BOOK REVIEWS

Mohamed Adhikari. 2010. *The Anatomy of a South African Genocide: The Extermination of the Cape San Peoples.* Athens: Ohio University Press. 120 pp.

The book presents a chronological exposition from 1652 when the Dutch East India Company established a refreshment station at Table Bay up to the San's participation in the second Korana war (1878-79) along the Gariep.

One's first reaction when embarking on reading this book is to ask "Why yet another publication on this subject?" The writer himself provides the following motivation: "the matter has little presence in South African public life," and none of the number of scholars writing on the Cape San colonial experience "have analysed this case specifically as one of genocide" (pp. 21-22). While one wonders on what grounds the writer bases his first allegation, and while the accuracy of the second statement is debatable, the reality of genocide of the San peoples is an incontestable part of the tragic racial history of South Africa. Traces of viewing the San, and also the Korana, as a "plague" to be eradicated appear as recently as in 1929; two articles by C.J. Strydom in the *Huisgenoot* (of 29 November and 20 December) deal with the "purification" of the North-West of Bushmen and Korana (Afrikaans title: "*Boesmans en Korannas—Hoe die Noordweste van hulle gesuiwer is"*)!

In a time where fundamentalist intolerance, xenophobia, and racism still crop up constantly, Adhikari's book serves as an apt, timely, and necessary call to guard against the horrors of such outrage. While very little criticism can be brought against the content of the book—it does indeed testify to the skill, expertise, and scholarship of the writer—I am not entirely convinced that the multi-faceted nature of the question is sufficiently addressed and emphasised. In my opinion this challenge has still to be taken up. In this regard I would like to point out the following. First, initially the San were not limited to the Cape but were spread out across the whole of Southern Africa. To a greater or lesser extent they met with the same fate in Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, and the then South African Republic (ZAR) and Orange Free State (OFS). It seems as if minimal research has been conducted focusing on the San genocide in the last two of these regions. Second, colonial documentation does not always distinguish clearly between 'Hottentot' and 'Bushman," and the term "Hottentot" was often used to refer to both groups. The blurriness of borders between "Hottentot herdsmen" and "Bushmen hunter-gathers" that has been pointed out in the so-called Kalahari debate meant that action taken against the 'San' often led to the slaying of Khoekhoe and vice versa. For example, during the Battle of Mumusa between the ZAR and the Korana of Chief David Massouw Rijt Taaibosch in December 1885 that led to the destruction and extermination of the last functional community of Korana in Southern Africa, a number of San fought on the side of the Korana. This battle is, in the light of Adhikari's definition and the analogies present in the actions of the Cape government after the second Korana war, clearly an instance of genocide. Because genocide of indigenous peoples in Southern Africa is not limited to the San, this question remains open to a wider, more inclusive examination. Third, I am convinced that racist and religious views of the settlers, trek farmers and frontier freebooters, together with greed, played a major role in the

ISSN: 2152-2448

genocide of the first indigenous peoples, and thus demand a more detailed exploration than is supplied. In the fourth place, the fact that the Korana, Griqua, and Bastard groups also played a role in the extermination of the San is mentioned only in passing. According to earlier sources their influence was considerable. While colonialism unmistakeably played a role in the creation of an unstable interior there is indication of a pre-colonial phase where it was about raids, revenge, and the capture of slaves and women from other groups. I am unaware of recent research in this regard and am of the opinion that greater clarity on this aspect of history would enable us to construct a more nuanced image of the genocide of the San. Finally, in order to avoid complete extermination the San did not only migrate to the geographical peripheral areas. They deliberately concealed their San identity by taking on the customs and language of surrounding populations—hence the popular use of the appellation "the secret San." In effect, the San were not only subject to genocide, but also to ethnocide. While the writer refers to a distinction between genocide and ethnocide, the latter did have an impact on the disappearance of the San and deserves attention in our final analysis. Nevertheless, Adhikari's book is a highly recommended textbook to all who are interested in the subject.

Piet Erasmus, *University of the Free State*

Eric Allina. 2012. *Slavery by Any Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Mozambique*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 255 pp.

Eric Allina's book about forced labor regimes in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique bears more than merely titular similarities to Douglas Blackmon's *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (2008). Both volumes document the intimate relationship between global capitalism and race-based systems of slavery, but the respective regimes under the microscope also seem reflections of each other—government and private corporations acting as one; random arrests, usually for such crimes as "vagrancy" or lack of identification, to make worker quotas; the long and deadly hours of toil in mines or on plantations. Just as Blackmon's book brought to greater public awareness the de facto continuation of slavery in the post–Civil War American South, so does Allina make a most worthy contribution to the growing body of literature on slavery and its profits in the European-occupied spheres of Africa.

Slavery by Any Other Name, in fact, is the first book to make use of the archives of the Mozambique Company, a collection of papers accidentally left behind in Mozambique when the company's charter ended in 1942; these papers, missing for decades and not available for scholarly use until the 1990s, document how this company, shielded from "the public oversight that sometimes limited violent and exploitative practices in other territories," managed to develop "a system of forced labor more efficient and extensive than any in Africa" (p. 13). Allina deftly illustrates how Portugal, lacking resources comparable to the rest of Europe from having lost Brazil earlier in the century, sought to develop its African colony of Mozambique on the cheap by outsourcing much of it to the Mozambique Company established by Joaquím Carlos Paiva de Andrada, Portugal's answer to Cecil Rhodes. The company, in return for a hefty share of the profits, pledged to facilitate white settlement and carry out a "civilizing" mission

unto the "natives." Of course, these two things were related, for the company sought to "civilize" Africans through a regime of required labor (to rid them of their imagined indolence), usually for the operations of white farmers and industrialists, who, operating on the cheap themselves, provided little to nothing in the way of amenities or food for their workers and often whipped them for failing to meet assigned production quotas—violence which increased at month's end, when it was time to pay the workers.

Allina expertly explicates how the Mozambique Company established a veritable police state for Africans in order to compel their labor—the company-issued official passes, the random arrests, the ever-increasing "hut taxes" designed to force those who could not pay into the labor pool, and more (even before Portugal, under António Salazar, became the only dictatorship among the colonial powers). But beyond the "big picture," Allina is able, from the surviving documents, to replicate a localized view of how company officials negotiated with individual chiefs for the labor of their followers; how the company disrupted relationships between youth and elders, between men and women, by driving so many youths into the wage labor market; and how Africans resisted by crossing borders into British-occupied territory when they could or migrating to other employment at strategic times. If there is one criticism of this book, it is that Allina misses the occasional chance to demonstrate the extent of apparent pan-European solidarity in the face of challenges to white rule in Africa. For example, a brief mention of how Portugal received "arms and matériel from the British" during the 1917 rebellion in Barué rather surprises the reader given how much space the author devotes to illustrating the competition of these two powers, but the author fails to attach any meaning to this example of cooperation (p. 120).

In the end, white colonists' success in Mozambique "depended on coercive state intervention to supply African labor: the state's heavy hand must replace the market's invisible hand" (p. 179). When the only state structure is one whose sole purpose is the pursuit of profit, the potential for atrocity is nigh limitless, for no longer exists there any sense of the "common good," especially when the pursuit of profit is reinforced colonial racial hierarchies and a habitus of "civilization." Allina does yeoman work in illustrating the tangle of capitalism and racism which made up Portugal's privatized venture in Mozambique, and his book ranks among other examinations of savage colonialism on the African continent, such as Adam Hochschild's *King Leopold's Ghost* (1998), being a perfect volume not just for African history courses but also colonial and labor studies.

Guy Lancaster, *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*

Boatema Boateng. 2011. *The Copyright Thing Doesn't Work Here: Adinkra and Kente Cloth and Intellectual Property in Ghana*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press. 216 pp.

Common discussions of copyright and intellectual property usually focus on familiar media such as publications, film, television, and music, copyright being individually owned and executed by authors, publishers, or producers. However, copyright can be extended to all original, creative works, in any form – so how does copyright apply to works without singular author? This is the question that Boateng focuses on in *The Copyright Thing Doesn't Work Here:*

Adinkra and Kente Cloth as Intellectual Property in Ghana. Do not be deceived by this book's relatively short length. Into 182 pages, Boateng skillfully navigates the disciplines of legal studies, African studies, and sociology to examine the application of copyright law to the Ghanaian art forms of adinkra design and kente cloth. The introduction covers the historical and theoretical framework for her argument, including the Asante and Ghanaian historical context, intellectual property law, and implications for adinkra and kente cloth as intellectual property. Boateng devotes chapters to Asante considerations of authorship, the role that gender has in cloth production and appropriation, the limits of intellectual property law as applied to artisans, the politics and economic implications of appropriation of adinkra and kente, and global regulation of the art forms. The main debate about adinkra and kente as intellectual property is centered on the fact that these art forms are considered to be both individually and communally authored and based on social norms so that individual authorship is formally forsaken in favor of broader claims to communal authorship, although individual authors receive anecdotal credit for their work. Doing so places the work in the public domain, at which point others, particularly the Ghanaian state and those who make mass-production replicas of adinkra and kente, can benefit from the authorship of artisans without penalty. As Boateng argues, the artisans' definitions of authorship are much more complicated than simply individual or communal, and for that reason, applications of copyright and intellectual property to adinkra and kente fall short.

Boateng's sources are wide-ranging. While she uses oral testimony in the form of life histories and interviews as the initial basis of her argument, that argument is also thoroughly referenced and supported by works within intellectual property and copyright law, African art, and sociology and anthropology. Within intellectual property and copyright, Boateng cites works including James Boyle's *The Public Domain: Enclosing the Commons of the Mind* (2008), as well as Tsikata and Anyidoho's "Copyright and Oral Literature," published in *Power of Their Word: Selected Papers from Proceedings of the 1st National Conference on Oral Literature in Ghana* (1988), in addition to several works from the World Intellectual Property Organization. In her discussions on adinkra and kente, she especially draws upon G.F. Kojo Arthur's *Cloth as Metaphor* (2001) and Doran H. Ross' *Wrapped in Pride: Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity* (1998), referencing also texts such as Ivor Wilks' *Asante in the 19th Century* (1975).

Where Boateng shines, however, is in her handling of sociological theory to analyze the power dynamics inherent in intellectual property law and its applications in Ghana. In her examination of Ghanaian folklore, she examines class issues, debates over tradition and modernity, and the effects of commodification, nationalism, and globalization on lawmaking and within Ghanaian culture, informed by texts such as Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Differenc*e (2000) and Henry Giroux's *Terror of Neoliberalism: Authoritarianism and the Eclipse of Democracy* (2004). It is this analysis that elevates her work from the purely anthropological, with its use of life histories, or solely within the realm of legal studies, with its focus on copyright. Boateng's thorough use of such sources supports her argument quite well, and the endnote citations include extra, useful details about her sources. The potential audience for this text could be anyone interested in present limits of copyright and intellectual property, as well as those interested in the complicated relationship between tradition and modernity especially as it relates to folklore. I believe anyone interested

in exploring the complex interactions and negotiations that occur when laws come in contact with reality will enjoy Boateng's analysis.

Michelle Guittar, *Northeastern Illinois University*

Daniel Branch. 2011. *Kenya: Between Hope and Despair, 1963-2011*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 366 pp.

Kenya has been a beacon of stability in the East African sub-region albeit a political milieu colored by institutionalization of violence over the years and economic marginalization, often viewed in ethno-geographic terms. Daniel Branch's book is a presentation of statecraft and governance crisis in post-colonial Kenya, focusing mainly on the role played by elites. It ought to be noted that the violence that rocked Kenya following the 2007 elections was not a surprise episode but a simmering volcano only waiting to explode. Ethnicity as a medium of political mobilization coupled with profound divisions along regional and religious lines have characterized local politics (Ajulu 2001, p. 1).[1] Indeed, the spate of communal violence has either been sponsored or condoned by elites in positions of power. What the author describes as "fetishisation of order" (p. 18) by successive Kenya's ruling elites is an outcome of a strategy of informalizing state repressive institutions to serve political ends.

The volume is niftily organized, chronologically presenting dynamics of Kenyan politics under three regimes (Kenyatta 1963-78; Moi 1978-2002; Kibaki 2002-present). It is basically a blend of informed personal reflections and biographical characterization of the most influential personalities in the country's political scene. This approach makes the author's account of Kenya's political history more fascinating. A reader who is fairly well informed on Kenya's domestic politics will be intrigued by the author's use of captivating chapter-titles, sub-headings that reflect popular local political jargons. Ironically, the text in chapter five, titled "Love, Peace and Unity, 1982-88," paints a gloomy period, one dented by random arrests, "a democracy of torture chamber", Wagalla massacre, and in which the author says "the country resembled a police state" (p. 165).

The book will definitely attract the attention of the academic community of political scientists, historians, and university students, especially those keenly interested in African politics. The author adeptly clarifies concepts prominent in the literature on African politics such as ethnicity, redistribution, inequality, corruption, succession politics, etc. Branch uses two sets of primary sources to compile what he calls as "archives of repression," namely diplomatic memoirs and civil society reports. Rightly so, Branch cautions that both of these sources should be treated with care as they might have been prejudiced by strategic and political agendas of their authors.

The recurring themes of the book are ethnic chauvinism, political assassinations and corruption. The author observes that "ethnicity is not an intrinsically bad thing" but can be used to act as a restraining force on misbehaving elites jostling for power (p. 293), and that in the Kenyan case it emerged as a "response to the shortcomings of the formal economy, labour market and the state" (p. 294). As redistribution policy was abandoned by successive regimes, Kenyans made best use of ethnic networks to access land, jobs and political power. This is

essentially "neo-patrimonialism" even though the author shied away from using the term to describe patronage networks or informal client-patron power networks based on mutual favors (Brown 2004). Political assassinations of influential figures like PG Pinto, Tom Mboya, JM Kariuki, Robert Ouko, and activists Oscar King'ara and John Oulu, have marred the country's political history. Moreover, mismanagement and scandalous deals like Goldenberg, disappearance of strategic food reserves, and Anglo Leasing, are endemic in Kenya's governance system. They have led the author to conclude that a fundamental overhaul of politics and governance has not yet taken place in the four years since the 2007 disputed election. Branch's conclusion that "Kenya's politics is not best described as democratizing, but rather as a hybrid form of democracy and authoritarianism (p. 296)" is spot on.

There are, nonetheless, some sections of the book that needed improvement. A slightly enhanced analytical section on the outcome of the 2010 referendum vote would have immensely reinforced the author's argument on the entrenched ethnic nature Kenya's politics. The 30 percent disapproval rate, with the highest "No" vote recorded in the Rift Valley Province, is not a matter to gloss over. Thirty-one of forty-nine Rift Valley constituencies voted "No" pointing to fears expressed by the Kalenjin community of domination by other groups in the new counties (KNDR 2010, p. 27). An apparent omission also in this section is President Moi's "No" campaign against the draft constitution. The book is silent on Moi's role and personal reasons for opposing the draft constitution. Besides, there is no mention at all of initial mediation attempts in the post 2007 election violence by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was the first external mediator to arrive under the umbrella of the All-Africa Conference of Churches (AACC). Lastly, it is inaccurately presented that when the constitution was amended in 1991 to pave way for multiparty elections, the presidential tenure was restricted to two terms of "four" years (p. 240), instead of the inserted two five-year term limits.

Notes

1 See also Khadiagala 2008, p. 6.

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Rasul Ahmed Minja, *University of Duisburg-Essen*

Lothar Brock, Hans-Henrik Holm, Georg Sørensen, and Michael Stohl. 2012. *Fragile States: Violence and the Failure of Intervention.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. 194 pp.

Authors Brock, Holm, Sørensen, and Stohl, have done a creditable job in writing a book-length analysis on fragile states, richly illustrated by case studies of Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Haiti, and which also examines both the positive and negative contributions of outsiders to these fragile states.

The authors prepare the canvas for the study by noting, in the introduction, that interstate *war* has been in decline since the end of the Second World War; what is not in decline, however, is the occurrence of intrastate war. Such intrastate conflict is not the exclusive province of fragile states, but, as the authors note, "where there is large-scale, intrastate violence there tends to be state fragility" (p. 2). This observation is perhaps a bit tautological, since conflict is one of the factors that tend to define state fragility, but the observation is nevertheless important, particularly since such conflict tends to spread to neighboring states. Another important observation, and perhaps one of the key reasons for studying fragile states, is that they can provide a breeding ground for terrorism and violence—something noted by U.S. leaders when "the 2002 National Security Strategy of the United States . . . stated that the country was now threatened less by conquering states than by failing ones" (p. 8). This threat, combined with humanitarian concerns, provides ample motivation for studying the dynamics of fragile states.

In the initial chapter the authors examine key indicators that define fragile states. These indicators are reinforced by a review of the literature and by comparison with other indices such as the Fund for Peace's Failed States Index, and UN and the Office of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) measures.

There are some striking counter-intuitive revelations in the book, such as the identification of some states that "ought to be fragile" but are not, such as Costa Rica and Botswana, which are examined in contrast to the case study countries of Afghanistan, Haiti, and the DRC. Another counter-intuitive notion is the idea of a "resource curse," where the presence of valuable natural resources in a country can actually increase the probability of fragility, due to the intense competition for control of these resources by factional interests within the country. Sierra Leone's "blood diamonds" are a case in point. Among the three case studies, the DRC is the most extreme example of the "resource curse." Having oil, rubber, diamonds, gold, copper, cobalt, and coltan in abundance, the DRC has never been able to use these resources to the benefit of the state in the way that Botswana has, for example, but control of these resources has proven too great a temptation for those in power who wanted to keep the wealth for themselves.

In Chapter 4, examining the options for coping with state fragility, the authors conclude that "the capacity of outsiders to address the problems of weak states is limited and . . . both domestic and international conditions make interventions problematic undertakings" (p. 97). In this chapter, the authors note that international organizations in general, and the African Union (AU) in particular, have modified their long standing policy against intervening in the affairs of a weak state, with that change justified by the "responsibility to protect" (R2P) citizens' lives outweighing any notions of state sovereignty. Notably, the AU's precursor, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), had always been reluctant to take such a bold stand.

Given the authors' skepticism about the capability of outsiders to effect positive change in fragile states, the concluding chapter's recommendations are tepid at best. The authors propose two things: first, "re-examine external conditions conducive to the mitigation of fragile statehood" (p. 167); second, in "cases of severe violent conflict that threaten the lives of thousands [or more] . . . international society should be ready to act with much greater speed and efficiency" (p. 170). In other words, monitor the situation of fragile states, but intervene only when the consequences of inaction appear to be disastrous.

Subject matter experts and general readers who are interested in the fate of fragile states will enjoy this book, but, considering the weighty subject matter and the combined expertise of the four scholars who wrote this study, the lack of a more dynamic series of recommendations is disappointing.

Norman Clark Capshaw, *U.S. Africa Command and the University of Phoenix*

J. Calvitt Clarke III. 2011. *Alliance of the Colored Peoples: Ethiopia and Japan before World War II*. Oxford, UK: James Currey for the International African Institute. 198 pp.

Only a truly dedicated historian with the passion and the patience for minute details, including those details which are found scattered in space and time, could write this book. By organizing and interpreting such details, J. Calvitt Clarke III has rendered outstanding service to those of us who for personal or professional reasons are interested in Japan's relations with Ethiopia. While Ethiopia had had a longstanding, and at times intimate, diplomatic relations with the United States after World War II, Ethio-Japanese relations had been eventful before World War II. But there was a gaping hole about the latter in the scholarship until now. This book is the first and fullest account of Ethio-Japanese relations before World War II.

Clarke starts out with the discourse about the notion of "the yellow peril," the genealogy of the idea, and moves on to the history of Japan's "colonial" ambitions in Africa and how, among other things, Europe's changing attitudes towards Japan crushed those ambitions from the outset. What follows is a general discussion of the dilemmas of modernization Ethiopia had faced and how it generally resolved them as illustrated by the struggle that ensued between Ethiopia's "Japanizers" and "traditionalists" in the 1920s and 1930s. The author then casts the major characters in Ethiopia who were to play central role in the debates about whether Japan could serve as a model for Ethiopia's modernization, drawing in passing a useful comparison, including in the appendix, between the constitution of Meiji Japan (1889) and Ethiopia's first constitution (1931). Clarke finds a "close' resemblance between the two. It is remarkable to discover in this book that Ethiopia's approach to modernization resembled that of Japan to some extent. Both Ethiopia and Japan showed readiness to adapt different systems of organization and thought from abroad in their respective effort to modernize their societies. Both countries put emphasis on the positive role of education in social transformation. We also learn that although Emperor Haile Selassie was committed to Ethiopia's modernization, he was unwilling to devolve power as Emperor Meiji had done in Japan. Haile Selassie sought to perpetrate himself as "absolute monarch." The question is whether this divergence explains

the failure of Ethiopia and success of Japan. This, of course, is an intriguing issue, which is worth exploring more fully in its own right.

Halfway into the book we are treated to the visit of Ethiopia's foreign minister Heruy Welde Sellase to Japan from November to December 1931. Sellase later authored a book in Amharic about what he called *Great Japan*, which was subsequently translated into Japanese and was published in Tokyo as *Dai Nihon* in 1934. The same portion of the book includes critical reviews of the myth and reality of Japan's interest in Ethiopia. This is followed by a closer examination of the changing contours of the relationship between Italy, Russia, Japan and China—again in the context of Ethio-Japanese relations. The gripping story of a "royal wedding" between an Ethiopian and a Japanese and the various reactions to it in different quarters in both countries are then dissected piece by piece.

The contending theories about political and military ties between Japan and Ethiopia are closely examined in Chapter 8 against the background of Italy's impending assault on the East African country, the support for Ethiopia among the Japanese at the grassroots level, and the 1934 visit by Ethiopia's first "consular secretary" to Japan, Dabba Birrou. The book's last chapter is concerned with the official and unofficial positions of Japan vis-à-vis the Italian invasion and subsequent occupation of Ethiopia in 1935. The reactions generated by Italy's actions in different segments of Japanese society are also carefully outlined. As part of the conclusion about Japan's official position, the author says: "Japan has chosen an opportunistic policy toward the so-called Italo-Ethiopian war, sometimes favoring Italy, sometimes Ethiopia" (p. 162).

One of the unique features of the book is that it integrates a variety of issues relating to Ethio-Japanese relations in the 1920s and 1930s and treats them in a manner that is both engaging and stimulating, significantly raising in the process the level of discourse in this field.

Of course, the book is not flawless. To start with the title of the book, *Alliance of the Colored Peoples*, is somewhat misleading because there is no indication, except for some anecdotal statements, of sustained discourse either in Ethiopia or in Japan about such alliance. If anything the generalization we could draw from this book is that the driving force of Ethio-Japanese relations was more complex and that it was not solely, or even primarily, based on "pigmentational solidarity."

Another flaw is that major events in the book are generally related only by the month and date of their occurrence, with the year rarely mentioned. This approach probably sprang out of the confidence the author placed in his readers' capacity to know which events took place in which years. But the fact is that this system of dating makes the task of reading cumbersome at best, especially given the density of the book. No indication in the book also whether or not the author had visited Ethiopia and consulted Amharic archives there. Instead it was implied that he had not. If so, the question becomes if he was able to travel to Rome, Tokyo, and Washington for archival research, why was he unable to go to Ethiopia to do the same? Surely, language could be a barrier for the author in Ethiopia (if he does not speak Amharic), but still he could have found some way for dealing with that challenge. After all, the central issues in some of the chapters of the book included the discourse which had taken place among Ethiopian elites in one of the oldest newspapers in the country. Last but not least, Clarke uncritically repeats Jeanne Pierre-Lehman's familiar but logically untenable assertion (p. 5) that

Japan's victory over Russia (in 1905) inspired Ethiopia's victory over Italy (in 1896). If this issue was tangential to the subject under discussion one could have simply ignored it as a minor distraction—but it is not. That said, however, the book is still a most welcome analysis of the history of relations between Ethiopia and Japan before World War II. Clarke *Alliance of the Colored Peoples* (2011) does for Ethio-Japanese relations before the Second World War what Theodore Vestal's *The Lion of Judah in the New World* (2011) does for Ethio-American relations after the Second World War.

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Scarlett Cornelissen, Fantu Cheru, and Timothy M. Shaw (eds). 2012. *Africa and International Relations in the 21st Century.* New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. 248 pp.

The editors introduce the argument of *Africa and International Relations in the 21st Century* by precisely analyzing post-colonial and post-independence Africa in the preface of the book. The analysis highlights how post-colonial and post-independence political and economic scholars described African continent, especially those with a North Atlantic cultural orientation who called Africa "The Hopeless Continent" in *The Economist* (p. viii). However, the twenty-first century African scholars and investors in the current analysis view Africa in a more positive manner, as a continent of hope for the world economic growth and as an active participant in international political and economic system.

The goal of the editors is to respond to the general perspective of under-representation of Africa in the mainstream international relations theory (p. viii) and as an augment to the previous volume *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory* (Kevin Dunn and Timothy M. Shaw, eds., 2001) in order to align the theory with the fastest economic and social development growth of the continent in the twenty-first century. This goal makes the contribution of this book significant to the on-going debate about theoretic and contextualization of political power, sovereignty of states, conflict resolution, peace-keeping, social development, and the changing social dynamics in the continent of Africa in relation to IR. Africa is an interesting continent; politically, economically, and developmentally. For over four decades, the political economy of the continent was based on development aid from "colonial masters," grants from financial institutions where African states were merely recipients not recognized contributors, and the policies were basically overshadowed by the definitions of the aid-giver described by the editors as "colonialist imaginations" (p. 1).

In 2010, the UN's Millennium Development Summit was held to evaluate progress on the implementation of eight UN Millennium Goals (MDGs) by the developing countries. The Summit concluded that poverty and vulnerability to health challenges were likely to remain on the African continent due to ecological changes and most probably also exacerbated by political conflicts, energy shortage and poor management of the available natural resources (pp. 9-12). Yet, Africa is not left without hope.

Although Africa and developing world have been marginalized in IR theory debate, some scholars have argued that this is due to lack of engagement with developing world, particularly the African continent, that has resulted into living in denial of some developed world of African

positive contribution to world political and economic system. However, South Africa has emerged a member of the G20 countries; a grouping of the world's top fastest growing economies. This is the dawn of African participation in international relations forums at a higher level.

Karen Smith, a contributor in this volume, argues that one way of including Africa as an object of study and Africans as potential agents of IR is by critically evaluating the interpretation of concepts used in IR and concepts that are absent in Western IR discourses (p. 26). The objective understanding of the concepts of political governance and democracy in Africa as a community (*ubuntu* philosophy) rather than individual states is critical as one considers the participation and contribution of Africa to IR scholarship at global level (p. 27). The African society is a "depend on" rather than "independent of" community in their faculty; therefore, it is crucially important for IR scholars from the English-speaking community to respect and interpret African contribution to IR scholarship with objectivity. Therefore, this scholarship should be viewed from both collectivist and individualist rather than either collectivist or individualist perspectives. Deliberate ignoring of collectivist view of political governance in Africa may raise difficulties in understanding the biasness of African contribution to IR scholarship theory in political and economic development internationally; since the world is not only comprised of individualist views, but collectivist views, identity, and culture too.

The future of Africa in IR scholarship is seemingly promising. Africa has extensively and positively contributed to political and economic development of international relations system of both developed and developing world through the slave trade, Diasporas, and post modernity participation in bilateral and multilateral political and economic forums. It is notable also that in the past two decades Africa has positioned itself in its rightful place in the world.

Paradoxically or candidly, Africa is the giant of the world political and economic development reform. Although the African continent has been negatively defined in international relations by some scholars, it is the only continent whose resources ranging from human to mineral resources have contributed significantly to the IR. *Africa and International Relations in the 21st Century* is a must read resource for graduate students in political science, public administration and international business administration.

George Allan Phiri, *Institute of Research, Development & Training*

Toyin Falola and Nana Akua Amponsah. 2012. *Women's Roles in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC. 232 pp.

As part of the Women's Roles through History series, *Women's Roles in Sub-Saharan Africa* provides the reader with a general and accessible over-view of women's lives and roles in history throughout sub-Saharan Africa. To do so, the authors, Nana Akua Amponsah, PhD student at the University of Texas (Austin) and Toyin Falola, history professor at the same university, try to cover the huge cultural and social diversity in Africa together with the main historical processes that have shaped the different situations and experiences of African women.

The volume starts with a very brief chronology covering some of the outstanding events in sub-Saharan Africa in which women played an important role. Following a brief introduction, where the neglect and lack of knowledge of African women's roles in African history is highlighted, the book touches on women's roles in several areas, such as: courtship and marriage, family, religion, work, arts and literature, government, and education. Together with a series of black-and-white pictures, each chapter is accompanied by a complete list of notes as well as suggested readings. Moreover, at the end of the book there is a brief glossary of a series of specific terms referred to along the volume.

The first two chapters offer an overview of marriage as an institution, which despite being more a sort of social, political and economic transaction, favoring the group's position in society, rather than the individual, romantic love, and the courtship process was, and still is, an important factor to accept or reject the marriage contract. Indeed, romantic love goes beyond the Western ideal of exclusivity and has always been a strong component in ancient African societal systems. Moreover, this part of the book provides an overview on the delicate topic of the still-existing arranged marriages and women's role in marriage within the realm of family and kinship, paying special attention to female or matrilineal descent systems. The following chapter touches on the gendered nature of religion, focusing special attention on women's roles in traditional African religions, Christianity and Islam, as well as the paradoxical impact of such religions on women's social, cultural, political, and economic roles. Indeed, when in some cases religion has been a source of equality; in other instances it has been a source of oppression.

Chapter four deals with women's roles in the labor market; going from the traditional domestic and agricultural jobs to current positions in the labor market, which despite offering them more economic opportunities, are also a source of discrimination and sexual harassment. Linking to this issue, chapter six touches on women's roles as political actors. While women are essential in African societies, their access to political authorities has been mostly indirect, which has been partly the result of the colonial political discrimination. Recently, however, more and more women have acquired more politically active roles, including their participation in armed combats.

Chapter five is entirely devoted to women's roles in arts and literature and the gendered natured of such area, whereby women have traditionally used songs, poems and narratives to convey their experiences and cultural values to the new generations. Moreover, in the current economy market, women's artworks, far from stopping, have developed their own strategies of "survival." Finally, and in close connection with this part, the last chapter touches on women's roles in education during three main periods: pre-colonial times, when most education was non-formal, colonial, and post-colonial times, highlighting the negative effects that gendering education had on women. While in the latter periods women's education was scarce and aimed towards typically feminine tasks in the domestic arena, numerous governmental agencies, NGOs and scholars have been concerned with studying this lack of educational opportunities and its consequences in the labor market, namely, restricting women's access to some public roles and increasing their poverty levels, compared to men.

All in all, it can be said that the book offers quite an optimistic vision of the different roles women play in sub-Saharan African societies, trying to step away from either the traditional image of victimized women or some few cases of powerful queen mothers or spiritual leaders

as agents of dramatic change. Although it is true that the vast diversity of women in this region cannot be categorized in these two groups, and that many socioeconomic and political achievements in the continent have been developed thanks to many "ordinary" women, it should also be noted that, considering the huge diversity in the sub-Saharan continent, the book is quite interesting as a mere introductory text to the issue, but is, on the whole, too wide in contents and geographical scope.

Ester Serra Mingot, *Student of the European Master in Migration and Intercultural Relations*

John T. Friedman. 2011. *Imagining the Post-Apartheid State—An Ethnographic Account of Namibia*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books. xii. 328 pp.

Focusing on the post-apartheid Namibian state, this first monograph of anthropologist John T. Friedman intrigues from the onset in its attempt to constitute the "state itself as an ethnographic object of study" (p. 3). In a methodologically novel way, Friedman approaches the Namibian state through an exploration of state-related political imaginations among people of Kaokoland in northwestern Namibia—conceptualized as the multiple ways in which Kaokolanders "perceive, talk about, represent, construct as well as experience the Namibian state" (p. 8). In capturing such state imaginings in Kaokoland, explicitly chosen for its geographical and political marginality vis-à-vis the post-apartheid Namibian state, the author relies on study of colonial archives and extensive fieldwork conducted primarily in and around the region's capital town Opuwo in 2000, 2001, and 2008. In particular, he focuses on the notions of government (Part 1), courts (Part 2), and chieftainship (Part 3) as a prism through which to refract political imaginations of Kaokolanders and thus "ethnographise" the Namibian state.

Part 1, "Govern-mentality in Kaokoland," draws from Foucault's conception of government as the 'conduct of conduct' in investigating competing discourses on the art of government in the region. Through the study of colonial archives and extensive key informant interviews, Friedman skilfully maps how Kaokolanders (primarily Herero and Himba) relate to and what they expect from the post-apartheid Namibian state. The dominant discourse he uncovers is marked by a "diminished entitlements and services" critique: while the South African apartheid regime was perceived as a reliable provider of services, the post-apartheid Namibian state stresses individualistic responsibility towards the state. This seems to contradict the local notion, informed by the colonial past, that "the state is literally expected to feed and nourish the individual directly—like a father does his child" (p. 80). With the dawn of the post-apartheid state in Namibia, a feeling of abandonment often expressed in terms of "apartheid" now prevails in the region, which, Friedman suggests, can also be read as a "moral indictment of neo-liberal democracy generally" (p. 96). The prominence of paternalism within the political imagination in Kaokoland is thus a historically created as well as creative element shaping the contemporary citizen-subject/state relationship.

This dialectical process is further explored in Part 2, "Courts, Laws and the Administration of Justice," in which Friedman examines the administration of legal pluralism in Kaokoland as another prism through which to explore political imagination in the region. Through detailed trial records, notes and key informant interviews, he skilfully disentangles the ways in which

Kaokolanders perceive both the legal judicial order orchestrated by the state exemplified in the magistrate court, and the application of traditional customary law as exercised through traditional courts. Great attention is paid to re-drawing lines of arguments advanced by plaintiffs and litigants in choosing either type of court, and the respective measures taken in response to the impeachment of law. Charting how judicial experiences shape state-related imaginings, the notion of paternalism again emerges powerfully: the magistrate court is discursively produced as "a-parental" (p. 171) because its institutes punitive rather than restorative or compensatory measures, thus said to neglect collective familial responsibility. In contrast, considerations pertaining to the social embeddedness of offenders and litigants are of central importance in proceedings of the generally preferred traditional courts.

Part 3, "Chief-ship and the Post-Apartheid State," draws from historical record to show how leadership claims in the region are based on classic examples of "invented traditions" shaped by immigration histories and colonial administration processes. Thus caused fusions and fissions of chieftainship in Kaokoland have also left an imprint on the relationship with the post-apartheid state. In negotiating political belonging, the wider trope of "family" again assumes central importance. Patrilineal descent determines one's association with a certain chief, and hence affiliation with one of Kaokoland's two traditional authorities. Belonging to a certain traditional authority in turn grounds one's party alignment and political positioning vis-*à*-vis the state—thus primarily ascribed through descent. Again, a thread from child to chief is being spun, critically influencing how the state comes to be imagined through the prism of family and kinship. Further, as it is the post-apartheid state which bestows traditional authorities with representation powers and political leverage, it is also shown how civil and traditional governing structures are not two separate spheres but are in fact intimately infused (p. 180), thus offering an interesting perspective on the often cited legal bifurcation of the post-colonial African state (Mamdani, 1996).

Imagining the Post-Apartheid State in Namibia is a stimulating addition to contemporary debates of state processes in Africa, highlighting the potential contribution of anthropological inquiry to such research. However, Friedman's conceptualization of paternalism as the over-arching theme may at times be stretched too far. For example, it is suggested that the magistrate court is perceived as "a-parental" due to the fact that it institutes punitive rather than compensatory measures. Arguably though, a paternalistic relationship also entails punishment and acting against a child's will in order to impose certain values—the observed aversion to the punitive model of justice might thus be not fully explained by what Friedman calls "an implicit longing for a more paternalistic state" (p. 171). Further, while the notion of paternalism entrenched in the Kaokolander's political imagination is the unifying theme across the book, it follows loose strands rather than one thread, rendering the reading experience challenging at times. Yet, Friedman's innovative approach—ethnographically capturing the state through the political imaginations of those who inhabit it—succeeds in yielding fascinating insights pertaining to the mutually constitutive relationship between government and the governed and thus opens up fruitful avenues of inquiry. Scholars of political science, social anthropology and development studies alike will greatly benefit from this thought-provoking study.

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Ina Rehema Jahn, *University of Oldenburg*

Julia Gallagher. 2011. *Britain and Africa Under Blair: In Pursuit of the Good State*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press. 166 pp.

Britain and Africa under Blair: In Pursuit of the Good State (2011) is a rich and perspicacious analysis of the weight of Prime Minister Tony Blair's presence in Africa during his premiership. Writing from the position of experience (having worked for the Foreign Office in the early 2000s) and intellectual rigor (as an expert on international relations), Julia Gallagher presents to us a rich account of New Labour's political commitment to the Kleinian ''development of individual subjectivities through relationships'' (p. 5), cosmopolitanism and communitarianist ideal that resonate with thin, far-off social networks. Put simply, this is about conceiving of (international) politics as more of building relationships than an instrument for oppression as well as one-upmanship.

Thus, from the adumbration of Tony Blair's humanitarian wars in Africa to the moralizing of Robin Cook's ethical elements to New Labour's language of idealism in foreign policy and to Gordon Brown's ''helping the Third World'' (p. 12) mantra, the emphasis is using the platform of international relations to better the plights of suffering people in Africa (particularly Nigeria and Sierra Leone). The book is also about Britain helping in deepening African continent's consolidation of democratization, freedom and wellbeing. It is in the pursuit of this good state of affairs that finds materiality in shared values and human development that Blair's passion for Africa comes to the fore:

> For Blair, Africa was intrinsic to the doctrine of international community, part of his wider plan to make the world better: it was, according to one political rival, 'Blair's badge of morality, moral honour … [Africa came] to embody the ethical dimension of foreign policy' (p. 13).

Taking the basis of her argument from a constructivist perspective, Gallagher stated that under Blair Britain's core principle in international relations about Africa is anchored in ''ethical approach to politics'' (p. 1). This goes to explain that Blair (even Gordon Brown) considered international politics as an extension of domestic political community. To this end, as New Labour envisioned about Africa, constructivism utilizes ''… alternative ontology to explain and interpret aspects of world politics that were anomalous to neo-realism and neo-liberalism'' (Burchill et al, 2005, p. 195). It is also within these parameters that we can pursue the good state: the Durkheimian ideal community.

Britain and Africa under Blair is a book with seven chapters excluding the conclusion chapter, as well as bibliography and index; earlier drafts of chapters 4, 5, and 6 had appeared in the journal, *Millennium: Journal of International Politics and African Affairs* in 2009. The book has a robust theoretically/conceptual basis as well as empirical scaffold: this is based on ''fifty

interviews and informal discussions conducted in 2007 [by the author] with British MP's, former ministers and government officials, and with Sierra Leonean and Nigerian political activists, journalists and academics'' (p. 23). The semi-structured nature of the interviews conducted paints in a bold relief the validity, reliability and naturally occurring manner of facts extracted during the interviews. The people interviewed were given the opportunity to say things as they were rather than being boxed in by the interviewer's cues and prompts.

Although the book weaves a good tapestry of Gallagher's hands-on knowledge of Africa, intellectual agility, and ability to manage empirical data, I do not buy into the idea that Blair's mission in Africa was totally altruistic; Britain's ''do-good imperialism'' (Cooper 2001, p. 29) mission in Africa during the colonial era, a metonymy of New Labour's engagement in Africa, was hiding with a knife! This experience leaves so many questions unanswered about *Britain and Africa under Blair*.

The book should make a good read for anybody interested in apprehending the color of British politics in contemporary Africa, ethical leadership and international relations, which are vital in the age of globalization and human side of politics.

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Uzoechi Nwagbara, *Greenwich School of Management*

Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar, and Giacomo Macola (eds). 2011. *Living the End of Empire: Politics and Society in Late Colonial Zambia*. Leiden: Brill. 333 pp.

This edited volume seeks to portray the complexity of late colonial history in Zambia. It accomplishes this goal by shedding light on conflicts in the nationalist movement, chiefly and religious institutions and experiences of Western and Asian communities.

Andrew Roberts provides the context for the following twelve contributions, which cover Northern Rhodesia from 1945-1964. He reminds us that the copper industry only began to prosper from 1949, that the trade union legislation allowed Africans the same bargaining rights as white unionists, and Africans increasingly managed to represent their views and interests in the public and political sphere. Giacomo Macola reinterprets the split of the ANC (Afriacan National Congress) into the ZANC (Zambia African National Congress) and UNIP (United National Independence Party) as an eruption of socio-economic and ethnic cleavages. He claims that the split was a clash between Bemba-speakers vs. Bantu Botatwe, as well as between waged workforce in the Copperbelt and its vast hinterland vs. rural-based agricultural producers in the Southern and Central Provinces. His argument, however, is not persuasive: that some Tonga militants interpreted criticism against ANC president Nkumbula as criticism against a non-Bemba leader, that Nkumbula lacked the authority to end Copperbelt beer-halls boycotters, that seven opposing party officials were Bemba or from urban centers, and that Nkumbula

predominantly addressed the concerns of Southerners in a Southern Province meeting. All these incidents do not provide enough reasons and evidence to support his claim. It seems like his description of the internal differences within the party point rather to underlying power struggles, problems of authority, representation and legitimacy.

Walima Kalusa's case study of a paramount chief shows his ambivalent relationship to the nationalist parties and the colonial government. Interestingly, he only joined the liberation struggle to bow to the masses of his people, simultaneously trying to preserve his power and autonomy. Marja Hinfelaar helps us understand how religious authority in the form of Catholic movements informed political attitudes, action and public debate. She sketched important features such as their concern with morality, resistance, and conformity to the colonial government and how mission schools shaped the Christian identity of elites. Kenneth Vickery presents a biographical account of Dixon Konkola, Railway Union and Union Congress president, as well as the first president of UNIP, at least for a few weeks. Ian Phimister portrays the lifeworlds of white miners on the Copperbelt around 1959, their affluence, material culture, racist attitudes, as well as the composition of well-educated staff (mostly British) and semi- or unskilled daily-paid workers (mainly from South Africa). Joanna Lewis depicts the commemorations of David Livingstone in 1955 as predominantly white, generalizing how "the white community in Livingstone" and how "the Africans" perceived the celebrations. I wonder whether her newspaper reports provide enough evidence to support her conclusions, especially since she neglects that public perceptions were probably more diverse. The unit of analysis was also not clearly defined in Jan-Bart Gewald's contribution on the association of rumors with colonial fears and African aspirations concerning the Mau Mau in Kenya. More attention would be needed to differentiate who listened to whom, who believed whom, when, why, and who did not. Friday Mufuzi documents the political actions by Indian traders in Livingstone against their discrimination, some of them even supporting the African parties. Joan Haig conducted interviews in which Hindus emphasized the creation of a collective identity and feeling of belonging while pushing back past experiences of segregation and hardship. Christopher Annear reinterprets data collected by Ian Cunnison. Annear argues that storytelling, instead of being part of the "essential character of *The Luapula Peoples*," was rather a strategy of recent migrants attempting to secure rights to land and fishery. Finally, Andrew DeRoche's chapter deals with two female American diplomats who shaped US policy towards Africa.

The narrative character makes this volume an enjoyable read. However, Zambian studies have more potential to contribute to basic disciplines. Most of the articles explore a particular topic over a specific period, but a research problem would also include a question and its significance. I argue that research on Zambia should not be content with simply enhancing our knowledge on its society, but also address a wider audience by contributing to debates on concepts, theories and methodology. In my opinion, several of the case studies could be used to refine concepts and theories on the public sphere, authority, moral debate, political criticism and opposition, as well as assimilation and exclusion strategies of expatriates. And this is a chance that we should take.

Esther Uzar, *University of Basel*

Nigel Gibson. 2011. *Fanonian Practices in South Africa from Steve Biko to Abahlali baseMjondolo*. Scottsville, South Africa: University of Kwazulu-Natal Press. 312 pp.

The author employs a Fanonian theoretical and ideological framework in his penetrating critique of post-apartheid South Africa in an earnest commitment to the aspirations and "living politics" of the shack dwellers of South Africa. It is a highly important work that illustrates the relevance of Fanon's philosophy of liberation to the socio-economic and political developments in South Africa since the ANC formed the country's first multi-racial democracy in April 1994 to date. In short, "ultimately a Fanonian perspective insists that we view the sweetness of the South African transition from apartheid as bitter, realised at the moment when 'the people find out that the ubiquitous fact that exploitation can wear a Black face' (Fanon 1968: 145) and that a Black, too, can be a Boer (*amabhunu amanyama*)" (p. 5).

Gibson begins examining "the problem of [South Africa's] unfinished liberation" and specifically how Steve Biko's philosophical interpretation of Fanon informed the conception, ethos and agenda of Black Consciousness, formed in 1969. This is the focus of Chapter 1. In the following chapter, "the specific political economic choices [that] defined and [were] made during the transition period by the nationalist political elites" (p. 74) are outlined. Such choices contributed to the prevailing systemic inequalities of South Africa in which black poverty has increased. For the author, "the shift from the Freedom Charter towards neoliberalism was an ethical shift away from ideas of the social and public good" (p. 77). This betrayal by the ANC occurred during the decade of the 1980s as the ANC elite "outmanoeuvred its opponents on the left" (p. 78), encouraged a climate of anti-intellectualism, and supported the 1986 slogan of making South Africa ungovernable.

The forms of spontaneous educative direct democracy that was spawned in the townships was hijacked by the ANC in order to create an opening in the negotiations with the white minority elite and consequently the "the rank and file of the movement became cannon fodder" (p. 95). Neither did the collapse of the USSR help the unfolding political developments, for the demise contributed to a continued defensive Stalinism within the ANC and South African Communist Party (SACP) that became wedded to the politics of compromise. By the mid-1990s the ANC had fully embraced the fundamentalism of the market—heralding a shift away from a radical social-democratic paradigm. Consequently discussions on alternative conceptions of a future South Africa were silenced.

"The New 'reality of the nation'"(the focus of chapter 3) has been the rise of a small but significant black bourgeoisie through the adoption of the Black Economic Empowerment program (BEE). Gibson contends the program "is essentially a conservative project that acts against empowering poor communities by naturalizing poverty and reinforcing the neoliberal status quo." (p. 121). The consequences of neoliberalism are examined and the new forms of spatial apartheid in the affluent gated communities as well as how the ANC elite has appropriated Biko's Black empowerment for narrow class interests that excludes the black majority.

The history of the founding of the shack dwellers movement—*Abahali base Mjon*dolo—is presented in chapter 4, entitled "Unfinished Struggles for Freedom." Here, the author presents a detailed socio-economic and political context of the struggles of the shack dwellers and how they draw parallels with former struggles against apartheid but also their differences. However,

the people of the shacks with their "shack intellectuals" such as S'bu Zikode are demanding not only the right to houses promised them by Nelson Mandela's government, but dignity, recognition and a right for their demands to be fulfilled in the unfinished project of emancipation. More importantly, Gibson is convinced that their democratic collectivist methods of solving community and societal problems is the new way forward for South Africa in adopting creative and people-centered strategies or what the organization calls a "living politics." In their boycott of the 2005 municipal elections they sought to remind the ANC that their vote could not be taken for granted in the slogan: "No Land, No House, No Vote" (p. 156). Gibson claims: "Just as the struggle against apartheid brought the vote, the shack dwellers' struggle has challenged the meaning of the vote and given a voice to the poorest of the poor" (p. 157).

The final chapter, "Xenophobia or a new humanism?" is a further enunciation of the Fanonian principles and thinking of Abahali. It is committed to political self-education and eschews the Manichean thinking of illegal and legal shack settlements, insisting that regardless of their culture, ethnicity and language, all are entitled to membership. The latter is made up of Indians, Pondo, Xhosa, young, and old in a cosmopolitan urban reality. Unquestionably, in challenging the legacies of post-apartheid South Africa, Abahali offers an inspiring new vision of inclusive democracy and an alternative politics for not only the southern region but the rest of Africa.

Ama Biney, *Independent Scholar, London*

Rebecca Ginsburg. 2011. *At Home With Apartheid: The Hidden Landscapes of Domestic Service in Johannesburg*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press. 229 pp.

Rebecca Ginsburg provides an impressive anthropologic account on black domestic labor during the apartheid period in South African Republic. The main focus is on small everyday interactions of domination and resistance, emotional experiences of racial inequality, and provisional yet strictly observed boundaries between blacks and whites in the intimate spaces of their lives, i.e. the family homes. The book is divided into five chapters, each dealing on different aspect black domestic labor in apartheid era Johannesburg.

The first chapter, "Getting to Know the Corners," illuminates the general landscapes of Johannesburg, spatial arrangement of urban spaces, limiting "influx of natives into the towns"(p. 37), keeping races apart from each other and permitting just limited contact and interaction. It explains how white families became increasingly dependent upon black domestic labor; attracting black women into urban areas. Upon arrival, blacks faced challenges of getting to know the place and learning to navigate safely through the spaces that were predominantly white.

The second chapter, "The Tempo of Kitchen Life," illuminates the nature of black domestic labor in white household. Within the shared domestic space, boundaries between races are unstable, negotiated and still carefully observed. Simple acts of life—bathing, eating, sitting—become subject of racial negotiations. The domestic hierarchies mean limited availability of recourses as food, technology of domestic space. The author shows the strategies of defacement

and surveillance of domestic workers and their resulting sufferings of being constantly observed, controlled, reduced to silent and invisible, and feeling of "not belonging to yourself."

The third chapter, "Children and Leaving," addresses childcare related responsibilities of domestic workers. As black women have had to leave their own kids in rural areas, the white babies became substitute for their maternal needs. The deep mutual fondness between them lasted normally until child reached age of five. Then, he started internalize racist attitudes and turned from "affectionate white toddler to racially prejudiced white child" (p. 96). The chapter illuminates significant, yet underestimated aspect of inequality, i.e. unequal distribution of maternal love and care.

The fourth chapter, "Come in the Dark," addresses issues related emotional needs of the black domestic workers. Many domestic workers, although under continuous surveillance, suffered extreme social and emotional isolation. Black domestic workers regularly conducted acts of disobedience, i.e., hosting black visitors on white property (their own children, girlfriend maids, or their male visitors). There were high risks involved; it required mastery of ruse and pretending.

The fifth chapter, "House Rules," reveals specific spatial arrangements within the house. The house was divided into different spheres of limited presence and limited visibility. While black domestic workers were "unapologetically present" in the kitchen, they turned into "unnoticeable" during family evens or social gatherings. The arbitrary domestic boundaries differed strongly depending on social background of house owners; rules were revised due the feminist movement in and to growing international pressure against Apartheid politics since 1960s. Yet the boundaries had been pushed and transgressed on daily basis both by blacks and whites. The house itself, the author says, became a site of "bitter and heartfelt racial negotiations" (p. 163).

Apartheid might be defined in many its aspects: racist ideologies, punitive practices, economic inequality, emancipatory struggles, or double consciousness resulting from long term subordination. The author illuminates a significant yet underestimated aspect, that of social sufferings resulting when one's social and emotional needs are not and cannot be met. It is deprivation of emotional intimacy and experience of belonging, of normal bonding practices within family and community, of personal time and personal space, of maternal case and spousal intimacy. It is experience of defacement, of being exposed to continuous control and surveillance and subjected to someone's will, and finally, feeling of not belonging anymore to oneself.

This is a book about silent domestic war of crossing invisible boundaries and conquering new territories, even if it meant simply sitting on the whites' furniture or drinking from employer's glasses. It tells how subordinates struggle, within limited spaces and limited recourses, to get their social and emotional needs met. Commenting on interracial relations within white households of apartheid period, the author calls it relations of love, "the fractured, conflicted, pathological, self-doubting love that often exists among family members in a dysfunctional household, but love nonetheless, including fondness for, knowing of, and dependence upon another person" (p. 138). The statement is subject of debate, yet it sheds new light in understanding social dynamics and dependencies under inequalities of power.

The book is a great success. It unveils different aspects of domination and subalternship, ways of resistance, cooperation and collaboration, traumatizing experiences and of subaltern mind. Although the book does not offer lot of theorizing, it is of great interest to anyone familiar with classical works by Hannah Arendt, James Scott, Erving Goffman, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, Henri Lefebvre, Judith Lewis Herman, et cetera. No doubt, the book is worth to be listed among the classics, too.

Rasa Balockaite, *Vytautas Magnus University*

Iman Hashim and Dorte Thorsen. 2011. *Child Migration in Africa*. London: Zed Books Ltd. 150 pp.

Child Migration in Africa explores how one of the most vulnerable groups of people, children, engage in migration in Ghana, Burkina Faso, and Côte d'Ivoire without the company of their birth parents. The authors who have demonstrated their knowledge about the subjects and their environment are Iman Hashin, an assistant professor at the Department of International Relations, Istanbul Kulter University, who has done extensive work on children's migration in Ghana, and Dorte Thorson, a teaching fellow at the Department of Geography and Environment Science, University of Reading, who has done an extensive work on children including ethnographic research with children and adolescents migrating between Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire.

The authors argue that even though the child migration in Africa might be characterized as exploitation and child trafficking across the globe, the migrant children see it as a rite of passage, as empowerment, as economic improvement, and as a means to help them pay for their school. Similarly, even though poverty is the chief reason the children migrate, the poorest children do not actually migrate because they cannot afford bus tickets.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first highlights literature concerning child welfare not only in Africa but in the Western world. It addresses the UNESCO, the International Labor Organization, and the United Nations, including the popularly ratified United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1989 as well as the Africa Union (AU) Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (AU 1990). They differentiate African childhood from that of the Western hemisphere, saying that West African "children of all ages are perceived to be part of the social relations surrounding the family because this provides them with material, social and symbolic safety and well-being" (p. 8). This indicates that African childhood is more complex because it intertwines the above-mentioned dynamics. Children usually have a connection, such as their family members or friends already at the place of migration.

Chapter two discusses the impact of the economic and social environment in relation to the root and the impact of boys' and girls' ambitions to relocate "family members' incentives to permit or discourage their children's movement" (p. 16). The authors wonder why children wander about unsupervised, apparently unlike some other societies**.** They note that the migration is a search for identity for the children**.** The authors use narratives of the participants to show the complexity of child migration in Africa. Based on their study, the authors note that

children are never coerced by adults to work. Yet, children are normally present in the work environment and are encouraged to engage in minimal tasks like helping their parents and older siblings, fetching water, or babysitting younger ones. Children pride themselves on working and they are rewarded from the proceeds, which they use to purchase little items. Based on the cases the authors studied, boys normally run away from home or migrate without the permission and/or knowledge of their parents, unlike girls, who seek permission and often feel reluctant to run away.

Chapter three articulates the authors' research with the children concerning their migration. All the participants knew they were limited to any employment that required literacy. Only four out of seventy-five children interviewed for the project have obtained a high school diploma. The chapter concludes that "the discourse on poverty and lack of opportunity to earn money in rural communities dominates the justification for migration" (p. 63). Yet, ambition to be familiarized with the city, the ability to purchase new things such as bicycles, and the ability to assist family members unveil "the many layers of motivation underneath the poverty discourse" (p. 63). The authors found that at times the migration of children is a result of conflicts in the family.

Chapter four focuses on the trips and arrivals of child migrants to their new destinations, as well as the migrant networks that might facilitate and construct children's experience of migration. This could take the shape via impromptu arrangements. The authors highlight some instances in which a child would follow a stranger he or she has just met to work. One child migrant said, "[H]e told me to come with him and I did, even though I didn't know if he was going to kill me or what. He promised to find work for me where I'd earn 50,000 CFA francs [$94] in one year" (p. 65). The authors discover that journeying is part of the extensive migrant network. Only a handful of children embark on the journey alone when travelling outside their rural areas. They also travel in pairs or groups in order to make it an amicable social event. Another reasons associated with migration to urban areas is that it commands respect for the migrant.

Chapter five gives an account of an array of vulnerabilities the children may face in their quest for a better life, which includes exploitation and refusal of payment to children by employers. Further, migration is a result of deep poverty and an urge for autonomy. Child migrants are regularly criticized by the adults, citing that they are vulnerable to dangerous work and exploitation. On the contrary, "this [is] part of their enactment of self" (p. 96) in the course of proving to adults that they possess the resilience of enduring adversity and the ability to earn an income. They also reject being treated as children so they negotiate their societal arrangement. The authors note that employers take advantage of migrant children and youths. They deliberately delay paying children wages even upon relatives' intervention. Even though there are structural inequalities in place, some migrants get money to support them as they go to school.

The final chapter took "up the theme of children's agency in their migration in order to challenge representations of child migrants as passive victims of exploitation, lacking an active role in decision-making and migration processes" (p. 113). But the authors hesitate in "taking this position too far, as … [the authors] do not want to represent children as completely autonomous agents." Alternatively, they emphasize that their choices are a result of several,

evolving ambitions and opportunities that the authors constructed within a variety of constraints and boundaries.

In sum, *Child Migration in Africa* is well articulated by informing us of the critical and cultural aspects, as well as underlying issues behind child migration in Africa, which can be easily interpreted or misunderstood. Also, it contributes to the body of work that examines children's lived experiences and how youth are dynamically participating in (re)constructing, negotiating and challenging their worlds through migration.

Uchenna Onuzulike, *Howard University*

Miles Larmer. 2011. *Rethinking African Politics: A History of Opposition in Zambia*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company. xvii, 321 pp.

History is there to refine our conception of reality. Today's Zambian political atmosphere is overwhelmed by persuasions of the people associated with Barosteland in the Western province to secede from Zambia in order to regain political and economic autonomy. The Barosteland Agreement of 1964 on which the unitary state Zambia was build was abrogated in 1965 during the Constitutional Amendment. Reluctance by government to re-instate it led activists in Mongu district on January 14, 2011 to a bloodshed riot. In the context of such experiences, Miles Larmer's critical study of the realities of late-colonial and post-colonial Zambia becomes relevant. Larmer challenges the idea that there was a certain homogenous orientation towards nation building in Zambia. Utilizing archival records of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) Archives, the National Archives of Zambia, and interviews with surviving participants Lamer displays an appealing perspective of conceptualizing Zambian political history within African post-colonial politics. His work is substantiated by a critical examination of available historical accounts.

In the introductory notes, Larmer identifies the previous narratives' alignment with ideologies of nationalism, developmentalism, and modernization at the expense of recognizing internal differences as limitations. Chapter one develops further the view that embraces heterogeneity and divisions. He shows how ethnicity, class divisions, and differences in ideologies marked political orientations in the run-up to independence and how these differences were reflected within UNIP. For example, Larmer discusses how the ANC, UNIP and other breakaway parties were regionally constructed, how each ethnic region identified its specific leader, and how each leader differed. Simon Kapwepwe sought to reconcile modernist nationalist's policies with enduring respect for Bemba cultural heritage. Harry Nkumbula, from the stronghold of Southern Province, sought to mobilize direct African action against federation through trade unions. Kenneth Kaunda, the UNIP president since 1959 had a non-aggressive approach; his authority was at times questionable; much of his authority and position rested in external endorsement. Kaunda's questionable ethnic background allowed him to emerge as the first President of Zambia. However, Larmer shows that UNIP and indeed Kaunda did not remain in power as a coherent product of people's aspirations for national identity but through successive repression of political opponents. Following the abrogation of the Barosteland Agreement UNIP lost popularity in the Western Province (pp. 55-56). Discontented freedom

fighters, killings at Lumpa Church, banning of *chitemene* system of farming, and increased taxation caused UNIP to lose support in the Northern Province and Copperbelt.

Chapters two and three develop an intriguing story on the discontentment of 1970s, showing how the banned ANC and the UPP supporters found expression within the one party system. Their rejoining of UNIP brought about internal divisions; to stop such Kaunda introduced national, provincial, and district security committees (p. 99). In chapter four Larmer continues showing how the unhappiness led the rural rebels under Mushala to seek military means of overthrowing the government. Mushala, a sidelined freedom fighter acting as voice of the neglected people of North Western Province, opposed Kaunda's one-party state but without a well thought-out plan. He was killed in 1982. Chapter five concerns the educated minority Zambians; they too were critical during the economic decline and illegitimate leadership, and they saw the regional liberation movements as draining the country's economy. With figures like Valentines Musakanya they organized a coup plot in 1980, which eventually failed.

In chapter six, Larmer turn to the relationship of Zambia with South African apartheid and locates the flow of his account in the context of the liberation movements that existed in Zambia. In chapter seven, he tells us how anti-colonial social movements effectively worked in post-colonial political transitions. He includes the contributions made by the Catholic Church, Watchtower, Alice Lenshina's Lumpa Church, and the Protestants and events leading to MMD's economic liberal strategy. The epilogue gives snippets to the subsequent events. The conclusion projects Zambian "history of opposition" on Africa.

This book certainly corrects many distortions in Zambia with few notable limitations. Larmer's interviews seem to marginalize prominent female figures and Kenneth Kaunda. It manifests a certain bias to "supernatural" stories; for instance, Larmer cites a single witness to Mushala's reliance on magical powers (p. 152). Similarly, such stories associated with Alice Lenshina activities are overlooked. Finally, church related documents are missing in chapter seven.

This book is highly recommended to those with political ambitions and interests, to educators, to clergy members, and to all Zambian citizens.

Brian Nonde CMM, *Mariannhill Institute*

Sabine Marschall. 2010. *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South-Africa.* Boston: Brill. xiv, 407 pp.

This book is an in-depth, masterful analysis and discussion of the landscape of memorialisation and commemoration in South Africa in the two decades since the end of Apartheid. For her analysis Marschall draws on a variety of sources including interviews and statements by government and heritage officials, marketing material, feedback from the public as well as the analysis of the symbolism and physical form of numerous South African monuments and memorials from both a local and international perspective. While much of this discussion has been presented in article form elsewhere, this book brings all aspects of the project together in a dense, multi-layered volume that addresses the political and socially contentious nature of South Africa's memory landscape as well as the potential that such memorialisation offers for

nation-building and reconciliation. As such, the book largely focuses on new monuments and memorials that have been erected mainly by governmental parties since the election of the African National Congress government in 1994. Where applicable, old monuments erected by previous political regimes are discussed as many of these have been subject to re-interpretation or are used as touchstones for new installations. Marschall's interest is primarily in the role that public commemorative markers play in providing a space for healing and grieving, for nation-building, as well as solidifying official versions of history and political reality.

The book is composed of ten chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion. There is one chapter on conservation issues and the policy background pertaining in South Africa, especially the new heritage framework put in place after the institution of democracy including, for example, an emphasis on the importance of intangible heritage. It is an importance that is not always reflected in new heritage installations, which Marschall argues and demonstrates throughout the book still tend to draw primarily on the existing western language of monumentality.

Chapters two to four focus on the role that memorials play in helping individuals, communities and nations deal with traumatic and violent pasts. While this may sometimes result in division because of differing ideas of how such a past or individuals should be honoured, they do serve to help restore dignity through the public acknowledgement of suffering.

Chapter five discusses the way in which prominent, existing markers of commemoration have been dealt with. The prevailing approach has not been the widespread tearing down or displacement of such markers but rather their contextualisation, slight alteration to be more inclusive, or balancing by the erection of a new monument that tells the other side of the story.

The remaining four chapters explore the links between these markers, nation-building, the solidification of particular interpretations of the past, and the role that monuments play in the commodification of heritage. This is discussed with reference to initiatives such as the National Legacy Project and, particularly, Freedom Park, designed as a symbolic centre for the New South Africa. Issues of politicized identity such as gender and the "Africanization" of the memory landscape are also discussed. The chapter on the Monument to the Women of South Africa is devoted to the gendered dynamics of the new landscape of memory, the marginalization of women in this process and the relationship between gender and national identity. The chapter on Africanization looks at the role that new monuments can play in providing a critical response to existing monuments, such as that at the Blood River/Ncome battle site in Kwazulu-Natal. The aesthetic influence of old monuments on the design of the new is also discussed. Monuments and memorials may also come to be tourism draw cards. The presence of tourism can have profound effects on the way in which the past is presented and ultimately packaged. This is the topic of the final chapter.

Marschall sets out in this book to not only provide us with a survey of the current heritage landscape of public commemoration in South Africa but also to critically interrogate it. She does this throughout, situating the discussion, where necessary against the broader backdrop of monuments and memorials elsewhere, such as post-Communist Eastern Europe and assessing the degree to which such heritage installations achieve their objectives. Such study touches upon many different fields of inquiry. As such, this book is likely to be of interest to a wide

range of scholars and heritage managers including historians, art historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, museologists, psychologists, policy makers, heritage administrators, community organisers, and those in tourism studies.

Natalie Swanepoel, *University of South Africa*

Mike McGovern. 2011. *Making War in Côte d'Ivoire.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. xxv, 238 pp.

Writing an anthropological study that speaks to political scientists is anything but a walk in the park. In his first book, Mike McGovern accomplishes this difficult task masterfully. *Making War in Côte d'Ivoire* has the ambitious goal of explaining how it was possible that for five years, from 2002-2007, Côte d'Ivoire was trapped in a situation of "neither war nor peace" (Chapter 6). To clarify this notion, the book's seven chapters are woven around two central questions: why does violence take place and under what circumstances does it become less devastating than expected, especially when compared to other conflicts in Africa (p. xxii)?

In order to answer these questions the author employs a constructivist framework and adopts a qualitative research agenda that challenges the parsimony of rational choice approaches. However, McGovern does not intend to produce "a postmodern lark, questioning the reality of the facts it purports to explain" (p. xx). His argument is a multi-causal explanation of the Ivorian conflict and pays particular attention to the contradictions between and within the country's many disparate groups (young vs. old, north vs. south, Muslim vs. Christian, autochthones vs. strangers) and how they may be aligned or played off against each other (pp. 24-25).

Starting with an anecdote of French skinheads who visited Côte d'Ivoire in 2003 to study how Laurent Gbagbo's socialists mobilize the youth in their country, the first chapter invites the reader to think about Côte d'Ivoire's culture, languages, and history in terms of contrasts before passing into a chronology of the events that led to the crisis of 2002.

The second chapter, conceptualized as an "anthropology of stereotypes" (p. 35), reflects upon different forms of violence over the past 150 years, the concepts of "thirdness," warfare, economy, and personhood, which all play parts in the conflict. A full understanding of the conflict—according to the author—only emerges when the process of history is taken seriously and single events are contextualized within the larger picture.

In the third chapter, the book turns from the general to the concrete. McGovern argues that it was the reference to autochthony that allowed much violence and killings. He offers a thought-provoking interpretation by arguing that Gbagbo and the *Forces Nouvelles* have utilized existing local resentments in order to satisfy the goals of national elites (p. 89).

The link between decolonization and intergenerational tensions in Chapter Four could have been clearer. However, by analyzing Ivorian popular music from *Zouglou* to *Coupé Décalé* (pp. 116-22), the chapter introduces another important concept: the play frame (p. 127), according to which actors reduce reality to a simple game, helps McGovern to explain the apparent paradox of both youth violence and xenophobia in an otherwise cosmopolitan society. In this sense it serves not only as an excuse for violence, but also as a natural limit to it (p. 134). Stretching the

argument to this extent runs the risk of euphemizing the violent conflict in Côte d'Ivoire. This reservation applies to some extent to the many direct comparisons he offers to northern Europe and the United States, which—to be fair—are relativized in the afterword.

While Chapter Five stresses the importance of the cocoa *filière* for the Ivorian economy and its elites, Chapter Six examines the role of mid- and low-level functionaries and how they benefit from a situation of ongoing uncertainty. Together with the omnipresent references to France's special relationship with Côte d'Ivoire, these chapters close the circle that begins with the individual, and was followed by the local, regional, national, and international levels. Lest the reader think that the book's second central question might have become lost among anthropological concepts, Ivorian cocoa production, and Parisian nightclub music, the conclusion synthesizes the previous chapters and extrapolates three reasons that have prevented the Ivorian conflict from becoming a full blown war: the Ivorian self-image, the many actors who gain more from a hybrid situation, and the very peril of waging a war (pp. 207-08).

This cleverly conceptualized 'inside-out' analysis commends itself through a deep contextual knowledge and fully lives up to its interdisciplinary aspirations (Keohane 1984, p. 25). Minor criticisms include the slip in the alphabetization of the glossary (pp. xii-xiii), the inversion of the labels in Figure 9 (p. 146) and the naming of Côte d'Ivoire as Africa's biggest coffee producer (footnote 3, p.138). Despite these quibbles, McGovern convincingly guides the reader through his sophisticated argument. The passion of someone who has a long professional experience in the region as well as an impressive interdisciplinary academic background speaks through each and every line of the book and makes the work appealing to a broad audience.

References

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Benedikt Erforth, *University of Trento*

Amanda Kay McVety. 2012. *Enlightened Aid: U.S. Development as Foreign Policy in Ethiopia.* New York: Oxford University Press. ix, 312 pp.

Amanda McVety's first book seems to suffer from a bit of schizophrenia; is it primarily about U.S.-Ethiopian bilateral relations from 1947-1974 and "U.S. development as foreign policy in Ethiopia" as the subtitle suggests? Or it is intended to be more a history of President Harry Truman's Point Four program and its successor program, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)?

Readers of *African Studies Quarterly* will be disappointed at McVety's portrayal of U.S-Ethiopian relations during the Cold War, as less than a quarter of the book (approximately 55 out of 221 pages) actually deals with this relationship. In fact, it is not until chapter 5 (beginning on page 121) that discussion of U.S.-Ethiopian relations during the Cold War begins. The first four chapters are dedicated to an overabundance of background information on the intellectual origins of both modernization/development (going as far back as the Scottish Enlightenment)

and the Point Four program. Furthermore, once the case study of U.S. aid to Ethiopia begins, important topics such as the 1960 failed coup attempt against Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie (an important turning about in U.S.-Ethiopian relations); Eisenhower administration discussions over whether or not to provide Addis Ababa with military aid; or the Ethiopia-United States Mapping Mission are not discussed in any meaningful way (the first being covered in one paragraph and the other two not mentioned at all).

Instead, McVety's coverage of U.S.-Ethiopian relations focuses narrowly and exclusively on Washington's development aid to Addis Ababa. But the author's portrayal of this history is one sided as McVety relies exclusively on U.S. based sources. Despite mention of a research trip to Ethiopia in her acknowledgements, the only Ethiopian sources cited are the published public speeches of Haile Selaisse. Even if Ethiopian governmental records are unavailable for research one would expect at the very least the author to review Ethiopian newspapers and conduct oral history interviews in order to provide the reader with some understanding for how U.S. aid to Ethiopia was viewed by Ethiopians themselves. Disappointingly, however, not a single Ethiopian newspaper or oral history interview is cited, leaving the book without an Ethiopian voice.

Enlightened Aid fares better as an account of Point Four and USAID aid to Ethiopia. McVety perceptively points out that while the modernization of Ethiopia seemed mutually beneficial to both Washington and Addis Ababa, the motivations Truman and Selassie had for entering into an aid relationship often ran cross purposes from each other. According to McVety, in extending the Point Four program to Ethiopia, Truman was driven by a combination of humanitarian, paternalistic, and strategic impulses to aid Ethiopia in launching an agricultural revolution so that it could become the "bread basket" of the Middle East and, more importantly, become tied closer to the United States and therefore kept safely out of the Soviet orbit in the Cold War. Selassie, meanwhile, was more interested in leading his country through an industrial (rather than agricultural) revolution in order to increase the Ethiopian government's (and by extension his personal) power vis-à-vis both internal (Eritrean and Oromo separatists) and external (Egypt and Somalia) enemies.

McVety makes the argument at the end of her book that the history of United States development aid to Ethiopia proves that foreign aid does not work. This might very well be the case, but one would need to present case studies from more than just Ethiopia in order to persuasively make this argument. Furthermore, before McVety can effectively argue that U.S. foreign aid has failed to improve the lives of those in the developing world, local voices need to be incorporated into such a study in order to demonstrate that the thousands of rural villagers across the developing world who had schools, wells, and irrigation systems built for them or who received famine assistance through U.S. development aid felt that such aid had done more harm than good to their lives.

Despite these aforementioned faults and the failure of *Enlightened Aid* to be either a thorough history of U.S.-Ethiopian relations or a definitive study of the failure of U.S. development aid, McVety's study nonetheless makes an important contribution to the historiography of U.S. efforts to modernize the developing world by providing a case study (albeit an incomplete one) of U.S. efforts to import development and modernization theories to Ethiopia. Furthermore, in this study McVety has published probably the most thorough study

of the theoretical origins of the U.S.'s first technical assistance program to the developing world, Truman's Point Four program. For these reasons *Enlightened Aid*, if disappointing to Africanists, is an important read for anyone interested in the history of U.S. development aid.

Phil Muehlenbeck, *George Washington University*

Thomas Patrick Melady and Margaret Badum Melady. 2011. *Ten African Heroes: The Sweep of Independence in Black Africa*. New York: Orbis Books. xviii, 205 pp.

Despite the remarkable proliferation of books on all facets of African history in the last fifty years, scholars and general readers alike still suffer from the general weakness of the genre of African biography (in quantity, quality, and variety). With the possible exception of Nelson Mandela, the broad field of significant African political, military, social, and cultural leaders has not been well served by biographers, and this is true even for those key figures who died many years, even decades, ago. In this respect, this book—which offers short, simple, but in some cases, very personal biographical sketches of ten important political leaders from that short span of time during which nearly all African states gained their independence—is a welcome addition to African historical literature.

The authors, the husband and wife team of Thomas and Margaret Melady, are accomplished professionals in the fields of diplomacy, academia, and African affairs. Mr. Melady has served as U.S. Ambassador to Burundi, Uganda, and the Vatican, and, with a PhD from the Catholic University of America, has taught at St. Johns, Fordham, and George Washington universities as well as other institutions. Mrs. Melady, who holds a doctorate from the Gregorian University of Rome, has taught on the faculties of a number of American colleges and served as president of American University of Rome.

Despite the academic credentials of the authors, however, *Ten African Heroes* is not a work of traditional scholarship, but rather a series of biographical sketches that are centered (to varying degrees) on the personal interactions that the Meladys had with each of the subjects: Leopold Senghor, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, Seretse Khama, Thomas Mboya, Holden Roberto, Eduardo Mondlane, William Tubman, Sylvanus Olympio, and Ahmadou Ahidjo. A short introduction describes the historical context of the era during which Africa was experiencing "the sweep of independence" and then offers a description of Tom Melady's early involvement with the Africa Service Institute (an organization set up in 1959 to assist African diplomats and students living the New York area). The book then includes one short chapter of just ten to fifteen pages on each leader. The Meladys focus each biographical piece around their personal interactions with the subject (when possible), which in some cases were regular and substantial, but in others were infrequent and rather inconsequential. In all cases, the authors offer favorable portraits of their subjects, and in some of them, they relate the truly unique interactions they had with the African leaders. Clearly of particular interest to the authors, the Meladys often stress the religious backgrounds and perspectives of the subjects—such as Senghor's admission that the Jesuit scholar Pierre Teilhard de Chardin "saved him from falling victim to Marxism" (p. 17), Mboya's deep interest in the changes then being discussed within the Roman Catholic Church, the authors' sense that Nyerere was "a deeply religious man" who

was significantly influenced by his early educational involvement with the American Spiritan Fathers (p. 47), and Kaunda's "commitment to non-violence" being related to "the basic Christian values that he embraced in his youth" (p. 52). The chapters also stress the ways that the Meladys sought to promote the prestige and influence of those African leaders most interested in pushing peaceful, democratic, non-communist political development in Africa. In many cases the Meladys did this by bringing African leaders to the United States to receive honorary degrees from certain Roman Catholic universities, and in other cases the Meladys worked with the ecumenical Christian community to place positive pressure on political leaders to achieve those ends.

Although some chapters have relatively little new information because the Meladys had minimal actual interaction with the African leader (for example, the chapters on Nyrere, Khama, and Tubman), the chapters on Senghor, Kaunda, Mboya, Roberto, Mondlane, and Olympio offer new and interesting stories of conversations and interactions between the authors and the specific leader. In particular, the Meladys' discussions with Senghor about Teilhard de Chardin, their correspondence with Kaunda about how best to engage with the Portuguese regarding "their problems in Angola and Mozambique" and with the Vatican regarding a clear statement on racism, their engagement with Roberto in New York when the latter landed at the airport with a gunshot wound after an assassination attempt in Tunis (Roberto called the Meladys at home upon landing, arranged to have them meet him at the hospital that night, and went to their home upon discharge), their help in getting a memo from Mondlane on "the Catholic problem in Mozambique" to the Vatican's permanent representative at the UN, and their early discussions with Olympio about the latter's dispassionate efforts to force the UN to honor its obligations to its trustee territories, are new and interesting.

Each chapter concludes with a short list of books written by or about the subject, and the volume includes three appendices: The National Council of Churches Press Release of 5 June 1961, which was a statement from leading Protestant and Catholic clergy and laymen calling for the Portuguese leadership to stop the bloodshed in Angola; Senghor's Address on the Civilization of the Universe, given at Fordham University in November, 1961, on the occasion of receiving an honorary doctorate (arranged by Tom Melady); and Khama's Address on Racial Reconciliation, given at Fordham in October, 1965, after receiving his honorary doctorate (again arranged by Tom Melady).

Readers particularly interested in the lives of these ten "heroes," or in the involvement of certain American religious groups in African affairs during the return of independence to African states, should consider reviewing the applicable chapter(s). Most scholars will find little new in them, with the exception of those intimate conversations, correspondence, and other interactions that make this book as much a memoir of the Meladys' interaction with these African leaders as it is a series of biographies of those "African heroes."

Lt Col Mark E. Grotelueschen, *United States Air Force Academy*

Kennedy Agade Mkutu. 2008. *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. xxi, 178 pp.

Kennedy Agade Mkutu's *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley* attempts to explain why there are so many small arms in circulation in North-East Africa and what their effects are on the pastoralist culture of the region. Over a period of seven years, the author researched these questions through interviews, focus groups, participant observation, questionnaires, and scrutiny of historical records.

Where the author does well is in describing the historical and anthropological culture of the pastoral societies of North East Africa, especially the intra- and inter-ethnic conflicts between them. This book looks at the dynamics of the pastoralist life in the region to explain why there is such a demand for arms. Agade Mkutu notes that "as pastoral life revolves around cattle, so does pastoral conflict" (p. 13). The increase in regional arms needs is inversely correlated with decreased access to water and pasture for the cattle. Additionally, changes in the traditional tribal power structure brought about by the imposition of artificial borders during the colonial period have reduced traditional means of resolving conflicts.

Mkutu also succeeds in describing the impact of small arms proliferation on pastoralist society in terms not just of economic cost but human impacts as well. This includes not only injuries and death but also the shifting gender roles caused by the greater numbers of widows, increased child dependency rates, and increasing inequality in the distribution of wealth via cattle.

The book's major failing is its third chapter which describes the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. The author is exceptionally informative in describing the paths that weapons take into the Rift and how they accumulate in different regions. That said, he apparently has managed to research and write an entire book about the regional influence of small arms without learning much about small arms themselves. By no means was this book ever meant to be a technical treatise on firearms, but a better understanding of them by the author could have improved it immensely. Much of the information regarding firearms displayed in tables and the text has so many mistakes and contradictions in terminology that future researchers will have difficulty using it as a baseline in future studies. This is a pity considering the regional changes in firearms distribution undoubtedly caused by the recent Libyan Civil War and the burgeoning conflict in Southern Sudan.

Despite these problems and occurrences of rather stilted language, those studying social change in Africa will find *Guns and Govern*ance of great use. Of special note are the changes in tribal administration and interaction brought about by colonialism and national independence, how theses changes have influenced the flood of small arms, and how this flood has changed the cultural landscape of the Rift Valley. Scholars studying weapons proliferation may find this book of less use beyond the excellent descriptions of the trade routes used and the actors who use them. These actors and routes will also be of interest to those looking at items other than small arms that may be traded illicitly in North East Africa.

Donald Woolley, *Duke University*

Retief Müller. 2011. *African Pilgrimage: Ritual Travel in South Africa`s Christianity of Zion.* Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate. viii, 213 pp.

Müller reflects a significant aspect of the religious culture of one of the biggest churches in Southern Africa, the Zion Christian Church (ZCC). Founded by Engenas Lekganyane in 1925, the ZCC is historically rooted within the network of the early Pentecostal movement in South Africa. However, it is widely renowned as the prototype of so called Zionist Christianity showing characteristic features of dress and dance styles, music and healing performances or prophetic praxis. Moreover, the ZCC has established a centralized structure that helped sustain its considerable weight in the religious landscape throughout the transformations in recent South African history. Ecclesiastically the ZCC represents a dynastic leadership, since 1975 presided over by Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, who resides in Moria, a holy place some fifty kilometers east of Polokwane. Moria is the destination of several yearly mass pilgrimages of ZCC members from the church's urban strongholds to their rural headquarters. As the ZCC`s "single most distinguishing characteristic" (p. 7), Müller focuses on the understanding of such and related pilgrimages. In a personal approach and employing a narrative style, the author widens the perspective on pilgrimage. Since the controversial appearances of politicians during the days of apartheid, the Moria pilgrimage has become the best-known feature in the ZCC ritual calendar. It still forms a central chapter in Müller`s perception. Yet, next to pilgrimages to a defined sacred space, in a next chapter Müller sheds light on a different type of pilgrimage that magnetizes ZCC members. ZCC members undergo outward-bound pilgrimages to secular places in urban centers within and outside South Africa. The attention in this type of pilgrimage lies on the sacred person, for it centers on the ZCC Bishop. Whereas the pilgrimage to the sacred space is motivated by personal expectations and individual desires of believers, in its outward-bound pilgrimages the ZCC acts out a more socio-political profile in a public sphere.

Another remarkable outcome of this analysis of ZCC pilgrimage is the essential part occupied by acts of preparation for any kind of pilgrimage. In this vein Müller incorporates the local church context into his description of ZCC pilgrimage. The local congregational life integrates individual believers into the ZCC church context by constantly preparing members for pilgrimage and by fastening their ties to a traveling church. From here, from the local church, starts Müller`s own pilgrimage into Zionist Christianity as well. With roughly half a year of participant observation undertaken primarily over weekends in 2005, the book reads in part as an adventurous travel of a South African researcher into a foreign religious sphere found just around the corner. Zionist Christianity, which colors the South African religious tapestry over almost a century, is still portrayed as another world; thus inherently the study documents the continuing transition into post-apartheid society. Müller`s tacit steps into a world foreign to him are mirrored in his autobiographical style of presentation that reminds at times on recollecting notes from a diary. The reader learns about unprecedented settings of field research, interspersed with personal assumptions and hypotheses whose verifications or falsifications are simply left open in the writing process. Starting with the difficulty to identify adequate research units in order to set foot on ZCC ground, the story is full of accidental situations popping up in the practical process of participant observation. We witness intimate scenes of family life in ZCC urban homes and personal exchanges in more rural settings. The author documents by chance meetings under shady roofs during or after Sunday services. He

interprets the unstructured flow of communication with young ZCC members in broken English during car rides to pilgrimage sites, in rare cases supported by semi-structured interviews. Müller hints at the endeavors of food supply during a weekend pilgrimage and sparse toilet facilities at places of mass meetings in the presence of the Bishop. His general perspective is on all-day activities rather than on a debate on highly contested theological terrains that have surfaced in the longer research history on the ZCC. Although this case study shares important research material available in Afrikaans, dating back mainly to the 1980s, the author`s interest however lies in a synchronic portrayal of ZCC church life. Tentative discussions of historical changes and ritual passages within the ZCC can be found in footnotes, maybe due to Müller`s comparatively short exposition to ZCC Christianity. More explicitly his insight into the considerable political impact specifically of urban ZCC pilgrimages bears the contours of a fresh discourse on the public theology of Zionist Christianity in a society in transition.

Andreas Heuser, *Basel University*

Martin J. Murray. 2011. *City of Extremes: The Spatial Politics of Johannesburg*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. xxix, 470 pp.

In *City of Extremes*, Martin J. Murray describes the emergence of new spatial dynamics as a result of city building efforts shaping Johannesburg to the utopian vision of a World-Class City. He argues that these new spatial dynamics, emerging after Apartheid and spearheaded by real estate entrepreneurs, reinforced the existing spatial and socioeconomic inequalities and introduced new patterns of social segregation, largely marginalizing the urban poor and black underclass. Through interviews, on-site observations, press releases and newspaper articles Murray provides a convincing analysis of the discourse on the city, bringing to the fore prevailing ideologies and perceptions, as well as a breakdown of place marketing of various real estate developments in and around the city. Maps and pictures throughout the book give pictorial context to the rich descriptions Murray gives on the built environment of the city.

The book contains three parts. The first part, Making Space: City Building and the Production of the Built Environment, provides a historical background of the city in order to comprehend the complexity of the city and the roots of today's spatial ruptures. In chapter 1 and 2 Murray describes how the city of Johannesburg is shaped by its history, the natural landscape and the economy. It shows the evolution of Johannesburg as a mining town located at the fringes of the British Empire, to the high-modernist city with a modern Central Business District characterized by high-rise buildings. These two chapters are marked by architectural descriptions and is, to my disappointment, heavily drawn from one single source.

The second part, Unraveling Space: Centrifugal Urbanism and the Convulsive City, deals with the breakdown of the high-modernist city after Apartheid. It describes the process of spatial fragmentation and disintegration of the city leading to decentralization, deindustrialization and horizontal sprawl. Chapter three tells the tale of the socioeconomic stagnation and decline of the city center. Murray attributes this decline to real estate capitalists investing in the rapidly urbanizing suburbs leading to the withdrawal of business enterprises

from the historical central business district, advanced by dissatisfying urban management. The fourth chapter describes this abandoned city center or 'outcast ghetto' while chapter 5 focuses on the opposite world of edge cities. Johannesburg is described as a patchwork of cities with a decaying urban core and multiple island-cities mushrooming in the suburbs.

With Fortifying Space: Siege Architecture and Anxious Urbanism, the last part Murray describes the characteristics of management and regulation of urban space in Johannesburg. He links the rise in entrepreneurial urbanism with an emergence of siege architecture, leading to a reinforcement of spatial inequalities between rich and poor but also creating new cleavages. In chapter 6 the citadel office complexes in the central city are described, creating new relationships between public and private space by privatizing conventional city features and thus changing the experience of city life. In chapter 7 emerging forms and functions of urban management practices are analyzed, describing the entrepreneurial take on urban governance with City Improvement Districts and Residential Improvement Districts practically operating as a 'shadow state'. The last chapter focuses on gated residential communities and the role of discourse, security and place marketing in these.

While Murray has an impressive list of interviews, I am missing the perspective of the inhabitants themselves throughout the book. In the introduction, Murray states that this book is based on participant observation and ethnographic observation. Still, the book lacks this ethnographic reflection. The 'outcast ghetto' and the fortified, utopian gated residential areas and office complexes are pictured as homogenous and opposite worlds. Even though Murray emphasizes that these "poles exist together not as disconnected places but as crystallized endpoints along a continuum of wealth and impoverishment" (2011: xiv), he does not recognize the heterogeneity and interconnectedness of these two 'poles'. He fails to describe satisfyingly the various ways in which urban residents manage to negotiate and overcome the physical and semiotic borders and how the spatial dynamics described influence everyday social life by creating formal and informal rules that govern everyday life and interaction in the city. Repetition and the use of dense descriptions and meaning-laden terms do not always make this book an easy read. All in all Murray manages to make his point that urban planning is an exercise of power. His focus on the market driven urban planning and the city's history and discourse bring enlightening analyses, his insights for example on public and private space in the citadel office complexes are inspiring. The book is a suggestion for people interested in politics of power, urbanization and the history of Johannesburg.

Geertrui Vannoppen, *Institute for Anthropological Research in Africa*

Mwenda Ntarangwi. 2010. *Reversed Gaze: An African Ethnography of American Anthropology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. xvi, 320 pp.

Reversed Gaze is intended for professional anthropologists to remind them about the importance of what they do, "a holistic approach to lived experiences and the human condition" (p. ix). Ntarangwi reprimands those within the discipline who have become sidetracked by exoticizing for the sake of alterity or becoming caught up in the subjective and reflexive turn in anthropology without bringing these insights back from the field to engage with these same

ongoing power differentials (e.g., race, gender, class, religion, and ethnicity) in their everyday lives. Anthropology graduate students should also read *Reversed Gaze*. Ntarangwi divulges corporate secrets gleaned from a lifetime within the profession. He focuses his analysis on "anthropologists' subjectivities as they 'practice' anthropology within academic departments, at professional meetings, in classrooms and lecture halls, and through ethnographic writing—all of which constitute the 'other side' of anthropological practice that is often absent in scholarly papers, ethnographies, and memoirs" (p. 2).

This book would also be helpful for those who disparage the discipline of anthropology for its colonial legacy or "soft" approach to science. Challenging the notion of anthropology as a pseudo-science, Ntarangwi spends over ten years collecting data for his work as a participant observer writing nine-hundred pages of hand-written notes in six notebooks. As for those who argue that anthropology has not been able to emerge from its colonial shadow, Ntarangwi automatically contests this notion through his position as an "outsider within." As Faye V. Harrison explains on the book's dust jacket, "this book demonstrates that critique need not be a destructive exercise." Ntarangwi acknowledges that anthropology continues to "study down" while the idea of "studying up" is gradually making its way from the margins to the mainstream. By overtly coupling methodology, practice, reflexivity, and theory, Ntarangwi emphasizes the discipline's tenets of holistic, long-term community engagement ideally suited to provide cultural competency, which goes a long way in demonstrating professional relevancy.

Reversed Gaze is divided into six chapters, each representing a step in Ntarangwi's professional anthropological development. In the first chapter, he challenges who belongs at the center of anthropology's canon. He argues for affecting real change from within the discipline. Ntarangwi ultimately believes this is possible in a field that prides itself on giving voice to the marginalized through empathy and understanding. In chapter two, Ntarangwi depicts how his conception of a "reversed gaze" developed as an anthropology graduate student when he experienced the racial divide in the United States firsthand as a largely tacit phenomenon even among his fellow graduate students who were trained to observe cultural divisions in identity. Chapter three continues to critique the societal deep structures of racism as well as the grand narratives of anthropology and approaches to teaching. For example, in writing about the commoditization of higher education, Ntarangwi chastises U.S. colleges and universities for focusing on "what the professor needs to do to enhance student learning, and little is said about the student's active role in the learning process" (p. 68).

Chapter four, "Remembering Home, Contrasting Experiences," expertly describes the immigrant experience upon returning home. I found the discussions of both the "brain gain" as well as the secretive way immigrants discuss their experiences abroad once they are "home" most informative. Immigrants are often forced to work demeaning jobs while in the United States making them eager to gain their education as fast as possible and then return home where they "tend to display an image of economic success and cultural sophistication" "even if transmigrant Africans spend most of their lives in America cleaning toilets or working at nursing homes" (p. 80). This brief discussion by Ntarangwi challenges both the theory of "brain drain" as well as helps to explain why so many immigrants do not portray an accurate picture of life in the United States to their friends and family.

Chapter five, "Mega-Anthropology: The AAA Annual Meetings," honestly describes the spectacle that is the AAA annual meeting. This chapter is most useful for graduate students interested in the anthropology profession. Ntarangwi gives practical advice such as how to be successful when seeking a job at an academic institution. By the final chapter, he suggests, "As anthropologists, we have to inhabit our historical realities in order not to repeat the same mistakes today" (p. 129). Anthropologists, as both "takers and givers," "often find themselves torn between their academic expectations and obligations and their local commitments and relationships in the field" (p. 142). This relational position allows for the production of knowledge and a unique power emergent out of this role as interlocutor. According to Ntarangwi, it is what we do with this advantaged position that has the most potential to enlighten or harm.

Brandon D. Lundy, *Kennesaw State University*

Patricia de Santana Pinho. 2010. *Mama Africa: Reinventing Blackness in Bahia*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. 266 pp.

Patricia de Santana Pinho attempts to put Paul Gilroy's theorization of the diaspora, and in particular the concept anti-antiessentialism, into on the ground, qualitative research. Utilizing participant observation and interviews with two famous *blocos afros* or black carnival groups, *Ilê Ayiê* and *Olodum*, in Salvador, Bahia Brazil. This book is updated and expanded version of her 2004 book *Reinveções da África na Bahia* (translated by Elena Langdon).

Pinho provocatively argues that "anti-racist struggle requires us to deconstruct the idea of "race," with the ultimate goal of superseding it" (p. 5). To that end, Pinho interrogates the "Myth of Mama Africa" utilized by the *blocos afros*, and the biologized and gendered notions of "race" within it. While acknowledging the *blocos afros*' laudable goals of challenging racism and encouraging self-esteem and pride through their social programs and schools, Pinho critiques their conceptualization of Mama Africa as a static and essentialized one that dangerously, biologically reifies the concept "race"; this version of Mama Africa shares much in common with Western, racist depictions of Africa. This way of thinking about race makes the blocos easily manipulated and exploited by politicians and those in the tourism industry earning money off black cultural production; with this conception, black identity is easily commodified and sold, manipulated by elites and those in the tourism industry, and turned anti-liberatory. Those interested in engaging scholarship on the African diaspora as well as race in Brazil will find the book particularly useful. Pinho does an excellent job of engaging scholarship from a range of sources. For example, Pinho recognizes racism in Brazil, but challenges Hanchard and Andrews (racial democracy is not a myth, but living and breathing), Telles (racial democracy has not died out), and Twine (poor black Brazilians are resisting through believing in the promise of racial democracy). However, those wanting a quotidian sense of what it means to be a leader of one of blocos afros or a follower, look elsewhere. The voices of the activists are sparse and mostly used to illustrate particular theoretical points.

Ultimately, Gilroy's anti-essentialism remains insufficient to confront ongoing racism. "How is it possible to promote anti-racism without further endorsing the idea that there are

insurmountable barriers that divides us? The solution lies in cultural transformation . . . By producing new representations and spreading their meanings, it is possible to replace old patterns of inequality and difference" (p. 220). The solution that Pinho proposes is cultural and representational, not legal or political.

I understand and am sympathetic to her cause. As an anthropologist, the biological falsity of the concept of race exists along with the social reality of centuries of racism and racial inequality. But the "cultural transformation," the anti- anti-essentialism she touts, is politically insufficient in addressing racism. How does her anti essentialist stance then "expand the reach of the agency of the oppressed" (p. 222). While Pinho admits the book is not about public policy, she dismisses existing efforts such as affirmation action in Brazilian universities and the Racial Equality Statue, for essentially inscribing biologized notions of race into Brazilian law. While admittedly concerned with continued anti-racism, what would she leave in their place?

Kenneth Williamson, *Kennesaw State University*

Mariza de Carvalho Soares. 2011. *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press. xiii, 321 pp.

People of Faith is about slavery, religion, and the construction of identities and how these elements interacted with each other amongst a group of Africans from the Mina Coast who were part of the Mahi Congregation in 18th century Rio de Janeiro. By the time the Portuguese version of this book was published in Brazil twelve years ago, the connection between Rio de Janeiro and the Mina Coast was practically ignored given that West Central Africa was the primary source of slaves both to the captaincy and the city of Rio de Janeiro. Soares begins by describing the Mina Coast and the slave trade to Brazil. The Mahi came from the hinterland of the Bight of Benin and during the 18th century were caught up in the expansion of both the Kingdom of Dahomey and the slave trade. In 1699, the Portuguese Crown legalized slave trading from the Mina Coast to help meet the needs of the expanding American market that the ports of Kongo and Angola seemed increasingly unable to satisfy. The main places of disembarkation of these slaves in Brazil where the ports of Rio and Bahia whose primarily objective was to feed the gold mines of Minas Gerais. Still, a portion of these slaves was retained in both locations. Soares suggests that during the first half of the 18th century Africans from the Mina Coast represented up to 10 percent of the city of Rio de Janeiro's slave population.

Using baptismal, marriage, and burial records along with manumission letters, Soares identifies and situates the Mina within the panorama of enslaved and freed Africans in the city, with particular attention to religious practices and internal organization. The Mina who converted to Catholicism were initially established in the Church of the Rosário, which was made up predominantly of Angolans and Creoles. Due to conflicts with Angolans and Dahomians, as well new alliances, the Mina separated into four congregations, with one founded by the Mahi group in 1762. This congregation created two more devotions: one to the Almas do Purgatório to pray for the souls of deceased Mina, and the other to Our Lady of Remédios to aid poor and sick Mina. Soares' analysis of the statutes of the Mahi Congregation (1786) shines light on the construction of the Mahi identity within the Christian world. In the

document the Mahi territory in Africa is described as a powerful "kingdom" and a bright light of Catholicism surrounded by the "darkness" of the Kingdom of Benin and other heathen groups. As the author notes, the Mina "nation" in Rio gathered Africans from different ethnic groups, such as Savanu, Mahi, Agonli, Dahomey, and Iano, all of whom spoke what colonial observers called the "general tongue of Mina." They were all considered part of the Mina "nation," whatever their actual provenience.

This research contributes to studies on black brotherhoods that demonstrate that individuals from a particular region could interact and create new forms of sociability and organization. However, unlike previous studies that have established a direct relation between places of displacement and "nations" or "*gentios*" (heathen groups), Soares proposes the notion of "provenience groups" to describe the form of organization created by Africans in the New World that was rooted in the reference to a shared provenience. While Soares' notion of "provenience group" does not eliminate the importance of slave populations' native social organizations and cultural practices, the principal focus is on how these elements were placed alongside others to be redistributed and reorganized once in the New World. In this respect, the author notes that there was a process of self-attribution, at the group level, of an identity attributed or imposed from the outside that could or could not relate with previous realities in the form of actual place names, kingdoms, and internally recognized ethnic groups.

Soares explores questions of identity and ethnicity through an interdisciplinary approach grounded in empirical standards and methods of history connected to anthropological theory, which can be noted by her reference to anthropologists as Fredrik Barth, Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, João Pacheco de Oliveira, and Miguel Bartolomé. Furthermore, sociologist Norbert Elias' work on the French court is transposed to colonial Rio, allowing Soares to understand a society permeated by ancient régime's rules of sociability.

"People of Faith" shares an untold story of how a group of Africans remade their lives in the diaspora, reworking their cultural backgrounds through time and space. Unfortunately, as the author acknowledges, the book does not provide information on the Mina who were not baptized or were baptized on parishes outside the city of Rio. Individuals interested in the history of slavery and Catholic Church in Brazil will benefit from this research. Moreover, this study is an example of how New Word documentation can help reveal slave proveniences and agency.

Vanessa S. Oliveira, *York University*

Simon Turner. 2010. *Politics of Innocence: Hutu Identity, Conflict and Camp Life*. New York: Berghahn Books. viii. 185 pp.

Politics of Innocence is the strange story of Burundian politics in a remote refugee camp in Tanzania where politics as such are officially banned. Ironically politics are banned by the foreign agencies seeking to protect the refugees—from politics. Most ironic is what Turner calls the emasculation of refugee masculinity as young western humanitarians from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) autocratically assert political control over refugee life via control of food distributions, hiring policies, camp leadership, and a ban on

refugee involvement in Burundian politics, under the assumption that refugees are only victims, and therefore inherently apolitical.

Turner spent a year as a participant observer in 1997-1998 at the Lukole Camp for Burundians in western Tanzania, with more recent follow-ups. He spent his time in the camp doing the ethnographic thing—hanging around bars, doing structured interviews with refugees, and conducting surveys. He processed interview and survey data, analyzed UNHCR memoranda, and attended agency meetings. He describes a dissonance between the international community that assumes power over the refugee camps, and a politically subservient refugee "leadership" asked to focus strictly on the distribution of food and water, delivery of social services, and so forth in accordance with UNHCR policy. The result is a book that is about the mechanisms of control by outsiders, and how powerless refugees are shaped by the political concerns of the humanitarian community.

For example, in the section "Counting, Controlling, Catering" Turner describes the problems associated with "seeing like a bureaucracy." The UNHCR bureaucracy does this, as Turner writes, by transforming refugees into biological specimens who are calorie consumers, plot inhabitants, morbidity statistics, i.e. the categories which officials sitting in distant offices can "see." Central to this view is that pre-existing social distinctions are assumed away and replaced by a homogenous category "refugee."

The distant view, Turner writes, helps the UNHCR to reduce normal camp politics into science of management, i.e. a technical exercise in which success is measured in terms of UNHCR's capacity to protect refugees from their own vulnerabilities, whether in terms of food provision, or the inequalities that the UNHCR sees in refugee society. Only after all this system is established are the views of elected refugee leaders permitted to shape management of the community; and even then the refugee leaders' successes are still measured by the bio-metrics of the UNHCR's world, in which "Good Participation" means implementing the UNHCR's program by accepting the pre-existing category of apolitical victim. "Bad participation" is about subverting the UNHCR's system by collecting extra ration cards, selling distributed commodities in the marketplaces, seeking independent information from Burundi, and especially joining the clandestine Burundian political parties that flourished in the camps.

The best parts of *Politics of Innocence* are the stories Turner tells about how refugees respond to those who count, control, and cater to them. A good example is the UNHCR policies regarding gender. In official documents, "women and children," who include 75 percent of many African populations in general (and refugee camp populations in particular), are lumped together as vulnerables deserving of special attention. Women in particular were sought after by the well-meaning UNHCR for positions involving trust, because they are believed to be more willing to implement UNHCR policy than men—in other words they were believed to be more docile and compliant.

Ironically, as Turner writes, lumping children and women together infantilizes women, and reifies adult men as "dangerous aliens" who on a good day were summoned by camp authorities for lectures about "security problems," and on a bad day were expelled for illicit political or market activity. Both male and female refugees interpreted this situation as meaning that the UNHCR was a "better husband" than the under-employed young men in the camp. As Turner writes this effectively stripped the young men of a masculinity rooted in the

need to support a family, because "one's male identity [was] taken by the white man." The irony of this is that the way to reassert their masculinity was through means declared "illegal" by the UNHCR, particularly trading in refugee camp commodities, and military training in support of the clandestine political parties.

It always seems that books of this nature have lacunae when it comes to refugee views, which is then filled with analysis by refugee practitioners. Turner's book certainly does not do this. In fact, his affinity is with the refugees and their leaders whose understandings of the camp are extensively described. Ironically, left out in the book though, are the views of UNHCR staff, who Turner describes as oblivious to the very human nature of refugee society and politics. In other words, he in effect accuses the UNHCR staff of being anthropologically incorrect. Still, it would be interesting to know how UNHCR workers explain why they "infantilize" refugee involvement in camp administration. In particular, it would be interesting to challenge such workers, who are often well-educated humanitarians, with the refugee assertion that they are the "husband" of the refugee women.

Perhaps the UNHCR staff are as culturally oblivious (and bureaucratically savvy) as Turner presents. And indeed, such questions are important for the international refugee relief regime since ultimately the success of policy-makers, as Turner emphasizes, is not dependent on the calculation of refugee bio-metrics but rather on the resolution of broader political situations in which the refugees themselves always play an adult-level political role. Or, as Turner concludes, "As long as the [refugee policy] simply focuses on relative security and perceives the refugees as apolitical, innocent victims, they cannot grasp the complex mechanisms of repatriation, political mobilization and violence."

Or in other words, Turner's advice to the UNHCR seems to be that you cannot take the politics out of politics!

Tony Waters, *California State University - Chico*

Michael K. Walonen. 2011. *Writing Tangier in the Postcolonial Transition: Space and Power in Expatriate and North African Literature.* Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd. xi, 163 pp.

Nineteenth and twentieth-century Tangier, a coastal city in northern Morocco, has exercised an enduring fascination on writers, male and female, of several nationalities. This fascination has generated a rich and vast literature, both representing the city and analyzing the representations of the city.

In *Writing Tangier in the Postcolonial transition*, Michael K. Walonen, currently an assistant professor of English at Bethune-Cookman University (Florida), focuses mainly on the North-American and European expatriate intellectual community settled in Tangier during the last years of the colonial period and the earliest years of independence (1945-69). It analyzes the dynamics of imagined alterity of socially produced space in the works of English-speaking writers such as Paul Bowles, Jane Bowles, William Burroughs, Brion Gysin, and Alfred Chester, and Moroccan writers such as Tahar Ben Jelloun and Anouar Majid.

This monograph is partially based on a 2009 dissertation entitled *The Social Dynamics of Space and Place in the North Africa Writings of Paul Bowles, William S. Burroughs and Brion Gysin*

that was presented to the University of Louisiana at Lafayette and published by ProQuest/UMI. Walonen has written a short book (151 pages of text and 10 pages of bibliography) but otherwise a dense read. *Writing Tangier* is organized into an introduction and seven chapters. Chapter 2 examines the cultural dynamics of Tangier's expatriate society. Interestingly, it explains how the spaces of the city afforded a perceived alluring alienness, and it sheds light on the interactions between foreign writers and Moroccan locals. Chapter 3 focuses on Paul Bowles' (1910-1999) philosophy of space and sense of place. Chapter 4, the shortest in the book, deals with Jane Bowles' (1917-1973) vision of spatial impenetrability. In Chapter 5, Walonen explores the demystification and remystification of the Maghreb in William Burroughs (1914-1997)'s Tangier writings. Chapter 6 presents English-born painter and writer Brion Gysin's (1916-1986) conflictive Maghreb. Chapter 7 is devoted to Alfred Cheste'sr (1928-1971) writings. And finally, Chapter 8 examines the position of Tahar Ben Jelloun and Anouar Majid vis-à-vis Morocco and Tangier and their sense of dislocation.

The author does not include a chapter of conclusions and closes his book with a brief afterword that asserts the vital relevance of discussions on space and place for the field of cultural studies, and pinpoints some personal experiences in the origin of this academic inquiry.

The book covers a wide range of topics, starting with Tangier's cosmopolitanism and post-independence transformation, and moving to gendered divisions of space, conceptualizations of inside spaces as sites of confinement, representation of anti-colonial revolt, intercultural encounter, nostalgia for the bygone days of the International Zone, etc.

Walonen's book makes a significant contribution to the field of colonial and postcolonial literary studies. It is a good example of the fruitful nature of the spatial turn in literary and cultural studies, and it casts valuable and important new light into the fiction of many writers, particularly Paul Bowles, William S. Burroughs and Brion Gysin. Also, the author has to be praised for his relevant selection of authors and texts, and his systematic analysis of two interesting issues: contrast in non-native and native writings, and contrast among the views of English-speaking writers. Another significant strength of the text is the author's concise, lucid, and accessible writing style. A minor weakness in a book focused on conceptions of space and place is perhaps the poor quality of the only two maps included.

Overall, the book can be highly recommended. It is a noteworthy contribution to the field of postcolonial African Studies, and it will be greatly appreciated by any scholar wishing to have a comprehensive reading of a wide variety of complex themes related to expatriate literature in general, and English-speaking intellectual circles in Morocco in particular.

Just a last word on the title of the book, at the risk of being too honest. *Writing Tangier* is the title of a 2005 special issue of the *Journal of Middle Eastern and North African Intellectual and Cultural Studies* (named after a previous conference organized at the Abdelmalek Essaadi University of Tetouan, Morocco, in 2004), the title of the proceedings of the aforementioned conference, and also the title of a volume edited by Ralph M. Coury and R. Kevin Lacey (*Writing Tangier: Currents in Comparative Romance Language and Literature*, 2009). It might have been convenient to find a different title for this monograph.

Araceli González-Vázquez, *Collège de France*