

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Adekeye Adebajo. 2017. *The Eagle and the Springbok: Essays on Nigeria and South Africa*. Auckland Park, South Africa: Fanele, an imprint of Jacana Media (Pty) Ltd. 303 pp.**

The significance of this book is underpinned by three interrelated factors, namely, the strategic importance of Nigeria and South Africa in their respective sub-regional spheres; their economic dominance of the continent as they account for a third of Africa's economic might; and their seeming indispensability in forging political and economic integration both at the sub-regional and continental levels in Africa. Thus, the critical task of the book as outlined by the author is to comprehensively assess the political, economic, cultural, and leadership dimensions in Nigeria-South Africa relations with the aim of promoting greater insights into what he terms, "Africa's most indispensable relationship" (p. 6).

Nigeria and South Africa share as much in common as in contrast. Both countries have recorded significant collaborations in: peacemaking and peacekeeping, the emergence of the African Union (AU) and its institution of New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), bilateral trading partnership, and the quest for the securement of a stronger global voice for Africa. At the same time, both countries are enmeshed in intense rivalry which is driven by the quest for continental dominance. This rivalry has played out at several fora, including the UN, where both countries are at dagger-drawn for the occupancy of a permanent seat (for Africa) on an expanded UN Security Council; and the AU, where despite Nigeria's vociferous opposition, South Africa's Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma emerged as African Union Commission's chief.

In addition to covering the entirety of relations between Nigeria and South Africa, the book is refreshingly up-to-date in content as it deals with some recent issues including those prior to its publication. Structured in four parts, excluding the introduction and conclusion, the book has thirteen chapters that explore the various dimensions of Nigeria-South Africa relations. The first part, which has three chapters, focuses on the rivalries that underpin relations between Nigeria and South Africa with specific emphasis on politics, economics, and culture. These relations alternate between cooperation and competition as both countries engage in strategic pursuit of policies aimed at placing them in an ascendant position in African affairs.

The second part, which is preoccupied with issues of hegemony, dominance, and ascendancy, addresses same in three chapters. Within the confines of "Pax Nigeriana" and "Pax South Africana," the chapters in this section explore the hegemonic ambitions of both countries beyond their sub-regional enclaves and the attendant rivalry that throws up inchoate and conflicting perspectives on the emerging norm of the responsibility to protect (R2P) on the African continent.

The third part, which encases four chapters, attempts a comparative evaluation of the leaderships of both countries in the immediate post-apartheid period between 1994 and 2008. The chapters focused on Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki as South Africa's presidents as well as Sani Abacha and Olusegun Obasanjo as Nigeria's military Head of State and president

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v18/v18i3a5.pdf>

respectively. While the patriarchal and reconciliatory persona of Mandela contrasted with the brutish, repressive and dictatorial tendencies of Abacha, the Mbeki and Obasanjo presidencies witnessed unity of spirit as demonstrated by the close cooperation that characterized relations between Tshwane and Abuja between 1999 and 2008. The author points out that Mbeki and Obasanjo “worked closely together in regional and global multilateral forums” (p. 22).

The fourth and final part, which consists of three chapters, beams its searchlight on three technocrats from both countries who are considered by the author as visionaries. They include Adebayo Adedeji, Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala who occupied top positions in their national governments as well as continental and international organizations. The contention of the book is that despite the heroic efforts of these technocrats at initiating and pursuing policies aimed at unleashing Africa’s development potentials, they fell short in realizing their respective missions.

Although the book provides an up-to-date and balanced analysis of Nigeria-South Africa relations in a wonderfully readable style, its treatment of the period between 2008 and 2017 is brief, perfunctory, and transitory thus depriving the reader of an in-depth analysis of the important events during that period. The book appears repetitive in several places. This could as well be a weak point of the essay type which the author courageously adopts as a rescue strategy to revive this genre of scholarship. The book is enthusiastically recommended as an invaluable addition to the corpus of scholarly engagements on Nigeria-South Africa relations.

Agaptus Nwozor, *Landmark University*

**Adekeye Adebajo and Kudrat Virk (eds.). 2018. *Foreign Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Security, Diplomacy and Trade*. London: I.B. Tauris. 500 pp.**

This edited volume, according to the authors, is designed to provide an up-to-date comprehensive study of post-apartheid South African foreign policy in terms of geography, history, and themes written by both South African and other contributors. It is divided into five parts: 1) thematic, including domestic imperatives of foreign policy, peacemaking efforts, the role of defense and security, the influence of human rights, and the expansion of South African corporations throughout the continent of Africa; 2) bilateral relations in Africa divided by region with concentration on key countries—Southern (Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe), Great Lakes (Democratic Republic of the Congo or DRC, Burundi, and Rwanda), West (Nigeria, Ghana, and Côte d’Ivoire), Eastern (Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Sudan/South Sudan) and Northern (Egypt, Algeria, Libya, and Tunisia); 3) multilateral relations with the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), and the African Union (AU); 4) key external bilateral relations with the US, Britain, France and China; and 5) key multilateral external relations with the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the European Union (EU), and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group, and BRICS. The editors (in same order as on the book cover) provide an introduction and conclusion, respectively, as well as one other chapter each. In the process, all chapters in the five sections are of similar structure and there is much overlapping of coverage.

Many chapters point out continuity of policy as well as differences in approaches of the respective South African presidents: Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, and Jacob Zuma; as Cyril

Ramaphosa acceded to office in early 2018, there are only a few references in the book as he was previously deputy president. Mandela concentrated on strengthening domestic democratic order, while incrementally attempting to redress poverty and inequality. Mbeki stressed the link between addressing those latter issues in country and dealing with the security, development and economic issues on the rest of the African continent. Zuma felt that civil society organizations should have a greater role in shaping foreign policy. Naturally, peacemaking efforts in Africa increased greatly under Mbeki, while the idealism of earlier attempts have given way to greater concern for promoting South African mercantilist interests. South Africa has engaged in peacekeeping efforts in Lesotho, Burundi, the DRC, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, Sudan/South Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire, and Libya with mixed results; and sometimes it has appeared to set aside promotion and protection of human rights or found itself at odds with positions taken by other states in Africa or the West, particularly France, which is still heavily involved in Francophone countries. Also, the South African National Defense Force "have had to endure a mismatch between their capacity and the expanding array of roles and tasks with which they have been entrusted" (p. 108).

There is a chapter on South Africa's relations with the rest of the SADC, an organization of sixteen states which it joined in 1994, a subject that has received scant attention. South Africa wants to play an important role on the global stage and regards itself as a "gateway" for foreign countries to the rest of the African market and as a representative of African interests in the UN, BRICS, and the G-20. On the other hand, the SADC is a weak institution dependent on foreign donor funding, especially from the EU. There is resentment over the dominance of the South African economy and its protected markets as is the case in the much smaller SACU, which was created in 1910. South Africa joined BRICS in 2010 with support from China, a member along with Brazil, Russia and India, in an attempt diversify its political and economic connections. Like Brazil and India, South Africa is concerned with promoting interests of the South and having greater political influence in the UN (through a permanent seat in the Security Council) and other world forums. At the same time, the EU remains South Africa's largest trading partner and there are important economic ties with the US and Japan (not covered at all).

This very readable and informative book provides comprehensive coverage of many aspects of South Africa's foreign policy necessary in understanding the importance of that country to African and world affairs. However, it provides only a brief description of relations with India and nothing concerning Turkey, an increasingly important participant in African affairs.

Michael B. Bishku, *Augusta University*

**Jeffrey S. Ahlman. 2017. *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 305 pp.**

Professor J. S. Ahlman in *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana*, recounts the path the great nationalist, pan-Africanist, spokesman, and president of the first independent state in sub-Saharan Africa, Kwame Nkrumah trod to achieve independence for Ghana. He further divulged the many complications and challenges that the nascent independent country and in fact the entire African continent experienced with the dawn of self-

rule. Ahlman described Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) and the role it played in institutionalizing the ideology and movement referred to as "Nkrumahism." The term "Nkrumahism" according to the author though multifaceted in the text, represents the socio-political ideologies of Kwame Nkrumah and his CPP in their attempt at the decolonization of Ghana and all of Africa not just politically but most importantly mentally. The ideology is characterized by what they referred to as "anticolonial modernism" (p. 14). Thus, "Nkrumahism" sought to create a specific kind of state which centered on "not only the complicated infrastructural task of nation-building, but, more foundationally, the much deeper, ontological burden of creating new, decolonized citizens" (p. 18).

The book is divided into six chapters each of which the author carefully set to explain events in Ghana under colonial rule and after independence was attained. The chapters are in such a way that the author shows his analysis of how the CPP executed their Nkrumahist ideologies on all sectors of the Ghanaian society: on the schoolchild, the youth, women, men and in all aspects of their lives too—civic life, political participation, economy, gender relations, and education amongst others. Also, Ahlman described the people's response to these ideologies. The CPP considered that the tool to decolonizing Africans from Western traditions and ideals was in creating a one-party state, what they termed "African democracy" because "a multi-party system is entirely alien to the traditional concept of government in African society. For this reasons, a one-party system provides the best answer for the problem of government in Africa" (p. 155). The people could only comply. The author further showed the contradictions and dishonesty of Nkrumah and the CPP as he never stopped experimenting with different Western styles and policies. Finally, the reader will come to see that Nkrumahism as represented by Nkrumah and his CPP, in an attempt to create a modernized nation, created a one-party dictatorship not democracy which in turn instilled fear and submission in the hearts of Ghanaians. The climax of this came February 24, 1966 when upon his diplomatic trip out of Ghana, the army carried out a coup d'état and permanently overthrew the government of Nkrumah and his party the CPP. What followed in turn was jubilation and celebration across the streets for an end to tyranny and autocracy.

Although the book's main focus was on Ghana, it is a recommended text for explaining the post-colonial history of Africa as what unfolded in Ghana was very similar to what obtained everywhere else in Africa. Nationalist leaders, the likes of Nnamdi Azikiwe, Jomo Kenyatta, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Julius Nyerere, Patrice Lumumba, and a host of others clamored for independence from colonial rule and developed great ideas of the kind of states they would love their countries to become and even the positions their nation-states would occupy in the international community. However, they never quite brought these ideas home to align them with the true, individual, specific cultures and histories of their countries (p. 148). While the author continually spoke of *Living with Nkrumahism* being associated with African decolonization, he never quite dedicated a section of the work to discuss the impact of "Nkrumahism" in Africa, agreed that it was to begin as a domestic policy. However, the fact that Ghana was the first sub-Saharan state to become independent placed it in a position for other African countries to model. Thus, to what extent did the philosophy of Nkrumahism affect other independent African states in the early 1960s and even the movement for decolonization? Nevertheless, the text is well researched as it depicts the use of a good number

of primary sources along with an inexhaustive list of secondary source materials and for anyone who wishes to understand the history of Nkrumah's Ghana from 1950–1966, Ahlman's *Living with Nkrumahism* is indeed a masterpiece.

Ikonnaya Osemwengie, *University of Benin*

**Alexius Amtaika (ed). 2017. *Culture, Democracy and Development in Africa*. Austin, Texas: Pan-African University Press, 2017. xxviii, 483 pp.**

*Culture, Democracy and Development in Africa*, a book of twenty-four chapters, edited by Professor Alexius Amtaika, contains invaluable contributions from distinguished scholars in various academic fields. This book is perhaps the most important book that has holistically discussed the challenges of post-colonial Africa through the trilogy of culture, democracy and development. The book has six sections, and each of these sections deals with a particular theme that details Africa's struggle to liberating herself from cultural imperialism and reinventing democracy and development in Africa's cultural heritage.

Part one is a historiographical account of the extent to which cultural imperialism has been the bane of Africa's development since colonial rule to the present post-colonial malaise. Perhaps the core of this section of this book lies in its contention that twenty-first century Africa is still trapped in cultural imperialism, given the fact that "cultural imperialism is the most dangerous form of imperialism" (p. 41). The argument is that in a typical African setting, there exists a thin line between democracy and development since both concepts are steeped in culture. Also emphasized in this segment of this book is the essence of reinventing cultural diplomacy for the development of the African continent. Moreover, all contributions in this section contend that the politics of ethnicity, if properly channeled, would serve as panacea to the myriad of challenges the continent is facing.

Part two holds thought-provoking studies that depict how cultural influence from the West impedes African democratic practices as well as marginalizing African women in relation to their struggles towards contributing to the development of the African continent. While advocating for gender equity, African women were admonished by one of the contributors not to lose focus of their customary role as homemakers, because failure to understand this comes with grave consequences for Africa's development project. In addition, African women need to be involved in decision-making processes since they constitute a larger percentage of consumers of basic infrastructural facilities across Africa. For instance, owing to certain cultural practices, women suffer the most and this has a way of deterring African women from competing favourably in a society that is heavily patriarchal. In addition, statistical and theoretical frameworks were used in buttressing these arguments.

Studies in part three proffer ways by which knowledge above any other things holds the key for Africa's long-sought development. The kind of knowledge discoursed is the indigenous knowledge system (*IKS*) which is rooted in the African culture. The absence of *IKS*, and the over saturation of the African continent with Western-style education, the papers in this section contend, inhibits development for the African peoples. In a related manner, part four critically evaluates the impact of literary works of some African writers on the fight against cultural imperialism and their positions on the relation between culture and Africa's development.

Whereas in part five, studies suggest that religion, be it African Traditional Religion, Christianity, or Islam, is a doubled-edged sword that has the efficacy of either to aid or mar development projects in post-colonial Africa. Religion, if properly harnessed, has a role to play in Africa in so far as the question of development is concerned.

Part six is comprised of comparative views on racial segregation and discrimination and its link to Africa's underdevelopment. Moreover, the values and challenges of the entertainment industry as well as change and continuity in criminal justice and legal systems were examined. Unlike pre-colonial and colonial settings, the judicial system in post-colonial Africa needs restructuring if development must become a reality in a twenty-first century Africa.

The book will make an excellent read for courses in history, international relations, political science, religious and cultural studies, literary studies, and sociology, among others with a focus on reinventing Africa's cultural heritage for development, as well as general courses needing solid historical and theoretical analyses. Its use of interdisciplinary approach makes the book a profound contribution in African studies given that scholars from various disciplines examined pertinent issues confronting Africa's quest for development. This book is persuasive in its conclusion: that Africa's development is tied to the continent's rich cultural heritage.

However, the book does feature some typographical and grammatical errors as can be found at pages 6, 10,16,31,37,41,140,139,153,156,168,194,208,210,218, 256, 282, 327, 331, 335 and 450. In addition, one of the authors stated that various ethnic groups... "Met in Nigeria as strangers" (p. 97), a view contrary to the Uya's postulation that pre-colonial "Nigerians" did not live in splendid isolation from one another but encountered one another through their migratory patterns.

### Reference

Uya, O. E. 1992. "Nigeria: The Land and the People." In O. Edet Uya (ed.), *Contemporary Nigeria: Essays in Society, Politics and Economy* (Buenos Aires: EDIPUBLI S.A, 1992), p. 15.

Patrick Chukwudike Okpalaeke, *University of Uyo*

**Felicitas Becker, Joel Cabrita, and Marie Rodet (eds.). 2018. *Religion, Media, and Marginality in Modern Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press. ix, 320 pp.**

Starting from the basic assumption that "a medium is a means...for connecting...the people interacting with it" (p. 3), this volume discusses how media include and exclude certain people, bringing various publics and dynamics into being. Its ten case studies of Christian and Muslim media usages in 20<sup>th</sup> century sub-Saharan Africa address "old," i.e. print and written, as well as "new," i.e. electronic and digital, media in the same framework. Thereby, the volume convincingly challenges an all too prevalent technological determinism in media studies, according to which "new" media instigate fragmentations and change, whereas "old" ones tend to unify their publics and marginalize their Others. As Becker, Cabrita, and Rodet argue in their comprehensive introduction, and as the contributions show, media and their ramifications are too diverse to be brought under a single narrative. How media are performed, activated, and deployed on different scales is contingent, circumstantial, and ambiguous; so are the usages they are put to: "any media are what people make of them" (p. 18).

In the Gold Coast, certain Muslim scholars used colonial bureaucratic forms to gain power in their communities and to formalize Islam in their own image (Hanretta). The German colonial press in East Africa excluded Muslim voices and created its own echo chamber for the circulation of distorted images of Islam (Haustein). A handwritten tin-trunk Bible serves as most important scripture in the Zambian Lumpa Church, providing its members with mnemonics and a common consciousness (Gordon). Muslims on the Kenyan coast have at once resisted colonial photography and used this medium on their own terms (Behrend). Vernacular broadcasts not only sustain a Songhay public but also ascertain “traditional” values in the Malian public sphere (Hall). The South African national newspaper interfered in the late 2000s leadership struggles in the Shembe Church, as this church is part of the nation and its public sphere (Gunner). Signboards that combine Bible passages with graphic depictions are part of a Nigerian Pentecostal Church’s spectacles in which seeing is believing as the Holy Spirit manifests itself before the believers (Ukah). An emerging Christian prophet was sidelined and ousted by a media ban initiated by the Congolese Catholic Church (Pype). Young Muslims in Mali play *zikiri* (devotional recitals) on their phones and thereby distinguish themselves from elder generations and loosely sympathize with a new sheikh (Chappatte). Pentecostal Churches in South Africa use social media to create a forum to participate in the church and thus affect their members’ religious experiences (Frahm-Arp). There is no single narrative or teleology by which these media and their usages by religious and other actors as well as their impacts on religious practices and communities could be summarized.

This book thus makes a compelling point against technological and other determinisms: a medium “does not carry its end in itself” (p. 19). As the diverse case studies and their different approaches convey, media and their usages are highly complex, circumstantial, and ambiguous; a single narrative or analytic take does not grasp these complexities. However, the volume’s biggest strength, i.e. the diversity of the presented cases and takes, also makes for its biggest weakness, as the essays hardly speak to each other or a succinct topic. While the volume is strong in its empirical studies of diverse media and their various usages by different actors, the issue of marginality is not always sufficiently addressed. A “longer history of Muslims’ and Christians’ use of older media forms” (p. 1) is also frequently missing, so is the initially announced “comparative historical perspective” (p. 3). The reader is left to derive one’s own conclusions. Are there shared features or dynamics of media and their usages that a comparison could reveal? Is there nonetheless a history of media and religions which one could discern? Are there central differences or similarities between Muslim and Christian media usages? What is specific about media usages in modern Africa? How do the assembled studies challenge or redress media studies’ Eurocentric biases? Here, a concluding comparative chapter would have helped. As the editors suggest, media have their own dynamics and (can) affect communities in specific ways (pp. 3, 18-20). While media thus not necessarily instigate change, they might nonetheless propel or suggest particular trajectories or dynamics as shown in several of the studies. A bit more on these dynamics in comparison would have enhanced the argumentative value and coherence of this volume which is nonetheless an important and timely contribution and of great interest to those working on media and religion in Africa.

Benedikt Pontzen, *University of Florida*

**Nina Berman. 2017. *Germans on the Kenyan Coast: Land, Charity, and Romance*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. 268 pp.**

In *Germans on the Kenyan Coast*, Nina Berman examines the impact the German-speaking expatriate and return visitor community has had on the southern Kenya coastal area of Diani. She argues that the Diani area has experienced a “long-term process of gentrification” that, in combination with “intra-Kenyan power struggles,” has resulted in a widespread economic precarity among the local African population (p. 2). Berman contends that African Kenyans in Diani have responded to their precarity through the formation of relationships with Europeans centered on the solicitation of humanitarian assistance and the pursuit of romantic partnerships. While the work focuses primarily on Diani, Berman’s analysis is well positioned to engage with a broad range of literatures relating to north-south social and economic interactions and networks.

Berman argues that the gentrification of Diani has its roots in structures and practices that began during the colonial period. The colonial state enacted laws like the 1915 Crown Lands Ordinance to dispossess native populations of their land. This began a historical pattern of land being taken from the indigenous Digo population in the region. Berman argues that many colonial-era practices continued after independence and resulted in these issues largely going unresolved. German-led development emerged in the region during the 1960s and, encouraged by neoliberal economic policies, intensified in the following decades. This wave of development resulted in larger numbers of Germans visiting and settling in the region and many African Kenyan landowners selling their land to foreigners. While this led to short-term financial gain for some, it created challenging long-term economic consequences for the indigenous population that has caused many locals to call those who sold their land “victims” (p. 56). Berman’s research shows that currently “villagers’ control over land is restricted to only about 20 percent of the land they once considered theirs” and that foreigners (many German) control much of the most valuable properties in the area (p. 24).

The growth of foreign land ownership over the last fifty years has also corresponded with “the disappearance of indigenous communal forms of support” and a growing dependence on outside charity in Diani (p. 73). Because the tourist-centric economy in Diani is unable to meet the economic needs of the local population, many African Kenyans rely on humanitarian assistance from German visitors and residents. Berman categorizes German charitable giving in Diani into four dominant forms (contraband humanitarianism, educational institutions, Kenya-registered charitable organizations, and health-care initiatives) and weighs the effects of them on the region. Her examination of the different forms of charitable giving demonstrates the dangers of contraband humanitarianism (where Kenyans are passive recipients of aid) and the need for more forms of humanitarian assistance that empowers locals as active contributors to the development process (p. 124). Berman’s analysis of how many African Kenyans in Diani view foreign humanitarian assistance as a more viable and trustworthy source of aid than from the Kenyan state is also informative.

The final chapter examines German-Kenya romantic partnerships. Berman distinguishes these romances from sex tourism and contends that “they are born of a nexus of emotional and economic precarity” (pp. 128-29). Many Kenyans perceive a romantic relationship with a foreigner as a path to financial security, while Germans often pursue them as a way of obtaining



emotional support. To analyze these romantic partnerships, Berman acquired an impressive dataset of marriage licenses from the Mombasa Office of the Registrar of Marriages. She also conducted interviews with Germans and Kenyans in north-south romantic relationships to build a thorough picture of twenty-nine couples. She profiles several of these couples in detail to provide a vivid picture of the motivations, duration, challenges, and scope of these partnerships.

*Germans on the Kenya Coast* provides a thorough examination of the historical context that led to the German presence in Diani and the precarious economic position of the local African Kenyan population. Equally important, it shows how locals have responded to this through the solicitation of humanitarian assistance and the formation of romantic partnerships with Europeans. My only critique of the work is that Berman repeatedly asserts that her study “offers a *longue durée* perspective” but only goes as far back as the late-nineteenth century (p. 2). A period of less than 150 years is hardly a *longue durée* perspective in a Braudelian sense, but this is a minor criticism. *Germans on the Kenyan Coast* is an informative and thought-provoking work that deserves to be read by scholars of Kenya and those interested in globalized structures of gentrification, north-south humanitarian assistance, and love and romance in Africa.

Thomas Bouril, *Syracuse University*

**John Campbell and Matthew T. Page. 2018. *Nigeria: What Everyone Needs to Know*. New York: Oxford University Press. x, 218 pp.**

This very lucid and largely factual publication is the brainchild of scholars whose immense and invaluable understanding of the complex political economy of Nigeria across different historical epochs is quite remarkable. John Campbell and Matthew Page have justified their interest in Nigeria with this book which contains analyses of the country’s socio-political and economic data that only highly perspicacious, curious, and resident researchers could render as they have done. In the case of Campbell, as a former U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria, he most certainly availed himself of the opportunity of interacting deeply with the broader spectrum of Nigerian society in the course of his diplomatic assignment in the country—an engagement that probably motivated him and in partnership with his colleague to do this worthwhile intellectual and historically relevant piece on the country.

The book begins with a very broad introductory section which articulates the authors’ perspectives on sundry issues thereby providing the readers a bird’s eye view of the book’s contents and at the same time serving as authors’ prefatory comments. There are seven chapters. The first chapter discusses Nigeria’s history before it became a European colony, and other issues including how the slave trade impacted Nigeria’s development; its colonial experience and how it attained independence; the causes of the civil war and why it is still an important matter; the lessons of the fall of Second Republic; why the military rule lasted for so long and its legacy, and the country’s historical figures (pp. 18-45). Chapter two focuses on Nigeria’s economy, interrogates the size of the economy, examines how the country’s oil and gas industry work, and enquires if Nigerians have benefited from the oil wealth, pointing out how Nigeria can grow its economy and fit better into the global economy. The chapter ends with different futuristic scenarios of the prospects of Nigeria’s economy in the next fifteen years

(pp. 46-68). Chapter three examines the importance of religion in Nigerian life and analyzes the relations between the two major religions (Christianity and Islam), how religious Nigerians are, and notes the underlying influence of traditional religions, the changing nature of Islam and the uniqueness of Nigerian Christianity (pp. 69-83). Chapter four describes the nature, structure and characteristics of Nigeria's politics and points out how the country's federal system works, the inimitable power of the Nigerian president, politicization of regional and ethnic identities, the relevance of state governors, the pervasiveness of official corruption and efforts to combat it, the nature of party politics, the quality of elections, the degree of popular participation in politics including women involvement in political leadership (pp. 84-121).

Chapter five discusses Nigeria's security challenges including the deadly Boko Haram insurgency, Niger Delta militancy and communal conflicts which have resulted in the killing of many Nigerians. The chapter identifies land disputes, political disagreements, weak and divisive governance, political failures, and cycles of reprisals as some of the causes of communal conflicts. It points out strengths and weaknesses of the Nigerian Army in relation to the security challenges and the prevalence of vigilantes (pp. 122-42). Chapter six examines Nigeria's recent roles in the world and in Africa, and interrogates in particular the country's relations with Washington, London and China. The country's human rights record, the important role of the Nigerian diaspora in the United States, United Kingdom, China, South Africa, etc. in addition to Nigeria's contributions to world culture are also chronicled (pp. 143-61). Chapter seven concludes the book with a projection of what the future holds for Nigeria on the strength of a careful diagnosis of how Nigerian cities evolve, whether the social media and information technology would transform Nigerian politics, governance, and society, and whether the Nigerian government would be able to do more to mitigate the impact of climate change. Against the backdrop of the current efforts in managing the country's oil wealth, the chapter enquires how Nigeria intends to cope if in the next century, it runs out of oil (pp. 162-74).

The book correctly affirms Nigeria's immediate importance on grounds of six elements which comprise its huge population which could get to 440 million by mid-century; its multi-ethnicity and religious diversity could serve as a social and political laboratory which provides lessons for other pluralistic societies; its role in international energy market; Its roles in African Union, Economic Community for West African States(ECOWAS) and the United Nations Organization position the country as Africa's political leader; its ability to develop distinct postcolonial Africa's cultural identity different from its former colonial master, and the fact that its security challenges spill over into West African region (p. 8).

There are some omissions, critical statements, explanations in the book which could elicit reactions. First, the book expresses doubts about the status of Nigeria as a democracy, but characterizes the country harshly as a kleptocracy, a type of corruption in a country where government or public officials seek personal gain at the expense of those being governed (p. 2). Second, the brief period of Chief Shonekan's Interim National Government (ING) from 26<sup>th</sup> August, 1993 to 17<sup>th</sup> November, 1993 preceding the emergence of General Sani Abacha is missing in the book (p. 40). Third, Ahmadu Bello was wrongly described as "the first post-independence Premier, the head of government" (p. 43). He was the Premier of Northern region. It was Tafawa Balewa who was the Prime Minister and Head of Government, whose

name was not even mentioned in the book. Fourth, the claim that many Nigerian megachurches enjoy funding from the United States needs validation in the light of the trite assertion by the proprietors of these megachurches that they did not access external funding (pp. 73, 80). Fifth, the phenomenal growth of Pentecostal churches and their growing diasporic outreaches is not well-captured in the book (p. 157). Aside from the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) which was given skeletal reference, other global ministries including Living Faith Church, Deeper Life Bible Church, Mountain of Fire and Miracles, etc., were not mentioned. No mention was made of Pastor Enoch Adeboye, the leader of RCCG, and his very impactful global influence.

Regardless of these few critical comments, the book is a commendable rendition on Nigeria's recent history. All through the book, the authors exhibit a brutal frankness and bluntness with, possibly, an underlying passion for eliciting corrective or remedial actions to unlock Nigeria's great potential which they suggest should include infrastructure development, combating corruption, reforming its military and increasing the participation of women in politics among other ways (p. 17). This superbly objective narrative on Nigeria is uniquely one of the few well-written and balanced publications by Africanist scholars who independently chose to deeply examine the recent history of Nigeria with a futuristic projection of its likely attainment of the status of a developed country and as Africa's powerhouse provided its potentials are harnessed and utilized appropriately.

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**Cooper, Frederick. 2018. *Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference: Historical Perspective*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 205 pp.**

Today we live in a world, which is unequal and diverse, but still connected. Citizenship is the right to have a right or in a better sense it is the right to claim a right. When one thinks about citizenship, then there is also a domain of non-citizenship. Within territorial conceptions today, the distinction between citizens and foreigners is very straightforward. Cooper's *Citizenship, Inequality, and Difference: Historical Perspective* is a product of the Lawrence Stone Lectures in 2006, which discussed the concept that citizenship does not and cannot preclude other forms of association and mobilization, as we live in a multiple, overlapping and proliferating forms of connectedness and dependency. Cooper's underlying objective here is to explain that citizens exist not only in relation to a leader or in a more abstract sense to a state, but to each other. He conceptualizes "Citizenship as a potentially flexible, divisible, portable and multilevel rather than as characteristic of a closed potential space" (p. 26).

The book has three chapters in addition to an Introduction and a conclusion. The Introduction titled "Citizenship and Belonging" presents citizenship as a capacious concept, which allow us to think about its various forms of belonging and their relationship with the states in a variety of ways, to address the problems of people living both within and beyond territorial boundaries. Here Cooper writes that "the nation-state is a constructed entity that doesn't fully embrace the forms of identification of people within it [is an argument that] applies to groups within the state as well. And the idea of homogeneous ethnic groups is as much a fiction as the idea of the homogeneous nation-state" (p. 16). Thus, the Introduction gives a bird's

eye view of the book's essence and components and provide a brief overview of the concept of citizenship and inequality in evolutionary terms.

Chapter One look back to ancient history and discusses the debates over citizenship in the context of difference and inequality. This long history begins with the Greek *polis*, which established a model of citizenship in a city-state that was both democratic and exclusionary. Here, Cooper discusses the transformation of Rome from Monarchy to Republic means of participation and explains how Rome in the last second and early first centuries BC subordinated other states, and the position of *socii* entailed tensions in the relationship between Rome and its neighbors. And then Cooper discusses power and inequality in Republican Rome, as he insists that Republican Rome should be seen as a framework for debates and especially debates on status, hierarchy, wealth and inequality.

Chapter Two, "Citizenship and Empire—Europe and Beyond," carefully interrogates that citizenship a century ago was not rigid and national. Within Europe and beyond, the space of political belonging had been repeatedly transformed over the centuries, but not in a single direction. In this chapter, the author discusses the citizenship in the Kingdom of Spain and the Cadiz Constitution of 1812, how after difficult compromises it embraced a singular Spanish nation. He tried to trace the dynamic role citizenship has played over a particular space and time. Cooper points out that "the arguments that shaped discussions of citizenship ever since the Roman Republic did not originate in context of a nation-state. The story of citizenship begins with empire, and focus on the relationship of people from different places with different languages, cultural orientations and social connections towards an inclusionary dynamic of citizenship" (p. 41). Hence citizenship is not just a status, but a construct used to make claims. It is not a stable concept; it has the potential to become more inclusionary or exclusionary. So, ever since the revolution, the relationship of nationality and citizenship has moved in different directions.

The next chapter of the book look at citizenship at different levels of inclusion. The author discusses the topic under different categories: "Claiming and Bestowing Citizenship in the British Empire," "Citizenship from the Tsarist Empire to the Russian Federation," "Citizenship in the Post-Ottoman Middle East," and "Citizenship in Post-imperial Africa and in the European Union." Cooper points out that the dissolution of empire—Ottoman, British, Soviet—did not end conflict over belonging and boundaries. Both world wars of the twentieth century ended with massive, coerced population transfers. The empire in the early and mid-twentieth century was not neatly divided between metropole and colony, and its people between citizens and subjects. It was only in the latter half of the twentieth century that citizenship in a territorially defined state came to be widely accepted as a universal norm. In conclusion, cooper highlight that "citizenship is and will remain crucial to the defense of human welfare and dignity, but the question remains of whether citizenship will be narrowly focused on the individual, on his or her property, and on the bounded community of which the citizen is" (p. 147).

The strength of Cooper's book is the depth of its historical excavation and the synchronization of relevant literature on Citizenship. The book is an interesting scholarly piece which attempts to fill the gap that scholars have rarely had and offers a clarifying lens for

understanding this critical and multifaceted concept. Therefore, it is an important contribution to study Citizenship and of interest to academic scholars and policy makers alike.

Deepika Dahiya, *University of Delhi*

**Richard Fardon and Sènga la Rouge (illus.). 2017. *Learning from the Curse: Sembene's Xala*. London: C. Hurst & Co. 160 pp.**

*Learning from the Curse* is Richard Fardon's probing account of Senegalese writer/director Ousmane Sembene's political satire *Xala* (1975). Sembene (regarded as the first black filmmaker on the African continent) made his cinematic debut in 1963 with the short film *Barom Sarret*. *Xala*, which was adapted from his 1973 novella of the same name written in French, "is about the impotence of the new Senegalese middle class," explains Fardon, who triangulates the social coordinates of post-independence Senegal between the film's political, sexual, and ethnographic details (p. 37). For Fardon, both the film and novel "versions of *Xala* can be treated similarly, as largely complementary ethnographies of an imagined social network in Senegal...in the aftermath of formal Independence from France in 1960" (p. 15).

*Xala* follows a member of the newly emerged Senegalese bourgeoisie named El Hadji (Thierno Leye) — a corrupt businessman who is preparing to wed his third wife. El Hadji boasts about his upcoming wedding reception to a colleague, describing how "nothing will be lacking" — the irony of which arrives shortly thereafter when El Hadji discovers that he has been cursed with a *xala* (the Wolof word referring to a curse of impotence) on the night of his wedding. When he is unable to consummate his marriage with his new wife, El Hadji spends the remainder of the film seeking help from village marabouts in an attempt to remove the *xala*. The film thus functions as an extended metaphor on the impotency of the bourgeoisie in the transition from French colonialism to — as the utopian Minister Kebe (Makhouredia Gueye) ironically describes in the opening scene of the film — "the only true Socialism: African Socialism."

Throughout the book's ten chapters, Fardon employs a largely anthropological approach to *Xala*, focusing on the economic and cultural nuances of the film and novella, while also paying close attention to the roles of material culture, fetishism, music, and commodities, commenting on Sembene as a writer, a marxist, and ultimately a powerful voice of third cinema. Fardon provides a detailed account of the intricate socio-political, and cultural networks of objects and relations in the film and novel, highlighting key differences between each version, while offering sharp observations on this most trenchant of Sembene's works.

In the second chapter, Fardon observes how, "for a marxist, like Sembene, economy and family are both about processes of reproduction, and the relations of inequality which arise through these," noting that, "the affairs of the family and the state become impossible to distinguish" (p. 39). Fardon explains how Sembene's "interest is drawn more to the politics of gendered roles, and the relations between men and women, of which sex is only a part" (p. 51). This theme of interconnectedness of state and family is echoed in the "relations between men and women," which, argues Fardon, "have more to do with reproduction and reputation" — the reproduction of crime and corruption in the transition from colonialism to independence, and the subsequent reputations of the Senegalese bourgeoisie (p. 52). As a reviewer, I would

add that for Sembene, the sexual *is* political; sexual impotency is not simply an allegory for the impotency of the bourgeoisie politico, but rather both are indicted as a problematic at the heart of subjectivity: utopian politics, just as sexuality, are defined by failure for Sembene.

In one particularly thoughtful passage, Fardon observes how Sembene effectively returns the theory of fetishism to its African roots, providing “a sense of etymological-historical authenticity or familiarity” (pp. 73-74). Fardon goes on to ask whether we should “read African fetishism proposed by an African marxist literally or ironically or both?” (p. 74). By leaving this question unanswered, Fardon captures the essential mode of ambivalence active in *Xala*; although there may be no terminus to the cycle of corruption, impotence, and abjection, Sembene provides a poignant commentary on the absurdity of the patriarchal, pseudo-revolutionary power dynamics between El Hadji, his wives and daughter, as well as the other members of the political elite. Though the film can certainly be read as a comedy, Fardon concludes that “the fall from grace of both the story’s hero and his society means that the emotional tone of *Xala*, which has veered between comedy and tragedy, comes to rest on the tragic” (p. 19).

From the consequences of “urban polygyny” (p. 45) to the “the subtleties of characters’ attire” (p. 63) and the film’s penchant for men’s footwear and motor vehicles (p. 67), Fardon leaves no stone unturned; by juxtaposing the import of the film’s macro-politics with seemingly mundane details of everyday life, Fardon achieves a kind of thematic rack focus operative at both the narrative and visual levels of the film (p. 69). Although Fardon maintains early on that his book, “is not an account of a film buff or cinema theorist,” he perhaps sells himself a bit short, as many of his observations are reminiscent of the scholarship on *Xala* from film theorists as Laura Mulvey and Teshome Gabriel (p. 17).<sup>1</sup> With this in mind, this title is recommended for not only for students and teachers of African studies, particularly ethnographic studies on Senegal, or Senegalese cultural, social and political history more generally, but also as an excellent introduction to Sembene’s complex cinematic thought from which there is much to be mined today. Additionally, Senga la Rouge’s illustrations provide a visual staccato to contrast with the fluidity of Fardon’s prose; hand drawn in deep red and black ink, depicting memorable *mise-en-scenes* from *Xala*, la Rouge punctuates the text with some of the more grotesque details of the film. Fardon’s account of the intersection of politics and aesthetics in Sembene’s work, and the underlying erotic thread there between, should remind us of the importance of approaching Sembene from a scholarly vantage, as a crucial voice of the global south and third cinema.

#### Note

See Laura Mulvey. 1993. “Xala, Ousmane Sembene (1974): The Carapace That Failed.” *Camera Obscura: Feminism, Culture, and Media Studies*, 11. 1: 48-70; Teshome H. Gabriel. 1980. “« Xala » : A Cinema of Wax and Gold.” *Présence Africaine*, 116. 4: 202-14.

Anthony Ballas, *Independent Scholar, Denver, Colorado*

**Julia Gallagher. 2017. *Zimbabwe's International Relations: Fantasy, Reality and the Making of the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 256 pp.**

Mainstream international relations (IR) scholars rarely employ Hegelian political philosophy, Melanie Klein's object relations theory, and Tswana conceptions of identity as their primary analytical paradigms, yet Julia Gallagher uses this precise theoretical combination to explore Zimbabwean statehood and international relations in *Zimbabwe's International Relations: Fantasy, Reality and the Making of the State*. Utilizing theory, empirical evidence from over two hundred interviews of Zimbabwean citizens, and a case study of the 2013 elections, she argues that "Zimbabweans engage with and constitute themselves collectively in relation to the wider world" through imagination and "more grounded engagements of recognition" (p. 4). In this, she develops an idea of Zimbabwean statehood where the state is constantly shaped by international relationships and is never settled but is "always in the making" (p. 156). Through this work, Gallagher conceives of a unique, citizen-driven—as opposed to elite-driven—concept of statehood, identity, and international relations. This review briefly describes her theoretical foundations, highlights the strengths, and concludes with a minor critique/question.

Gallagher's three foundations assert a selfhood created through relationships, which she applies in seeing Zimbabweans working out their own statehood/selfhood through projection, introjection, and recognition. She identifies projection, "the throwing out of unpleasant parts of the self and their reencounter in an aggressive other," in Mugabe's demonization of Britain as an aggressor and cause of Zimbabwe's economic hardship, political sanctions, and land reform issues (p. 23). While this resonates with some Zimbabweans, Gallagher claims that many others project the hardship they see in the country back onto Mugabe and/or the Chinese. Some citizens also use introjection, "the taking in of an external good object," by seeing Britain as the good state, incorporating parts of an imagined British identity into their own (p. 24). One citizen even remarked, "we are more British than the British themselves" (p. 88). Finally Zimbabweans experience recognition - an unending process grounded in real relationships where subjects see others as independent actors that mutually shape each other and reflect parts of the self—in their impressions and relationships with other South African countries. Ultimately, Gallagher views the relationships of recognition with Zimbabwe's neighbors as the strongest shaper of identity, but all three components play a role.

The strongest parts of Gallagher's work come from the responses in her interviews with Zimbabwean citizens, her recognition of their agency, and the theoretical challenge it presents to other Africanists who use Hegel and psychoanalytic theory. Specifically, her interviewees have a complex understanding of the world that defies Manichean categories, especially in relation to their former colonizer. While they express pain regarding colonialism and racism faced during British colonization and through independence, many still incorporate some aspect of British identity into their own, or view at least some aspects of Britain positively. Even with the violence of colonialism, the colonized, or formerly colonized, still have an active role in the process of creating themselves and are not merely passive victims. This observation, and the theoretical use of Klein's introjection collides with other Africanists, like Fanon, who viewed the black man as primarily "acted upon" in colonization and sometimes in decolonization.<sup>1</sup> Contra Fanon, Gallagher sees assertion of identity not only in the process of recognition, but also in introjection, without seeing it as "pathological" or "problematic" (p. 94). This is not to

whitewash the past, but rather to recognize that the experience and self-conception of Zimbabweans is complex.

Gallagher's study and application provokes a methodological question, would a psychoanalyst—or an object relations theorist—view Gallagher's application of the theory to a society as appropriate? Klein built her theory working with children and studied the self and individual development, but Gallagher's application to entire societies is more ambitious. Some researchers employing techniques or venturing outside their primary field have received criticism for engaging those disciplines in ways its practitioners would not.<sup>2</sup> [ See Mike McGovern, "Review Essay: Popular Development Economics - an Anthropologist among the Mandarins," *Perspectives on Politics* 9, no. 2 (2011): 353.] This is not to say that kind of criticism applies to Gallagher, but a longer discussion justifying her application from the individual to the societal from psychoanalysts would strengthen her case.

Gallagher provides a unique theoretical take on Zimbabwean international relations and a valuable set of interviews with Zimbabwean citizens. The theoretical and empirical work will challenge and interest those in mainstream IR as well as those already sharing similar perspectives.

#### Notes

- 1 Frantz Fanon. 1967. *Black Skins, White Masks*. 1st ed. (New York and Berkeley: Grove Press), p. 194.
- 2 See Mike McGovern. 2011. "Review Essay: Popular Development Economics - an Anthropologist among the Mandarins," *Perspectives on Politics* 9.2: 353.

Mike Holmes, *Independent Scholar, Vienna, Virginia*

**Teresia Mbari Hinga. 2017. *African, Christian, Feminist: The Enduring Search for What Matters*. Mary Knoll, New York: Orbis Books. 244 pp.**

Hinga connects African, Christian, and Feminist in a compelling anthology that everyone should read. What can misleadingly be classified as a book on religious studies can in turn be seen as an all-encompassing history of African women exploring their political as well personal agency in matters of religion. Most importantly, the book is concerned with how three religions widely practiced in the African continent, Traditional Religion, Islam, and Christianity have reflexively dealt with matters that concern women. Hinga discusses religion, especially Christianity in disempowering and empowering their agency. She looks at divisive debates boldly, the silencing of women, the conditions of women's livelihood, the all-pervasive problem of gender-based violence that African women deal with. Hinga chides all of us that there have not been just vacuous voices about these issues but a concerted movement that validates this African, Christian and feminist consciousness. The movement's realization that religion plays a huge role in liberating minds and mitigating the condition of women is what makes this book a breath of fresh air.

The book is an anthology organized into four parts. Its chapter essays cover wide ranging themes. The first part maps African women's theological footprint, covering the stories of colonialism and enculturation, especially when Christianity has been entangled with



colonialism is mostly unpleasant ways. Hinga then weaves those stories with the ones in the contemporary diaspora about engaged African women. Together with her circle of Concerned Women Theologians, they seek more feminist reflective and context specific solutions to African problems.

The second theme maps ambiguities, challenges, and opportunities concerning Afro-theologies. Though most of her concentration is on Christianity and how the Bible can be transformative in giving meaning to African feminist struggles, other religions are not exempt from her incisive analysis. She notes that women should look out and actively reject the type of religion that is inimical to their cause, the one that tolerates sexism or seeks to entrench lopsided gender relations, so that with confidence be partisan in search of faith (p. 89).

Part three unpacks gender and theological ethics that emerge therein. Here the author emphasizes the key message of her book that social justice ought to be in the forefront when solving many problems that confront Africa. She identifies the key issues for action as: endemic poverty and lack of food security, climate change and access to water/energy resources, Africa and the AIDS epidemic, gender-based violence, land tenure, and environmental degradation. In the diverse chapters of this section she makes bold recommendations that religion is “vital in constructing and nurturing a sustainable prophylactic ethic over and against the endemic and deadly food insecurity on the continent of Africa” (p. 108). Commenting on opportunities for faith in solving African problems in the food-energy-water nexus she calls for ecologically viable action, not just for survival but as a matter of conscience (p. 130). She strongly advocates for understanding that HIV/AIDS has become a complex multidimensional problem that demands adoption of radical solidarity (p. 152); for the church this means practical hope, accompaniment and compassionate care. Her wide-ranging essay on violence against women concludes that pastoral responses should include reeducating society as well as the church itself to steer away from toxic masculinity that damages women, families, and humanity (p. 182).

Part four reverts to more pedagogic concerns of mapping the opportunities in teaching transformative theological education for global citizens of the future. Hinga is an Associate Professor in the Religious Studies Department at Santa Clara University. She also reflects on herself as a teacher of religion and theology in a global world. She relates the compelling personal story of Kimpa Vita that teaches us that education (and scholarship) is both an end in itself and also a means (or ought to be a means) to transformation on multiple levels (p. xxiv). Education is a practice of freedom.

Hinga’s anthology makes no pretensions of covering every woman for every religion. She concentrates on voices in the African diaspora trying to merge concerns for the continent with her African American voice, these representing outsiders looking in. Also, her heterosexual focus on matters that involve sexuality and HIV/AIDS means she skates lightly on matters that could be bigger than the picture she paints. However, her work is a very useful start to relating what seemed to be oxymoronic in the beginning of reading her book *Africa, Christian, Feminist: The Enduring Search for What Matters*.

Seroala Tsoeu-Ntokoane, *National University of Lesotho*

**Donna Hornby, Rosalie Kingwill, Lauren Royston, and Ben Cousins (eds.). 2017. *Untitled: Securing Land Tenure in Urban and Rural South Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press. 443 pp.**

This book is the result of a fifteen-year research project initiated in 1998 now known as LEAP (Learning Approaches to Securing Tenure). As the name suggests, the project examined land tenure in South Africa with the objectives of informing policy, putting theory into practice, and reducing serious and pervasive land related insecurities. One key aim was to explore and advise on some of the glaring gaps between, on the one side, past and present state efforts to improve land tenure, and on the other, the everyday realities of land-related insecurity—a nationwide malaise that is experienced by some thirty million South Africans (about 60 percent of the population), who in diverse ways access and possess land outside of formal systems of property (p. 8). The book's depth and scope reflect the complexity and multiplicity of rural and urban land issues around the country. It comprises eleven chapters: an introduction, presentation of the policy context, seven empirically rich and conceptually and theoretically grounded analysis of cases studies, and a conclusion. Five of the case studies focus on local realities of land tenure in rural KwaZulu-Natal, rural Mpumalanga, inner city Johannesburg, villages in the former Bantustan of Ciskei, and different urban informal settlements. The remaining two explore social processes towards improving tenure in contexts of land reform implementation and state-initiated regularization projects.

The major theme running through the volume is that the country's formal property system remains firmly based in the historical-structural power divide defined by race, and which continues to influence contemporary processes of land related discrimination and dispossession (p. 388). In practice, millions of ordinary people find themselves on the margins of a whole range of statutory frameworks related to land that are cumbersome, expensive, contradictory, and inflexible. The formal land system prioritizes the institutionalization of private title deeds and the transferal of private ownership. And its dominance continues because of intrinsic and complex links between all kinds of institutions of bureaucracy, administration, parceling and planning, the payments of rates, taxes, the provision of public services, and not least, engrained political and economic power interests. As a result, the formal system is termed "the edifice" because it represents an imposing and unhelpful structure of law and practice. The edifice offers very little, if anything, to a very large and diverse group of South Africans who find themselves pushed to its margins. Hence, a key structural fault line of land relations in South Africa is between the systems of "edifice" and "social tenure." The millions on the periphery of the edifice construe and construct their own context specific informal systems of rules, rights, logics, and social systems. And they produce "off-register," "social tenure," and forms of "ownership" that are nested in layers of social organization and which offer certainty and security of tenure. The mismatch between local realities and state-based ideals and ideas around land tenure and governance is not diminishing (and may even be expanding as the levels of complexity increase). Overall, the gap testifies to an ingrained and replicated failure of a slew of state institutions and interests to address satisfactorily a wide variety of serious land related challenges. These include the provision of adequate protection against eviction, the redistribution of commercial farmland to landless, an extensive and dysfunctional land administration systems, and abuses of power by elites such as traditional authorities who enjoy

tenure privileges and benefit from legislation that transfers land, to for example, Communal Property Associations (CPAs). Furthermore, the persistence of inadequate yet dominant ideologies, institutions, and use of normative (read: inaccurate) conceptual dualisms (such as informal and formal) that belie actual social realities, compound the myriad land related challenges and make land a key site of numerous societal power struggles.

The thrust of the argument in *Untitled* is that many forms of social and nested tenure systems should be recognized by the “edifice” because despite their considerable variations across the country, they contain embedded societal qualities, logics, and values, and they provide many marginalized people with exactly what they need: stability and protection. Thus, it is highly inaccurate to continue to frame informal systems of tenure in normative terms of disorganization and ineffectiveness, and as prone to chaos or violence (a rejection of the economist Hernando De Soto’s position which aficionados of Global south “land issues” will be familiar with).

Importantly, the contributors do not fall into a trap of idealizing “social tenure” as they also acknowledge social processes of exclusion, abuses of power, and struggle (along lines of gender, age, and kin for example) that arise from “off-register” processes. At the same time, however, social tenure systems also experience insecurity due to the disjuncture and isolation from the edifice. The proposed solutions, laid out in the conclusion, are not based in conventional approaches that posit that the registration of titles and deeds will increase security. Rather, viable land related security is linked to a combination of processes—from changing the workings of the edifice from within, to developing the registration of off-register tenure, to developing a “tenure security continuum,” to dissolving the all-powerful informal and informal binary, to legislation that places “informal” tenure on par with “formal” land holdings (pp. 413-17). As the book also admits, however, the main obstacle to any meaningful and widespread advances for the millions that experience land-based marginalization is the “edifice” itself. Indeed, in many other developing countries, we also see how newly created formal institutions of land control perpetuate historical-structural inequalities, and conversely, how efforts to balance out land-related inequalities are blocked by ingrained and powerful interests. Overall, this is a well-written book with many merits and is recommended reading for anyone wanting an in-depth and empirically grounded understanding of how land related insecurities relate to dominant developmental thinking and decades of “reform,” and how they may be solved. Although the explicit focus is on South Africa, the analysis of antagonisms (and proposed solutions) carry relevance way beyond South Africa’s boundaries.

Paul Stacey, *University of Roskilde*

**George Hamandishe Karekwaivanane. 2017. *The Struggle Over State Power in Zimbabwe: Law and Politics since 1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 272 pp.**

George Karekwaivanane writes a unique book which addresses the role of the law in the constitution and contestation of state power in Zimbabwean history during the colonial and post-colonial periods. A reading of the book reveals that new legislation was introduced as legal armoury for dealing with those who challenged the status quo.

The book is presented in eight substantive chapters. In the first chapter the author gives a historical background against which the legal developments since the 1950s must be comprehended, paying attention to its creation and operations. It further affirms that the whites agreed to introduce the Roman-Dutch Law. However, the fate of the indigenous legal system generated debate which was resolved by the introduction of the 1894 Matabeleland Order in Council. Chapter two examines efforts by the state to implement forcibly introduced, especially the Native Land Husbandry Act (NLHA) of 1951 which was designed to curtail population growth and the subsequent rise of African nationalism. The NLHA was enforced through the customary law and African chiefs, but these were defied and tenaciously contested by villagers across Rhodesia.

In chapters three and four, the author examines the legal responses of successive settler governments to the rise of African nationalism. Chapter three asserts that the ratification of oppressive laws which embody the Subversive Activities Act of 1950 and the Public Order Act of 1955 to inhibit African nationalism reveal the legal agency of African nationalists who counteracted these efforts to silence them through the courts. Chapter four, argues that the Rhodesian government during the Unilateral Declaration of Independence era, 1965-1980, implemented the law away from legitimation to coercion. Consequently, this intensified African nationalism and escalated the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) guerrilla attacks against the Ian Smith regime which relied on the establishment of a legal armoury to brutally suppress African political dissent. Chapter five is about African legal agency and thus examines the involvement of African lawyers in the legal arena during the struggle between the settler state and African nationalists, 1950-1980. It avers that the lawyers (who identified themselves with the black majority) not only applied legal agency but also assisted other Africans to exercise it.

Chapters six and seven deal with the two divergent dimensions of transformation and continuity that comprised developments in the legal fraternity during the first decade of independence. This chapter explores attempts by the ZANU-PF government to alter the inherited legal system in a milieu in which law, violence, and racial supremacy had become complicatedly entangled. In this regard, ZANU-PF enacted legislation which included those that elevated the legal status of women. Chapter seven contends that ZANU-PF used the institutional legacies of the settler state that preceded it and the law to brutally quell political opposition. It was the brutality of colonial legacies, the party's authoritarian tendencies, long standing animosities between ZANU-PF and ZAPU, and the political calculations of the 1980s that compelled the state to use the law to persecute political opponents. The state of emergency powers introduced in the 1980s to suppress dissent in Matabeleland was a notable example. Finally, chapter 8 affirms that the rigid legislation enacted by ZANU-PF after 2000 and its use for practical and political motives can be traced back to the last decade of settler rule although its details were refined by the ZANU-PF regime.

The book is significant because it sheds light on the prominent place that law assumed in Zimbabwe's recent political struggles for those researching the history of the state and power in Southern Africa and even beyond. More importantly, the methodology used was appropriate and revealing. In addition, its chapters can be read and understood independently. I urge historians, lawyers, sociologists, human rights advocates, community developers, politicians,

political scientists, and policy makers to read it. However, I encourage the author to take note of critical issues to polish his second edition. First, read works that have come before his study such as those by Johan Frederik Holleman published in 1952 and 1969 respectively. Second, it broadens the areas covered by his interviews beyond the current scope. Third, the glaring typing omissions must be addressed. For example, on page 192: “Zimbabw” should be “Zimbabwe” and “aand” footnote 26 should be “and.” On page 239, “Zimbabwe Human Right NGO Forum” should read “Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum.” Overall, allow me to congratulate George Hamandishe Karekwaivanane for a superb book on law and politics in Zimbabwe.

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**Abdul Raufu Mustapha and David Ehrhardt (eds.). 2018. *Creed and Grievance: Muslim-Christian Relations and Conflict Resolution in Northern Nigeria*. Rochester, NY: James Curry. 364 pp.**

Nigeria is a complex country due to the multiplicity of ethnic groups, regional differences, and its multi-religious setting. Relations between Muslims and Christians made the country more complicated. This book has analyzed the situation of Muslim-Christian relations within the context of the country's diversity. The history of Muslim-Christian relations in especially northern Nigeria is a history of encounter, peace, and conflict as well as the “processes of religious interaction, expansion, synthesis, conversion, competition, borrowing, conflict and change” (p. 1). The outcome of this encounter has always produced peace, conflict and violence. Philip Ostien observed that northern Nigeria is the largest geographical area of Nigeria dominated mostly by Muslims. The Muslims are scattered into different groups, each pursuing different aim and objectives, which often lead to internal conflicts. Northern Nigeria had become more complex not only due to the presence of significant Christian population in the north central (Middle Belt), but also because of the large ethnic composition in the region. The implementation of *shari'a* in twelve states of the north, areas with Muslim dominance further complicated the situation and divided the north along religious lines (p. 40).

David Ehrhardt and Jibrin Ibrahim examined the presence of Christians and Christianity in northern Nigeria. Christianity was introduced in northern Nigeria in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century where early converts formed a minority as well as created an indigenous northern version of Christianity e.g. ECWA, COCIN, EYN etc. detached from churches such as Roman Catholic and Protestant. Christians represent less than 30 percent of the population in northern Nigeria, while Muslims make up over 70 percent. Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) constantly strives to unite the Christians in the north on the basis of shared interest (p. 91). The constitution of Nigeria upholds equality of all citizens irrespective of their religion or ethnic affiliations. This seemingly presented a picture of multi-religious federation in politics and civil service. For the Christians in the north, politics became a way of strengthening their position and getting due advantage over the Muslims.

Abdul Raufu Mustafa, David Ehrhardt and Rachael Diprose examined Muslim-Christian relations within the context of northern Nigeria. Religious groups and institutions fulfill an important social and political function in the structures and processes of Nigerian politics.

Nigerians expressed high level of religiosity whether they are Muslims, Christians or practitioners of African religion. While relations between them is to some extent cordial, but competition for dominance often escalate leading to experiences of conflict. The competition is usually around access to resources and representation within state and federal governments (p. 109). The arrival of the British and their show of might in northern Nigeria divided the Muslims into two camps; those that migrated with Sultan Attahiru to avoid living under British control and those that remain and submitted while rejecting them in their heart, which characterized the relationship with suspicion and resistance. Therefore, the impact of colonialism in northern Nigeria presented divergent calls for Muslim opposition, accommodation, and passive resistance (p. 112). The attitude of early Christian missionaries, e.g. Reverend Walter Miller, complicated the situation. Miller preached the superiority of Christianity over Islam and predicted the end of Islam in Hausaland. The authors concluded that “Muslims and Christians adopted an ‘exclusivist approach’ to issues of religion, seeing salvation as only possible through their particular faiths while at the same time denying any divine content in the opposing faith” (p. 114). Since then, the gap keeps widening and issues that emerges only increases the lack of understanding between Muslims and Christians. Muslims fear the socio-economic dominance of Christians within and global dominance of the West (p. 127).

Mustapha and Aminu Gamawa look at the challenges of legal pluralism in Nigeria and the implementation of the *shari’a* legal system in the north. Muslims in the north have been persistent over the implementation of *shari’a* law making the region the only place outside the Arab world that has this experience (p. 140). This development produced three adjustments within the past half century – 1960, 1979 and 1999. Although Nigeria is a secular state, the constitution recognized three different courts: *shari’a*, customary, and English/secular courts, creating conflicts of jurisdiction. The “existence of this parallel justice system without clear guidelines on which cases go to *shari’a* courts and which to magistrate courts has enabled police corruption and abuse” (p. 148).

Marc-Antoine Rerouse de Montclos examined the methods of Boko Haram in mobilizing Muslim youths and its impact on the Christian minorities living in north-east Nigeria. More than half of the members of Boko Haram are Kanuri youths from Borno and Yobe states in Nigeria, Republic of Niger, Chad and Cameroon (p. 167). During its formation stage, Boko Haram addressed issues of purely Muslim affairs not inter-religious. However, the activities of Boko Haram have repercussion for the Christian minorities in Maiduguri and Yobe states (p. 176). Whereas Kate Meagher in her contributions observed how religious conflicts between Muslims and Christians in northern Nigeria over the last three decades had resulted in over ten thousand deaths and caused serious economic disruptions in northern Nigeria. The conflict keeps changing form, from identity-base to ethnic and then religious. Historically, religion and the different ethnic groups have played an integrative rather than conflictive role in northern Nigeria (p. 184). The author observed the importance of informal business institutions in Kano and Kaduna, which maintain inter-religious alliance and cooperation across religious and ethnic boundaries. The author concludes that there is “surprising resilience of cooperative business relations between religious groups, even in the context of serious and repeated outbreaks of religious violence” (p. 217).

Mustapha, Hagazi, Lar and Chromy examined the situation of tension and violent confrontation between Muslims and Christians in Jos since 2001. Historically, the tension in Jos started since the 1930s with the growing population of the Muslim Hausa, which became violent from the 1990s onward. The contending parties referred to as “indigenes” happens to be mostly Christians by coincidence while the “settlers” were predominantly Muslim (p. 226). Issues involved in the contestation include among others a struggle for “ownership” of Jos and a definition of indigene and settler. These issues determine access to jobs, scholarships, and political appointments. The author concludes that the multi-religious nature of Nigeria is riven with poverty and inequality worsen the situation (p. 263). On the other hand, Adam Higazi stressed that Plateau State is characterized by ethno-linguistic diversity and religious plurality, presenting a very complex setting that is difficult to manage. In an effort to provide a balanced picture of the situation, the author examined the rural areas that are characterized by episode of mass violence and large-scale killings, population displacement, destruction of property as well as disruption of farming, trade and pastoral activities. These issues are often link to local politics and land issues (p. 270). Mustapha, Higazi, Lar, and Chromy, proposed a bottom-up and top-down approaches to peace building in Jos and Plateau State. The protracted conflicts in Jos and Plateau States between 2001 and 2015 led to a series of efforts to achieve peace. Conflict resolution and peaceful effort in Jos varies from one community to the other. For example, the Dadin Kowa and Rayfield communities still maintain its diversity of religion and ethnic groups despite the years of conflict in Jos. The idea of conflict management is either understood as self-defense mechanism or organization of a self-defense force to protect the community, which presented different peace actors with enduring challenges (p. 311).

Dauda Abubakar, *University of Jos*

**Dawn Nagar and Charles Mutasa (eds.). 2018. *Africa and the World: Bilateral and Multilateral International Diplomacy*. Palgrave Macmillan. xxxv, 520 pp.**

Without a doubt, there has been some demand on Africa to document its position on global issues and tell its own stories in order to facilitate a comprehensive scholarly understanding of Africa’s domestic exigencies and diplomatic engagement with the rest of the world. Dawn Nagar and Charles Mutasa’s 520-page volume partly does just that. Although not a policy statement on behalf of Africa nor commissioned by the African Union, it has painstakingly contributed to solving the latter part of the demand by chronicling Africa's engagement with some principal external actors that matters in global politics. Although various works have produced some insightful essays on Africa's relations with foreign powers or actors (both traditional and emerging), it is unusual to have such a far-reaching survey of Africa and the world in a single book.

Did the Cold-War affect Africa? Yes, says the book. It contends that the events of the Cold-War and post-Cold War periods had significantly bankrupted and impeded Africa’s growth and prosperity. It features a sprawling twenty-two chapters and draws on essays authored by scholars from a variety of countries. This full nature of the book and the uniqueness of each part makes it an unmanageable task to serialize the main import of all the chapters in one short review. Nonetheless, the book in a gist is divided into three transitional parts (excluding the

introductory and concluding chapters), altogether evaluating how the end of the Cold War impacted on “African states’ political policies, economies, and security” (p. 2).

Unlike other international relations books, the volume is not premised on a cogent central hypothesis, yet, the import of the book is clear and forthright: to survey Africa’s post-Cold War bilateral and multilateral relationships. In the carefully written introductory chapter, Charles Mutusa sets the tone of the book by presenting the relevant frameworks that best explain Africa’s international relations (both historical and contemporary). In particular, he discusses how significant events preceding the end of colonialism and the Cold War (e.g., globalization, and global security challenges) have dictated Africa’s foreign relations. In the rest of the book, the first part (chapters 2-7) chronicles Africa’s post-Cold War relations with traditional global powers (i.e., US, Russia, China, France, UK, and Portugal). The chapters here juxtapose the declining and rising influence of significant forces in Africa. Chapter 3 especially notes the declining importance of Russia in Africa after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Russia’s declining power is in direct contrast to the increasing and significant role of China as detailed in chapter 4. The chapter optimistically claims that China has the potential to reduce Africa’s dependence on the West.

Moving forward, part two (chapters 8-14) of the book details the new-found interest and policies of several Non-Traditional powers in Africa under the rubrics of South-South cooperation. It specifically surveys Africa’s post-Cold War bilateral relations with Italy, Brazil, India, and Japan, as well as with Latin America, the Nordics countries, and the Arab world. The chapters offer some different tails of Africa’s relation regarding strengthening and declining. For instance, while chapter 9 notes the declining relations between Africa and Brazil, the following chapter offers a different picture of Africa increasing ties with other Latin American countries.

Moving away from bilateral relations, the last part (chapter 15-21) focuses on Africa’s multilateral ties. It reviews Africa’s role within complex global intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations, and some of its specialized bodies (such as the IMF, WB, WTO, ICC), as well as the European Union, and the emerging BRICS that includes South Africa. Significantly, the chapters look at the implications of these multinational organizations in Africa’s future. Chapter 19, for instance, paints a gloomy picture of the future Africa-Europe relations due to the current challenges, including the discontent of the immigration influx from Africa to Europe and issues with Brexit. The book concludes with some reflections from Dawn Nagar on the significance of the arguments contained in the various essays. Nagar argues persuasively that parochial interests and double standards on both sides have not only had detrimental effects on Africa’s political economy and security but also have further derailed Africa’s socio-economic development efforts.

In essence, the book has succeeded in examining the complex relations between Africa and the international community as well as the dire socio-political, economic, and humanitarian situation the continent faces. Readers will hence find this book as not only stimulating and interesting but also a useful addition to their literature collection and perhaps one of the first scholarly and most comprehensive works on Africa and the world. Except for some minor inconsistencies in the chapter arrangement and issues of categorization of countries into blocs, the authors of this book have collectively offered much insight into post-Cold War Africa’s



engagement with the world and the challenges ahead. Above all, the book certainly makes a significant literature contribution to international politics.

Hagan Sibiri, *Fudan University*

**Agbonkhianmeghe E. Orobator. 2018. *Religion and Faith in Africa: Confessions of an Animist*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2018. 188 pp.**

The rapid growth of both Islam and Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa in recent decades is well-documented. Nigerian theologian and Jesuit A.E. Orobator questions the conclusion that this growth has been at the expense of African Religion. Rather, he maintains that “their growth is predicated on their essential relationship with African Religion” (p. 154). The author contends that African Religion, sometimes pejoratively labelled “animism,” is to be valued as the nourishing soil in which these religions have taken root, allowing them to flourish.

Based upon the 2015-16 Duffy Lectures in Global Christianity at Boston College, *Religion and Faith in Africa* consists of seven mid-length chapters. Chapter 1 recounts the author’s upbringing in western Nigeria, where his parents’ worship of local deities existed harmoniously beside his father’s commitment to the Supreme God (*Osonobua*). This dual family devotion profoundly shaped Orobator’s religious worldview. Though a later convert to Roman Catholicism, he also describes himself as an “animist” (pp. 16-19). Chapter 2 details historic Christianity in parts of North Africa, but emphasizes the more recent impact of missionary Christianity south of the Sahara. Turning to the “marketplace of faiths” in modern-day Africa, Chapter 3 summarizes the growth of Islam, concluding that for both it and Christianity, African Traditional Religion is “the *ground* or *bedrock* on which the other two stake their claims to the African soil” (p. 73). Chapter 4 exposes a handful of unhealthy manifestations of Christianity in Africa, what Orobator terms “pathological performance.” In Chapter 5, he affirms what African Religion can teach us in the midst of the current ecological crisis. Chapter 6 urges the church to fully embrace women in leadership, following the model of African Religion, which has long incorporated priestesses in the performance of religious rituals. Chapter 7 critiques the “aura of foreignness” (p. 157) surrounding much Christianity in Africa, and it criticizes its adversarial relationship with African Religion. In the Conclusion, Orobator renews his plea for a recognition of the “essential symbiosis” (p. 171) that exists between Islam, Christianity, and African Religion.

Christian missiologists have long held that the message of Christ, though universal, must be adapted to local cultures. This impulse to contextualize the Gospel is as old as the method of the Apostle Paul who crafted his sermons to fit the background of his listeners (Acts 17:22-34, 1 Cor. 9:22). Likewise, Orobator observes: “From an African perspective the gospel of Christ is incarnated in culture; it is not a strange bedfellow of culture” (p. 172). Herein lies the commendable motivation for *Religion and Faith in Africa*, a book that breathes the same spirit as his earlier *Theology Brewed in an African Pot* (2008).

To its credit, *Religion in Africa* broadcasts the authentic voice of a son of the soil. Orobator bares his heart, daring to speak candidly where other African theologians may prefer silence. This is commendable and allows for open dialogue. Contra Kwame Bediako—who argued that Christianity is non-Western—Orobator calls Christian faith a “Western religion” (p. 160). There

is some evidence historically to support this thesis, particularly if one considers the culturally insensitive late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century efforts of some American and European missionaries. However, he undervalues the contribution of North African Christianity during the earliest centuries AD, a contribution highlighted in the later work of theologian Thomas Oden. From this perspective, it is difficult to validate the critique (unchallenged by Orobator) that Christianity is a “white man’s religion” (p. 159).

The practice of “missionary Christianity” to “readily equate African religion with demonic, satanic, and occult practices” (p. 158) receives sharp criticism from Orobator. Yet he earlier described his mother inviting *Olukon*, the goddess of the sea, to “possess” her, resulting in “gyrations” characterized by “power, energy, and vitality” (p. 9). The author speaks approvingly of this episode that he witnessed as a child, but whether the average Christian reader would have the same favorable reaction is debatable given the New Testament’s negative portrayal of other possessions by spirits (Acts 16:16-18, 19:13-17).

Orobator’s main thesis, that African Religion is foundational for the flourishing of Islam and Christianity, is certain to generate lively discussion. Yahweh cautions: “You must not have any other god but me” (Exodus 20:3, NLT), so how can Judeo-Christian monotheism be harmonized with the polytheism of African Religion? While *Religion and Faith in Africa* is a well-written and fascinating work peppered with anthropological insights, its failure to critically examine African Religion in the light of relevant biblical teachings is a shortcoming not likely to be overlooked by Christian readers.

J. Gregory Crofford, Nazarene University, Nairobi

**Jessica Lynne Pearson. 2018. *The Colonial Politics of Global Health: France and the United Nations in Postwar Africa*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 260 pp.**

The intersections between late colonial politics and the rise of international institutions after World War II are the subject of Jessica Pearson’s *The Colonial Politics of Global Health*. Rather than focus her attention on individual health campaigns or colonies, Pearson instead considers how French officials and public health specialists viewed African colonies as a means of revitalizing the standing of French scientific achievement, just as French policymakers wanted the economic assets of their African territories to renew the metropole. The formation of the United Nations and the World Health Organization (WHO) constituted both a threat to French rule and a possible means of justifying French colonialism in the name of global progress. Pearson convincingly reveals how the presence of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Asian and Latin American countries in the WHO unnerved French colonial governments. Pearson joins a growing number of other scholars in reconsidering the French Fourth Republic’s policies regarding Africa as a means of shoring up French international prestige.

Much like the South African government between World War II and 1960, the French colonial administration wanted to combine the continuation of state-sponsored discrimination with participation in internationalist programs. Chapter 4 shows how these potentially contradictory positions actually were worked out in the decision to locate the WHO sub-Saharan African regional office in Brazzaville. French plans to showcase its colonial public health projects as proof of the benevolence of the Fourth Republic’s brand of empire became

undercut by internal conflicts in the WHO and larger questions about the continuation of racial discrimination. French officials did not concentrate attention on actual medical projects in their dealings with the WHO (which, given the uneven track record of public health programs in French Equatorial Africa, would have been difficult). Instead, French medical and political authorities went out of their way to limit African participation and potentially hostile British rivals in the Africa regional WHO office. When a Dutch WHO administrator refused assignment to Brazzaville on the grounds it did not meet his expectations, French officials fretted this move would undermine their public relations efforts to defend colonialism.

Another strategy for taming the threat of international oversight into African public health was to create rival organizations. The Centre Internationale de l'Enfance (CIE) constituted one example of a French-led international medical program. Founded in 1950 by a French pediatrician, the CIE served to renew French medical expertise through public health projects in colonial Africa. The organization brought together doctors working in French and other European colonies. Not surprisingly, the CIE's reports on juvenile delinquency and other issues tended to present public problems in an ahistorical way that downplayed political and economic issues. These associations helped to prepare the way for French efforts after the end of formal colonialism to continue to influence African policymakers through health and development projects. Pearson's work ends a bit abruptly in the early 1960s, but her conclusions dovetail with Abou Bamba's exploration of how French scientific organizations sought to keep Francophone African governments in line with their former colonial rulers.

This is a clearly organized, succinct, and well-written study. A few caveats are in order, however. Pearson's approach focuses on debates on policy on the international and national levels, not how Africans in French colonies responded to public health programs in the 1940s and 1950s. For example, the training of African medical professionals in the French colonial health services is not well-covered. A brief discussion of how West Africans sometimes rejected French programs on pre-natal care and deliveries does not reference scholarship by practitioners like Anne Retel-Laurentin or historians such as Jane Turritin. I personally would have been curious if individual African members of the French parliament intervened in public health discussions. None of this is meant as a critique of Pearson's argument, but rather a reminder to readers that this book is a study of elite politics, not a social or cultural history of health and colonialism. If readers want to explore the dynamics of public health on the ground, it would be better to look elsewhere. However, the significant contribution to this work lies not in delineating African negotiations with public health, but rather how French doctors and officials conceived of health as a means of reaffirming the value of colonialism. *The Colonial Politics of Global Health* thus is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the complexities of decolonization and international organizations.

Jeremy Rich, *Marywood University*

**Devaka Premawardhana. 2018. *Faith in Flux: Pentecostalism and Mobility in Rural Mozambique*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 221 pp.**

In 2011, Devaka Premawardhana, an assistant professor of religion at Emory University, traveled to the sparsely-populated province of Niassa in northern Mozambique. In

Premawardhana's words, he wanted to contribute "some original analysis" to academic discussions about the "explosive" growth of Pentecostalism in the Global South (p. 8). However, when he arrived in Maúa, a southern district in Niassa, he did not find the acclaimed explosion. Adherents of Pentecostalism in Maúa did not number more than a few dozen people, and there were only four Pentecostal congregations—one of which was regularly attended only by the pastor, his wife, and their children. Over the course of six chapters, Premawardhana explores reasons why he did not find dramatic Pentecostal growth among the Makhuwa of rural Mozambique—an answer that he grounds in an analysis of Makhuwa mobility.

Premawardhana argues that it is impossible to understand why Pentecostalism did not flourish among the Makhuwa people in Niassa without understanding the centrality of change, rupture, and discontinuity to Makhuwa selfhood. Over two and half centuries, the Makhuwa of Maúa learned to live "on the move" (p. 44). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they migrated to avoid capture by slave raiders and environmental crises caused by drought. During the colonial period, the Makhuwa fled to escape taxation and the brutalities of labor conscription. Following the end of Portuguese rule, they took flight to avoid the horrors of the civil war. These experiences taught the Makhuwa to be practical and experimental in everyday life.

As Premawardhana shows, the Makhuwa chose to involve themselves with Pentecostalism only "situationally and selectively" (p. 22). They did not become permanent Pentecostals because the objective of Pentecostalism is to create a rupture with the past that is "singular, momentous, and once and for all" (p. 91). For the Makhuwa, however, rupture was never permanent—it was "repeatable and, indeed, reversible" (p. 91). Pentecostalism, in other words, denied the pragmatic fluidity of Makhuwa identity. Nevertheless, many Makhuwa found it advantageous to affiliate themselves with Pentecostalism occasionally. One Makhuwa man named Raimundo, for instance, converted to Pentecostalism in order to repay a financial benefactor for his support. Since he could not repay his debt in kind, the young man refunded his patron by attending his Pentecostal church, earning his supporter spiritual blessings and accolades from the local pastor (p. 108). When Raimundo came down with a bad skin infection known as *munapheyo*, however, he not only pursued the healing powers of prayer within the Pentecostal church, but he also consulted with a local diviner, and received treatment at a hospital. He did not want to be "helpless and inactive" (p. 110) and relying solely on the prayers of his fellow Pentecostal congregants would have been a bad survival strategy.

Premawardhana's monograph makes a variety of historiographical contributions. This book not only provides a corrective to the urban bias within Pentecostal studies, but it also discredits erroneous anthropological models that assume traditional African cultures and societies are static and unchanging by demonstrating that the Makhuwa have "traditions of change" (p. 159). This text even contributes to the literature on conversion in Africa. Premawardhana's case study of religious change shows that converting to Christianity does not necessarily entail embracing "the Christian idea of conversion" (p. 141).

Premawardhana's monograph is not without its shortcomings. This book illustrates the limitations of anthropological particularism. While Premawardhana successfully shows that the lived experiences of the Makhuwa undermine the triumphalist narratives of Pentecostal growth, his ethnographic data does not provide an antidote to the "grand theories and

metanarratives” which he critiques in this book (p. 14). The only alternative to a bad narrative is a better one, and readers will not find a better narrative here. This text, as the author himself acknowledges, also focuses only on the Makhuwa who chose to experiment with Pentecostalism. Premawardhana’s analysis neglects the men and women of Maúá district who chose to “simply avoid” Pentecostalism altogether (p. 164). Despite these shortcomings, *Faith in Flux: Pentecostalism and Mobility in Rural Mozambique* makes a provocative addition to the anthropological literature on Christianity, Pentecostalism, initiation, circumcision, and gender relations in northern Mozambique.

D. Dmitri Hurlbut, *University of Utah*

**Robert Tynes. 2018. *Tools of War, Tools of State. When Children Become Soldiers*. NY: SUNY Press. 266 pp.**

Despite the growing international consensus that children should be excluded as participants in war, many actors continue to use child soldiers. Motivated by this paradox, Robert Tynes explores why governments and non-state armed groups elect to employ children during times of conflict. *Tools of War, Tools of State* examines the harsh realities that many children face in wartime and depicts the choice to recruit and use child soldiers as both a rational and strategic decision. Using macro and micro-level analyses, Tynes explores the intricacies of decision making when it comes to child recruitment and convincingly argues that rebels and governments alike employ children as a tool to gain a battlefield advantage (p. 187). His analysis highlights the grim, but important reality, that child soldiering remains a legitimate issue with lasting impacts on society, security, and children.

The book begins with a succinct account of why children are used in times of war, dispelling myths often associated as determinants of child soldier use such as poverty and that the issue is geographically concentrated in Africa. Tynes’ analysis, while highlighting cases of child soldier use in Africa, demonstrates that child soldiers are used across the globe. His assessment of supposed determinants of child soldiering is complemented with detailed analyses of youth empowerment and militarization across states over time. As examples, he discusses the Boy Scouts in Britain and the US, the Gioventú Italiana del Littoria in Italy, Hitler’s youth in Germany and numerous youth groups in China. In doing so, the book alludes to how a moral boundary against using children in conflict can so readily be crossed (p. 27).

The book progresses with Tynes identifying the often-blurred line of respect for civilian life during times of war (p. 64), a foundational component of his answer to the puzzle of child soldiering. Its theoretical contribution argues that child soldiering, particularly in modern conflict, is a tactical innovation (p. 7). Although child soldiers are not new, their inclusion in conflict is a strategy that has been adopted by rebel groups over time through shared ties and networks which allowed for organizational learning. In similar fashion to the diffusion of strategies adopted by transnational terrorist groups, Tynes suggests that the transmission of the “child soldier tactic” evolved through parallel channels (pp. 84-86). Pointing to Mao’s protracted war theory as a focal point, he argues the diffusion of a child soldier tactic initiated with the Viet Minh, evolved with tactics employed by the North Korean People’s Army, and was refined and mastered by the Viet Cong during the Vietnam war. His logic is

straightforward; even if guerillas have inferior weapons, they might find success if they are able to think creatively and fight through unconventional means. Thus, child soldiers can alter the balance of power and shifts warfare to the social-psychological arena (65).

The book's quantitative assessment considers child soldier use across a global sample of conflicts between 1987-2007. A staggering 87.6 percent of these conflicts had at least one side using child soldiers (p. 106). Tynes argues and shows that conflict intensity, state militarization, and state terror each increase the likelihood of child soldiering, lending support to his central hypotheses, while also highlighting alternative factors such as aspirational deprivation and regime type as indicators of when child soldiers are likely to be present (p. 130). This underscores the complexities surrounding child soldier recruitment, and Tynes explores child soldier usage in Sierra Leone's civil war to investigate the dynamic nature of the practice. Here, he illustrates how Foday Sankoh's connection to Charles Taylor likely contributed to the RUF's inclusion of child soldiers. He also shows how the Sierra Leone Army engaged in child soldiering to decrease the RUF's access to children. The case study is engaging, rich in analysis, and sets up Tynes' final objective of highlighting the difficulties of reintegration of former child soldiers and long-term consequences of the practice. He notes that insurgencies aimed at state building have included child soldiers as an integral part of the process (p. 161). Brief comparative accounts of Boko Haram (Nigeria), Al-Shabab (Somalia), and the Islamic State (Iraq and Syria) depict how rebels with state building ambitions incorporate as a means for organizational longevity.

Overall, *Tools of War, Tools of State* provides a comprehensive analysis of the ways in which children become participants in conflict. For those unfamiliar with the topic, this book is an excellent overview of the complexities surrounding the determinants of child soldier use. For scholars and researchers, it inspires and demands future research continue to examine and evaluate the tools available to combat child soldiering globally.

Christopher M. Faulkner, *University of Central Florida*

**Greg L. Warchol. 2017. *Exploiting the Wilderness: An Analysis of Wildlife Crime*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. xvi, 188 pp.**

The worldwide loss of biodiversity is an urgent issue facing humanity, and a major contributing factor for some species is the illegal trade in wildlife. Greg L. Warchol's *Exploiting the Wilderness* provides a useful general introduction to the trade that features additional insights from criminology. Starting off in a narrative style and supplemented throughout with his original photography, the book clearly benefits from the author's extensive fieldwork and experience.

The illegal wildlife trade spans the globe, and its study combines elements of conservation studies, the social sciences, international law, and criminology. The book's main geographic focus is Africa, though it covers other continents as well—the most common retail destination is Asia. The author duly traces the legacy of the colonial criminalization of the native land and wildlife use.<sup>1</sup>

A strength of this work is its emphasis on local dynamics. Warchol uses insights from the field of "green criminology" to explain individual motives for participating in the trade at every step of the supply chain, including neutralization techniques (e.g. denying responsibility or

justifying personal behavior), rational choice, and opportunism. He also points out that illicit wildlife products are only one element in an array of profitable goods which are traded illegally, such as weapons or narcotics. Many animal products can be harvested and transported without much sophistication and can be integrated into larger illegal trade networks with relative ease. Here, corruption at all levels (from poorly-paid local police or customs officers to wealthy government ministers) is accurately described by Warchol as the “necessary facilitator” of the trade. The amplifying effects of corruption on poor conservation outcomes underscore the importance of bureaucratic and administrative efficacy empirically established elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

This criminological work comes as a timely addition to recent literature in the fields of conservation and popular political science and history.<sup>3</sup> The ivory trade features most heavily in the book, as it is both the most prominent and profitable branch of illegal wildlife trade. However, the detailed geospatial panel data from the Monitoring the Illegal Killing of Elephants (MIKE) program could have been employed.<sup>4</sup> Instead, the program is barely mentioned, which is a missed opportunity to illustrate the regional and temporal variation in the illegal killing of elephants in both Africa and Asia.

Warchol also presents strategies and successes in combating the illegal trade, primarily at the local level. The author’s examination includes park rangers at the “front lines of conservation,” an ever-more dangerous line of work with the increasing militarization of poaching operations. This has led to an arms race of sorts, with a trend towards the “green militarization” of government rangers. New technologies in surveillance and predictive analysis also present opportunities for combatting poaching more effectively.

Warchol argues that both supply and demand reductions are necessary to combat the illegal trade. Ivory supply reduction has recently been brought about in China through the 2017 domestic trade ban. Public Relations campaigns targeted at consumers have been potent tools for demand reduction—the graphic PR campaign preceding the 1989 ban on the international ivory trade through the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) being a case in point. Here, Warchol mentions attempts to target contemporary consumers, especially “wealthy business owners in Asia.” The book presents further trends which cannot be covered in detail here, including the economic case for conservation, the increase in poaching for bushmeat, and community-based conservation approaches.

Greg L. Warchol compellingly traces the local, national, regional, and global dimensions of the illegal wildlife trade. This concise introductory volume focuses primarily on criminological and individual motivations. Insights from the growing field of green criminology, such as this work, will be particularly useful when paired with the ever-growing systematic data on wildlife populations to develop practical strategies for managing the illegal trade. The author argues that “the illegal trade is a problem that cannot be solved, but it can be managed” (p. 164). *Exploiting the Wilderness* is itself an effort to contribute to this management.

## Notes

1 See W. Beinart and L. Hughes. 2007. *Environment and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2 R.J. Smith *et al.* 2003. “Governance and the Loss of Biodiversity,” *Nature* 426: 67–70.

3 For example, re conservation, see M.J. Chase *et al.* 2016. “Continent-Wide Survey Reveals Massive Decline in African Savannah Elephants.” *PeerJ* 4:e2354

(<https://peerj.com/articles/2354/>); re popular political science and history, see K. Somerville. 2016. *Ivory: Power and Poaching in Africa*. London: Hurst & Company.

4 IUCN, 2016. *Status of Elephant Populations, Levels of Illegal Killing and the Trade in Ivory: A Report to the CITES Standing Committee by the IUCN/SSC African Elephant Specialist Group* (<https://conservationaction.co.za/resources/reports/status-elephant-populations-levels-illegal-killing-trade-ivory-report-cites-standing-committee/>).

Anton Peez, *Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt*

**Michael Woldemariam. 2018. *Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa: Rebellion and its Discontents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. xiv, 317 pp.**

Michael Woldemariam's book is a fascinating and truly outstanding scholarly contribution on a rarely researched theme about the behavior of rebel groups and the dynamics of civil wars in the Horn of Africa, one of the most unpredictable regions of the world. The book is a massive addition in terms of both theoretical and empirical knowledge about the politics of armed rebel groups and their cohesion and fragmentation, with broader implications to understand developments in Africa over the past half century or so. It offers readers a fresh and insightful perspective on the interplay of the mentioned variables, which for the author are entangled with each other. Given such analysis, a civil war therefore is profoundly shaped by the behavior of insurgent organizations.

The book is a product of several years of field research in the study area accompanied by a rich utilization of a mix of oral testimony, rigorous consulting of archives owned by the governments and rebel organizations, website resources, private collections of various kinds, and relevant secondary sources in which Woldemariam's methodological sophistication is witnessed at its best. The book is generously illustrated with sixteen figures and five plates. The illustrations tell stories of their own, revealing the changing political landscape in the continent.

Woldemariam is a specialist in the politics of the Horn of Africa at Boston University's Pardee School of Global Studies. He has authored scholarly articles which have been published in internationally refereed publications. The dynamics of armed conflict, the behavior of rebel organizations, and post conflict institution building are the major areas of his research interests. As such, his experiences in the Horn are considerable, which should make his current book highly sought after by readers interested in contemporary African history and political violence.

The author organized *Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa* through a series of logically fused thematic discussions with three major headings. The first part explores "theory and concept" (pp.1-23). Here the author navigates conceptual and theoretical frameworks worldwide to deepen his argument regarding the nature of insurgent fragmentation and factionalism among rebel organizations. An attempt is made to tie carefully his analysis of issues affecting the Horn with Marxist inspired political rebel movements in Latin America and Asia. The author is perhaps at his best when examining the endemic nature of rebel fragmentation and factional infightings in Africa, which is extensively illustrated with robust empirical data. Questions remain for this reviewer, however, that need further examination, e.g.: why is insurgent fragmentation in Africa is endemic in the period under consideration; does it have any sort of historical roots?



In part two the author charted the inception and ultimate height of rebel groups such as Jebha and Sahaebia in Eritrea respectively. For the author, the arrival of European colonial powers such as Italy marked the birth of secessionist mentality in the region. This part of the book also highlights the complex political relations that Eritrea and Ethiopia have undergone since the 1950s. The issue of Eritrean federation vis-à-vis provincial status brought about one of the longest civil wars on the African continent between rebel groups in Eritrea and the government of Ethiopia. Foreign ideologies, interests in and the growth of new identity questions in rebel-held areas such as Eritrea and the attempt of the Ethiopian government to resolve the Eritrean question by force seem to have escalated the civil war. The author also enumerates the dynamics of politics and power struggles within Eritrean liberation movements, namely Jebha and Shaebia. The latter finally emerged as the successful rebel organization that eventually led Eritrea to independence from Ethiopia in 1991. In the final section of part two, the author analyzed what he termed “the second wave of rebellion” in Ethiopian regions such as the Tigray Liberation Front, the Oromo Liberation Front, and the Afars and the Somali (1973-2008). The author notes the historic roots, which he assumed were causes of discontent and the eventual establishment of opposition against the Ethiopian government.

In the third and final part of the book the author has a discussion on rebel fragmentation in the broader Horn of Africa with appropriate emphasis on Somalia, including the Somali National Movement, the Islamic Courts Union, and Alshabab (1981-2013). The colonial experience in Somalia, as true for other parts of Africa, was responsible for the internal division of the Somali themselves and equally affected their relationship with their neighboring political entities. The book also has thoughtful concluding remarks with full of insight on its limitations, for which future research is expected to fill.

The book will be incredibly important to several audiences, both specialists and general readers seeking to understand the political dynamics of the Horn of Africa. The author’s approach is a refreshing departure from the conventional study of politics and warfare which has been dominated by the meager store of our knowledge and not more than passing references. The work will also be of interest to contemporary historians of the region since Woldemariam has much to say on matters that attracts scholarly imagination. As an examination of the nature and consequences of rebel organization and their subsequent behaviors such as fragmentation, stalemates, and others this work indirectly contributes to enduring debates on these topics in other related social science fields. His references and set of footnotes, appendix, and index are all to the standard. However, this reviewer has a note to provide to the author. The notion of Amhara domination in modern Ethiopian politics is for this reviewer controversial and needs mature research (pp. 185-86). Another comment is that the battle of Metema that claimed the life of Emperor Yohanes IV (1872-1889) was in 1889. But (p.185) the death of the emperor is mistakenly written as 1876.

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