

BOOK REVIEWS

Claire L. Adida. 2014. *Immigrant Exclusion and Insecurity in Africa: Coethnic Strangers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 175 pp.

Within contemporary African societies, why are some immigrants able to gain status as indigenous citizens of the nation while others remain foreigners despite residence throughout generations? Claire L. Adida's *Immigrant Exclusion and Insecurity in Africa: Coethnic Strangers* is a story about variations in immigrant integration within the fabric of the African nation-state. Though shared cultural traits may facilitate immigrant integration in the urban environs of industrialized nations, Adida instead finds that important indigenous and immigrant community leaders within Africa's urban frameworks face greater insecurity when immigrant populations do share cultural traits with host societies.

In particular, indigenous traders do not want their trade networks overrun by immigrants with shared ethnic, linguistic, or religious traits, while immigrant community patrons do not want to lose power and influence over a non-assimilated immigrant community. High-overlap immigrants thus face greater exclusion on the part of their hosts, and experience heightened cultural awareness, increasing the distance between immigrants and hosts, as facilitated by immigrant community leaders. Immigrants with less cultural overlap to host societies are inherently more distinct, and host societies and community leaders have less to fear since the immigrant community cannot easily assimilate.

This book follows two ethnic groups, Nigerian Yorubas and Nigerian Hausas, in three West African cities: Cotonou (Benin), Niamey (Niger), and Accra (Ghana). These sites are specifically chosen so that each group faces alternating high cultural overlap with the host society (high for Yorubas in Cotonou, high for Hausas in Niamey) and such that Yorubas experience a high religious overlap in Accra. Adida uses survey instruments to capture both immigrant exclusion, via host attitudes and behaviors toward immigrants, and immigrants' attachments to a distant community of origin in Nigeria. In addition, Adida interviewed more than one hundred Hausa and Yoruba community leaders, as well as Nigerian victims of Ghana's 1969 Alien Compliance Order.

Large-scale migration has been a defining aspect of the African landscape, though growing economic competition translates into immigrants' increasingly stressful interactions with autochthonous hosts. Though both internal and international immigrants can face exclusion, Adida's work is limited to capturing variation in local reactions to international immigrant communities in urban areas. Similarly, Adida introduces her readers to the concept of immigrant exclusion, potentially escalating to expulsion, as an Africa-wide problem, but her theory does not address the differences between African and non-African immigration. In fact, from her theory, non-African immigrants would typically classify as low-cultural overlap immigrants, unless they share religious similarities with the host population, and should thus experience less exclusion as compared to high-overlap immigrants. But, as Adida recognizes, non-African immigrants have faced expulsions (such as the expulsion of Asians in Uganda, of

<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/pdfs/v15i3a6.pdf>

white Europeans in Zimbabwe, etc.). This side of the immigrant inclusion/exclusion story does not feature in this work.

Another interesting point of debate concerns Adida's measure of host-society exclusion. Host respondents were surveyed whether they or their country (wo)men, respectively, would vote for a <Hausa><Yoruba> if he were standing for president. The discussion this question merits is whether individuals might disapprove of an immigrant community member rising to the office of the presidency without disapproving their becoming a member of the nation. Further, if host respondents approved of one immigrant's group member becoming president more than another immigrant's group member, might it be that immigrant groups have closer ties with one political party than another? In Ghana, for instance, Hausas are strongly associated with the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and Yorubas may have some ties with the opposing New Patriotic Party (NPP), evidenced by the recent formation of a NPP Yoruba Caucus. If so, the political dispositions of the indigenous respondents might color their response to the presidential survey item.

Finally, as Africanist readers, we felt inclined to point out the cultural and context specificities of each of Adida's cases as needing consideration when conducting a study on such potentially fuzzy conceptions of identity. However, as political scientists, we are also deeply impressed by the way the argument is able to capture a very-hard-to-research phenomenon (i.e. immigration and migration politics), from both the perspective of the host society and the immigrant's experience, in one fell swoop.

Adida's systematic work on immigrant and host society attitudes makes an essential contribution to a difficult-to-study topic within African Studies. Follow-up analyses might consider changes in immigrant group assimilation over time, the role technology plays in immigrants' attachment with homelands, and the impact of inter-marriage on immigrant-host society relationships.

Jennifer C. Boylan and Emily Goethe, *University of Florida*

Oswald Almasi, Michael David Fallon, and Nazish Pardhani Wared. 2014. *Swahili Grammar for Introductory and Intermediate Levels*. New York: University Press of America, Inc. 452 pp.

This book is the most detailed and comprehensive volume on Swahili grammar currently available. It is a welcome addition to the growing texts on Swahili language and a valuable collection for Swahili scholars worldwide. The writers, Oswald Almasi, Michael David Fallon, and Nazish Pardhani Wared have collectively presented an in-depth survey of every aspect of Swahili grammar. It is intended for university students or language scholars whose objective is to gain mastery of Swahili grammar from the introductory to intermediate levels. It is specifically devoted to grammar, with a few cultural notes here and there.

The first chapter focuses on general but brief information on the Swahili language, where it is spoken, the dialects and their location, how Swahili is related to other African languages, and its ranking in world languages. The alphabet and sound pronunciation is extensively addressed with equivalent sounds in English language presented for easy identification. The book is divided into thirty-nine chapters with each chapter focusing on the introduction of a grammar

concept, its linguistic rules, numerous examples with their translations, and practice exercises and their answers. At the end of each chapter is a glossary of new words used in the chapter. The grammar ranges from the simplest concepts to the more complex ones; however they are not arranged in chronological order in accordance to difficulty of learning the concept. For example, the “Swahili Noun Class System” is introduced fairly early, in Chapter 7, while “Numbers” come in Chapter 18, and “Days, Months, and Dates” come in Chapter 21.

Some of the concepts covered are greetings, tenses and their negations, numerals and telling time, pronouns and their prefixes, noun classes and their agreements, adjectives, possessives, colors and interrogatives, etc. More complex grammar such as verb conjugation, adverbs, relative pronouns, relative of manner, subjunctive and conditional and habitual tenses are introduced later. Idiomatic expressions, proverbs and reported speech are also included. Chapter 35, titled “Common Swahili Question and Answers,” is interestingly presented in the form of dialogues on common topics such as “Meeting Someone,” “Conversation between Neighbors,” “At the Airport,” and “Travelling to East Africa.” These dialogues are designed to reflect realistic scenarios in a typical Swahili speaking community. The questions that follow are targeted at testing comprehension through the use of grammatical concepts introduced in the preceding chapters. Additionally, the writers have included plenty of charts, which not only simplify grammatical concepts and their application across the different noun classes, but also enhance students’ visualization of the bigger picture of Swahili language structure. The appendix has three pages of important grammar charts, which are followed by twenty-five pages of Swahili-English Dictionary.

Since the text confines itself to grammar, it cannot function sufficiently as a class text for teaching all the language skills, especially reading, comprehension, writing essays, and cultural understanding. It will function excellently as a supplementary text alongside other texts with reading comprehension and cultural notes. It is ideal, however, for the independent student who is studying on his/her own, or as a resource for the graduate student specializing in linguistic analysis, and also for the avid Swahili language teacher. Users will appreciate what is being said because everything is translated into English. It will be an invaluable addition to any library that desires to expand its collection on foreign languages.

There are a few minor errors. It is suggested that *Habari* greeting can pluralize to *Habarini* (p. 28) when greeting many people. *Habari* belongs to the N noun class, which does not take plurals and it is usually used with a possessive to denote plural address. Thus, *Habari zenu?* (how are you all?) with *Habari zetu nzuri* (we are all fine) would be the response. In Chapter 31 on “Ka-narrative tense” the negation seems problematic (p. 327). The sentence *Nilinunua samaki nikapika kwa mafuta, tukala* is negated as *Nilinunua samaki, nikapika kwa mafuta, tusile*. The trend has been to negate the first action, which in turn negates everything else. On “Collective Nouns” (p. 394) it is suggested that *mama, baba, samaki* can pluralize like *rafiki-marafiki* and hence become *mamama, mababa, masamak*. From observation, Swahili speakers would usually use *Akina*, a form of showing plural for relationship nouns in N Class. In this respect it would be *akina mama* or *akina baba*, while *Masamaki* would be the pluralized augmentative of *Jisamaki* just as it would be with *jitu – majitu*. Overall, however, the minor errors should not distract from a well-written and comprehensive Swahili grammar book.

Rose Sau Lugano, *University of Florida*

Edward A. Alpers. 2009. *East Africa and the Indian Ocean*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers. 242 pp.

Edward A. Alpers' collected volume serves two purposes. First, it examines the significance of the Indian Ocean for eastern Africa. Second, it acts as a survey of the historian's four decade career. While the material presented here is all previously published, its compilation into a single collection serves both of these purposes well. Alpers discussion of history is one grounded in place, literally and figuratively. Much like a geographic study, Alpers is consistently concerned with the uniqueness and contexts of the places about which he writes. More figuratively, his attempts to place East African history in a larger Indian Ocean history serve to reveal important patterns of influence that have shaped this region.

The volume is split into three sections, defined by geographic extent, each consisting of three chapters. The first of these sections focuses on the western Indian Ocean. This is the broadest geographic scale Alpers covers; this serves the book's opening well as these chapters contextualize the larger region for the more specific writings to come. Chapters 1 and 2 focus on early trade networks in the region. Chapter 1 discusses the role(s) of Hindu merchants from the Gujarat region in the ivory trade. This discussion crosses three centuries beginning with sixteenth century, covering a period of competition and conflict between and across Portuguese and Arab trade routes. This is the widest timescale Alpers writes of, his focus becoming increasingly more narrow through the later chapters. Chapter 2 reproduces one of the least read items in the volume--a conference paper discussing trade in foodstuffs across the western Indian Ocean. This topic is notable, as Alpers himself points out it has been underdeveloped and often neglected in historical literature on the region. Chapter 3 takes a different approach, presenting the islands of the region as a focus and arguing they should be the driving point of study, opposed to the more common focus on continental locations in the region.

In contrast with Chapter 3, the second section acquiesces to larger scholarly emphases and focuses specifically on coastal East Africa. Despite this contradiction, the section segues well from the previous one, leading readers through a discussion of what is broadly conceived of as the Swahili coast. Chapter 4 examines and positions Muqdisho in a nexus of Busaidi Zanzibar, commercial networks (again with a focus on trade), and a broad urban tradition of the region. This nexus, Alpers argues, presents a city in contrast with the traditional nomadic Somali experience. The following chapter dovetails from this discussion by examining the indigenous textile industry in the city, serving to indirectly illustrate and support the more sweeping ideas of the previous chapter. Finally, Chapter 6 switches focus and discusses a women's spirit possession cult from the mid-nineteenth century. The takeaway of this chapter is the importance of cultural networks that interlink regions and serve to advance and evolve cultural traditions. While itself a worthwhile discussion, this chapters placement is the one notable question mark in the book, as it is such a radical departure from this section's other two topics. The third and final part of the book focuses on the Mozambique Channel. These chapters are the most complex, examining this channel as a zone of activity involving intricate networks of politics, religion, commerce, and family. Much like the subject matter of Chapter 2, this topic is somewhat understudied and Alpers accordingly underscores its importance here. Chapter 7 returns once again to trade networks, examining the Indian Ocean slave trade through the example of Malagasy raids of coastal eastern Africa. Chapter 8 focuses solely on the islands,

exploring the relationship between Mozambique and the Comoros. Finally, Chapter 9 closes the book by testing the concept of littoral society in the Mozambique Channel context.

Volumes of this nature are important. A survey of Alpers' career would be worthwhile from any scholar, but Alpers own selection and compilation of the work he thought to be most noteworthy, compiled using a framework of his own design, serves to give readers the most complete look at this overview of his work. Individual reader's utility of this volume will vary based on their previous experience with Alpers' scholarship. However, when considering the importance of his topics and the longevity and evolution of his thinking evident in these pages, even Alpers' closest colleagues will likely find value here.

Ryan Z. Good, *University of Florida*

Pascal Buresi and Hicham El Allaoui. 2013. *Governing the Empire: Provincial Administration in the Almohad Caliphate (1224-1269)*. Leiden: Brill. 538 pp.

In *Governing the Empire: Provincial Administration in the Almohad Caliphate (1224-1269)* Pascal Buresi and Hicham El Allaoui embark on the ambitious task of presenting a detailed account of the administrative strategies and shifts of the Almohad Caliphate. While less frequently addressed by scholars than the Abbasids or Umayyads, the Almohad Caliphate was the ruling dynasty of Morocco and Al-Andalus for over a century (1121-1269). As such, the work of Buresi and El Allaoui represents an important discussion of a significant dynasty which has been hitherto under analyzed. Despite their brilliance in articulating the administrative structures and strategies of the Almohads, they fall short in terms of situating this group within the broader history of the Caliphate.

The major purpose of this work is to provide insight into the internal workings of the Almohad administration. Issues such as how and why individual appointments were decided, decisions to centralize power or rely on local governance, and techniques used to establish the political and religious legitimacy of the Caliphate (and Caliph himself) are at the forefront of this analysis. In this regard, the author's succeed in brilliant fashion. Their ability to gather enough administrative documents to address all of these issues in detail over a period of forty-five years is nothing short of impressive. Simply put, the reader walks away from this text with a strong understanding of how and why Almohad administrative practice evolved over time.

Another strength of the book is the authors' detailed explanation of their translation of primary Arabic documents. To be sure, the attention paid to the nuances of translating twelfth and thirteenth century documents could be perceived as tedious by those who have no knowledge of the language. However, for scholars and students who understand the frequency with which the translation of Arabic documents is either explained poorly, or not at all, the in-depth discussion offered in this work is a breath of fresh air. This through explanation (not to mention that quality of the translation itself) allows the language and context of the original documents to be preserved to the maximum extent possible.

Despite their success in analyzing the internal dynamics of the Almohad Caliphate, the authors largely ignore the broader institution history and context of the Caliphate. While the main purpose of the book was an administrative analysis of the Almohads, their structures and

strategies did not develop without precedent. The authors do a reasonable job discussing this in relation to the Almoravid dynasty which ruled over Morocco and Al-Andalus from 1040–1147. However, the authors fail to adequately discuss the adoption of tactics and institutions developed by foundational dynasties such as the Umayyads and the Abbasids. They mention at the outset that the Almohad “version of power was closely tied to the history of the Umayyad Caliphate” (p. 7). However, this notion is not explored in a meaningful way anywhere in subsequent chapters. The lack of attention to this relationship prevents the reader from being able to evaluate the position of the Almohads in relation to their predecessors in other geographic areas.

For scholars of the Caliphate, Buresi and El Allaoui’s book offers a useful contribution to the existing literature. The relative lack of attention the Almohads have renders the authors’ efforts an important step in developing a holistic history of the Caliphate. Their ability to use primary source documents to draw conclusions about the Almohad administration is nothing short of impressive. And, while the lengthy discussions of translation can at times give the book a tedious feel, this ultimately affords readers familiar with the Arabic language valuable insight into the character of the original documents. Perhaps the lone drawback of the book is its lack of attention to the Almohad’s place within the broader history of the Caliphate. Precedent for the importance of this can be found in Fred Donner’s work on the Umayyads, as well as Hugh Kennedy’s work on the Abbasids. While the lack of this context does not take away from the authors’ analysis of the Almohad administration, it does limit the more general utility of the study. To frame this in a more positive light, the lack of broader context offers other scholars the opportunity to expand on the impressive base which has been established by Buresi and El Allaoui.

Justin A. Hoyle, *University of Florida*

John A. Chesworth and Franz Kogelmann, eds. 2014. *Shari’a in Africa Today: Reactions and Response*. Leiden: Brill. 281 pp.

The subject of *shari’a* in Africa has attracted the interest of a number of scholars from diverse fields due to the resurgence of religion in the public space today. John A. Chesworth and Franz Kogelmann draw together papers that contribute to an in-depth study into some aspects of *shari’a* in Africa, except that the countries are limited. The book is divided into four sections, one each on Sudan, Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania. Written in eleven chapters, all the contributors used ethnographic research. Chapter One, by Osman Mohamed Osman Ali, provides an important background to the discourse on *shari’a*, which is a concept understood differently by various Islamic groups in Africa. According to Ali, *shari’a* is viewed by most Islamic groups in the Shendi region of Sudan as all encompassing and divine, inclusive of all human life. This is a popular view among African Muslims, although not all Muslims in Africa share this view. Groups like the Islamic Movement and Ansar al-Mahdi feel the need to apply *shari’a* and interpret the Islamic texts esoterically and exoterically to cope with modern times, while Ansar al-Sunna believes that *shari’a* is not only universal but permanent and therefore must be viewed from the understanding of *al-Salaf al-Salih* (Prophet’s companions and their successors) without

re-fashioning. The reality of life sometimes supersedes the discourse on *shari'a* in Africa. This is featured in Salma Mohamed's contribution of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in the Mandela and Wad Al-Bashir camps where the debate on *shari'a* is of less relevance; what matters most is a common concern about life.

Since 1999, twelve states in northern Nigeria have established *shari'a*, with Zamfara leading the way. An initiative that was started by politicians quickly got the support of many Islamic groups such as *Izala*, *Tajdidil Islam*, Sufis, etc. Ramzi Ben Amara makes a remarkable contribution by asking an important question "who (among the Islamic groups) is the real initiator of *shari'a* after Ahmad Sani Yeriman Bakura?" *Izala* started as a movement for the "purification" of Islam from *bid'a* (innovation), which includes Sufi practices of *mawlid* (celebrating the Prophet's birthday), *salat al-fatih* (special prayer), *dhikr* (congregational remembering), etc. The *Izala* consider these practices as innovations and *shirk* (polytheism), which brought conflict with the Sufis from the 1970s through 1990s. *Izala* seems to have relented in its effort to fight the Sufis. Therefore, the implementation of *shari'a*, which the group claimed to have initiated, provided a good platform to strategize and remain relevant. Ben Amara observes that "the *Izala* adapted several times to the political conditions in Nigeria."

Abdul-Fatah Makinde draws attention to the evolution of the Independent *Shari'a* Panel in Osun State (southwest Nigeria). Because of the mixture of Muslims, Christians, and practitioners of African religion in southwestern Nigeria, Muslims in Osun State only agitated for the establishment of *shari'a* courts to handle personal issues such as marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Despite opposition, the Independent *Shari'a* Panel (ISP) was created to deal with Muslim cases and to settle family disputes.

Education is as important in Islam as it is in other religions. Therefore, Chikas Danfulani studies Muslim women's education in northern Nigeria under the *shari'a*. The author argues that despite Islam's emphasis on education, Muslim women continue to lag behind in northern Nigeria compared to their male counterparts, as they are often seen as mothers and homemakers.

The discourse among Muslim minorities in Africa constantly featured in the Kadhi's court, especially in places like Kenya and Tanzania, which forms two separate sections in this book. Halkano Abdi Wario examines the situation in Isiolo where Muslims make an effort to establish a Kadhi's court, which challenged relations between Muslims and Christians. This has initiated debates on religious involvement in the Kenyan constitution, intertwined with issues of ethnicity, politics, and the socio-geographic aspects of the region. Christians in Kenya often view the Muslim effort for inclusion of a Kadhi's court in the constitution with mixed feelings.

In the town of Kendu Bay, Muslim women are not adequately benefiting from the court for lack of sufficient knowledge of Islam, especially in regard to marriage and family life according to Rebecca Osiro. Many marriages were contracted without proper *mahr* (dowry), and marriage of two sisters by one man is often common. Widows are often mandated to marry their late husband's brother. The complication surrounding the mixture of culture and religion necessitated the establishment of a Kadhi's court in this area to regulate religious issues. The difficulty of the Kadhi's court is in situating these issues within Islam, especially since most of the marriages are already *fasid* (invalid) in Islam.

Tanzania represents another case where the demand for the re-introduction of the Kadhi's court is high. The Muslims seem uncomfortable with the Magistrate court handling their cases of marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Therefore, they not only request the government to establish a Kadhi's court but also to fund its operation. Christians challenged this effort as a gradual effort to implement *shari'a* in Tanzania.

An interesting chapter was contributed by Esha Faki Mwinyihaji on the Swahili Muslim women's adoption of the concept of "necessity removes restrictions" (*al-dharurat tubih al-mahzurat*) to facilitate their participation in Kenyan public space. Usually, religion and cultural restrictions confine Swahili Muslim women to their homes away from the political space, but today the economic, political, and social challenges have forced them to participate in the public sphere in Mombasa alongside men. Muslim women who participate in politics face criticism from Muslim men/Islamic scholars who see their appearance as a source of *fitna* (civil strife) since some of them appear without a veil.

The religious demography of Kondoia in Tanzania is redefined by the proliferation of religious groups and movements. The debate on *shari'a* continues to attract discourse between Muslims and Christians at macro-national and micro-local levels according to Bernardin Mfumbusa, which is centered on the re-introduction of the Kadhi's court.

Dauda Abubakar, *University of Jos, Nigeria*

Scott Fitzsimmons. 2013. *Mercenaries in Asymmetric Conflicts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 340 pp.

In a case of art imitating life, the film *The Wild Geese* (1978) generated an image of mercenaries in popular culture as tactically savvy armed operatives who provide their military prowess at a price to despotic African leaders seeking to radically change local politics. Not straying too far from reality, the film highlights the fact that post-independence Africa witnessed a major increase in the use of mercenaries in African conflicts, as regimes often hired mercenaries to defend their governments from challengers and to compensate for the deficiencies of their own state armies. In both film and in reality, mercenaries often achieved victory with smaller numbers against larger opponents.

In *Mercenaries in Asymmetric Conflicts*, Scott Fitzsimmons takes this observation and sets out to determine exactly why mercenaries achieve battlefield success in the face of opponents who are often larger and better equipped. To explain this paradox, he proposes that the military culture embedded within a given armed group directly influences its military effectiveness, and thus its battlefield performance against an opponent. Fitzsimmons theorizes that, despite a disparity in material capabilities, a materially inferior force, which strongly emphasizes certain behavioral norms, will be able to defeat an opponent that does not emphasize those same norms.

The bulk of the book surveys four African conflicts (in Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo) involving mercenary groups and analyzes each through two competing theories in a sound methodological approach. In his analysis, Fitzsimmons pits each case against both his normative theory of military effectiveness and a competing neorealist theory to determine

which approach best explains the cases. Fitzsimmons' normative theory claims that the key to the battlefield success of mercenary groups is their maintenance of an internal military culture, which encourages creative thinking, decentralized decision-making, technical proficiency, and group cohesiveness. In contrast, the neorealist theory is based on the traditional indicators of military effectiveness—the number of troops, combined with the quality and quantity of its weapons system, and claims that battlefield success is due to material factors. In his comparative analysis of each case, Fitzsimmons demonstrates clearly that the normative theory provides the greatest amount of explanatory value in explaining the outcomes of each of the four conflicts.

The book offers a remarkable contribution to the field of conflict studies for two distinct reasons. First, it introduces a constructivist approach to explain the outcome of military engagements between asymmetric opponents in a field of study dominated by neo-realist explanations. Second, while virtually all research into conflict outcomes involves cases of state-based armed forces and non-state armed groups, Fitzsimmons adds to the literature by expanding the study of conflict outcomes to incorporate cases of private military groups to the category of non-state armed groups. Nevertheless, the work could be improved by providing greater background to each of the cases. After a scant overview of a case, the book delves into a lengthy comparison between the predictions of the two theories in each case. While this technique demonstrates the explanatory value of the author's theory, it cuts into the readability of the case studies. As a result, each case's narrative is chopped up into brief examples supporting a theory's predictions without providing enough information about each case. Unless readers are intimately familiar with each of the cases, they are left to utilize the extensive footnotes in order to develop their own understanding of each case prior to evaluating the utility of Fitzsimmons' theory.

Despite these drawbacks, the book's concepts are applicable to a number of audiences. For students of African conflicts, the case studies provide a great deal of insight into the factors involved in the outcomes of conflicts involving mercenaries in post-independence Africa. For academic researchers involved in conflict studies, the proposed constructivist approach is an invaluable tool to help explain the importance of military culture on conflict outcome. For those involved in policy formulation, the book's theoretical and empirical contributions point out that military effectiveness can be based as much on a military's culture as material factors—a notion that policymakers would be wise to as they evaluate options to provide arms and other material resources to state and non-state armed groups in the hopes of a cheap military victory. Finally, for all readers, the book enhances the understanding of mercenaries beyond the shallow characters of a Hollywood film.

Sean McClure, *US Army*

Jörg Gertel, Richard Rottenburg and Sandra Calkins, eds. 2014. *Disrupting Territories: Land, Commodification & Conflict in Sudan*. Suffolk: James Currey. 255 pp.

Sudan is very familiar with recurrent and violent outbreaks of conflicts over land. Broadly, explanations have read conflicts as “ethnic” or “tribal” territorial disputes driven by various

factors, including environmental constraints (e.g., drought) and/or changing land use patterns (e.g., expansion of mechanized agriculture).

This book offers a rich and valuable contribution to our understandings of land-based conflicts in Sudan. It casts these conflicts as symptomatic of global processes and mechanisms of land commodification—the process of transforming collective land into private property—that serve to “separate land from its social references” and thereby “disrupting territories.” The book approaches “disruption” in Sudanese territories from two angles. First, it examines how global forces of land commodification are filtered through the Sudanese state, and how they transform rural peoples land rights (Chapters 2, 3, and 4). Second, it looks at rural peoples experiences of struggles over land (Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9).

Siddig Umbadda (Chapter 2) investigates “Agricultural Investment through Land-Grabbing in Sudan.” He outlines the historical context of land appropriation by the British colonial administration and subsequent post-independence governments. Both eras of appropriation employed legal instruments to transform communal owned and used land into private government property that can then be redirected to other objectives, namely “agricultural development.” Tracking the history and extent of land dispossession for the expansion of irrigated and mechanized agriculture, he focuses on the current government’s strategy of granting long-term leases over large swathes of communally owned land to foreign investors. The impact of these dispossessions for rural populations, of which the most vulnerable are the nomadic pastoralists, is an alienation from their land and livelihood base. Assessing the performance of foreign agricultural investments schemes and various risks and opportunities associated, he concludes that the poor success and high risks that are currently experienced are a result of a lack in “good governance.” The low implementation rate of the agricultural investment schemes indicates that the government is “pursuing extractive rather than developmental policies” (p. 31).

In “Territories of Gold Mining: International Investment and Artisanal Extraction in Sudan” (Chapter 3), Sandra Calkins and Enrico Ille reveal similar dimensions of government-sponsored land dispossession for foreign private investors. In this case, legal instruments are geared towards contracting communal land to foreign private mining enterprises. Since gold mining is a burgeoning industry in Sudan, small artisanal miners have taken up to the activity, often in the same territories that are contracted to foreigners. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Eastern Sudan the authors illustrate how practices of artisanal gold miners in negotiating access to territory and infringement on private property creates tensions between these groups and the foreign companies. However, while the government legally biases these foreign companies, Calkins and Ille argue that they do not intervene to enforce these legally contracted rights and do not prohibit illegal artisanal mining activities. They argue that the government is primarily interested pursuing “extractive policies” of generating revenues through contracting land rights to foreign investors—or acting as a “passage point between global capital and natural resources” (p. 68) and is less interested effective control and administration of a territory.

Musa Adam Adul-Jalil’s “Nomad-Sedentary Relations in the Context of Dynamic Land Rights in Darfur: From Complementarity to Conflict” (Chapter 5) challenges conventional depictions of the conflict in Darfur as being between “Arab” pastoral nomads and “African”

sedentary farmers. Instead, he outlines how the relationships between these groups have widely known to be complementary under the governance of customary tenure systems. Historically, accesses to land rights were governed by tribal *dar* institutions, which conferred upon its members the right to use and exploit resources, and upon visiting non-member tribes temporary grazing and water rights. Legal tenure reforms of post-independence governments set the scene for the appropriated communal land (for commercialized agriculture) and denied the legitimacy of the customary institutions on which the complementary nomad-sedentary relations were based. It further transformed the way in which “newcomers” gain access to land by removing the tribal ethnic affiliation to land claims and replacing them with claims on the basis of “citizenship.” Adul-Jalil argues that these and various other identified factors—including severe and recurrent droughts, growing competition for land, and protracted cross-border conflicts—have transformed traditional complementary relations into contemporary conflicting interactions.

All the contributions offer rich empirical and theoretical insights into understanding the complex and volatile dynamics of land-related contestations in Sudan. The strong theoretical harmony between the chapters makes the value of the book a strong and illuminating collection of pieces.

Azza Dirar, *University of East Anglia*

Georgina Holmes. 2014. *Women and War in Rwanda: Gender, Media and the Representation of Genocide*. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. 323 pp.

In this study of media representations of women during violent conflict, Georgina Holmes uses Rwanda and eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo, hereafter) as case studies for understanding the complex interactions between mediatized political discourse, local actors who perform in these media, and international relations. Her discussion focuses on representations produced by the media of the Global North about women in conflict zones in the Global South. Holmes writes against the “tendency to fit Rwandan and Congolese women into a framework of victimology which presents African women as silent, passive and lacking agency” (p. 3). Her overarching argument is that women appearing in British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) news documentaries about Rwanda and Congo participate in the “gendered international politics of revisionism” (p. 5) through which actors attempt to influence media narratives for political gain. Within this framework, Holmes makes several competing claims about African women’s agency, media representations of gender and conflict, and mass rape in conflict as “constituting genocide by attrition” (p.4).

Holmes’s study consists primarily of discourse analysis of news documentaries and features produced primarily by the BBC and of war propaganda produced by various parties to the conflicts in Rwanda and the Congo. She drew these sources from archives in Kigali, Rwanda, at the Coventry University Media Library, and at the British Film Institute (BFI) as well as from the private collection of Linda Melvern and the author’s own collection assembled over eight years. She divides up these archival sources by time period and conflict to conduct separate discourse analyses on (1) extremist Hutu propaganda in the years leading up to the 1994 genocide of Tutsis in Rwanda; (2) the ways in which the BBC’s weekday news analysis

program, *Newsnight*, framed the civil war and genocide in Rwanda; (3) the “BBC’s institutional narrative” (p. 174), as Holmes calls it, about Rwanda after the 1994 genocide as presented in *Newsnight*, in *Panorama* a current affairs documentary program, and on the BBC website; and (4) media portrayals of mass rape in eastern Congo as portrayed in UK and USA media and in war propaganda in Congo and Rwanda. The discourse analysis is supplemented by interviews by the author with thirty-four people including editors, producers, journalists, and filmmakers from Rwanda, Britain and Canada; members of the Rwandan government; representatives of human rights organizations and NGOs; and Rwandan and Congolese women’s rights activists.

Holmes’s intent is to challenge dominant narratives about gender and war circulating not only in international media but also in feminist theorizations of international relations. Holmes asserts that examining women in conflict via discourse analysis of “mediatized political discourse” can lead to “closed readings of women, leaving little space to assess how political actors perform, interact with journalists or attempt to influence media narratives” (pp. 9-10). To overcome this methodological challenge, Holmes adopts Norman Fairclough’s (1998) approach and combines text analysis of written and spoken texts with examination of media production, dissemination and consumption, and the social practices that frame mediatized political discourse (p. 10).

When read as a set of case studies of gender, media representations, and violent conflict, this book is highly compelling. Holmes deftly analyzes how media of the Global North represent African women in ways that depict them as helpless victims without any agency. Her examination of the BBC’s various news programs representation of the conflicts in the African Great Lakes and genocide in Rwanda is well grounded in primary sources and clearly connected to relevant international relations literature. Her examination of Hutu extremist media representations of women in the years leading up to the 1994 genocide is less compelling. While non-area specialists will find her analysis enlightening, scholars specializing in Rwanda will find the analysis limited since Holmes does not tie it to the scholarship on gender and conflict in Rwanda that has emerged since 2006. Another limitation of the study is that Holmes does not provide quantitative analysis of these media representations of African women even though she notes in her introduction that quantitative analysis can help “map distortion within mediatized political discourse” (p. 9).

Scholars of gender and media, conflict in Africa, and feminist international relations will find this book stimulating and informative. Scholars specializing in the African Great Lakes region may also find the book helpful as a reliable source of information about international and regional media reporting on or operating in Rwanda and eastern Congo between 1990 and 2007.

Jennie E. Burnet, *University of Louisville*

David Uru Iyam. 2013. *Matriarchy and Power in Africa*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan. 196 pp.

Women’s empowerment in Africa has been a central theme in academic and development discourse in the past two decades. In *Matriarchy and Power in Africa*, Iyam argues that this discourse has served to perpetuate a “myth” of the submissive woman in Africa. This myth has

ultimately shaped the way many scholars understand women and power in Africa. This is not to argue that women do not experience disempowering life circumstances in Africa. Instead, Iyam argues that focus has become attuned to women's disempowerment at the expense of acknowledging the ways in which women attain and define empowerment in their own terms and in their own contexts.

Iyam introduces an ethnography of his childhood in Nigeria in his book. In the process, he documents the life of his grandmother, a woman who embodies strength, leadership, and status within the village of Egbisim. Instead of defining empowerment in clear conceptual terms, however, Iyam shows the reader what women's empowerment means in the context of his village community through the story of his grandmother. Iyam does this in a manner that is sensitive not only to those tangible indicators of empowerment often highlighted by scholars (i.e., wealth and education) but also the intangible or symbolic indicators of empowerment (i.e., social status and respect). Iyam artfully demonstrates this conceptualization of empowerment through narrative in distinct ways, which will be discussed in this review.

Aneji Eko, or *Mma Jenny* as she is introduced to the reader in the opening chapters, holds a place of social significance in her village community. This is expressed first and foremost in how she is addressed; the use of her English name suggests that she is a "social equal" to the "important people" within the community. Those who addressed her with this name were also prestigious members of the community. Language, then, serves as an important component to empowerment in this community, as the way she is greeted and the names by which she is called can demonstrate her level of importance in the village. The use of language as a symbol of empowerment is also demonstrated through Aneji Eko's dedication in learning to write her name and by the performance that ensued each time she was presented with a form requiring her signature. This projection of "literacy" is important to her status in the community.

In many ways, Aneji Eko's empowerment is also rooted in her economic position within the community. Iyam's grandmother demonstrates her power as a businesswoman who holds a position of authority among other community members. This is clearly evident in Aneji Eko's ability to mediate conflict within the village, particularly as she oversees the delivery of services within the community—from toilet cleaning services to the maintenance of home roofs. It is this position that allows her to challenge other women of authority within a local woman's group. Additionally, her level of wealth allows her to send her grandchild to a private boarding school that will improve his educational opportunities and further secure her family's (as well as her own) position of power within the community. This theme resonates throughout the book; the educational success of the grandson is emphasized a way of improving the grandmother's own status in the community.

Through Iyam's vignettes, the theme of "matriarchy" is closely entwined in a more general notion of power within the village. Iyam demonstrates Aneji's position of matriarch in several significant ways. First, she exerts her authority over her children by taking her grandchildren from them and raising these grandchildren in her home. She feels her children are inadequate parents and compares them throughout the book to animals, inferior to her own status and the status she hopes her grandchildren will attain. Secondly, this matriarchal authority is expressed through her fierce discipline of her own grandchildren, particularly with regards to their education. This disciplinary role is extended outside the home as she is seen regulating

behavior throughout the community as well. From the punishment of her tenants within the village to her very public admonition of the Nigerian military forces during the Biafran War, Aneji negotiates power in both private and public spheres of society by drawing from the matriarchal authority she has established. As such, she is looked upon as a figure of authority within the community, which is seldom challenged.

Iyam's ethnography never once mentions the concept "power" in his account of life in Egbilism and the greater Agwagune area of Nigeria. If one is looking for a theoretical text with deep conceptual analysis on women's empowerment in Africa, *Matriarchy and Power in Africa* will not serve that purpose. However, through his stories, Iyam carefully illuminates those spaces of power his grandmother occupies. If one is looking for insights into the more subtle expressions of women's power in everyday life, Iyam provides a guide as to where one might look. As such, *Matriarchy and Power in Africa* is a timely and important resource for those scholars seeking to understand the complexities of gender and power in Africa.

Chesney McOmber, *University of Florida*

Christopher LaMonica and J. Shola Omotola, eds. 2014. *Horror in Paradise: Frameworks for Understanding the Crisis of the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press. 303 pp.

This edited volume by Christopher LaMonica, associate professor at the US Coast Guard Academy, and J. Shola Omotola, PhD candidate at the University of Ibadan, is part of the Carolina Academic Press African World Series edited by Toyin Falola. *Horror in Paradise*, aptly named for its subject matter, takes a multidisciplinary approach to studying the devastating environmental, social and political issues of the Niger Delta. By combining seventeen different contributors and eighteen chapters into four thematic sections, *Horror in Paradise* serves as an excellent survey text. While there is little to no discussion of research methodology, the book can still be a useful contribution to an undergraduate level introductory course on Nigeria.

The editors' preface, which lays out the theoretical problematic that motivates the book, engages primarily with Michel Foucault's idea that "truth or knowledge is merely an expression of socio-cultural configurations of power" (p. xvii). LaMonica and Omotola aim to avoid what they call "intellectual snobbism" (p. xvi). Instead they seek to address the "material facts on the ground" (p. xvi) by incorporating the writings of African scholars and policy practitioners rather than focusing only on the acclaimed or "expert" scholarship, which is overwhelmingly produced in the West. As the editors explain, these local scholars are "Well-informed...often 'raw' or not polished in terms of scholarship, and therefore marginalized..." within the academy (p. xvi). They encourage the reader not to "...superficially react" (p. xvii) to the numerous typographical and grammatical errors in the book, as they are certainly no reason to dismiss or devalue the arguments presented by the various authors.

The first section, on culture, gender and the environment, primes the reader to bear these social issues in mind when approaching the subsequent sections. The editors state, and contributors reiterate, that the book intends to "fill the gap" in the scholarship created when social and environmental factors are not included in discussions of sustainable development,

security, and governance. Taken as a whole, the book asserts that consideration of security, governance, and development without also considering social and environmental factors, is not practically or academically productive. In the first chapter of this section, S.O. Aghalino focuses on the ways in which the political economy of oil and ecological repercussions of oil pollution deeply affect culture and disproportionately impact women. In so doing he successfully interweaves the environmental, the political and the social.

The second section of the book on governance begins with a chapter on resource distribution to minority communities, an issue of particular importance for the marginalized peoples of the Delta region. The first chapter by Ekande Olumide discusses the derivation principle, or the way in which the central government distributes resources to localities. It is critical to this section that Olumide's chapter comes first, for without this understanding of the derivation principle, the following chapter by Mourtada Deme and Bodunrin Adebo, about improving the legitimacy of presidential elections, does not clearly connect to the rest of the book.

Section three, on development, is a prime example of the editors' endeavor to integrate scholarship and the work of development. LaMonica engages with the "classic" works of capitalist and democratic theory such as Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Emmanuel Kant and James Madison to name a few in order to substantiate his argument advocating the importance of considering international factors rather than only considering domestic issues when analyzing the "curse" brought by oil in Nigeria. He argues that to only address the problems within the Nigerian state is, to some extent, "blaming the victim" (p. 143); corrupt state officials certainly exist but they operate in collusion with multinational oil companies, and both must be addressed.

The final section, "Security and the Amnesty Programme," is preceded by eight pages of photos from Amnesty International documenting the damage from a 2008 oil spill into Bodo Creek in Bodo, Nigeria. The images show the destruction of an ecosystem that once provided food and employment for many communities who have since been displaced. These photos help the reader understand what has generated so much violence in the region and why amnesty and disarmament programs are so significant in contemporary Nigerian politics. However, because the book as a whole is aimed at the novice student of Nigerian politics, this imagery should have been placed much earlier in the book.

Although *Horror in Paradise* is not an academically rigorous text, it serves as an excellent resource to those interested in studying Nigeria. While much of the Political Science literature on the region focuses on economic factors, the editors have offered a valuable contribution to the extant scholarship by presenting a multitude of angles from which to understand the ongoing conflicts of the Niger Delta.

Adria Tinnin, *University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)*

A. Carl LeVan. 2015. *Dictators and Democracy in African Development: The Political Economy of Good Governance in Nigeria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 282 pp.

Dictators and Democracy in African Development: The Political Economy of Good Governance in Nigeria, is a book of five chapters excluding para-textual appendages. Chapter One focuses on "A Theory of Institutions, Preferences and Performance." "Veto Players in Nigeria's Political History since Independence" is the preoccupation of Chapter Two, while Chapter Three is on "The Impact of Nigeria's Veto Players on Local and National Collective Goods." Chapter Four is on "Analytical Equivalents in Ghana and Zimbabwe," and Chapter Five is based on "Madison's Model Unbound" dialectics.

A. Carl LeVan has been studying governmental performance in providing public goods in Africa – particularly in Nigeria – for a long time. A professor of political science at American University, he is well-known for his thought-provoking, dogged, and brilliant diagnoses of Nigeria's postcolonial condition, which has materialized in a corpus of publications. *Dictators and Democracy in African Development: The Political Economy of Good Governance in Nigeria* is a seminal text with both qualitative and quantitative evidence that, as the publisher states, calibrates "policy processes, public performance, and Nigeria's inability, thus far, to reach its full potential in democracy, development, and provision of public goods."

Dictators and Democracy in African Development opens a new chapter to Chinua Achebe's apt phrase "the trouble with Nigeria" beyond the common factors such as "oil, colonialism, ethnic diversity, foreign debt, and dictatorship" (p. i). LeVan does this by explaining critically and rationally how the policy-making process explicates disparities in governmental performance better than other frequently mentioned factors indicated earlier. LeVan's proposition for this variation in explaining the trouble with Nigeria finds materiality in "veto player theory" as developed by George Tsebelis. The theory states that governmental malfunction or inept political leadership is broadly shaped and sustained by "individual or collective actors whose agreement is required for a change of the status quo" (Tsebelis 1995, p. 289). This political theorizing finds correspondence in Richard Joseph's concept called "prebendalism" in his *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic* (1987). Joseph espouses how paying back to political godfathers (European equivalent of feudal lords) limits leaders' ability to provide public goods in Nigeria and elsewhere on the continent of Africa as well as other developing nations of the world.

Another contribution of the book is LeVan's ability to compare notes with Ghana and Zimbabwe on how political history can be configured by these "informal institutions" (p. 37) – "veto players" – as opposed to formal institutions or structures that underwrite and shape governmental performance in a polity. Beyond this intimation, LeVan discusses how Nigeria's unfolding of the Madisonian model of political experimentation will not shield the country from the bangs and pangs of political brutality and leadership buccaneering, given the constraining powers of the nation's veto players (p. 235). In substantiating his hypothesis, LeVan draws from, among other sources, Chinweizu's poignant, sobering poetic invocation of postcolonial Nigerian condition as wrapped up in his "The Epidemic", whose prognosis of Nigeria adumbrates a staccato of " ... terror in terror ..."!

There is no gainsaying the fact that *Dictators and Democracy in African Development* is an ambitious and fresh intellectual ratiocination. The book will be an invaluable tool in the hands

of policymakers, leaders and students of international politics, among others. However, the book is a *mêlange* of quasi-scientific and political science inquiry with somewhat disconcerting quantitative and qualitative explanations, which students/researchers who are not quick on the uptake might find a bit difficult to comprehend. Nevertheless, LeVan has added another interesting page to Nigeria's harlequin political debate.

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Uzoечи Nwagbara, *Greenwich School of Management*

Gregory Mann. 2015. *From Empires to NGOs in the West African Sahel: The Road to Nongovernmentality*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 281 pp.

Gregory Mann's new book is an intriguing exploration of the reconfiguration of political boundaries and the development of NGOs in Mali from the late 1940s through the late 1970s. This study is extremely valuable for the growing number of scholars seeking to explore the impact of international NGOs in the first decades of African independence following colonialism. Rather than provide an overarching survey, individual chapters tackle different interactions between the French and Malian governments with a wide variety of nongovernmental entities and foreign states. The opening chapter offers a fascinating exploration of the career of Mamadou Madiera Keita, an anti-colonial activist who became a colleague and assistant to the prominent French anthropologist Georges Balandier. Keita's radicalism shaped Balandier's analysis during fieldwork in Guinea, and Balandier's research credentials led Keita in new directions as well. The leftist socialist regime in power in Mali from 1960 to 1968 employed sociology to produce and examine new understandings of society. The new moment produced by the creation of an independent Mali required the formation of citizens. This meant reordering the often loose legal and political categories of the colonial era, from women who earned the right to vote as mothers to the power of indigenous chiefs. Instead of allowing anomalies in the same way as the colonial state had, Malian state authorities created a new category of citizens. Of course, this fiction of universality still had room for exclusion, particularly for Toureg people and suspected enemies of the state. These exclusionary measures became even greater after Moussa Troaré seized power. Former top members of the regime underwent years of torture in Saharan prisons, and sometimes labored in salt mines as slaves had in earlier years.

Varied efforts enforce or erase government controls over migration are another important theme of *From Empires to NGOs*. The new Malian government faced a major challenge in seeking to impose Malian citizenship on the tens of thousands of Malians who had moved to

Sudan and gone on the pilgrimage to Mecca. French officials had only haphazardly tried to document these migrants, given the challenges they placed on colonial bureaucratic controls. Malian officials demanded firmer identification requirements, in large part out of accusations that northern Tuareg migrants were selling other Malians into slavery in Saudi Arabia. The sharp divide between Toureg and southern Malians, based in large part on slavery and indigenous conceptions of race had implications for the establishment of Mali, as it would later on during the Tuareg revolt of 2012 that led to interventions by Al-Qaeda and the French military. Malian immigrants in France posed another challenge of sovereignty. Although the experiences of West Africans in France in the 1960s has become well-mined territory, Mann tries with some success to examine new questions through the lens of political identities and the growing role of non-governmental organizations. Rather than considering these migrants as a problem for the French government, the author reserves expectations by noting how Malian officials struggled to claim control over these immigrants as citizens of their home country. African immigrants such as Sally N'Dongo formed and led NGOs that challenged French arrangements with African governments, as well as criticizing the empty promises of the Malian state in providing assistance to Malians in France.

For the growing number of scholars working on historicizing the growth of NGOs and international aid in the 1960s and 1970s, the most useful and innovative section explores international aid interventions during the Sahel droughts of the mid-1970s and their aftermath. Aid agencies such as CARE and the American Friends Service Committee had varied agendas in developing aid projects, from distributing US government food surplus to establishing schools and agricultural programs. CARE workers tried to sell rural schools and other programs to Malian authorities, thus supporting the spread of the government's reach in rural communities. Mann rightly notes how the drought crisis and aid interventions created a wider space between rural people and the state that would only increase with the decline of state budgets from the 1980s onward. Human rights organizations also entered the picture to criticize the Malian government's treatment of prisoners in ways that highlighted the supposedly apolitical nature of Western human rights. One wishes this last chapter could have been fleshed out more, particularly beyond the 1970s, but Mann's analysis furnishes a foundation for other researchers. As a whole, this book merits a wide audience among readers interested in decolonization, the formation of national identities, and development.

Jeremy Rich, *Marywood University*

Stuart A. Marks. 2014. *Discordant Village Voices: A Zambian Community-Based Wildlife Programme*. Braamfontein: University of South Africa Press. 325 pp.

Whereas community-based resource programmes are a technical prescription for conserving wildlife and habitats in rural areas, they are never innocuous, straightforward, apolitical or neutral exercises (pp. 202-03).

Stuart Marks—ecologist, anthropologist, development and conservation advisor—has accompanied the Valley Bisa for five decades in Zambia's Luangwa valley. He offers a unique long-term and intimate perspective on these people and how they relate—as individuals in

many cases, as lineages or associations or communities in others—with wildlife, governments, management systems, and projects. By considering processes of cultural change, governance, representativeness, participation, and benefit-sharing, he reveals the complexity of influences and effects that interact to generate often unexpected outcomes.

The author initially resided with the Bisa in 1966-1967, shortly after Zambian independence (1964), collecting data to build cultural and environmental baselines. A second long stay in 1988-1989 coincided with the inception of Zambia's national community-based wildlife management program. He undertook shorter visits each decade, through 2011, in order to monitor developments and changes over time; before, during and after the community-based wildlife management scheme. Together with local field assistants, he has applied a wide range of methodologies: active participant observation, passive participation in meetings, interviews, household surveys, censuses, daily activity recalls, timed activity records, informant diaries, questionnaires, land use assessments, wildlife counts, and reviews of local materials and national archives.

Historically, Bisa livelihoods depended on subsistence hunting, subsistence farming, migrant labor, and have been strongly influenced by national conservation policy. Marks argues that local people have experienced a remarkable, and by no means positive, continuity of government imposition beginning with colonial Northern Rhodesia (British South Africa Company in the 1890s, British Protectorate 1924-1963) and continuing under post-colonial Zambia. The Nabwalya settlements lie between North and South Luangwa National Parks (created in the 1940s). Outside the protected areas, large spaces, which after independence were named Game Management Areas, were declared in 1950 as first class safari hunting concessions for private operators, or second class hunting areas reserved for "native" residents. Authorities thereby assumed the rights to land and wildlife, and consistently viewed local people principally as poachers responsible for game extermination through overhunting, population growth, and conversion of habitat to farms and settlements.

Centralized control has continued, often imposed through violence, despite the loud rhetoric of community-based conservation since the 1980s. Benefits accrue mainly to elites and governments and the private sector. Local people bear the brunt of the costs, especially damage to crops and human lives (at least 112 deaths and 138 injuries from wild animals 1990-2007, not including snakebite), but have lost historic or traditional rights to resources including game and land. By assuming legal rights to the most visible resource, wildlife, the state has significantly narrowed livelihood and welfare options for residents, in a region where the tsetse fly precludes livestock raising and where conditions for crop production are poor.

The cumbersome Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas (ADMAGE) project operated from 1988-1997 with support from USAID (United States Agency for International Development), WWF (World Wildlife Fund), and WCS (Wildlife Conservation Society). Large German- and Norwegian-funded Conservation or Integrated Rural Development projects were implemented at the same time in the Luangwa valley. Marks finds little evidence for the projects' claims to combine conservation and development based on tourism revenues to improve and protect human welfare and restore wildlife through sustainable resource development. Instead, new institutions such as the Community Resources Board are appropriated by local elites to strengthen their own authority in collusion with

outside interests. Local hunters can purchase licenses, but few do because of the small number available, their high cost, and the great travel distance to the sales point.

Is the view then entirely pessimistic? No. Under every set of conditions at least some of the local people have managed to adapt, assimilate, and benefit. Protected areas, private safari operators, and conservation and development projects have employed local people, built schools and clinics, installed grinding mills and wells, and provided relief food supplies during droughts or floods. Yet more remarkable and intriguing is how Chief Nabwalya and his allies constructed a resource regime, a lineage husbandry system that lasted for fifty years, from the 1930s to his death in 1984. A veritable amalgam of local and foreign ideas and activities, this regime provided bushmeat as well as protection for his subjects and their properties, successfully contending with expanding human and wildlife populations. Should this not be the model for community-based wildlife management, in the Luangwa valley and beyond?

Andrew Noss, *University of Florida*

Marc Matera, Misty L. Bastian and Susan Kingsley Kent. 2013. *The Women's War of 1929: Gender and Violence in Colonial Nigeria*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. 292 pp.

It is not difficult to understand why the *Ogu Umunwaanyi*, or Women's War, of 1929 has attracted a great deal of scholarly interest over the years. A large-scale mobilization on the part of Igbo women against the British colonial regime in southeastern Nigeria, the *Ogu* neatly encapsulates some of the more feverishly explored topics in the field African studies. As an important moment in the history of Africa's most populous nation, it provides contemporary historians with a dramatic and obvious entry point to the study of African agency (of the preferred, subaltern kind), colonial negotiation, and gender.

Now, Marc Matera, Misty L. Bastian, and Susan Kingsley Kent have provided us with a new study of the *Ogu*, reconstructing events leading up to the women's protests and chronicling in substantial detail the violence that ensued. The authors are primarily interested in the ways in which the culturally specific conceptions of gender held by both Igbo women and British colonial administrators respectively informed the colonial encounter and, ultimately, led to the bloodshed of 1929. This comparative treatment of the *Ogu*, they claim, bridges a major gap in the literature between Africanist historiography, which features the Women's War prominently, and that of British colonialism, which has largely ignored the event.

The Women's War of 1929 argues that the *Ogu* cannot be fully understood without considering the cultural context of social and economic destabilization that came about as a result of indirect colonial rule in Nigeria. The system of warrant chiefs, implemented by British colonial administrators to facilitate governance in the politically decentralized lands of Nigeria's southeast, proved a particularly consequential catalyst for stoking discontent. The authors describe the pre-colonial Igbo worldview as being defined by a gender binary — with co-dependent masculine and feminine hemispheres coming together to form a mutually-reinforced whole. Contrasting the "enclosed, surveilled, and controlled compound" of the masculine sphere with the "open, free-wheeling, transparent, and feminine" marketplace of southeast Nigeria [43], the authors argue that the women protestors of 1929 were motivated by a sense of

alienation created when the traditional balance between the masculine and feminine in Igbo political and social life was upset.

On the other hand, they posit that the confused and violent response by British colonial authorities to the all-female demonstrators reflected the gendered assumptions that girded imperialist ideology. Here, the psychological analysis of British colonial officials and their attitudes toward African women is particularly interesting. Matera, Mastian, and Kent argue that the British administrators attempted to demystify the anxiety-inducing otherness of their colonial subjects by adopting measures to control the sexuality of Nigerian women through dress codes and an emphasis on Christian morality. Much is made of the female protestors' nudity and the effect that disrobing may have had on the colonial security forces who ultimately responded with stunning violence.

After laying out its critical framework in the first few chapters, *The Women's War of 1929* moves swiftly into a detailed account of the unrest that shook southeast Nigeria in the 1920s. Most of the reconstruction presented here is based on a careful reading of colonial records, although the authors consult newspapers as well. Finally, the book assesses the aftermath of the *Ogu*, including the reforms in colonial government that came about as a result.

Like other contributions to the new wave of African colonial historiography, *The Women's War of 1929* is interested primarily in the process of negotiation between African actors and the colonial regime. In this respect, it is entirely successful. The authors effectively show that colonial authorities were reactive and off-balance in their response to the *Ogu Umunwaanyi*, which challenged and confounded their assumptions about gender and moral economy in southeast Nigeria. Indeed, the women's protests and the ensuing bloodshed resulted in a dramatic rethinking of administrative policy in colonial Nigeria, including the demise of the warrant chief system.

The Women's War of 1929 is primarily a colonial history, interested above all in the ideology, motivations, and transformations within the British administration. This is not a shortcoming; the book is quite successful in its endeavor to draw causal links between the gendered aspects of Igbo cosmology that inspired the *Ogu* and British colonial practice. However, its area of greatest analytical strength—the psychology and motivation of British colonial actors in their response to the protests—makes it a study best suited to courses and reading lists focused on colonial rule. It should be of great interest to scholars and students of both Nigerian and comparative colonial history.

Andrew G. Barsom, *Michigan State University*

Patricia A. Romero. 2015. *African Women: A Historical Panorama*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers. 359 pp.

The intended and explicit purpose of this book is to “personalize some of the leading women who have made contributions to African history”, while making it “accessible to general readers”. And it does just that, in clear language and with little rhetoric. The 359 pages are divided into nine chapters that cover the whole territory of Africa and most of the scope of its history, starting from pre-colonial Africa up to the present. This approach is an indication that this book is still not for everyone since, however, given the extensive nature of the subject

covered, some of its assertions are rather general and lacking in support. Nevertheless, it does serve as an excellent starting point for deciding on a topic or as an introduction to any of the women and the topics it deals with. In addition to covering the whole African territory, the book is in basically chronological order and it gives specific examples from various countries.

The first chapter, covering the entire African continent in pre-colonial times, is a reminder of its past queens and heroines, from Queen Amina (of Nigeria) or Sheba (of Ethiopia) to Nzinga (of Angola). Chapters Two to Six focus on colonial times, also based on a chronological timeline and with various focal points. Chapter Two deals with the abuse of the body of women in South Africa; Chapter Three studies the complicated relationship between women and slavery (women were enslaved all throughout Africa, but some were also enslavers); and Chapter Four talks about the different changes brought about by life transitions to being with missionaries. Chapter Five goes back to South Africa and to the defiled woman's body, illustrated in the case of Sara Baartman (known as "the Hottentot Venus"); and Chapter Six once again encompasses the whole Africa to study the relationship between women and colonialism, including the treatment of diseases, female genital mutilation and legal issues of women, etc.

Chapter Seven advances in time to the late colonial era and centers on the participation of women in anti-colonial struggles, from the women's war in Nigeria to Mau-Mau in Kenya or the fight in the Portuguese colonies and in Southern Africa. Chapter Eight reaches the post-colonial era, with the issues that were important at the time: the Biafran war and other internal conflicts (such as Congo or Rwanda), the scourge of AIDS in Africa, and the evolution of female genital mutilation as an issue. The closing chapter, Chapter Nine, ends the main text of the book with the current situation of women in art and fashion, literature, law, migration, sports, and Nobel Prizes, painting a positive image full of role models.

The book is intended, as stated, for the general public; notwithstanding, it has a healthy collection of notes, an interesting list of references, and an index that closes the volume, all of which will be quite useful to anybody who wants to study the different aspects and historical figures covered in the book. A couple of negative points in the book: in spite of the importance the text attributes to names, and of the fact that one of the main aims of the book is to put names (and persons) in History, so that specific women may be remembered and their importance recognized, I found it shocking that some of them, even ones that could be easily checked were misspelled; for example: Uganda's president, Mr. Museveni, becomes "Musevina." The other issue with the book derives from the amplitude of its scope: given that it covers the whole of Africa during the whole of prehistory and most of history, while maintaining its brevity, the book can not but provoke questions that are left unanswered, while it does not provide substantiation for some of its statements, thus provoking questions that are left unanswered.

In summary, this is an easy-to-read-book that may well serve as an introduction to the study of Africa and of African women, full of anecdotal evidence and some detail. It most certainly should spark the interest of the general reader to dwell deeper on the topic at hand.

Mar Rodríguez, *University of Oviedo (Spain) and Cuttington University (Liberia)*

Shobana Shankar. 2014. *Who Shall Enter Paradise? Christian Origins in Muslim Northern Nigeria, ca. 1890-1975*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 209 pp.

Since the 1970s, religion has been a source of intense conflict in Northern Nigeria. As a result, its religious history has been, and remains, fraught terrain—too often rewritten and reimagined to support various political agendas, most recently by Boko Haram. In her new book, Shobana Shankar, assistant professor of history at Stony Brook University, complicates these politically motivated historical narratives of Christian-Muslim interactions by investigating the relationships between Hausa-speaking Christians and their Muslim neighbors. Shankar contends that colonial Northern Nigeria was “a place of religious collaboration, experimentation, puzzlement, and sympathy” (p. 144). Her conclusions are based on archival research in Nigeria, the United Kingdom and the United States, and on new evidence, including handwritten diaries from the 1930s, around one hundred interviews with Christians and Muslims, and the unpublished memoir of Ethel Miller, the first white woman to work for the Church Missionary Society in Northern Nigeria.

Her monograph is divided into two parts and six chronological chapters. Part One, “The Word Travels,” shows how the spread of Christianity was unequivocally linked to literacy in *boko*, which Shankar defines as Roman script and sometimes Western academic subjects more generally, and the attempts both to gain and to control access to it (pp. xiv-xv). Marginalized peoples who were disconnected from their pasts, such as slaves, refugees, and migrant families, created opportunities for social, economic, and political mobility by casting off their previous identities, and crafting new religious identities for themselves as “stranger-migrants” (p. xxvii). The socially estranged, however, were not the only ones who were drawn to the missions. In Kano City, for instance, Muslims, along with the displaced, also frequented the missions and their bookshops to acquire reading materials, literacy, technical skills, and the prestige that accompanied these things—a process Shankar calls “the commercialization of Christian identity” (p. 46). These “crypto-Christians” would then use their new skills and fluid religious identities to find advancement in their professional life, straddling the line between the colonial and native governments (p. xxvii).

Part Two, “Followers of the Word,” inquires into the development of medical work among lepers and an associated informal education in Northern Nigeria after 1930, showing how Muslim authorities collaborated with missions to keep an eye on them and to control their activities, and also how these plans sometimes went awry. Although sequestering lepers was meant to contain and control Christian missions and to consolidate religious power, an unintended consequence ensued. Because leprosariums provided access to informal education and job opportunities on top of medical work, they instead promoted grassroots evangelism. This produced a large group of “Muslim Christians,” Muslims who participated in mission culture without any loss of social status, capable of exercising religious authority (p. 92). At the end of her book, Shankar demonstrates how Christians in Northern Nigeria effectively became invisible outsiders in political debates in the late colonial period and the era of independence, because they lacked a cohesive political identity. Northern Nigerian Christians were, in essence, culturally northern but religiously southern.

Shankar’s monograph reads more like a series of essays about differing episodes in the formation of Christianity in Northern Nigeria, linked only by chronology, rather than a

cohesive narrative. Most chapters share overlapping themes, except Chapter Three, which investigates Ethel Miller's anti-Muslim campaign and activism on behalf of Muslim women. This chapter seems a bit out of place considering that Shankar focuses on the relationship between Hausa-speaking Christians and their Muslim neighbors in the book. Despite being disjointed, the narrative effectively showcases multiple dimensions of Christianity in Northern Nigeria.

Shankar successfully brings to light the "forgotten" history of Christianity in Northern Nigeria and unravels the traditional historical narratives that give credit to the policies of the colonial administration for the current state of the region. Her engaging biographical vignettes reveal a complex world of religious interactions that defined the development of both Christianity and Islam in the region. At a modest 209 pages, Shankar's timely book offers a fresh perspective on the nature of conversion and what it entails, as well as Christian-Muslim relations in Northern Nigeria. *Who Shall Enter Paradise? Christian Origins in Muslim Northern Nigeria, ca. 1890-1975* is an impressive addition to an already vast literature about Christianity in Africa.

D. Dmitri Hurlbut, *Boston University*

Mary-Alice Waters. 2013. *Cuba and Angola: Fighting for Africa's Freedom and Our Own*. Atlanta, GA: Pathfinder Press. 144 pp.

Cuba and Angola: Fighting for Africa's Freedom and Our Own is an excellent read for both the academic and layperson. Mary-Alice Waters' socialist passion is truly felt in these accounts of Cuba's campaign to defend the country of Angola against Zaire (now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo), South Africa, and their benefactors circa 1975 until 1991. The multiple sections of this book contain excerpts from key decision makers such as Fidel Castro, Raul Castro, and Nelson Mandela; as well as accounts from generals of the Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, the Cuban Five, and Gabriel Garcia Marquez. It details how former President Fidel Castro used centralized command and decentralized execution to devastate some of the best militaries on the African continent during the struggle known as "Operation Carlota." "The mission was named Operation Carlota, after a slave woman from the Triunvirato sugar mill near Matanzas, Cuba, known as 'Black Carlota'. Armed with a machete, she led a slave rebellion in 1843 that extended to a number of plantations in the province. She was captured and drawn and quartered by the Spanish colonial troops" (p. 17). The name of this operation captured the spirit that the Cuban people wished to exhibit in every aspect of this conflict. It also revealed how Castro used motivated Cuban nationalists known as Internationalists to build relationships with the African people creating a movement utilizing the basic principles of the Sun Tzu's *Art of War* to defeat their adversaries on the African continent from November 1975 until May 1991.

This book seems to suggest that the Internationalist cadre helped the Cuban people gain a better understanding of the pulse of the Angolan people. Waters states that, "[a]n additional 50,000 internationalist volunteers carried out various civilian responsibilities" (p. 15). The dynamic group of volunteers integrated into the various aspect of Angola life to understand

and assist them throughout their initial development. This relationship was symbiotic and benefitted not only Angolans, but also the Cubans through the fulfillment of a sense of assisting a brother country against a racist imperialist power. This sense seemed to validate the character of the Cuban people. However, a heart and mind campaign was only part of Cuba's plan. One of the true skill-sets of Castro, according to the book, was his skill as a strategist.

Castro directly supervised and utilized his understanding of the basic principles of the *Art of War* to defeat his adversaries. Numerous accounts in this book posit that Castro was intimately involved in every aspect of the battles that occurred in Angola, like the battle was being fought in Cuba. History paints former President Castro as a strategist, and this book seems to emphasize that a fundamental aspect of his strategies consist of understanding and effectively utilizing Sun Tzu's military treatise. The premise of one of Sun Tzu's principles was that if one knows themselves and their opponent, then one was better suited to defeat the enemy.¹ This principle was displayed through Cuba's deployment of internationalists as well as military forces, thereby gaining a better understanding of the actors fighting in this conflict. Another principle that Castro demonstrated from the *Art of War* was one of the five factors from which victory is known: "[o]ne who recognizes how to employ large and small numbers will be victorious."² This was evident in the different approaches that Fidel had from that of the Soviets in the employment of the Angolan forces.⁸ Therefore, this book lays out in plain English how Castro reinvigorated the motivation of the Cuban people to encourage internationalists to build relationships with the African people, as well as how he utilized his skills as a strategist to defeat numerical superior militaries on the African continent.

In conclusion, this book captures the passion of Mary-Alice's writing on Cuba's assistance of Angola against several strong militaries on the African continent in what is known as "Operation Carlota." It reveals how Castro used over 50,000 motivated internationalist in civilian and military roles to perform a heart and mind campaign. It also divulges how Castro directly worked battles using the basic principles of the "Art of War" to defeat the adversaries.

Notes

1. Ralph D. Sawyer (trans.) and Mei-chun L. Sawyer. 1996. *The Complete Art of War: Sun Tzu/Sun Pin* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press): 32.
2. Ibid., p. 52.

Raymond Cohen, *Independent Scholar, Waldorf, Maryland*
Justin Cohen, *Southern Maryland Community College, Waldorf, Maryland*

Michael J. Willis. 2014. *Politics and Power in the Maghreb: Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco from Independence to the Arab Spring*. New York: Oxford University Press. 410 pp.

In this medium-sized compendium, Willis explains the political complexion and dynamics of the three states of the central Maghreb by examining the roles played by various actors such as the military, political parties, and Islamic movements. Each of the nine chapters presents a logical and coherent sequence of historical developments that describe the continuities and

changes to power and politics in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco from independence to the present in a very striking distinctive manner.

Willis discusses the imprint of history and independence in the Maghreb in Chapter One, noting that the earliest political organization in north-west Africa emerged with the tribal Berber population (p. 11), until the arrival and distortion of the said political organization by the nomadic Arabs in early seventh century AD; the “Hilian” invasions and widespread Arabization and emergence, from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, of the Almoravids (*al-murabitum*) and Almohads (*al-muwahhidun*); and the Ottoman empire’s paramountcy in the seventeenth century. There is no discussion, though, regarding the volume or quality of religious practices and/or composition and adhesiveness of the believed “Christian” Berbers prior to these “great” distortions.

Instead of discussing post-independence state building in Chapter 2, Willis began with a rehearsal of the independence period discussed earlier (p. 38). Willis depicts the new consolidated post-independence political arrangements thus: Tunisia—“Party State” and “Presidential Monarchy;” Algeria—moderate constitutional reforms; Morocco—“Dominant Monarchy.” The distinctive roles of the military in the Maghreb, which are illustrative of the differentiations in the political evolution of the three states, received appropriate attention from Willis. In Algeria, the armed wing of the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN), i.e., the ALN, was firm, explicit, and embodied state power. In Morocco, the *Forces Armées Royales* (FAR) became a palace tool in a bid to make it more inhibitive and less prone to infiltration by nationalist and leftist elements and ideas (p. 83). In Tunisia, Bourguiba purged the military of distrusted rural anti-colonial militia (*fellagha*) and instilled loyalist and apolitical ethos. Other *coup d’états* were also highlighted in Chapter 3.

A reader is also informed of the nature and character of party coloration and leanings in the Maghrebi states. Willis dwells on how Morocco had operated a “controlled,” “manipulated,” and “delegitimized” multi-partyism, and the constitutional exclusivity granted to the so-called “ruling” single parties in Tunisia and Algeria, which continued even after the emergence of multi-party systems in both countries in 1980s (p. 151). Much of 1980s showed that Tunisia’s reformist ideology reflected in the agenda of the mainstream *Movement de la Tendance Islamique* (MTI) and al-Nahda. In Algeria, the nationalists’ populist and insurrectionist legacy were reproduced in the FLN and *Front Islamique du Salut* (FIS). In Morocco, *Al-Adl wal Ihsan*’s operation and Abdesalam’s challenge to the monarchy had echoes of the Moroccan kingship style. Willis made little or no obvious clarification and distillation of the ideological-political mix of Islamist movements, political parties, religion, and state ideology, since the key players are blanketed in overlapping roles in their electioneering outlooks and insurrectionist dispositions.

Willis digs into the core of the Berber identity, which constitutes over 95 percent Sunni of the Malekite rite at independence. The politicization of the Barber identity and Arabianization of some parts of the Maghreb brought sharp divisions and dissensions along lines of power struggle in the states of region (p. 206). An insight on politics and economics shades light on predominant state domination in economic activities (i.e., socialism) but with significant elements of economic reforms and liberalization (p. 259). Willis insists that regional relations in Maghreb have swung between conflict and cooperation.

One fascinating legacy of this book is the provision of the introduction and conclusion as separate themes in the beginning and end of the work. The method of chapter by chapter documentation at the end of the book is quite inspiring and exemplary. However, one wonders why Chapters 1, 3, 5, 7, and 8 had separate end-of-chapter conclusions, whereas Chapters 2, 4, 6, and 9 lacked similar desirable treatment. Even though Willis conducted a descriptive analysis, the empirical strength of this book could have been more significant if the discussion had been corroborated with charts, graphs, or tables. Hence, a researcher on the subject matter may be disappointed as the book merely leaves him with 'uncertain' historical accounts which other scholars may have interpreted differently.

Victor Chidubem Iwuoha, *Rhema University, Nigeria*

Anika Wilson. 2013. *Folklore, Gender and AIDS in Malawi*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan. 190 pp.

How does a society learn to live with a newly endemic disease? How does the emergence of a new disease change cultural imagery, and patterns of intimacy, and social relations in affected countries? In *Folklore, Gender and AIDS in Malawi*, Anika Wilson examines folktales, rumors, gossip, and informal advice around sex, disease, and marriage in Malawi, a country that has been undergoing a generalized HIV/AIDS epidemic for thirty years. Such folk narratives she argues are "propositions about the world" (p. 160); a world in which HIV/AIDS has become a "normalized" part of everyday life.

Wilson discusses data gathered through guided interviews and journal entries made by fieldworkers who recorded stories that they overheard going about their day-to-day lives. The journal method has its flaws, which Wilson acknowledges, but it yields rich store of tales—some hilarious, many heartbreaking—told in voices that are often absent from global health conversations, those of health project "beneficiaries." She uses tales of romantic rivalry, marital discord, phantom rape, and imaginary new diseases to explore people's anxiety around HIV/AIDS and to examine how communities have incorporated public health messages into existing belief systems and behavior patterns.

Wilson begins the book with a solid introduction to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Malawi that provides an insightful discussion of how NGOs, government bodies, and the media have worked together to create a closed "alliance of elite voices" (p. 24) that has little dialogue with the concerns or common understandings of the local population. Each subsequent chapter discusses a particular informal folk narrative that emerges from the data.

Chapter Two examines advice on marriage and sexuality shared among women and their family members and the first recourse for women needing help in their marriages and relationships. Advice, she finds, is highly valued as "medicine" among community members. Women in these advice narratives define marriage as a test of "endurance" but they define this is not just passive acceptance of their sometimes difficult situation but also often an active, stubborn fight to save troubled relationships and to protect themselves and their children from HIV infection. Although women have few "avenues of agency" (p. 71) they call on elders to mediate marital conflicts and use "love medicine" to change male behavior. HIV/AIDS haunts

the stories, with concerns about infection overlaying worry of heartbreak, sexual jealousy, and fears of financial abandonment.

Another strategy used by women to secure relationships, discussed in Chapter Three, involves direct aggression against romantic rivals through physical attacks and the labeling of rivals as prostitutes, foreigners, and “AIDS widows” who threaten the health of the community. Here we see the high-risk populations described by HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns layered onto existing understandings of “good” and “bad” women.

Throughout the book’s stories, women are seen simultaneously as dangerous reservoirs of disease and most vulnerable victims. In Chapter Four, Wilson discusses rumors about the mythical, fatal, incurable disease *mphutsi*, which causes maggots to infest its victims’ genitals. *Mphutsi* is thought to mainly affect women who have too much sex, particularly with foreigners. While the popularity of the *mphutsi* rumors represent an “obvious critique of a ‘certain type of woman’” (p. 118) Wilson also sees the stories of this highly visible disease as a form of nostalgia for the earlier phase of the HIV/AIDS epidemic when it was clear who was infected and who was not.

The final chapter focuses on stories of phantom rape, which, Wilson argues, can be viewed as communal reactions to intense media campaigns on domestic abuse, and intergenerational sex. Media coverage she argues created a “moral panic” which, in turn, generated stories of abuse and helplessness that “suggest anxiety over the pervasiveness of intimate partner violence” (p. 141).

As is being increasingly realized in the wake of recent infectious disease outbreaks in West Africa (Ebola) and the United States (measles) both fueled and hampered by rumor and conspiracy theory, public health interventions are improved when practitioners pay attention to common understanding of disease among ordinary people, and are aware of the multiple sources of information that people use to make sense of their lives. By examining folk narratives public health professionals can better understand the community concerns about health initiatives and the creative, often hidden ways in which they manage their disease risk. For illustrating this point in lucid and accessible prose and for illuminating the richness and complexity of the lives of people who are targeted by public health initiatives, this book makes a valuable contribution.

Sahai Burrowes, *Touro University California*

Elizabeth Wrangham. 2013. *Ghana During the First World War: The Colonial Administration of Sir Hugh Clifford*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press. 310 pp.

Elizabeth Wrangham has achieved the core goal of historical scholarship; she has presented ample evidence that complicates and challenges previously held notions about the past. In particular, *Ghana During the First World War* presents a much more nuanced view of British colonial administration than is often presented by more sweeping narratives of colonialism, often drawn from dependency theory. A major strength of this work is its focus. By examining a single colonial administration at a pivotal moment in the history of the Gold Coast Colony,

Wrangham presents a detailed and impeccably researched view of how Sir Hugh Clifford attempted to navigate the major economic and social shifts caused by World War I.

The first section of the book, which includes the introduction and first three chapters, establishes critical context by giving an overview of the economy and British administrative plans before the war, as well as Clifford's assumption of the post of governor in 1912. These chapters clearly establish the author's core theme, "While the British colonial government in the Gold Coast was authoritarian, it was certainly not all powerful" (p. xviii). Through her impressive engagement with primary records of Clifford's tenure in power, section I of Wrangham's monograph gives numerous examples of how the administration's development plans were often limited by a complex matrix of directives from London, African demands (chiefs, traders, new elites), attempts to maintain the colonial staff's morale, and global economic realities.

The bulk of the book, Chapters 3-9, target the various effects World War I had on the Gold Coast Colony and Clifford's time as governor. In this section, Wrangham not only demonstrates how the monocrop export economy centered on cocoa made the colonial enterprise more difficult, but also how African farmers and miners expressed dissatisfaction with the diminishing returns caused by the war. For Wrangham, evaluations of complaints made to officials in private and in public forums like *The Gold Coast Nation* and *Gold Coast Leader* were proof "...that the African population of the Gold Coast were not passive subjects but active players, in a wide range of roles, in this challenging economic context" (p. 115). In particular, a good deal of Chapter 7 exhibits how local chiefs and cocoa farmers often advocated for road construction as a way to advance their own economic interests. Of course, examples like this confound the conventional view that Africans had no say in colonial development projects.

Section II concludes (Chapters 8-9) by describing how the war exposed colonial rule's limitations, weaknesses and biases in the Gold Coast. Specifically, Wrangham gives us critical insight into how Clifford's leadership during the war exacerbated regional disparities that still play a key role in Ghana today. As the author succinctly summarized, "The interwar period was to see the role of the Northern Territories confirmed, in the eyes of the colonial administration, as little more than a labor reserve for the south" (p. 207). While Wrangham's engagement of official records clearly shows that Clifford often attempted to balance the concerns of various interests throughout the colony, this section gives readers a sense of his crude pragmatic side as well.

The book's conclusion gives us a sense of the importance of the figure and time period studied in the monograph. Summarizing the impact of World War I and the economic hardships and social tensions that accompanied it, Wrangham writes:

The First World War was a decisive period- as has been pointed out, at the halfway point in the Gold Coast's colonial history. There was no return, in 1919, to the relative prosperity and promise of 1913. These were years of dislocation and hardship for all people in the territory (in varying degrees), but above all they showed the inadequacy of colonial rule. This in turn led to African frustration and disillusionment and, increasingly impatience, criticism and organized protest (p. 260).

Ghana During the First World War gives us unprecedented, expansive insight into the mind of Sir Hugh Clifford, a man at the center of it all. Elizabeth Wrangham has written an excellent study that is accessible and presents a second-to-none engagement of primary sources that greatly enhances our understanding of a key figure in West African history. All scholars interested in British colonial administration of West Africa or the political history of the Republic of Ghana should read this important monograph from an experienced and rightfully distinguished scholar.

Justin Williams, *City College of New York*