Force. The author challenges extant scholarship that claimed the British excluded the Yoruba and other ethnicities from recruitment because they were not considered "martial tribes." Stapleton demonstrates that British officers often considered the Yoruba a more martial people than the Hausa. The Yoruba prevalence in the army subsided after the First World War due to circumstances that distracted their interest in the army. According to Stapleton, increased civilian wages and the emergence in Nigeria of the Yoruba western region as a citadel of anti-colonial activities undermined their interest and recruitment into the military.

Chapter Six exposes the prominence of racial practices in colonial military health sector. Stapleton comprehensively details how illnesses such as sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) almost weakened the efficacy of the West African army during the interwar. Stapleton argues that when a series of contagious disease acts were promulgated in other British, the West African army was exempted because black people were "sexually promiscuous and possessing near immunity from sexually transmitted disease" (p. 212). Stapleton affirms that STD measures purposefully left out African soldiers of while at warfront in Europe and the Middle East on presumption that their inclusion would cause inter-racial sex with white women. Chapter Seven posits that though colonial military was a patriarchal profession, military authorities valued the importance of women in soldiers' lives. Besides rendering essential services to the force, women's presence as wives of soldiers promoted mental stability and discouraged unprofessional misbehaviors among the soldiers. Although Stapleton's analysis of STDs in the

colonial army is an important contribution, one may contend that the monograph is so engrossed in the subject that it neglects other aspects of military health. Though the author references improvement in military health facilities after the Second World War, he neglects to detail their developments. For example, there is archival evidence that colonial administrators started the processes that culminated in the establishment of the first mental hospitals in the West African colonies in order to cater for medical needs of soldiers.

Chapters on flogging, mutiny, and murder and mayhem trace the roots of military violence and the brutality of civilians that is a common characteristic of the contemporary military in the former British West African colonies. Such chapters emphasize that the British introduction of flogging as a corporal punishment was a symbolic result of racism based on a false belief that Africans were insensitive to pain. Stapleton notes that acts of violence, which had been practiced since the 19th century, were effectively used to demonstrate the military's power and to express their assumed superiority to the civilian population. These behaviors were different from regular atrocities the soldiers committed on behalf of the colonial administrators that relied on force, violence, and intimidation to exercise their hegemony over colonial subjects.

In the book's last chapter, Stapleton challenges extant literatures that claim Second World War West African veterans actively participated in the anti-colonial struggles. He argues that ex-soldiers remained committed to the colonial services after their retirement, with many veterans taking up other jobs for colonial governments. He reiterates that instead of supporting the nationalists, many ex-soldiers in the colonial police molested and killed nationalist protesters throughout British West Africa during the heat of anti-colonial activities.

Overall, *West African Soldiers in Britain's Colonial Army* is an invaluable contribution to West African military history and British colonial history.

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Graeme Wynn , Jane Carruthers, and Nancy J. Jacobs (eds.) 2022. *Environment, Power, and Justice: Southern African Stories*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 354 pp.

Southern Africa is a diverse and vast land where the intertwinement of social inequities, colonial histories, and environmental degradation are salient. In this collaborative work, the authors and the editors use narratives and histories to navigate the reader through the complexities and multifaceted relationships of current issues plaguing the people and ecosystems in the region resulting from historically unsustainable and inequitable resource governance. Each story reveals a new perspective and challenge in how the reader conceptualizes environment, power, and justice, going beyond any one instance to connect each narrative to the broader global impact of environmental change and environmental justice. Tethering the chapters together is the underlying treatment of Africa as a part of the global south. It is in these regions where the effects of climate change disproportionately impact the people and communities who have long called the area home. First and foremost, this book excellently contextualizes individual actors, social movements, and a historical perspective covering colonialism, postcolonialism, and post-apartheid.

Through fragmentation of the various stories, this book presents the deleterious contemporary environmental conditions and resource depletion resulting from a history of

colonialism and continuing ethnic discrimination perpetuated in resource and land governance. The authors turn our collective consciousness toward the historical environmental stories of people in modern day Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and South Africa. While some of the perspectives presented in the chapters of the books are written by or harken to the most notable scholars, activists, and environmental justice movements, the voices of everyday vulnerable people suffering from colonial, and apartheid environmental destruction are heard. One intriguing and thought-provoking story is that of Bradfield J. Mnyanda from 1930-40s Southern Rhodesia. This is an instance where the chapter's author (Chapter Seven), Muchaparara Musemwa, challenges not only mainstream scholarly ideas about the role of Mnyanda as an activist, but the reader's view of how environmental justice as activism can be conceptualized. After all, as editors Wynn, Carruthers, and Jacobs write in their introduction, "few historians consider Mnyanda an advocate for justice" as Mnyanda was an "unapologetic elitist amongst thousands of less fortunate Africans" (p. 33). Yet, nonetheless, Musemwa elegantly writes and positions Mnyanda as undeniably a major advocate of water justice.

In Chapter Six by Christopher Conz we get a story from early 20th century Lesotho of James Machobane and the Mantša Tlala. Primarily through use of Machobane's southern African story, Conz argues for the potential use of agroecology in addressing the urgent issues of food insecurity, climate change, and gender inequality. A poignant part of the story whose ethos connects with the modern reader is when Machobane witnessed a group of impoverished women with a scarcity of food and immense hunger. Machobane's reaction was to ensure a consistent food source for the women. Consequently, he planted a garden, which had its water source from a nearby stream. When Machobane's friends facetiously asked what his payment would be for the effort and supply of food, Machobane responded "My reward was to see them eat" (p. 227). The book also includes more recent histories, including Mary Galvin's chapter (Chapter One) where the attention turns to post-apartheid South Africa and the sobering realization that for many South Africans in 2015 "democracy is an empty, pointless system of governance" (p. 53) as basic needs went unmet—including access to water.

In viewing these fragmented images together, we can see through a kaleidoscope picture of environment, power, and justice in southern Africa. The book highlights the breadth of scholarship in the field with multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives contributing to the topic. Wynn, Carruther, and Jacobs, significant contributors to the study of environmental justice themselves, brought together imperative research filling in our knowledge on the micro-level, with personal stories like those aforementioned, and also connect this with discussion of the structural, macro forces, which constrained the lives of Africans. The effects of these structural constraints include the restriction of movement, as most famously with apartheid, but also in constraining access to land and resources vital to sustainable livelihoods. These constraints are rooted in the colonial history of Africa and continue to impact the lives of Africans throughout the continent as it continues to face unethical and unsustainable resource extraction. This book presents the atrocious historical and contemporary reality, it also exemplifies hope and heroes fighting for environmental justice. In reading *Environment, Power, and Justice*, unequivocally the reader is left feeling a call to action. Although the book's scholarship and narrative scope is southern Africa, truly it entangles the globe.

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