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## Introduction

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By the Director of LUCAS, Jane Plastow

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Our *Bulletin* this year is honoured to be able to feature an article by renowned Kenyan playwright, novelist and cultural activist and alumnus of the School of English of the University of Leeds, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, entitled *The Language of Scholarship in Africa*. This came about because Ngugi kindly accepted an invitation to be the keynote speaker at the jointly hosted LUCAS/African Studies Association of the UK (ASAUK) biennial conference which was held in Leeds in September 2012. As the first occasion when Leeds has hosted this conference we were delighted to welcome some 500 delegates, including a large number of international visitors. Ngugi spoke to a packed auditorium, with a live link to an overflow lecture theatre, about the need to promote publication and scholarship in African languages, with his usual passion, conviction and compelling powers of argument.



Both James Currey's article *Ngugi, Leeds and the Establishment of African Literature* and Toussaint Nothias' *Definition and scope of Afro-pessimism: Mapping the concept and its usefulness for analysing news media coverage of Africa* were also papers given at the conference and beautifully demonstrate the range of speakers at the event. James Currey is of course a pioneer and major player in post-colonial publishing on Africa, while Toussaint Nothias is a young African scholar studying for his PhD in the Institute of Communication Studies at Leeds. The conference covered a huge range of arts, humanities and social science disciplines, and all our visitors seemed to enjoy their days in some benevolent Leeds sunshine. We were also delighted to profile the visual arts of Nigeria with two exhibitions. Will Rea of Fine Art curated *Yoruba Textiles: Cloth and Tradition in West Africa* at the University International Textiles Archive and we displayed the works of Leeds graduate and Nigerian artist Seyi Ogunjobi in The Workshop Theatre. The final article in this year's *Bulletin* is by another Leeds scholar, Farai Michael Magunha, about remittance culture in Zimbabwe.

As usual we have been busy all year. We held two seminar series which were well attended plus three interdisciplinary seminars held with Africa College and the School of Earth and Environment, as well as two multi-speaker events: *Still an Arab Spring? Understanding protest and uprisings in North Africa*, and *Tanzania: 50 Years of Independence and Evaluation*. Our elective module for level one students, *Contemporary Africas*, continues to be popular across students from a wide range of disciplines, our free book distribution programme for African Universities goes from strength to strength, and our schools programme, *African Voices*, continues to get glowing reviews from schools while attracting a very high-calibre of postgraduate African students to teach on it.

During the year LUCAS was able to negotiate a new constitutional arrangement with the University which guarantees our ability to develop with considerable autonomy. We have also been pleased to welcome new Board members Dr. Emma-Louise Anderson and Dr. Jörg Wiegratz (POLIS), Dr. Vincent Hiribarren (School of Modern Languages and Cultures), and Dr. Jamie van Alstine (School of Earth and Environment). As ever we hope you enjoy this year's good read from African Studies at Leeds.

**James Currey**, as Editorial Director at Heinemann Educational Books, published over 250 titles in the African Writers Series from 1967 to 1984. In 1965 he and his wife Clare started James Currey Publishers to publish books on African Studies. James Currey was and is a great pioneer in the publishing of African literature and African Studies.

**Farai Michael Magunha** is a Zimbabwean national who is currently living in Nairobi where he works for the UNHCR Regional Support Hub as a Livelihoods Programme Management Officer. He is a former Research Fellow at the School of Geography at the University of Leeds. His PhD is also from the University of Leeds, and his thesis concerned migration and remittances, and is entitled *Homeward Bound: A case study of the voluntary repatriation and reintegration of Mozambican refugees from Zimbabwe*. Farai has previously worked in the Zimbabwean civil service and for NGOs in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, including UNHCR, UNDP and The OAK (Zimbabwe) Foundation. Current research interests are in the area of Remittance and Transnational Vulnerabilities across the Zimbabwean Diaspora.

**Toussaint Nothias** is a PhD Student at the University of Leeds, Institute of Communications Studies. His research interests intersect the fields of cultural, postcolonial and journalism studies. His PhD deals with the issue of Afro-pessimism in the French and British elite press through a critical discourse analysis of newspapers articles, news agency wires and interviews with journalists and editors. Prior to joining ICS, he completed a Maitrise (MA) and Licence (BA) in Philosophy at the University of Paris-X Nanterre, and a MA in Cultural and Creative Industries at King's College London, where he worked on the French and British press coverage of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. He is part of the Visual and Digital Culture Research Group and the Journalism Studies Research Group and is also the coordinator of the Africa / Media Group at the University of Leeds.

**Ngugi wa Thiong'o** is a Kenyan novelist, playwright and polemicist. His outstanding novels including, *A Grain of Wheat* and *Petals of Blood* are seen as key texts in the canon of African literature, alongside his major works of cultural interrogation, *Decolonising the Mind* and *Moving the Centre*. Ngugi currently lives in the US and works at the University of California, Irvine, having been forced to leave Kenya in 1982 after his Gikuyu language political theatre stirred the ire of the repressive government of Daniel arap Moi. Ngugi is a much beloved alumnus of the University of Leeds where he studied for his MA in literature in the 1960s, and the University was delighted to give him an honorary doctorate in 2004.

# **LUCAS News, Reports & People**



# LUCAS News

by Karen Cereso

## The LUCAS Book Donation Scheme

The LUCAS theatre book donation scheme has had an excellent year, shipping just short of 500 books since last year's Bulletin report. All books are new and predominantly from James Currey's series' *African Theatre* and *African Literature Today*. This is enabled by the generous subsidies for the scheme offered by James Currey and other participating publishers, and, very importantly, the sponsorship of the Morel Trust. Wherever possible, universities new to the scheme receive the full set of *African Theatre*, and the majority of universities have received a 1-2 copies each of the ten in the series, up to and including last year's *African Theatre 10: Media and Performance* as well as copies of *African Literature Today*, volumes 26-29. Most recently published (November 2012) in these titles are *African Theatre 11: Festivals* and *African Literature Today 30: Reflections and Retrospectives* and these we are just starting to distribute. Among other titles, we also continue to include copies of the title *Nkyin-Kyin: Essays on Ghanaian Theatre* (ed. James Gibbs, 2009, Rodopi), and *And Crocodiles are Hungry at Dawn* (by Jack Mapanje, 2011, Ayebia Clarke). New for the scheme is *Chikwawa Remembered: Theatre and Politics in Zambia 1968-1972* by Michael Etherton and John Reed (2011, Original Writing), thanks to Michael Etherton's donating copies for distribution.

To some extent the books we can distribute are limited by cost and reliability in international postage systems. We are thus very grateful for the help of friends and colleagues of LUCAS as well as visitors from recipient organisations who help us by hand carrying donation packages. This year we must thank colleagues who carried books on return from the ASAUK conference. Also this year we particularly thank James Gibbs, who, as well as tirelessly supporting the scheme through the Morel Trust, took a heavy package of books for three universities in Ghana. Similarly, we thank, for their carrying and patient help with sometimes fairly complicated arrangements: Julius Rantimi-Adeoye (Redeemer's University, Nigeria); Fr. Andrew Danjuma Dewan (Plateau State University, Nigeria); Fr. George Ekwuru (IMO State University, Nigeria); Dr. Karen Ferreira-Meyers (University of Swaziland); Mieke Kolk (Institute for Theatre Studies, Amsterdam); Dr. Mufunanji Magalasi (University of Malawi, Chancellor College); Lillian Mbabazi (Makerere University, Uganda); Dr. E. E. Sule (Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida University, Nigeria). We also appreciate the librarians who ensure the books reach maximum numbers of students and staff through their lending systems, and colleagues at recipient universities who assist with tracking, collecting and otherwise assisting where delivery companies, airport customs etc. did not always give the service we would ideally wish for.

This year, books were sent to the following universities and other organisations (thirty-one organisations in total):

<b>Ethiopia</b>	Addis Ababa University	
<b>Eritrea</b>	Eritrea Bureau of Cultural Affairs	Mai Nefhi College
<b>Ghana</b>	University of Cape Coast University of Education, Winneba	University of Ghana
<b>Ivory Coast</b>	University of Cocody	
<b>Kenya</b>	Kenyatta University	University of Nairobi
<b>Malawi</b>	Catholic University of Malawi Chancellor College Livingstonia University Malawi Instit. of Journalism	Mzuzu University National Library Service Theatre Assn. of Malawi Malawi Writers Union
<b>Nigeria</b>	Ahmadu Bello University Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida Uni. IMO State University (in progress)	Plateau State University Redeemer's University University of Benin
<b>South Africa</b>	University of Cape Town	Uni. of the Western Cape
<b>South Sudan</b>	University of Juba	
<b>Sudan</b>	College of Music and Drama (Sudan Uni. of Science & Tech.)	
<b>Swaziland</b>	University of Swaziland	
<b>Tanzania</b>	University of Dar es Salaam	Taasisi ya Sanaa na Utamaduni Bagamoyo
<b>Uganda</b>	Makerere University	

Nanzikambe Arts (Malawi), IMO State University (Nigeria), and Methodist University College (Ghana) who are all new to the scheme will be sent books early in 2013, and we look forward to updating other universities too this year.

If you wish to join the scheme please contact us at LUCAS on African-studies@leeds.ac.uk. Also, even if you have already received books from us, please don't hesitate to contact us if you are visiting the UK or mainland Europe and would be able to take books back on behalf of your university.

### **Yorkshire African Studies Network (YASN)**

LUCAS academics continued to establish YASN together with Africanists from the universities of Sheffield, York and Bradford. On 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012 LUCAS hosted a YASN workshop *South African politics and society in the ANC's centenary year*, organised by Dr. Alex Beresford (panels and speakers shown below). As with all YASN events to date, travel assistance for regional postgraduate students and lunch for all attendees was sponsored by the *Review of African Political Economy*. Thanks also to the generous terms of the University of Leeds Conference and Events team, the YASN event at Leeds was much complimented for the catering, ideal for the networking YASN espouses.

<b>Panel 1: Contemporary South African politics and society</b>	
Allison Drew (York)	The political symbolism of the ANC' s centenary
Em. Prof. Lionel Cliffe (Em. Prof., Leeds)	The Failure of and Continuing Need for Land Reform in South Africa
Marc Fletcher (Edinburgh)	Sport and nation building in South Africa: The case of the 2010 World Cup
<b>Panel 2: The post liberation state and the ANC's relationship with Africa</b>	
Mathew Graham (Sheffield)	South African foreign policy under the ANC: an historical interpretation
Sarah Bracking (Manchester)	South Africa' s finances: Offshore private equity, carbon emission credits and "entrepreneurment"
<b>Panel 3: South African labour: past, present and future</b>	
Martin Plaut (BBC World Service Africa editor)	Reflections on the South African labour movement at the ANC's centenary
Pauline Dibben (Sheffield)	Is Social Movement Unionism still relevant in South Africa?
Alex Beresford (Leeds)	Labour and class politics in post-apartheid South Africa
<b>Panel 4: South African arts and the media</b>	
Chris Paterson (Leeds)	Placing contemporary press freedom debates in South Africa in context
Dan Hammett (Sheffield)	Tolerating dissent? The ANC media freedom and the cartoonist's ire
Lizelle Bisschoff (Edinburgh)	From <i>Tsotsi</i> to <i>District 9</i> : Forging a national cinema in post-apartheid South Africa

On 29<sup>th</sup> June 2012 a second day-long and very successful YASN workshop, *Conflict, Identity and the State in Colonial and Post-colonial Democratic Republic of Congo* was organised by Dr. Miles Larmer at the University of Sheffield in cooperation with the *Congo Research Network*. It was funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council as well as the *Review of African Political Economy*. New research on the history and contemporary experience of the DRC was introduced. Rejecting approaches seeing the nation-state as the singular unit of analysis, the presentations emphasised local, cross-border, regional and global influences in Congolese history. Congolese agency was recognised in complex interactions with external forces and structures, opposing the notion that the Congo and its people have simply been the victims of external exploitation.

The workshop's keynote speaker was Théodore Trefon of the Royal Museum of Central Africa, Tervuren, who spoke on the 2011 Democratic Republic of Congo election and its aftermath. Additionally three panel sessions were held: *Identity and Conflict in Congolese history, 1960-1986*; *Conflict and Identity in post-Mobutu Congo*; and, *New Directions in Congolese studies*. Papers were

presented by Erik Kennes (Associate, RMCA Tervuren; Nathaniel Kinsey-Powell (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva); Reuben Loffman (Keele University); Harry Verhoeven (University of Oxford); Henning Tamm (University of Oxford); Claude Sumata (Catholic University, Kinshasa); Benjamin Rubbers (University of Liege); Marie Godin (Université Libre de Bruxelles /University of East London; Randi Solhjell (LSE/ Norwegian Institute of International Affairs); Catherine Lee Porter (Gonville & Caius, University of Cambridge), as well as by Miles Larmer.

In addition to the two YASN workshops held this past academic year at Leeds and Sheffield, YASN had a significant presence at the ASAUK conference at the University of Leeds in September. YASN organised three panels which were so well attended that there was standing room only for latecomers:

<i>YASN Panel 1: Civil Society in the South and ‘Do it yourself’ Development from the North – globalising, humanising civil society or neo-colonial threat?</i> Papers presented by: <b>Chika Charles Aniekwe, Job Akuni, and Andrew Mushi</b>
<i>YASN Panel 2: The politics of Sexuality in Uganda.</i> Papers presented by: <b>Shane Doyle, Jo Sadgrove, and Caroline Valois</b>
<i>YASN Panel 3: Understanding Political Opposition in Post-colonial and Contemporary Africa.</i> Papers presented by: <b>Miles Larmer, James Brennan, Nic Cheeseman, and Danielle Resnick</b>

Future events will be advertised by LUCAS and hosting YASN universities, and YASN’s website can be viewed at <http://www.yasn.group.shef.ac.uk/>

### **LUCAS Seminars held in Academic Year 2011-12**

LUCAS seminars this year were chaired by Professor Ray Bush (Semester 1), Dr. Alex Beresford (Semester 2), and together with the Centre for Global Development and Africa College (interdisciplinary seminars 20<sup>th</sup> October, 9<sup>th</sup> November, and 8<sup>th</sup> December). We also held two multi-speaker events; on the Arab Spring, and to review the 50 years since Tanzania’s independence (with sponsorship from the journal Review of African Political Economy). The full seminar programme for the year included:

## LUCAS Seminars held in Academic Year 2011-12

20 Oct 2011	<b>Meeting them where they're at? Ways of working with students and teachers in education for development'</b>	Prof. Jane Plastow Dr. Caroline Dyer (both of University of Leeds)
7 Nov 2011	<b>'Still an Arab Spring? Understanding protest and uprisings in North Africa'</b>	
	‘On Protest Movements and Uprisings: Egypt’s Permanent Revolution’	Dr. Maha Abdel-Rahman, (Uni. of Cambridge)
	‘The Tunisian Revolution after The First Democratic Elections: Processes, Expectations and Constraints’	Dr. Habib Ayeb, (American University in Cairo)
9 Nov 2011	<b>Bio-Fuels and Land Dispossession</b>	Dr. Lindsay Stringer Prof. Gordon Crawford (University of Leeds)
8 Dec 2011	<b>Green Revolution and Genetically Modified Crops in Africa'</b>	Em. Prof. Lionel Cliffe Prof. Christine Foyer (University of Leeds)
8 Feb 2012	<b>The ANC reaches 100. Time for South African Workers to Celebrate?</b>	Dr. Alex Beresford (University of Leeds)
15 Feb 2012	<b>Tanzania: 50 Years of Independence and Evaluation sponsored by <i>Review of African Political Economy</i></b>	Papers given by:
	- From Self-reliance to Neo-liberalism	Prof. John Loxley, (Uni. of Manitoba)
	- ‘Addicted to Aid?’	Dr. Anna Mdee (Uni. of Bradford)
	- Democracy in Tanzania	Nicodemus Eatlawe, (Uni. of Bradford)
	- Agricultural Strategy and (De)Industrialisation	Prof. Peter Lawrence, (Keele University)
	- The Politics and Legacy of Ujamaa	Em. Prof. Lionel Cliffe (Uni. of Leeds)
	- The Legacy of Socialism for Economic Transformation under Liberalisation	Dr. Hazel Gray, (SOAS)
14 March 2012	<b>‘Demonstrating the machine guns’: rebellion, counter-insurgency and state formation in colonial Darfur</b>	Dr. Chris Vaughan (University of Liverpool)
5 May 2012	<b>‘I am NOT a KONY2012 POSTER’: Discussion of Issues</b>	Organised by: Dr. Chris Paterson, Dr. Jo Sadgrove, and Dr. Alex Beresford (all @Leeds)

# LUCAS Schools Project Update

by Richard Borowski

The LUCAS Schools Project has had a difficult year but, with support from the LUCAS Board, has been able to weather the economic storm and establish partnerships to secure a more sustainable future. Twelve African post-graduate students from POLIS, Health, English, Earth and Environment and Business School were recruited and trained to deliver African Voices Days in primary schools. Service promotional material was sent to all primary schools in Leeds and to easily accessible primary schools in Bradford, Wakefield and Harrogate. Unfortunately, financial cutbacks continue to have an impact on school budgets and only thirteen bookings for African Voices days were received from eight schools. In addition, only one of these schools was from outside the Leeds area. Fortunately, a grant for £2,250 was obtained from the POLIS Widening Participation Programme which enabled the project to offer subsidised African Voices days to Leeds primary schools in areas underrepresented in higher education. A further twelve bookings for African Voices days were received from nine schools under the Widening Participation Programme.

Analysis of an impact evaluation conducted in two of the schools participating in the Widening Participation Programme reflected earlier research undertaken into young people's perceptions of Africa. Africa maps completed by pupils contained references to poverty, lack of food, dirty water, wild animals, drumming and dancing. The pupils' main source of information about Africa came from the TV and, in particular, charity adverts such as those broadcast by Water Aid. The pupils remembered the images presented by the charity adverts but not the name of the charity associated with them. This is particularly worrying as the adverts contribute to a negative stereotype of Africa but fail to register their brand of charity with this young audience. This evidence suggests there is a case for charity adverts to be transmitted after the nine o'clock watershed.

The project has continued to promote its research findings during the year with presentations to the Africa Media Research Group at Leeds University and at the Black Identity in Education meeting at York University. A workshop paper was delivered at the Africa UK Journalism Conference at Bedfordshire University, available to download from the LUCAS website, on the influence of the media on young people's perceptions of Africa. It was pleasing to see so many delegates from Africa at the conference, they were both horrified and amused by the perceptions young people in the UK had of Africa. A research paper on young people's perceptions of Africa was also published in *Race Equality Teaching*, volume 30, number 3, summer 2012, which is also available to download from the LUCAS website.

Our efforts to widen the research and disseminate the African Voices model beyond Leeds have continued during the year by establishing a network of interested academics in the Universities of Leeds, Sheffield and York. A joint funding proposal was submitted to the White Rose Collaboration Fund to train African post-graduate students to deliver African Voices days in primary schools and conduct comparative research into young people's perceptions of Africa. Unfortunately the proposal was not successful; feedback from the White Rose University Consortium suggested it failed to demonstrate sufficient levels of follow-on funding in comparison to other proposals. This weakness will be addressed during the coming year and the proposal will be resubmitted to the White Rose University Consortium.

The MA module Global Citizenship in UK Primary Schools was piloted for the first time this year and attracted six post-graduate students from Education, English and POLIS (two from the UK and four international students from South East Asia). The module was structured around a mini research project with a class of Year 5 pupils on a theme, chosen by the students, related to Global Citizenship. The students welcomed the opportunity to relate theory with practice and to develop valuable research skills.

The academic year 2012/13 is starting from a more secure base. A grant of £5,000 has been obtained from the Africa College, an international research partnership working to improve food and nutritional security in sub-Saharan Africa, to train and support several of their African post-graduate researchers to deliver African Voices days in schools. In addition, a grant for £3,000 has been obtained from the Leeds University Educational Enhancement Programme to deliver African Voices days to pupils in areas of Leeds underrepresented in higher education.

# **Departmental Reports**



## School of Earth and Environment

In 2012-13 researchers in the School of Earth and Environment engaged in a wide range of work in Africa including research projects on climate compatible development, payment for ecosystem services, UN Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation programme (REDD), water and food security, natural resource governance with a focus on hydrocarbons and mining, and West African weather prediction.

**Susannah Sallu** and **Andy Dougill**, with partners from the University of Dar es Salaam, Bunda College of Agriculture, University of Malawi, and Copperbelt University, have achieved funding from the World Universities Network (WUN) for a 3 year project to Build Partnerships in sub-Saharan Africa to investigate Climate Compatible Development. As part of this project, a 3-day workshop on Climate Compatible Development was hosted by the School of Earth and Environment and the ESRC Centre for Climate Change Economics and Policy (CCCEP) at the University of Leeds between 15th and 17th May 2012. For more information on the project see <http://www.see.leeds.ac.uk/research/sri/wun/>. Susannah Sallu has been engaged in two other WUN funded projects involving African colleagues from the University of Cape Town, University of Dar es Salaam and Sokoine University of Agriculture focussing on writing and project development around the themes of 'Limits to Climate Change Adaptation' and the 'Development of integrated/hybrid scenarios of land use change in Africa'.

**Andy Dougill**, **Susannah Sallu** and **Lindsay Stringer** from SEE with colleagues at the Universities of York and Sheffield achieved ESRC White Rose Doctoral Training Centre funding for a network of three PhD students working on evaluating new governance systems for valuing ecosystem services, carbon storage and poverty alleviation benefits in East and Southern Africa. Susannah Sallu again led the *Overseas Environment-Development Field Course* masters module to Tanzania in March 2011. This module forms part of a suite of modules taught on the Sustainability Masters programmes and provides a structured opportunity to gain first hand field and research experience in a rural part of Africa. The course is due to run again in March 2012.

Lindsay Stringer and Andy Dougill received funding from the Innovation Fund of the Climate Development Knowledge Network (CDKN) to explore partnerships for climate compatible development in sub-Saharan Africa. The project seeks to compare partnership approaches in Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Democratic Republic of Congo, and build capacity for delivering multi-sector CCD projects. The project was conducted in collaboration with the Copperbelt University, Zambia; Eduardo Mondlane University, Mozambique; Lubumbashi University, DRC; and University of Zimbabwe. Data was collected

from a number of case study sites in all four countries, in collaboration with in-country collaborators and research assistants. Workshops were held in Zambia (for participants from Zambia and DRC) and Mozambique (participants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe) to allow for experience sharing. A final, regional workshop was held in early November in Mozambique to explore key findings with input from stakeholders and policy makers. The Leeds-based project team consisted of **Jen Dyer**, Lindsay and Andy, with Zambian input from Julia Leventon.

**Julia Leventon**, in collaboration with Lindsay Stringer and Andy Dougill, has been examining the development challenges and opportunities presented by the UN Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation programme (REDD). Julia has been comparing forest management, mitigation and adaptation policies and action in Zambia and Malawi, as they are countries that have very different levels of involvement with the UN REDD programme. Her work has involved and engaged a wide range of stakeholders including policy makers, forest communities, aid agencies and mining companies.

**Luuk Fleskens** continued work on the EU FP7-funded WAHARA project ([www.wahara.eu](http://www.wahara.eu)) investigating the potential contribution of water harvesting to growth and resilience of rain-fed agriculture in Africa. The second project meeting was held in Mekelle, Ethiopia from 3 – 9 March 2012. Sarah Lebel and Matthew Smiley (PhD and MSc student respectively) conducted fieldwork in Burkina Faso in May-June of this year. An EPSRC-funded internship taken up by Chibi Takaya produced a report on experiences in and potential for water trading in developing countries which includes analyses of South Africa and Tanzania, and which we are currently developing into a journal paper.

Luuk Fleskens also took part in the CIALCA International Conference: Challenges and Opportunities for Agricultural Intensification of the Humid-Highland Systems of sub-Saharan Africa, Kigali 24-27 October 2011 and co-organized a session on “How to secure water and food security across African landscapes under climate change?” at the Royal Geographical Society Annual International Conference 2012, 3-6 July 2012, Edinburgh, UK.

**James Van Alstine** received a British Academy mobility grant (£10k) to develop a research agenda for the study of the politics of good governance in Uganda. The overarching aim of this one-year project (which starts in December 2012) is to explore how academic and practitioners in Uganda/East Africa and the UK can more proactively engage with the governance of the hydrocarbons sector in Uganda. We will host a workshop in Uganda in June 2013 and Dr Fredrick Kisekka-Ntale of Makerere University will visit the University of Leeds in October 2013.

James Van Alstine also received funding (US\$1 million) from the Democratic Governance Facility, a multi-donor fund, for a four-year research project (2012-2016) titled 'The Governance of Hydrocarbons in Uganda: Opportunities for Community-Driven Accountability in the Albertine Rift Region'. The project will explore the extent to which local leaders and civil society organisations can proactively engage with firms and local authorities to instigate a process of community-driven accountability, which seeks to maximise development benefits from hydrocarbon extraction. The project is run by a Kampala-based NGO, Maendeleo ya Jamii, and works with district NGO forums to implement the project's objectives.

SEE is hosting a 6-week workshop of scientists and weather forecasters from Africa, which will lead to a landmark book on West African weather prediction. A number of forecasters, representing national weather services and forecaster training centres, are visiting Leeds in October and November 2012. They will be joined by academics from European universities, and scientists from the Met Office and Meteo-France. The group will work together to prepare written material for the book. The project is led by Doug Parker, who is jointly editing the book with Mariane Diop, who is a senior researcher with the Senegalese weather service. The book, with a working title of *The forecaster's handbook for West Africa*, is to be published by Wiley-Blackwell, and will be the first commercially-published document on the science of regional weather forecasting. The Leeds workshop has been funded by a NERC Knowledge Exchange grant attached to the AMMA-2 project.

### **New PhD Students in SEE**

**Arturo Andersen Chinbuah:** *Comparison of the exosomatic energy and material metabolism of developing countries of West Africa.* Start date October 2012. Supervisors: Julia Steinberger and John Barrett.

**Joanes Atela:** *Impacts of the integrated management of Kakamega Forest, Kenya, for climate change adaptation.* Start date October 2011. Supervisors: Claire Quinn and Piers Forster.

**Rebecca Howard:** *Carbon science, standards and markets, with a focus on Sub-Saharan Africa.* Start date October 2012. Supervisors: Lindsay Stringer, Anne Tallontire, and Rob Marchant (University of York).

**Uche Okpara:** *Water conflict in the era of global climate change: empirical evidence from the Nigerian territory of the shrinking Lake Chad Basin.* Start date October 2012. Supervisors: Andy Dougill and Lindsay Stringer.

**Freddy Shamwana:** *Sustainability appraisal of mining sites in the DRC.* Start date October 2012. Supervisors: Yim Ling Siu and James Van Alstine.

**Laura Smith:** *How lessons from peace studies can be applied to corporate social responsibility and natural resource-led development in Uganda.* Start date October 2012. Supervisors: James Van Alstine and Anne Tallontire.

### **Publications in SEE**

Abson D.J., Dougill A.J., and Stringer, L.C. (2012) 'Using Principal Component Analysis for information-rich socio-ecological vulnerability mapping in Southern Africa', in press in *Applied Geography*, doi: 10.1016/j.apgeog.2012.08.004

Antwi-Agyei P., Fraser E.D.G., Dougill A.J., and Stringer L.C., Simelton E (2012) 'Mapping Food System Vulnerability to Drought Using Rainfall, Yield and Socioeconomic Data for Ghana', *Applied Geography*, 32, pp.324-334. doi: 10.1016/j.apgeog.2011.06.010

Dougill, A.J., Stringer, L.C., Leventon, J., Riddell, M., Rueff, H., Spracklen, D., Butt, E., 2012. 'Lessons from Community-based Payment for Ecosystem Service Schemes: From Forests to Rangelands'. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 367 (1606) pp. 3178-3190.

Duvenage I., Taplin R., and Stringer L.C. (2012) 'Towards implementation and achievement of sustainable biofuel development in Africa', in press in *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, pp.1-20. doi: 10.1007/s10668-012-9368-2

Duvenage I., Taplin R., and Stringer L. (2012) 'Bioenergy project appraisal in sub-Saharan Africa: Sustainability barriers and opportunities in Zambia', *Natural Resources Forum*, 36, pp.167-180. doi: 10.1111/j.1477-8947.2012.01453.x

Dyer, J., Stringer, L.C., Dougill, A.J., Leventon, J., Falcao, M., Dzingirai, V., 2012. *Synergy across sectors in pro-poor development: Outcomes from a Multi-stakeholder workshop for Mozambique and Zimbabwe.* Available at: <http://www.see.leeds.ac.uk/research/sri/cdkn/>

Dyer, J.C., Stringer L.C., Dougill, A.J. (2012) 'Jatropha curcas: Sowing local seeds of success in Malawi?'. In response to Achten et al. (2010), *Journal of Arid Environments*, 79, pp.107-110. doi: 10.1016/j.jaridenv.2011.12.004

Dyer, J.C., Leventon, J., Stringer, L.C., Dougill, A.J., Syampungani, S., Nshimbi, M., Chama, F., Kafwifwi, A., under review. 'Partnership models for climate compatible development: experiences from Zambia'. Submitted to *Resources*.

- Dyer, J., Stringer, L.C., and Dougill, A.J. 2012. 'Unpacking partnerships to inform climate-compatible development'. Available at: <http://www.see.leeds.ac.uk/research/sri/cdkn/>
- Leventon, J., Dyer, J., Stringer, L.C., Dougill, A.J., Syampungani, S., Kalaba, G., and Munyemba, F., 2012. *Synergy across sectors in pro-poor development: Outcomes from a Multi-stakeholder workshop in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Available at: <http://www.see.leeds.ac.uk/research/sri/cdkn/>
- Perkins, J.S., Reed, M.S., Akanyang, L., Atlhopheng, J.R., Chanda, R., Magole, L., Mphinyane, W., Mulale, K., Sebego, R.J., Fleskens, L., Irvine, B.J., and Kirkby, M.J. 2011. 'Making land management more sustainable: experience implementing a new methodological framework in Botswana'. *Land Degradation and Development* (in press).
- Stringer, L.C., Dougill, A.J., Dyer, J.C., Kalaba, F.K., Mkwambisi, D.D., Mngoli, M. (2012) 'Challenges and opportunities for carbon management in Malawi and Zambia', *Carbon Management*, 3, pp.159-173. doi: 10.4155/cmt.12.14
- Stringer, L.C., Dougill, A.J., Thomas, A.D., Spracklen, D.V., Chesterman, S., Ifejika Speranza, C., Rueff, H., Riddell, M., Williams, M., Beedy, T., Abson, D.J., Klintonberg, P., Syampungani, S., Powell, P., Palmer, A.R., Seely, M.K., Mkwambisi, D.D., Falcao, M., Siteo, A., Ross, S., Kopolu, G. (2012) 'Challenges and opportunities in linking carbon sequestration, livelihoods and ecosystem service provision in drylands', *Environmental Science and Policy*, 19-20, pp.121-135. doi: 10.1016/j.envsci.2012.02.004
- Van Alstine, J. (under review) 'Transparency in Resource Governance: The Pitfalls and Potential of "New Oil" in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Global Environmental Politics*.
- Van Alstine, J. (under review) 'The rhetoric and reality of transparency in energy governance: the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative and Publish What You Pay Campaign', in Aarti Gupta and Michael Mason (eds), *Transparency in Global Environmental Governance*, Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Van Alstine, J., Afionis, S. (under review) 'The Challenge of Resource-Led Development in Zambia's "New Copperbelt"', *Community Development Journal* and also published as a SRI working paper, see: <http://www.see.leeds.ac.uk/research/sri/working-papers/>
- Yitbarek, T.W., Belliethathan, S., Stringer, L.C. (2012) 'The Onsite Cost of Gully Erosion and Cost-Benefit of Gully Rehabilitation: a case study' in *Ethiopia, Land Degradation and Development*, 23, pp.157-166. doi: 10.1002/ldr.1065

## School of English

### Post-colonial Literature

**Brendon Nicholls** helped organize funding for two conferences in 2011 arranged by graduate students at the University of Leeds: *Into the Archive: J. M. Coetzee and His Precursors* and the *Southern African Studies Exchange* conference, held jointly between the University of Leeds and Humboldt University. He presented three conference papers:

- ‘Black Histories in Ngugi’s *Petals of Blood*,’ *Literature without Borders* seminar series in association with Black History Month, University of Leeds (October 2011)
- ‘Soyinka in Britain and Brathwaite in Africa’ at the *Poetry, Emigration and Travel* conference, University of Sheffield (May 2012)
- ‘History, Intertextuality, and Gender in Ngugi’s *Petals of Blood*,’ African Studies Association of the United Kingdom conference, University of Leeds (September 2012)

Brendon Nicholls also convened the ‘Leeds and Literature’ panel at the ASAUK conference, published ‘Chinua Achebe at Leeds: When the Great Share the Good,’ *University of Leeds Centre for African Studies Bulletin* 73 (December 2011) and has a review essay for *Wasafiri* in press, ‘Nadine Gordimer’s Short Stories and Essays, 1950-2007.’

### Workshop Theatre

**Jane Plastow** gave a paper on the significance of the law to Ngugi wa Thiong’o’s play *I will Marry When I Want* and his novel, *Petals of Blood*, at a conference on Law and Literature at Trinity College Dublin in June 2012, and further developed this to become a paper, ‘Interrogations of law and state legitimacy, colonial and post-colonial, in the theatre and life of Ngugi wa Thiong’o’, which she gave at a special panel on the work of Ngugi at the biennial African Studies Association of the UK (ASAUK) conference in Leeds in September. At the same conference she gave a paper on radio drama in the minority language of Blin in Eritrea.

In January Jane Plastow travelled to Tanzania for the second week long meeting of East African practitioners and academics working on Theatre for Development as part of a three year International Partnerships award from the British Academy. Significant progress was made on developing teaching in Film for Development in universities in Kenya and Tanzania, and on the planned East

African MA in Theatre for Development to be hosted at Makerere University in Uganda.

The MA in Theatre and Global Development had one African student this year. **Lilian Mbabazi** from Uganda, wrote her dissertation on drama and the primary education system in Uganda and also presented a paper on this at the ASAUK conference.

**Oluseyi Ogunjobi**, from Nigeria, successfully submitted his PhD thesis on the theatre of Duro Ladipo. The study examines the importance of the visual languages of Duro Ladipo's theatre in *Oba Moro*, *Oba Koso* and *Oba Waja*, highlighting their significance as expressions of the Yoruba metaphysical matrix, and as a means of preserving Yoruba culture.

### **Publications from the Workshop Theatre**

Plastow, J. 'Finding Children's Voices: Using theatre to critique the education system in England and Eritrea', in *Engaging with Literature of Commitment: Africa in the World*, eds Gordon Collier, Marc Delrez, Anne Fuchs and Benedict Ledent, (Rodopi, 2012), pp321-335

Plastow, J. 'Contested nationalism and socialisms: The role of theatre in seeking liberation for and between Ethiopia and Eritrea', *Cold War Theatre*, ed. Andrew Hammond, (Routledge, 2012)

## **School of Fine Art, History of Art and Cultural Studies**

A number of Africa related pieces of research have taken place in the last year. **Dr Will Rea** curated an exhibition of Yoruba textiles at the University of Leeds International Textile Archive. Titled *Yoruba textiles: Tradition and Creativity* this large exhibition encompassed weaving and print making from south western Nigeria. It explored the way in which innovation and change have been incorporated into textile making traditions. The exhibition has been well attended and runs until March 2013. In December Dr Rea was in Nigeria at the British Council's invitation, attending a conference on creative industry in Nigeria. He also presented a paper at a seminar conference celebrating the work of Father Kevin Carroll. The seminar took place at the Dromantine Conference Centre where an exhibition of Yoruba carving from the Oye-Ekiti workshops that Carroll developed is ongoing. Dr Rea also submitted a chapter for publication in Newell and Okome (eds) *Popular art in Africa: The episteme of the everyday*, and presented at the ASAUK conference.

A limited amount of PhD activity concerning African related topics is ongoing. **Fiona Allen** continues with her project on Angela Ferreria's work *Maison*

*Tropicale* and we send congratulations to our student **Toyin Adeyinka** on the birth of her daughter and hope that she will soon return to resume her work on Oshogbo festival textiles.

## School of Geography

Emeritus Professor **Lionel Cliffe** co-edited, with Jocelyn Alexander (University of Oxford), Ben Cousins (PLAAS, University of the Western Cape), and Rudo Gaidzanwe (University of Zimbabwe), *Outcomes of post-2000 Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe, Special Issue of The Journal of Peasant Studies* published October 2012.

The occupations of large commercial farms that erupted in Zimbabwe in 2000 and led to the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLR) attracted an enormous amount of media comment and controversy in Zimbabwe and around the world, on the basis of which people developed very clear-cut stances about its consequences - on agricultural production, on the prospects of rural dwellers and on the overall economy. But until recently the rush to judgement was largely uninformed by any hard evidence. The only aggregate data was contained in a couple of early government audits, and were largely mistrusted and ignored by outside observers. These anyway only provided aggregate data on how much land had been acquired and been distributed, and to some extent how and to whom, but little exploration of outcomes, particularly what new production systems, changed livelihoods and social relations have emerged. Beyond them there was a great deal of anecdotal material. In the last two or three years a significant volume of independent empirically-based material from detailed local studies has begun to see the light of day. This *Special Issue of The Journal of Peasant Studies* brings together what has become a significant volume of independent empirically-based material from recent and detailed local studies. By making these findings more widely available it aims to contribute to a more informed and necessary debate.

## School of History

The School of History has had a very productive year. **Nicholas Grant** and **Vincent Hiribarren** completed their PhD dissertations on transnational relations between South Africa's liberation movement and American Civil Rights organisations, and on the history of borders and identity in northeastern Nigeria respectively. Both have subsequently secured academic jobs, Nicholas at UEA and Vincent here in Modern Languages, where he will replace Jim House for one year. The various Africa-focused modules taught in the School



continue to be popular, and to generate graduate students such as **Rosie Thornley** who began a PhD on ethnicity in eastern Uganda during the year.

Vincent Hiribarren's thesis, *From a kingdom to a Nigerian state: the territory and boundaries of Borno 1810-2010* was supervised by Dr. Shane Doyle (Leeds) and examined by Professor Paul Nugent (Edinburgh) and Dr. Andrea Major (Leeds). The thesis examines the political space of Borno as part of modern-day Nigeria from 1810 to 2010. It seeks to bridge the gap between precolonial, colonial and postcolonial history while studying the evolving concept of a Bornoan space in the *longue durée*. This research project highlights the continuity of the spatial framework of a nineteenth-century kingdom in colonial and postcolonial Nigeria.

Nick Grant's thesis focuses on the United States and South Africa from 1945 to 1960 demonstrating how African Americans forged connections with anticolonial activists in Africa during the early Cold War. Through carefully orchestrated international campaigns for racial justice, African Americans and black South Africans forced governments to adapt their white supremacist activities in order to better fit the Cold War language of 'freedom' and 'democracy'. By analysing government records, newspapers, correspondence, magazines, film, novels and musical performances from the United States and South Africa, it is argued that black activists had to overcome major obstacles in order to make themselves heard on the global stage. The alliances these activists made and the restrictions they faced all illustrate the mutually constitutive relationship between the global antiapartheid movement and the state forces that aimed to limit political dissent across national borders.

**Shane Doyle** and **Will Jackson** have participated in conferences and given papers in Boston, Keele and Oxford, while Will Jackson co-hosted a conference on subalternity which had a strong African component. Our Imperial and Colonial History seminar series continues to attract leading Africanists such as Saul Dubow. Publications which appeared during the year included:

Jackson, W., 'White Man's Country: Kenya Colony and the Making of a Myth', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 5, 2 (2011), 344-368

Jackson, W., 'Bad Blood: Poverty, Psychopathy and the Politics of Transgression in Kenya Colony, 1939-1959', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39, 1 (2011), 73-94.

Doyle, S.D. (2012), 'Sexual behavioural change in Ankole, western Uganda, c.1880-1980', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 6 (3), pp.490-506.

## Institute of Communications Studies (ICS)

The Institute of Communications Studies, the largest school with the PVAC faculty, hosts a variety of research projects connected to Africa. PhD student **Modestus Fosu**, who is also affiliated with the University of Ghana, returned to Leeds in September 2012 from three months of fieldwork in Accra for his project entitled *The press and political participation: newspapers and the politics of linguistic exclusion and inclusion in Ghana*.

In September 2012, members of the Africa / Media Group based at the Institute of Communications Studies organised three panels at the African Studies Association UK/ LUCAS conference at the University of Leeds. The group hosted panels on:

- Africa, social media and new communication technologies
- Popular representations of Africa
- Media governance and regulation in Africa

Recent ICS alumnus **Dr Ufuoma Akpojivi** detailed the findings of his research on 'Democratising the media in new democracies of Ghana and Nigeria: challenges and prospects'. Second year PhD student **Toussaint Nothias** gave a presentation on the issue of Afro-pessimism in Western news media and in particular the lack of clarity often surrounding this concept. **Dr Chris Paterson** presented initial findings of co-authored research on participatory journalism in Mozambique.

Chris Paterson is editing a forthcoming special issue of the journal *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* (based at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa). The issue concerns journalism and social media in Africa and is expected to be one of the first international publications to present a collection of research from around the continent addressing rapid, social-media led change in African journalism. It is due for publication in early 2013.

## School of Modern Languages and Cultures

**Vincent Hiribarren** will be teaching a module on the Algerian War of Independence. In this he will analyse with students the origins and the consequences of the war both in Algeria and France. As Vincent is in direct contact with archivists working in the French National Archives, he plans to use first-hand documents during the lectures and seminars. Vincent also hopes to publish the outcome of his thesis. Two articles are currently under review. The

first one explores the relationship between knowledge and power in colonial Borno, Nigeria. It explains how the production of knowledge was a European and Bornoan joint-venture. The second article explores the plebiscites which led to the annexation of the United Nations Trusteeship of Northern Cameroons by Nigeria in 1961. Vincent is going to Kenya for a brief visit in December 2012 and will be interested in evaluating the pre-electoral climate before the 2013 elections.

## School of Music

**Professor Kevin Dawe** is liaising with a Moroccan musician in Leeds and continues to teach various modules involving African music, from Central Africa to Egypt. Plans for an African guitar making project are in progress. **Dr Stephen Muir** is continuing his work into the music of South African Jewish communities, and is putting in a number of funding bids to support that work.

### Africa-focused Publications from the School of Music

Dawe, K. and Allen, A. (2014) *Ecomusicology: A Field Guide*. Routledge. [In preparation]

Dawe, K.N. (2013) *Guitar Ethnographies* (edited collection, special issue of Ethnomusicology Forum). Routledge. [In preparation]

Muir, S. (2013) 'From the shtetl to the Gardens and beyond: identity and symbolic geography in Cape Town's synagogue choirs', in S. Kruger and R. Trandafoiu (eds) *The Globalization of Musics in Transit: Musical Migration and Tourism*. Routledge Research in Ethnomusicology. Routledge. [Accepted]

## Nuffield Centre for International Health and Development

### Teaching news

#### *Master programmes*

The Centre is offering four different Master courses (Health Management, Policy and Planning; Hospital Management; International Health; Public Health). This year, our number of international students has decreased to 55, probably due to a variety of factors including a change in English language requirements at the University of Leeds, difficulties students have in obtaining funding in the current economic climate, and changes in the rules of the UK Border Agency. However, Africa is well represented with about two thirds of our Masters students coming from countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. More

information on our programmes can be found at:  
<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/lihs/nuffield/landt/index.html>

### *Intercalated Bachelor in International Health*

This course is offered to British medical students, many of whom link up with our master students and do their research projects in African countries.

### *Social events*

Throughout the year the Nuffield Centre organises social events for the students and their families to promote interaction and sharing of experiences. Some highlights of the year are the 'Bring a Dish' party, the excursion to see Bonfire night on 5 November and the pre-Christmas 'Ceilidh dance'.

### *Geneva trip*

One popular element in our teaching is the Geneva field trip which has been accredited as a module. Every year in March our students have the option of a one-week field-trip to Geneva, Switzerland. This includes workshops and meetings with World Health Organization staff, a visit to the United Nations and the Red Cross offices and various NGOs. Last year it was approved and now runs as an option module. It is a wonderful opportunity to learn about these organisations and be able to discuss their experiences and ideas with staff at the WHO.

### *BSc photo competition 2012*

The BSc Project B photo competition winners have just been announced. The Intercalating BSc in International Health students go on fieldwork for 3-4 weeks to a low-middle income country and submit their pictures for our yearly competition. This year's winner was the photo taken by **Tom Nichols**, 'Children Going to School in Spiti Valley, Northern India':



The other winners can be viewed at:

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/36177466@N04/sets/72157631000698884/>

### *Alumni network on Facebook*

The Nuffield Centre maintains strong links with its alumni all over the world through newsletters, emails and a Facebook page. The latter provides alumni with a host of information on new funding, open source resources, and jobs that are available. We believe this is another step towards supporting capacity development.

## **Ongoing Research Projects**

### *CHEPSAA*

African capacity to conduct health policy and systems research is currently limited, despite regional and international recognition of the importance of this area of research. Few African scientists work in this relatively new area of health research and few African universities offer relevant training programmes. The project aims to extend sustainable African capacity to produce and use high quality health policy and systems research, by harnessing synergies among a Consortium of African and European universities with relevant expertise. The team from the Nuffield Centre are **Tolib Mirzoev**, **Ricky Van Kalliecharan**, **Gillian Dalgetty** and as administrator **Lynn Auty**.

### *COMDIS HSD*

Nuffield Centre continues as the lead organisation for the £7.5 million programme funded by DFID for 6 years from January 2011 to December 2016, with partners in, among other countries, Tanzania, Ghana, Uganda, Swaziland and Zambia, working with national health services to improve the delivery of basic health services. The consortium's research and development themes are: primary care, urban health, community interventions, drug resistance, health behaviour change, accessibility and quality of care, with an emphasis on non-communicable diseases such as CVD and hypertension in addition to previous expertise in communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis and malaria. More information can be found on the programme website: <http://comdis-hsd.dfid.gov.uk/>.

### *EPICS*

The EPICS trial (Enabling Parents to Increase Child Survival) introduced a package of interventions including enhanced training and supervision of community health workers, mobile outreach services, strengthened institutional delivery services and community mobilisation through community health clubs and the training of community volunteers in Guinea Bissau. It aimed to reduce child mortality rapidly, significantly, and cost-effectively. The trial is now

complete and the results will be published in the coming months. Our Nuffield colleague Rebecca King collaborates with Effective Intervention on this trial.

### *PERFORM*

This research project is funded by the FP7 programme of the European Commission and is being implemented from September 2011 to August 2015 in Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda aiming to strengthen decentralised management to address health workforce inadequacies by improving health workforce performance. The action research approach will contribute to the skills and abilities of participating managers to resolve problems in the future, with the possibility of scaling up this approach if it proves successful. The LIHS/Nuffield staff involved in the project include **Helen Elsey, Reinhard Huss, Tolib Mirzoev, Comfort Mshelia** and **Lynne Pakenham**.

### **PhD research on Africa in the Nuffield Centre**

**Rosemary Morgan** was successfully awarded her PhD from the University of Leeds in 2011. Her supervisors were Andrew Green from the Nuffield Centre and Jelke Boesten from Politics and International Studies. The study looked at the ways HIV/AIDS prevention policies are formulated and implemented within three faith-based NGOs in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania – a Catholic, Anglican and Muslim organization and the different factors involved within that process. The research used an exploratory, qualitative case-study approach and employed a health policy analysis framework, examining the context, actor, process, and content factors that shape the HIV/AIDS prevention policies within each organization. Publications from the thesis are now being prepared, and Rosemary currently works in the Nuffield Centre.

Several other PhD students in the Nuffield Centre are conducting research on Africa. These include:

**Esmie Kainja** who has completed her study of selected child-related policies, services and needs of orphans in Malawi and will defend her thesis at the end of November 2012. The research has explored how child-related policies and services are delivered in Malawi to address the needs of orphans.

**Kate Gooding** continues her research into the effects of service delivery and advocacy on research processes in NGOs.

### **New PhD Students:**

**Elsheikh Badr**'s area of study is 'developing capacity for health workers education in a decentralised context: the case of the Sudan Academy of Health Sciences'.

**Hadija Kweka's** is 'the relationships between central organisations and local government and their influence on local health planning processes: a case study of the Council Health Management Team in Tanzania'.

## **Knowledge Transfer**

### *Ministry of Health Sudan*

The Nuffield Centre is working with the Ministry of Health Sudan to support the development of capacity of the Public Health Institute to provide postgraduate training (Health Management, Hospital Management). The responsible Nuffield academics are **Thomas Dessoffy** and **Ricky Van Kalliecharan**.

### *Management of Medicines in International Health*

The annual update and implementation of a blended learning course 'Management of Medicines in International Health' (MMIH) in collaboration with Swiss Tropical and Public Health Institute (STPH) and the University of Limpopo/Medunsa Campus. The course is financed by German International Cooperation (GIZ) and targeted at African students. **Reinhard Huss** from the Nuffield is collaborating with the other partners. For more information visit the following website:

<https://gc21.giz.de/ibt/en/gc21/opt/site/gc21/public/index.sxhtml>

## **Publications**

Adeniyi A.A., Sofola O. O., and Kalliecharan R. (2012) "An Appraisal of the Oral Health Care System in Nigeria" *International Dental Journal* – Accepted for publication 12 March 2012.

Alamo S.T., Kunutsor, S., Walley, J., Thoullass J., Evans M., Muchuro S., Matovu A., and Katabira E. (2012) 'Performance of the new WHO diagnostic algorithm for smear-negative pulmonary tuberculosis in HIV prevalent settings: a multisite study in Uganda'. *Tropical Medicine & International Health* 17 (7), 884-895

Burtle D., Welfare, W., Elden, S., Mamvura, C., Vandelanotte, J., Petherick, E., Walley, J., and Wright, J. (2012) Introduction and evaluation of a 'pre-ART care' service in Swaziland: an operational research study. *BMJ Open* 2 (2), e000195 (Open access)

Kunutsor, S., Walley, J., Katabira, E. et al. (2011) 'Improving Clinic Attendance and Adherence to Antiretroviral Therapy through a Treatment Supporter Intervention in Uganda: A Randomised Controlled Trial', in *AIDS and Behaviour*, Nov; 15(8):1795-802. doi: 10.1007/s10461-011-9927-9

Kunutsor, S., Walley, J., Muchuro, S., Katabira, E., Balidawa, H., Namagala, E. and Ikoona, E. (2012) 'Improving adherence to antiretroviral therapy in sub-

Saharan African HIV-positive populations: An enhanced adherence package. *AIDS Care.* *Psychological and Socio-medical Aspects of AIDS/HIV* 1-8

Kyabayinze, D.J., Tibenderana, J., Nassali, M., Tumwine, L., Riches, C., Montague, M., Counihan, H., Hamade, P., Van Geertruyden, J.P. and Meek, S. (2011) 'Placental Plasmodium falciparum malaria infection: Operational accuracy of HRP2 rapid diagnostic tests in a malaria endemic setting'. *Malaria Journal* 10 (306) (Open access)

Macfarlane, L. and Newell J.N. (2012) 'A qualitative study exploring delayed diagnosis and stigmatisation of tuberculosis amongst women in Uganda'. *International Health*

Mirzoev, T., Omar, M., Green, A., Bird, P., Lund, C., Ofori-Atta, A. & Doku, V. (2012). 'Research-policy partnerships - experiences of the Mental Health and Poverty Project in Ghana, South Africa, Uganda and Zambia'. *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 10, 30.

Ofori-Atta A., Mirzoev T, Mensah-Kufuor A., Osei A., Dzadey A., Armah-Aloo, Atweam K.D. (submitted, *Ghana Medical Journal*) 'Experience of Strengthening the Mental Health Information System in Ghana's Three Psychiatric Hospitals'.

Skeen, S., Lund, C., Mirzoev, T., Bird, P., Mapena, N., Mzila, N., Isaacs, C., Makgopa, G., and the Mental Health and Poverty Research Consortium (submitted, *International Journal of Mental Health Systems*) 'Strengthening mental health information system at a district level: Lessons from a pilot project in two South African provinces'.

Walley, J., Graham, K., Wei, X., Kain, K. and Weston, R. (2012) Getting research into practice: primary care management of noncommunicable diseases in low- and middle-income countries. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization* (Open access).

Walley, J., Kunutsor, S., Evans, M., Thoullass, J., Katabira, E., Muchuro, S., Matovu, A. (2011) 'Validation in Uganda of the New WHO Diagnostic Algorithm for Smear-Negative Pulmonary Tuberculosis in HIV Prevalent Settings.' *JAIDS* 57 (5), e93–e100

## School of Politics and International Studies

The School Politics and International Studies has continued to have a strong presence of Africanist scholarship and teaching. Since Alex Beresford joined last year, two more Africanists have joined POLIS and the LUCAS board. **Dr. Emma-Louise Anderson** joins us, having previously taught International Relations, Politics and Global Health at the universities of Keele, Southampton, and Winchester. Emma was educated at the University of Southampton, where she obtained her PhD in 2009. At Leeds Emma teaches at masters and undergraduate level with modules including: *Research Methodology for Development; Global Inequalities; Africa in the Contemporary World;*



*Development Management Techniques; Making of the Global South; and, State and Politics in Africa.*

Emma's research focuses on understanding the gender politics of HIV and the linkages between development, security and risk. She is currently working on her monograph: *Securing Sex: The gender context of HIV* (Palgrave MacMillan *Gender and Politics Series*). She conducted a second 3-month research project on 'Sex for Security: Economic Crisis and HIV Risk in Malawi' last summer, which sought to further understand why men and women engage in risky behaviour. The methodology included a series of observations, 110 key-informant interviews and 48 focus group discussions with members of support groups of people living with HIV. The findings revealed how, in the context of entrenched poverty, sex is a fundamental form of power to bring about immediate security. An effective and sustainable response requires more substantive progress towards reducing poverty. In the interim, local support groups offer one of the most immediate means by which communities have sought to expose the contingency of destructive social dynamics and their effects on Malawians.

**Dr Jörg Wiegratz** joins POLIS having completed his PhD at the University of Sheffield, entitled *The cultural political economy of neoliberal moral restructuring: the case of agricultural trade in Uganda* (2011). Jörg is interested in studying processes related to the emergence and consolidation of neoliberal market societies in the various parts of the world, especially Africa. He researches neoliberalism as a cultural programme of restructuring norms, values, orientations and practices, with special emphasis on the dynamics of moral restructuring. His particular focus is therefore on the moral economies of neoliberalism, especially the moral economies of economic fraud, 'malpractice', power, and poverty and his research looks at how aspects of political economy and moral economy are intertwined and interact with one another and thus constitute what he terms 'political moral economy'. To date his empirical research has focused on Uganda.

Jörg's work contributes, *inter alia*, to the emerging fields of cultural political economy and everyday international political economy. In the past, he has also researched issues of global value chains, domestic value chains, industrial development, and human resource development. He is currently working on a journal article about moral economies of neoliberalism. Jörg teaches on the modules: *Making of the Global South; North South Linkages; Global Inequalities and Development; Africa in the Contemporary World; Contemporary Development Issues.*

**Dr. Alex Beresford** has been teaching on the undergraduate modules *Making of the Global South*; *Development and Social Change*; and *Contemporary Development Issues*. Alex's previous research offers a unique ethnographic perspective on trade union organising in South Africa and how workers relate to both the ANC and the post apartheid state. He has published two articles this year from this research. The first 'Organised labour and the politics of class formation in post-apartheid South Africa' comes out in *Review of African Political Economy* Volume 39 Issue 134. It examines how processes of class formation are impacting upon union organisation at the workplace level and the political implications of these dynamics.

The second article, 'The politics of regenerative Nationalism in South Africa' will come out in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 38 Issue 4. This article explores workers' experiences of the post-apartheid political economy and how the changing relationship that they have with the state impacts upon their understandings of the ANC's nationalist project and, ultimately, how this impacts upon their political loyalties. The article explores the wider implications of workers' attitudes towards nationalism with regards to the longevity of the ANC's popularity and the prospects for an alternative class-based politics emerging from the trade union movement. Alex has also presented his research at the Centre of African Studies in Bradford and Edinburgh, as well as the ASUK conference in Leeds. He organised the first 2012-13 semester LUCAS seminar series and is currently writing up new research conducted over the summer at the ANC's policy conference in South Africa which explores the internal dynamics of the ANC's organisation and, in particular, how factionalism and neopatrimonial tendencies are simultaneously embedded and resisted within the party itself. The research also examines South Africa's foreign policy direction and the ANC's broader approach to economic transformation in South Africa.

This year **Professor Ray Bush** has been working on a £34,000 British Academy funded project for research on the Middle East with the British Institute in Amman, collaborating with Habib Ayeb (Paris 8 University) and Martha Mundy (LSE). The project explores farmer responses to the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. As well as published journal outputs the research includes a film and development of web site on rural development in the near and middle East.

**Professor Gordon Crawford's** research continues on issues of democracy, human rights and development in Africa. As Director of the Centre for Global Development, and academic lead for the WUN network on Transformative Justice, recent research has focused on the 'Rights, Power and Civic Action' research project. This has explored the interrelationship between local struggles for human rights and the dynamics of power.

## PhD Students in the School of Politics and International Studies

**Mr. Richard Akpenyi** *Postcolonial approaches to anti-corruption agenda in Nigeria.* Supervisors: Prof. Alice Hills (POLIS) and Susanne Karstedt (Law).

**Betty Chinyamunyamu:** *Access to international markets for small scale farmers: Peanut farming in Malawi*

Supervisors: Emma-Louise Anderson and (from SEE) Anne Tallontire.

**Ms. Anne Flaspöler:** *Getting the APSA in Shape: contribution of peace training facilities to regional integration in Africa*

Supervisors: (from POLIS) Prof Alice Hills and Dr Simon Lightfoot.

**Ms. Egle Cesnulyte:** *The Neo-liberal Global Economic System and the Growth of Sex Industries: the case of Kenya*

Supervisors: Gordon Crawford and Jelke Boesten (POLIS).

**Mr. Ben Cislighi:** *Human Rights, Education and Social Change: The Case of Rural Senegal.* Supervisor: Prof. Ray Bush.

**Mr. Charles Gyimah:** *Decentralisation from 'Above' and Expectations from 'Below': a case-study of the Jirapa-Lambussie district in Ghana*

Supervisors: Prof. Gordon Crawford and Dr Caroline Dyer (POLIS).

**Rowshan Hannan:** *Reducing poverty through co-operative enterprises*

Supervisors: Prof. Gordon Crawford and (from SEE) Dr. Anne Tallontire.

**Mr. Josh Maiyo:** *United we stand? Regional Integration and Implications for Peace and Security in the East African Community*

Supervisors: Prof. Gordon Crawford and Prof. Ray Bush.

**Miss Nketti Mason:** *Resource Curse, Environmental Governance in the mining sector in Sierra Leone. Case study Kono*

Supervisors: Prof. Ray Bush and Dr. Zülküf Aydın.

**Ms. Jessica Rucell:** *Transformative Justice Praxis: Building Institutions Centred on Equity and Justice*

Supervisor: Prof. Gordon Crawford.

**Muhaimina Said:** *Female Empowerment Within Global Value Chains: A Study of the Dynamics of Employment within Kenyan Non-Traditional Export Industries* Supervisors: Gordon Crawford and (from SEE) Anne Tallontire

## PhD completions from POLIS

The following students graduated from the School of Politics and International Studies with PhDs focused on Africa:

**Dr. Gabriel Botchwey** (co-supervised by Gordon Crawford)

*Intersections in Community Development and Decentralisation: Experiences from Ghana*

Gabriel's study examines intersections in community development and decentralisation. Democratic decentralisation programmes have been interpreted as tackling voicelessness and powerlessness, seen as an important dimension of political development, by giving voice to the voiceless, empowering the powerless and enabling them to participate in their governance. Ghana introduced democratic decentralisation reforms in 1988, but, despite granting some voice to local populations, the voice does not carry adequate power to change conditions that local populations consider unacceptable, exposing a gap between voice and power. The findings also show that critical community development impacts more favourably on the democratic project than top-down decentralisation and that effective local organising is needed in struggles with powerful opponents such as corporations and state institutions.

**Dr. Henry Mbawa** (co-supervised by Gordon Crawford)

*Local Governance and Ethnicity in Sierra Leone*

Recent local governance reforms in post-war Sierra Leone emphasise the need to extend the benefits of citizenship to rural inhabitants. Yet, these reforms have tended to focus on the establishment of local councils as the main means to enhance political participation and development, ignoring the salience of unequal relations between ethnic groups, the role of chieftaincy, and historically complex centre-local relations. This thesis focuses on the relationship between Sierra Leone's dual local government system and inter-ethnic relations, and the implications for centre-local relations. It examines the extent to which recent post-war local governance reforms address the type of colonial and post-colonial politics that had disenfranchised the vast majority of rural Sierra Leoneans. The attainment of rural citizenship was found to be defined by emerging contestations and negotiations between ethnic groups in both local councils and chieftaincy, while local government institutions' ability to influence inter-ethnic relations was undermined by the failure of post-war local governance reforms to address complicated centre-local relations and incorporate chieftaincy. Devolution has created significant opportunities for an indirect central takeover of local politics and intensified local ethnic conflicts. Chieftaincy has emerged as the main conduit through which these inter-ethnic relations are negotiated because of the relative autonomy it enjoys from central political elites.

## Recent PhD students in the School of Politics and International Studies

Two recent PhD alumni (supervised by Ray Bush) are Hannah Cross and Giuliano Martiniello. Both have taught on Africa-related modules in POLIS:

**Dr Hannah Cross** (PhD thesis *Migration, Security and Development in Europe and North Africa*, 2011) has recently taken up the post of Lecturer in International Political Economy in the University of Manchester. She is the course convenor for *Africa and Global Politics*. She has two publications in the copy editing phase: these are ‘Labour and underdevelopment? Migration, accumulation and dispossession in West Africa and Europe’, *Review of African Political Economy*, and a monograph titled *Migrants, Borders and Global Capitalism: West African labour mobility and EU borders* (Routledge Research on the Global Politics of Migration, April 2013). Hannah has developed various strands of this research in 2012: this includes a presentation on disaggregating labour migrations (Canadian Association of African Studies conference, Quebec); a paper with Lionel Cliffe on a comparative political economy of labour mobility and migration in West and Southern Africa (ASAUUK, Leeds); an ethnographic focus in a seminar for the *Journeys* series (COMPAS, Oxford); and a paper on the political economy of EU immigration policy in the PSA’s conference, *Immigrants in Europe: Between the Eurozone Crisis and the Arab Spring* (Westminster). Now she is working on global remittance policy and on labour circulation, securitisation and border security in the Saharan/Sub-Saharan boundary.

Since January 2012 **Dr Giuliano Martiniello** (PhD thesis *Land and Accumulation in South Africa*, 2011) has been working as a Research Fellow in Political Economy at the Makerere Institute of Social Research at Makerere University, Kampala, in Uganda. He teaches there on an interdisciplinary PhD in social sciences directed by Professor Mahmood Mamdani, teaching *The History of Economic Theory*, *International Political Economy*, and *the Agrarian Question in the Modern Era*. On the other hand, Giuliano started to focus his post-doctoral research agenda on land grabbing, agrarian change, land reforms and peasant resistance in Africa. He presented a paper titled ‘Land Dispossession and Resistance in northern Uganda’ at the International Conference on Land Grabbing recently held at Cornell University between 17-19 October. Giuliano has also written a Debate piece ‘Land Grabbing and Rural Social Movements’ for the *Review of African Political Economy* (forthcoming), and contributed a chapter on Uganda to the forthcoming book *Reclaim Africa* by Sam Moyo and P. Yeros. Currently Giuliano is working on a small monograph, *Land and Dispossession in South Africa* drawn from a reworking of his doctoral thesis for a publication.

## Africa-focused Publications from POLIS

- Anderson, E.-L., 2012, 'Infectious women: Gendered bodies and HIV in Malawi' in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 14(2): 267-287
- Bush, R., 2012 editor with Habib Ayeb, *Marginality and Exclusion in Egypt*, (Zed Books, London) ISBN 978-1-78032-0847-7 pp247
- Bush, R., 2012 with Habib Ayeb, 'Introduction: Marginality and exclusion in Egypt and the Middle East' in Ray Bush and Habib Ayeb eds., *Marginality and Exclusion in Egypt*, (Zed Books, London) ISBN 978-1-78032-0847-7, pp3-13
- Bush, R., 2012 'Marginality or abjection? The political economy of poverty production in Egypt' in Ray Bush and Habib Ayeb eds., *Marginality and Exclusion in Egypt*, (Zed Books, London) ISBN 978-1-78032-0847-7 pp55-71
- Bush, R., 2012 'The Revolution in Permanence' <http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/6482/the-revolution-in-permanence>
- Bush, R., 2012 'Permanent Revolution in Egypt' Review of African Political Economy vol38, no.128, pp303-307
- Bush, R., 2011 'An alternative vision for mining', in Commonwealth Advisory Bureau 2011 *Policy Brief, Issues before Commonwealth Leaders at Perth, Australia*, (October, Nexus Strategic Partnerships for Commonwealth Advisory Bureau, pp6-9)
- Bush, R., 2011 'Coalitions for Dispossession and Resistance? Land, Politics and Agrarian Reform in Egypt' in Special Issue. 'The Dynamics of Reform Coalitions in the Arab World', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 38/3, pp391-405 December
- Crawford, G. and Lynch, G. (eds), 2012, *Democratization in Africa: challenges and prospects*, Gordon Crawford and Gabrielle Lynch (eds) Routledge.
- Crawford, G., 2012, 'EU Human Rights and Democracy Promotion in Africa: Normative Power or Realist Interests?', in *One Europe, One Africa: Changing dynamics in EU-Africa relations*, edited by Maurizio Carbone, Manchester University Press
- Crawford, G. (forthcoming 2013), 'Ghana: Struggles for rights in a democratizing context', Gordon Crawford and Nana Akua Anyidoho in *Human Rights, Power and Civic Action*, Bård Anders Andreassen and Gordon Crawford (eds.), Routledge
- Crawford, G. (forthcoming 2013), 'NGOs, rights-based approaches and the potential for progressive development in local contexts: constraints and challenges in northern Ghana', Aberese Ako, M., Anyidoho, N.A. and Crawford, G., in *Journal of Human Rights Practice*
- Wiegratz, J., 2012, forthcoming (book chapter) 'The neoliberal harvest: the proliferation and normalisation of economic fraud in a market society' in Simon Winlow and Rowland Atkinson (eds) *New directions in crime and deviancy*, London: Routledge

## Conferences and invited papers from POLIS (selected)

Anderson, E.-L. (April 2012) 'Sex for security: Economic crisis and HIV risk in Malawi', *International Studies Association Conference (ISA)*, San Diego

Anderson, E.-L. (February 2012) 'Women, HIV and Development: Progress Towards the Millennium Development Goals in Malawi', *World Festival Talks*, Keele University, UK

Anderson, E.-L. (November 2011) 'Gender, HIV and Risk in Malawi: Dialogues for empowerment and behaviour change', *African Studies at Keele (ASK) Seminar Series*, Keele University, UK

Bush, R.C., 'Food Security in Egypt', paper to the international workshop on *Food Security in the Middle East*, Georgetown University, Doha, Qatar 22-23 April

Crawford, G., 'Leveraging global links for local protection of rights: the example of WACAM and transnational mining corporations in Ghana', African Studies Association UK conference, Leeds, 6-8 September 2012

Invited participant at conference on 'Constitutional Design and Conflict Management in Africa', University of Texas at Austin, 15 November 2011

Wiegratz, J., 'You reap what you sow: The Donors' market society project and the rise of neoliberal military capitalism in Uganda' (ASAUK conference, Leeds, Sept. 2012)

Wiegratz, J., 'What is political about the everyday? The making of social practice, the magnificent seven and E.P. Thompson' (BISA International Political Economy workshop *The methodology of the 'everyday' in IPE*, Copenhagen, May 2012).

# Articles



# The Language of Scholarship in Africa<sup>1</sup>

by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

Scholarship is not a neutral activity, even its conceptual vocabulary. The meeting between imperial European armies and the fighting back African armies is often described as soldiers pitted against warriors. Warriors are African; soldiers are European. Warriors live to fight. They smell, breathe and dream of war. Soldiers fight in a time of war. They fight to defend territory, nation or impose the will of their nation over another. Soldiers use guns, sophisticated weaponry; warriors, spears, simis and machetes, crude weaponry. Where soldiers shoot their enemies, oh how civilised, warriors spear and hack, oh how primitive. The imperial soldier is professional, rational in his calculations; the warrior is blood thirsty, driven by impulses.

No matter in whose hands, scholarship impacts how people look at and view social reality, including history and culture. For centuries, cartographers have conditioned people to think that Africa is smaller than Europe. Yet as some maps have shown, Africa is bigger than a combination of Europe, USA, China, India, Argentina, and New Zealand put together. Scholarship started and helped perpetuate the notion of Africa north of the Sahara, including Egypt, as European, and the South as being Africa proper, the horde of tribes in perpetual warfare. Hegel emphatically declared that history, the enlightenment of reason and science, had bypassed his proper Africa which remained enveloped in the dark mantle of the night, an image no doubt arising from his reading of colonial travel narratives that talked about Dark or Darkest Africa. Hegel's image becomes a truth in the grandiloquent stupidity of Trevor Roper of Oxford when in the 1960's he claimed that Africa had only darkness to exhibit prior to European colonial presence. Since darkness was not a subject of history, the history of Africa began with European colonialism. Some of these attitudes have changed in large part because of enlightened scholarship, but still, the nomenclature of North and South of the Sahara, and the vocabulary of warring tribes, have become a given, more or less, in the discussion on the politics of the continent. Even when the adjective "warring" is omitted, the word tribe has become enshrined in the annals of scholarship and popular parlance.

The other day I received a call, well a suggestion, from one of my progressive colleagues at the University of California, Irvine, that we revive and rehabilitate the word and concept of tribe. He, and some other scholars interested in Africa and Middle Eastern Studies had been chatting on how to reintegrate the subject of tribes into contemporary historical, sociological and anthropological research and teaching on the Middle East, North Africa and Africa. While the email

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<sup>1</sup> Plenary talk at African Studies Association (UK) conference 2012, hosted by Leeds African Studies programme. It was a special pleasure because Leeds is my alma mater.

acknowledged that the concept of tribes had a very problematic history for anyone studying the global south and formerly colonised world, it stated that it was clear that tribes as a social-economic and political concept and marker of identity were still quite relevant in many if not most societies we study.

The five letter word, again! There was absolutely no negative intent in the suggestion. Still, my eyes popped up. Two years ago I gave a lecture at the University of Hawaii on the myth of Tribe in African politics. I looked at how the five letter word had been used by scholars and journalists to editorialise how people looked at Africa. It was colonialism that first created the template of X-tribe versus Y-tribe as a way of explaining conquest and control or what Achebe's district commissioner in the novel, *Things Fall Apart*, famously described as 'the pacification of tribes of lower Niger'. Journalists use the template of X versus Y to explain any crisis in any part of Africa. They look at the communities from which the protagonists come, and everything becomes clear: It's the traditional enmity between X and Y. It is tribal warfare. Even respectable scholars often use the same template, only that theirs is covered with copious footnotes and references to Aristotle and Hobbes. I posed the question: why were four million Danes, or a quarter of a million Icelanders, a nation, and not ten million Yorubas, Ibos or Zulus?

Even when scholars and journalists don't use the word nation in reference to European peoples, they at least refer to them by the names they call themselves. Thus they talk about the English, the Germans, the French, the Chinese, or simply, Chinese people, English people. But when it comes to Africa the words tribe and tribesmen must be appended to the reference. Hence Yoruba tribe, Zulu tribe. Ibo tribesmen, gĩkũyũ tribesmen. An Englishman gets a Nobel prize in chemistry. He is rightfully referred to as Mr So and so, an English man or woman. An African gets a Nobel prize in chemistry, and he is editorialised as Mr. so and so, an X or Y tribesman or tribeswoman. Novelist Ngugi, a Gikuyu tribesman, was imprisoned by Jomo Kenyatta, his fellow tribesman. African heads of state must be editorialised as President so and so, an Y or X Tribesman.

So my reaction to the email was quick and direct. Far from trying to rehabilitate the word and the concept, we should wage struggle against its usage. The same scholar, and I want to emphasise his was an honest call, said that he had been to the Middle East and North Africa and found the term in use. In other words people in Africa used the term. My first reaction was that even when people in Africa use it, it's simply because they have internalised a negativity. The abnormal has become normalised into a normality without losing its abnormality. But my colleague's citation of Qabila, the Arabic word for tribe, started me thinking.

The Arabic Qabila, becomes Kabila in Kiswahili, and Kabira in Gĩkũyũ. But even when those terms refer to the same grouping as referred to by the English term, they have a different ring and nuance to them, they are more descriptive of a fact than a framing of difference in development and modernity. In my own language, the word *ruriri*, has no negativity, being a reference to a community of people with a common language, land and culture. The negativity in the terms tribe and tribesmen, lies in the European languages, English in particular. The English word tribe in its colonial colours is a term of an outsider looking at others.

I have suggested elsewhere that our various fields of knowledge of Africa are in many ways rooted in that entire colonial tradition of the outsider looking in, gathering and coding knowledge with the help of native informants, and then storing the final product in a European language for consumption by those who have access to that language. Anthropology, in its beginnings at least, was the study of the insider by the outsider, for the consumption of fellow outsider, and that attitude permeates the genealogy of European studies of Africa. We, the inheritors and continuants of that tradition, in many ways ‘anthropologise’ Africa, especially in method. Even within the continent, the Africa of colonial anthropology is seen as the true Africa. Pictures used by the tourist boards of various African countries are largely those of an Africa frozen in time. The complexity of the continent with its mixture of traces of past and present, the skyscraper and the shack, poverty and wealth, engineers and herdspeople, cities and wilderness, cars and cattle, is reduced to the spear, and the lion, a beaded figure, and the begging bowl. The bowl of the beggar overlooks the fact that the bowl of the giver overflows with goodies taken from the beggar’s own granary.

This relationship between European and African languages is that of the two bowls, enrichment of one by impoverishment of the other. Today, we still collect intellectual items and put them in European language museums and archives. Africa’s global visibility is only through the grace of European languages.

How many historians, African and non Africans alike, have ever written even a single document in an African language?<sup>2</sup> How many researchers have even retained the original field notes in words spoken by the primary informant? Our knowledge of Africa is largely filtered through European languages and their vocabulary. There are those of course who will argue that African languages are incapable of handling complexities of social thought, that they have no adequate

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<sup>2</sup> At the Leeds conference, in response to my question as to whether any of the more than fifty scholars had ever written a page in an African language in their entire scholarship on Africa, only three hands were raised. For more than a page, not one hand was raised.

vocabulary, in short, African languages, like their speakers, are riddled with poverty.

This objection was long ago answered by one of the brightest intellects from Africa, Cheikh Anita Diop, when he argued that no language had a monopoly of cognitive vocabulary, that every language could develop its terms for science and technology, This is the position being maintained by contemporary thinkers like Kwesi Kwaa Prah whose CASAS (Center for Advanced Studies of African Society) based in Cape Town, South Africa, is doing so much to advocate the use of African languages in all fields of learning, even in scientific thought. Other places with similar advocacy include that of the philosopher Paulin Hountondji, at the African Center for Advanced Studies, based in Porto-Novo, Benin, which has tried to promote African languages as media for African scientific thought. There are other individuals like the late Neville Alexander of Cape Town, South Africa, who chaired the committee that came up with the very enlightened South African policy on languages and Kwesi Wiredu, who long ago called on African philosophers to engage issues in African languages. This advocacy has a long history going back to the Xhosa intellectuals of the late nineteenth century and has continued among Zulu Intellectuals of the 1940s.

All these intellectuals have tried to debunk the claims of poverty of African languages, the inadequacy of words and terms. It should not be forgotten that even English and French had to overcome similar claims of inadequacy as vehicles for philosophy and scientific thought as against the then dominant Latin. Those languages needed the courage of their intellectuals to break out of the dominance of Latin memory. In the introduction to his *Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting One's Reason and of Seeking Truth in the Sciences*, Descartes defends his use of vernacular for philosophic thought against similar claims of inadequacy of concepts in French.

I have tried to argue that what African languages need is a similar commitment from African intellectuals. It only needs courage and hard work exemplified by the case of Dr Gatua wa Mbũgwa. Gatua wa Mbũgwa was a graduate student at Cornell University and in May 2003, he presented and successfully defended his Master's thesis on The impact of bio-intensive cropping on yields and nutrient contents of collard greens in Kenya in the Department of Crop and Soil Sciences at Cornell University. There is nothing unusual in this. What was new was the fact that the entire Master's thesis was in the Gĩkũyũ language. For Gatua wa Mbũgwa, it meant sheer dedication and lots of work for he had to provide an English translation. Later Dr Mbugwa joined the University of Wyoming where he did research in the US Central High Plains region recording his data in Gĩkũyũ, and later successfully defended his PhD dissertation that he wrote in Gĩkũyũ.

As far as I know, Mbũgwa's work is the first-ever scientific work in Gĩkũyũ at any university in or outside Africa. He had no tradition on which to fall back, not even that of a stable scientific vocabulary, but this did not daunt his spirits. Most of his field work and field work notes in Kenya and the USA were in Gĩkũyũ. He wrote the entire thesis in Gĩkũyũ before doing auto-translation for purposes of his teachers who, of course, had to evaluate the scientific content. At present there are no Gĩkũyũ language scientific journals or publishers. But he has published scholarly articles from his dissertation in English language scientific journals.

So what? Some cynics will respond and assert that Gĩkũyũ cannot sustain a written intellectual production. I can only point out that the Gĩkũyũ people are about ten million. The Danish are about four million. All books written and published in Gĩkũyũ cannot fill up a shelf. Books written and published in Danish number thousands and fill up the shelves of many libraries. The Yoruba people number more than ten million. The Swedes are about eight million. But intellectual production in the two languages is very different. How come that ten million Africans cannot sustain such a production whereas eight million Swedes can? Icelanders number about two hundred and fifty thousand. They have one of the most flourishing intellectual productions in Europe. What a quarter of a million people can do, surely ten million people can also accomplish. Today we talk of Greek and Latin intellectual heritage and forget that these productions were city in origins. The vaunted Italian renaissance and its rich and varied heritage in the arts and architecture and learning were largely from the different regions of Rome, Florence, Mantua, Venice and Genoa. What the vernaculars of these city states, principalities and regions by way of intellectual production have been able to do, can be done by any other similarly situated languages.

The question remains: what would be the place of European languages in African scholarship? No matter how we may think of the historical process by which they came to occupy the place they now do in our lives, it is a fact that English and French have enabled international visibility of the African presence. But they have achieved this by uprooting the African intellectuals from their linguistic and cultural base. They have merely invited African intellectuals to operate within European memory. European languages (principally English, French and Portuguese) now carry immense deposits of some the best in literary and general African thought. They are granaries of African intellectual productions, and ironically, these productions as a whole are the nearest thing to a common Pan-African social property. The names of Samir Amin, Ali Mazrui, Wole Soyinka, Sembene Ousmane, Mariam Ba, Ama Ata Aidoo, Tsitsi Dangarembga, Sedar Senghor, Agostino Neto, Alex la Guma (to name just a few) are part of a common visibility of African presence enabled by European

languages. These languages also enable conferences like the one we are having here today. The latter in fact defines best the mission we should assign to French and English. Use them to enable dialogue among African languages and visibility of African languages in the community of world languages instead of their being a tool of disabling by uprooting intellectuals and their production from their original language base. Use English and French to enable and not to disable.

This then is the challenge of scholarship in Africa today: How best to really connect with the African continent, in the era of globalisation? For African scholars, we cannot afford to be intellectual outsiders in our own land. We must re-connect with the buried alluvium of African memory and use it as a base for the further planting of African memory on the continent and in the world. This can only result in the empowerment of African languages and cultures and make them pillars of a more self-confident Africa ready to engage the world, through give and take, but from its base in African memory.

In 1978, locked in a maximum security prison in Kenya for a work I had done in an African language, I wrote defiantly to my jailers asserting that African intellectuals must do for their languages and cultures what all other intellectuals in history have done for theirs. But non-African scholars cannot escape from the challenge. An English scholar, digging into the history and culture of Italy, studies Italian. The same for students of Chinese or Japanese history and culture. They study Japanese, Chinese. There is no scholar, Chinese or non-Chinese, who could ever claim to be a sinologist, without a word of Chinese. But in Africa and for Africa, on the whole, we claim to be scholars of this or that aspect of African history, culture, society, politics, without accepting the challenge and the responsibility. Scholarship on Africa has no alternative but to engage in African languages if it is to rise above level of mimicry to contribute originality to the common stream of world knowledge.

# Ngugi, Leeds and the Establishment of African Literature

by James Currey

I want to start with a quotation from a lecture given in 1989 by Chinua Achebe:

In 1962 we saw the gathering together of a remarkable generation of young African men and women who were to create within the next decade a corpus of writing which is today seriously read and critically valued in many parts of the world. It was an enormously important moment, and year, in the history of modern African literature. The gathering took place at Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.

(It was at that conference that a young Kenyan student ventured to ask Chinua Achebe to read the manuscripts of his two novels. The name of the student was Ngugi. The novels were *The River Between* and *Weep Not, Child*.) Achebe continues:

The other event of 1962 was not as widely publicised as the Makerere conference but it was to prove at least as portentous. It was the decision by one farsighted London publisher to launch the African Writers Series on the basis of no more than three or four published titles. Conventional wisdom in the book business of the time was inclined to dismiss the whole enterprise as a little harebrained. But...this series was to publish more than three hundred titles and establish itself without doubt as the largest and best library of African literature in existence....

(Chinua Achebe modestly does not mention that one of the first three titles was his own *Things Fall Apart* which was to sell many more than twenty million.)

Chinua Achebe continues:

As for the African Writers Series in that same eventful year of 1962 I was invited to be its founding editor and I was to spend a considerable part of my literary energy in the following ten years wading through a torrent of good, bad and indifferent writing that seemed in some miraculous way to have been waiting behind the sluice gates for the trap to be released...

This is what Chinua Achebe said in a lecture at the University of Guelph, Canada, in 1989, some twenty-five years after the start of the Series. (From 'Politics and Politicians in African Literature', a lecture by Chinua Achebe at the University of Guelph, Canada 1989).

Here we are in 2012. Now the Series is 50 years old. In London at the end of June the Royal African Society (more than 100 years old) organised the 'Africa Writes' festival at SOAS. Next year ASAUK will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. So many important institutions in African studies started in the post-colonial sixties. LUCAS was started in 1964. The University of Leeds

played a significant role especially in the establishment of African literature and in the study of African literature. In this paper I will focus on three individuals and their association with the University of Leeds; the writer Ngugi, the literary scholar Eldred Durosimi Jones, and the publisher, my colleague Aig Higo.

Paperback series are meant to be reprints of hardbacks. But it quickly became clear how few books by African writers had been issued by hardback publishers. When Keith Sambrook joined Heinemann Educational Books on 1 January 1963 he found the Ngugi manuscripts on his desk. *Weep Not, Child* was to be the first new novel in the Series which was to be published in paperback as well as in hardback for the international market. This was the moment of take-off for the African Writers Series.

How should serious readers evaluate the books published from Achebe's 'torrent' of writing? Eldred Durosimi Jones at Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone saw the need for the establishment of critical standards. Fourah Bay College is the oldest educational institution of higher learning south of Sahara as it was founded in 1827, a year before Cape Town. In 1963 there was at Fourah Bay a radical conference of teachers of English in Anglophone universities on the integration of African literature into the university and school syllabuses and into the prescribed lists of the new examination councils, EAEC and WAEC. A powerful lobby had emerged for adventurous change – in contrast work by Francophone Africans was not considered worthy of study in French university literature courses. In particular support came from Eldred Jones and Paul Edwards at Fourah Bay, from Kofi Senanu in Ghana, from David Cook and Gerald Moore at Makerere, and in particular from people in the English department at the University of Ibadan under Professor Molly Mahood.

Eldred Jones took up a Commonwealth Fellowship at the University of Leeds in 1965. The Professor of English, 'Derry' A. N. Jeffares, was Irish and had a teasing relationship with the British intellectual establishment, who only doubtfully acknowledged American and Irish literature as being worthy of study - let alone writing from all the other jumped up countries of English expression. In 1964 Leeds University hosted the founding conference on Commonwealth Literature; Chinua Achebe's lecture on 'The Novelist as Teacher' still provokes debate. Out of that conference emerged, with backing from the British Council, the *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* (JCL) which Keith Sambrook got Heinemann to publish. It was edited by Arthur Ravenscroft who had come to Leeds in 1963 from universities in southern Africa. Eldred Jones says in his forthcoming book *The Freetown Bond*:

Derry was the leading spirit behind the Commonwealth Literature movement which brought together scholars from across the world to establish a literary genre out of the diversity of writing produced in the British Commonwealth. I taught a post-



graduate seminar which was in itself a symbol of commonwealth diversity and included Ngugi wa Thiong'o .... He was however busy writing *A Grain of Wheat* so I saw far less of him at the seminar than at my wife's Saturday afternoon [gatherings at our apartment in] The Avenue – a far more valuable allocation of his time and talent.

Arthur Ravenscroft had introduced Eldred and Marjorie Jones to their landlord John Wood, who was a member of the Yorkshire Education Authority and who had translated Molière for Penguin. Eldred Jones tells how 'A resident approached our landlord and suggested that he might be risking bringing down the value of property in The Avenue by renting to people of colour. "I am not prejudiced myself" he argued, "but others might take this view." "Since you have such a liberal attitude," countered Mr Wood, "don't you think that a slight drop in the value of your property would be a small price to pay in the interest of racial harmony?" When my wife turned up a few days later at the wheel of a white Mercedes, the neighbour crept back and conceded, "I think they are rather nice people." Such delicate dilemmas recall the 'pressurised good breeding' of the landlady in Soyinka's poem *Telephone Conversation*. Wole Soyinka had of course also taken a degree in English at Leeds in 1958. Eldred Durosimi Jones was to publish the first critical study of *The Writings of Wole Soyinka*. It was Eldred's landlord John Wood who came bounding downstairs to tell him that *The Guardian* reported that his Shakespeare study *Othello's Countrymen* had won the prize for literary criticism at the First Festival of the Negro Arts at Dakar.

While at Leeds Eldred Jones showed Keith Sambrook a copy of *The Bulletin of African Literature*, which he and Marjorie Jones had been producing since 1963. Keith Sambrook, Overseas Director, proposed that Heinemann should publish an academic journal of African literary criticism. They agreed that it should be less solemn than the *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*. The aim was to attract all those people, teachers and professionals, who were buying the 'torrent' of new African books in the campus and school bookshops across the new universities of Africa. There were new books coming from Collins Fontana, Longman Drumbeat and OUP's Three Crowns as well as from the African Writers Series. The journal was aimed at an audience which wanted to read what Africans were writing about themselves. In 1968 Eldred agreed to start the critical journal *African Literature Today*. He was, with the assistance of Marjorie Jones, to edit it for 23 issues over a period of 33 years; and it is still after forty-five years being published under the editorship of Ernest Emenyonu.

In the early sixties Alan Hill and Keith Sambrook were fast expanding Heinemann's operations in Africa and needed a manager for their Nigerian office. During 1964 Derry Jeffares recommended to Keith Sambrook that he interview Aig Higo, whom he described as outstanding among his recent Leeds

MA students. Aig Higo was a poet himself with his work represented in the first two landmark anthologies of African poetry, and he had been involved in the renowned Mbari club in Ibadan. He took over the Heinemann Nigeria office in January 1965 and joined with Chinua Achebe in finding new authors for the African Writers Series. Between them they established the dominance of Nigerian and West African authors in the first ten years of the Series.

It was the link Keith Sambrook of Heinemann had established with Derry Jeffares which made sure that Ngugi came to Leeds. Ngugi wrote in April 1964 to Keith Sambrook from the YMCA in Nairobi:

It may be that I am not going to Leeds after all; getting a scholarship seems much more difficult than I had thought. I am very angry about this as I had hoped that a new country & different environment were just the things I needed for a novel I have in mind. Images keep haunting my mind but I cannot get settled soon enough to grapple and come to terms with them. Kenya depresses me; although I have always written about this country I have never written a thing while I was actually living there; not even on my vacations. (Ngugi to KS 17 April 1964)

A month later Ngugi was writing (Ngugi to KS 14 May 1964):

I have gone through my exam. I was placed in Class II Upper Division. The results came out and three days after *Weep Not, Child*. A very eventful week. I celebrated the publication of the book by donating a pint of blood; I was dragged into it; I was feeling in no virtuous mood.

At the last moment the scholarship for Leeds was cleared. This was largely thanks to an intervention by Simeon Ominde, a geographer who had been the very first African to be hired to teach at what was to become the University of Nairobi. He was in the eighties to become the Chairman of Heinemann in Nairobi under Henry Chakava who was the originating publisher of Ngugi's novels when from 1978 he wrote them in Gikuyu.

Ngugi was met in London in 1964 by Keith and Hana Sambrook. He wrote in early October thanking them and giving his first impressions:

Leeds shocked me, threw me into bewilderment from which I am slowly recovering. It seems to be a city that – mushroom fashion – had sprouted without a planning hand. Black soot seems to be the only clothes the buildings wear to fight off the cold. (Ngugi to KS 12 October 1964)

The University of Leeds was the right place for Ngugi to go. They did realise the importance of this young African writer. The publication of *The River Between* was celebrated on 25 January 1965 by a party at the University of Leeds with a cluster of professors across the disciplines present and leading booksellers from

the town. In contrast when Richard Rive went from Cape Town to Magdalen College, Oxford to work on Olive Schreiner for his doctorate, that university was not able to find a supervisor and he had to travel to London.

Leeds gave Ngugi the chance to carry out his ambition of writing *A Grain of Wheat* which had been growing in his mind in the YMCA in Nairobi. He wrote to Keith Sambrook:

I've become lazier and lazier at doing things. I suppose it's the climate here and the time moves so fast. There's only enough time for sleeping!... I want to finish the first draft by the end of this term so I can properly work on it during Summer. I'm however stuck: problem of time. For the whole action is supposed to be contained within 10 days around independence in Kenya. (Ngugi to KS 22 April 1965)

However, Ngugi's work on Caribbean writers for his MA was also to be of singular importance to his developing philosophy. In the fifties so many of the Caribbean writers, to whom Ngugi refers in his book of essays *Homecoming*, had made their first appearance in Britain; Mittelholzer, Mais, Naipaul, Selvon, Walcott. The publication of writers from the Caribbean was a decade ahead of those from Africa. The hardback book publishers of the fifties in London and New York were happy to experiment with writers from the West Indies and continued to do so in the sixties. Little from Africa had been published in London even by the mid-sixties.

For his postgraduate work Ngugi chose to focus in particular on George Lamming, whose novel *In the Castle of My Skin* had made such an impact on publication in London in 1954. Ngugi says of George Lamming in *Homecoming*:

He evoked through a child's growing awareness a tremendous picture of the awakening social consciousness of a small village. He evoked for me, an unforgettable picture of a peasant revolt in a white-dominated world. And suddenly I knew that a novel could be made to speak to me, could, with a compelling urgency, touch cords deep down in me. His world was not as strange to me as that of Fielding, Defoe, Smollett, Jane Austen, George Eliot, Dickens, D.H.Lawrence.

Just before the publication of *A Grain of Wheat* a lengthy and well-informed interview with Ngugi was carried out by a quartet of students and appeared in the *Leeds Union News* of 18 November 1966. *Weep Not, Child* had just been awarded first prize for Literature at the Festival of Negro Arts at Dakar. The interview reveals how far Ngugi had already come in his beliefs. Fanon was central to his philosophy. These students no doubt had, as I had in 1963, welcomed the independence of Kenya. Ngugi made it clear to them how the new

elite was running the country at the expense of the peasantry who had actually fought the liberation struggle.

To finish here are a couple of quotes from the interview:

[AM] What were your impressions of England and Leeds University?

NGUGI First there is what I absolutely physically felt when I arrived here. It was winter and London was quite nice, but I found Leeds absolutely depressing. All those houses crouching like old men and women hidden in the mist. Then there is the question of what I had expected. ...the way Colonial Education made you think of England as the ideal. Well, I was not here for long, before I realised that things were not all 'rosy', that all this idle talk about freedom of the press, freedom of speech etc has to be seen in the context of an economic and political life dominated by a very few rich men. The whole system is basically wrong. Just a small thing – I would never have believed before I came here that policemen in Britain could be so violent and that they could manhandle peaceful students demonstrating in the streets of Leeds (The Stewart Demonstration).

[DM] What is your view of the English student?

NGUGI On the whole very disappointing. Some so naive that they believe everything they are told in *The Daily Express*, *The Daily Telegraph* or *The Daily Mirror* about Russia, China or Africa. But the few who are really active and broad minded. In this respect I am glad that I came to Leeds. There is a strong radical tradition here which of course helps every 'colonial' student who comes to Leeds in a way that places like Oxford or Cambridge cannot do. I went to Oxford last term and some students I met there. Lord! They were worse than they ever were before coming to England. But invariably a 'colonial' student who comes to Leeds goes back with a disturbed state of mind.

And Ngugi says:

I shall concentrate on the work I am doing on West Indian literature. You see I have reached a point of crisis – I don't know whether it is worth any longer writing in the English language.

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## **Definition and scope of Afro-pessimism: Mapping the concept and its usefulness for analysing news media coverage of Africa.**

by Toussaint Nothias

Many observers of African affairs, or academics with a focus on Africa, will have heard of the idea of Afro-pessimism. Broadly, it refers to a sense of pessimism about the continent's ability to overcome pressing challenges related to poverty, health, development or governance. This concept will often be summoned in the discussions around Africa's image in Western media, to attack coverage seemingly reductive, negative and grounded in colonial tropes of the continent (e.g. De Klerk and Leridon 2010). As Scott (2012) argues, however, this narrative against Afro-pessimism usually takes for granted the media coverage, without strong empirical evidence. More importantly, I would argue, there is a lack of clarity about what we mean by Afro-pessimism in the first place. For instance, does the simple fact of reporting a civil war or an undemocratic election in an African country necessarily amount to Afro-pessimism? This paper draws on the literature on Afro-pessimism in an attempt to identify what makes the specificity of this discourse, particularly in relation to news media. It highlights five analytical components to this discourse: essentialisation, racialisation, selectivity, ethnocentric ranking and prediction. Subsequently, I discuss the awareness - on the side of journalists - of the problems of Western media representation of Africa, as well as the limit of such reflexivity. Eventually, I question 'newer' discourses about Africa in news media, and the extent to which these narratives are constructed through a framework radically different from Afro-pessimism. The paper concludes by advocating for a clearer use of the term in order to guide further empirical research.

There is a growing body of literature on Afro-pessimism which remains largely disjointed (Hawk 1992, Ahluwalia 2000, Momoh 2003, Hunter-Gault 2006, De B'Beru and Louw 2011, Schorr 2011). Quite importantly, there does not seem to be a clear and set definition of the phenomenon. As Louw and De B'beru (2011) suggest, the difficulty of reaching a definition arises from the various perspectives that exist on the topic. Yet, when it comes to Afro-pessimism in relation to media coverage, there is a shared sense across the literature of what it refers to, although it has not yet led to an authoritative definition of the phenomenon. Drawing on this literature, and for analytical purposes, I have identified five key aspects explored in more details below.

For Alhuwalia, Afro-pessimism has a "tendency to homogenize the 'African tragedy', concluding that Africa has neither the political will nor the capacity to deal with its problems" (2000: 30). This reveals a feature usually associated with Afro-pessimism; i.e. the idea that it is a discourse about Africa as a whole. As

such, it necessarily implies a generalisation about the continent, which, more often than not, contributes in erasing the diversity of its 54 countries. However, that Afro-pessimism is a discourse about the continent as a whole does not mean that it cannot emerge in the coverage of a specific African country. A compelling example of how this happens can be seen in the international media coverage leading to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. Following a terrorist attack on the Togo team in Angola in January 2010, by a separatist group of the Cabinda exclave, international media turned to South Africa with worries that it possibly signified violence to come during the tournament. Interviewed by journalists, Chief World Cup organiser Danny Jordaan responded: “If there is war in Kosovo and a World Cup in Germany, no one asks if the World Cup can go on in Germany. Everyone understands the war in Kosovo is a war in Kosovo” (Myers and Smith 2010). For Gumede (2010), this coverage revealed that “western media too often see the whole continent of Africa as one country rife with corruption, ‘tribal’ conflicts, natural and humanitarian disaster”. This example – in which a local event is related to Africa as a whole - highlights one of the core processes of Afro-pessimism i.e. the essentialisation of the continent. With this generalised view of the continent, then comes the risk that journalists lack accuracy and context in order to report African news. Chari (2010) found such instances in the coverage of the 1994 Rwandese genocide in *The New York Times*. The role of the French government in supporting the regime of Juvenal Habyarimana was downplayed and the focus, instead, was put on the ‘tribal’ and ‘instantaneous’ dimension of the conflict, without acknowledging that the genocide was planned and long in the making.

But ‘African’ as it is used in Western media, it has been argued, does not really refer to people living on the continent as a geographical entity (Hawk 1992: 7). Instead, it signifies people who are black and live in Africa (ibid., Mudimbe 1988, Bassil 2011). Such a division of the continent along the skin-colours of its inhabitants is most visible in the light of the recent uprisings in Tunisia or Libya. They might take place on the African continent, yet the media refer to them as the Arab Spring (despite Libya, in particular, being historically at the forefront of the African Union). For Hawk therefore (1992: 7), African as used in western media is a colonial label that encompasses the racial category of ‘blackness’ which has led some to talk of Afro-pessimism as a “racialized phenomenon” (Evans 2011: 399).

Because Afro-pessimism *essentialises* and *racialises* the continent, it is therefore highly selective. This relates to the broader issue of the selection process inherent to news production - the focus for media scholars interested in news values and gatekeeping. When it comes to the selectivity of the coverage of Africa, there are two key aspects. The first is quantitative. A 1995 study mapped the flow of international news, looking at two weeks of international coverage in

newspapers throughout 44 countries (Wu 2004). Based on statistics of the research, I counted 722 African news stories, which amount to 1.67 per cent of the total of international coverage, a number in sharp contrast with the fact that the African continent is home to nearly 15% of the world population. The scarcity of the coverage has been informed elsewhere and many times (Sreberny-Mohamadi Nodredendren et al 1985, Golan 2008). A more recent study on the geography of international news in 17 countries seems to confirm this trend, with countries in sub-Saharan Africa nearly absent unless a “crisis attracts attention” (Wilke, Heimprechet et al. 2012: 307). This finding is consistent with much research suggesting that news media are generally ethnocentric and favour geographical proximity, and also reveals the hegemonic organisation of international news into centre and peripheries, where countries which concentrate the means of production dominate the news coverage and the stories about disadvantaged regions are absent unless they become “hot-spots” (Van Ginneken 2005: 143).

But in fact, and this is the second point relating to the selection of African news, the few stories that attract media attention are selected in a specific way. In particular, the coverage focuses almost exclusively on ‘negative’ stories. Schraeder and Endless (1998), for instance, looked at *The New York Times* portrayal of Africa between 1955 and 1995 and found that “73% of all articles provided negative images of African politics and society” (32). While in 1955 they found that images were mainly “negative” at 67 %, this trend reached 92% in 1985 and 85% in 1995. A similar study by the TransAfrica forum (2000) looked at *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* coverage of Africa between March and mid-August 2000 and found that out of 89 stories 84% were ‘negative’. They concluded that “judging from the disproportionate reporting of ‘negative’ news over ‘positive’ news, there is an imbalance in the reporting of news from the African continent” (2000:4). Research on news values suggests that the selection of ‘negative’ stories is a regular feature of Western news media (Galtung and Ruge 1965, Harcup and O’Neil 2001). In the case of Africa, however, “some overselection of negative news from Africa does seem to occur” (Zein and Cooper 1992: 137). This idea of a selective coverage – scarce and focusing on ‘negative’ events – constitutes a core claim of much research on Africa’s media image and heavily contributes to the discussion on Afro-pessimism (Ojo 2002, Schorr 2011).

However, there are limits to analysing Africa’s coverage solely on the basis of negativity – a criteria after all quite subjective. More importantly, it risks missing an important aspect of the coverage of Africa – including the language, image and rhetoric used by news media. This relates to the fourth component of Afro-pessimism, the idea that it constitutes an ethnocentric framework through which the continent’s progress is assessed. Garret and Schmidt conceptualise

Afro-pessimism in a broader context of neo-liberal politics and a narrative of progress heavily produced by the “literature and rhetoric of development” (2011: 425). This idea of progress is extensively shaped along ideas of neo-liberalisation, free trade, structural adjustment or what is sometimes referred to as the Washington consensus (2011: 429). In this global narrative, the African continent seems unable to put itself on the track of progress and to live up to its postcolonial expectations (2011:425, Louw and B’Beru 2011: 339). This echoes the 19<sup>th</sup> century racist theories of civilisations and history of Hegel and Renan for instance, as well as their contemporary reactualisation in the work of Huntington (1997) or in Fukuyama’s argument (1992) that Western liberal democracies constitute the final stage in the narrative of progress. Put into this broader framework, Afro-pessimism appears as deriving from a discourse of measurement standard, which assesses the failures of the continent against standards established by the West, thus ultimately implying the existence of a cultural and essential ‘African’ problem. Afro-pessimism has therefore been referred to as a postcolonial phenomenon that attests of the ongoing impact of colonialism on contemporary discourses (Schmidt and Garrett 201: 423-425). This idea of assessing the progress of the African continent against standards set by the West is perfectly captured in the 2000 cover by *The Economist* “The hopeless continent” which portrays Africa filled with a picture of a black man carrying a shoulder-fired missile gun.

This cover by *The Economist* in fact also reveals the 5<sup>th</sup> and last component of Afro-pessimism; i.e. the idea of a prediction. It is what ‘pessimism’ stands for in Afro-pessimism. As Evans highlights in her study of South African Afro-pessimism online:

Online expatriate responses to events in South Africa perpetuate its [afropessimist] thinking to varying degrees, with openly racist declarations and fantasies of recolonisation sitting at the extreme of the continuum, and predictions about the country’s decline and apologetic speculations about the benefits of apartheid situated further along the scale (2011: 400).

From the belief in recolonisation to feelings of bitterness and renunciation, her research suggests that a key component of Afro-pessimism is indeed the idea of actively predicting a dark future for the continent – a view which echoes once again colonial narratives about Africa as the Dark Continent (Mudimbe 1988, Bassil 2011). With this prediction component, Afro-pessimism works not only upstream by reproducing colonial thinking but also downstream by predicting the future of the continent.

In fact, that such a strong and active pessimism is indeed part of Western media discourse remains to be investigated, in particular through a careful and qualitative analysis of news content. It is, however, important to stress that it



does not necessarily constitute an entirely ‘abnormal’ or marginal phenomenon. Stephen Smith, recognised journalist for *RFI*, *Reuters*, *Le Monde* and *Liberation* and visiting professor of African studies in the School of Public Policy at Duke University, won recognition for his book *Negrologies. Pourquoi l’Afrique Meurt* (2004). In the introduction, he writes “The African continent, this borderless “Ubuland”, the land of massacres and famines where all hope dies. *Why is Africa dying?* Mostly, because it commits suicide. It is as if a group of people on a *piroque*<sup>1</sup> were taken into the violent seas of globalisation and, instead of working together to reach the land, kept on making holes in their puny boat” (2004: 13). One could argue that his analogy of the pirogue shows the extent to which Smith is ingrained in an exotic view of the continent. One could also wonder why this book was directly translated in Afrikaans while no English version can be found, even though Smith is American. Even more compelling is the energy he devotes to demonstrate that Africa is in a state of decay, that it is going to get worse and that the real problem of Africa is essentially Africans themselves. That such a book won recognition with a prestigious prize from France Television, the French public national broadcaster, is assuredly a cause for worry, and calls for further and thorough empirical investigation into the actual state of Afro-pessimism in international media.

Still, Western media generally come under intense criticism for their reporting of Africa - from academic, development workers but also politicians on the African continent. The backlash that followed the success of the *Kony2012* video demonstrated the level of scrutiny that accompanies Western media representations of Africa. But included in this backlash were also the voice of many Western journalists who complained about the lack of accuracy and context provided in the video, as well as its colonial undertones (Wilkerson 2012). In fact, it is likely that Western journalists, perhaps more than anyone else, are aware of the difficulty of covering the African continent. Robert Guest, former Africa editor of *The Economist*, reveals the awful ‘stigma’ he suffers from being a journalist in Africa: “When on a holiday in Africa, as soon as I reveal what I do for a living I am usually harangued by the tour operator for the excessive attention Western hacks pay to stories of bloodshed” (2004: 254). Renowned Dutch photo-journalist Pieter Van Der Houwen, in a recent conference at the University of Leeds (2012), commented on his experience covering the continent explained that he reached a point in his career where he felt that “he had taken more than he had given”. In an interview with *The Guardian*, respected journalist George Alagiah explained:

For most people who get their view of the world from TV, Africa is a faraway place where good people go hungry, bad people run government, and chaos and anarchy are the norm. My job is to give a fuller picture. I have a gnawing regret

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<sup>1</sup> Flat-bottomed boat used in West Africa as traditional fishing boats.

that, as a foreign correspondent, I have done Africa a disservice too often showing the continent at its worst and too rarely showing it in full flower (May 1999).

If this article is a great piece of self-reflexive assessment made available to casual readers, thus showing that a critical discourse about coverage of Africa is starting to filter through the media themselves, the article's title "New light on the Dark Continent" shows the limit of this critical assessment. As Ankomah notes:

Even when Alagiah was pleading that "historical baggage" should be dropped, *The Guardian*, in its infinite mercy, still put the abominable "Dark Continent" headline on the very article in which Alagiah was making his plea (2011).

No one better than Mbembe provides the tool to reflect on this paradox. As an opening thought to his famous *On the Postcolony*, he writes:

it is as if the most radical critique of the most obtuse and cynical prejudices about Africa were being made against the backdrop of an impossibility, the impossibility of getting over and done "with something without running the risk of repeating it and perpetuating it under some other guise" (2001: 1).

Moreover, it is not clear that such awareness on the side of journalists necessarily leads to the questioning of their own practices. Robert Guest, appealing to an enduring professional ethos of journalists reflecting 'reality', writes: "the reason (journalists) report that Africa is plagued by war, famine and pestilence is that Africa is plagued by war, famine and pestilence. They will stop reporting this when it stops being true" (2004: 254). This awareness on the part of journalists, its limits and how it relates to Afro-pessimism is surely an issue that deserves critical attention in the future.

Finally, there are a number of 'newer' narratives about Africa emerging in Western media; and the extent to which they provide a counter-weight to Afro-pessimism needs to be assessed. The role of China in Africa, for instance, is becoming a regular feature in media coverage. As Franks and Ribet (2009) argue, there are a range of voices on the issue with, on the one hand, those who "applaud the pragmatic and effective nature of Chinese-backing for African economic development" (2009: 129) and "rejecting much of the criticism as a paternalistic hangover from colonial times" (ibid.). On the other hand, there is also a view, on the left, more "hostile towards China's apparent willingness to ignore human rights abuse" (ibid.). In her study of British broadsheets coverage of China-Africa relations, Mawdsley (2008) for instance "identified consistent narrative tropes that endorse images of African weakness, Chinese ruthlessness and western trusteeship" (Franks and Ribet 2009: 133). To what extent, then, this narrative about Africa-China relations constitutes a practice of

representation that breaks free from the burden of colonial thinking – and Afro-pessimism - remains to be assessed.

There is also a more ‘positive’ discourse about Africa that is appearing. *The Economist*, which was and still is vilified for its cover “The Hopeless Continent”, dedicated its December 2011 cover to “Africa Rising”. Similarly, *The Times* published an editorial on “Get into Africa. It’s resource-rich, young and growing” (June 2012). This coverage on Africa is surrounded by a neo-liberal jargon of growth, investment and progress; the same jargon attacked by Garrett and Schmidt (2011) as constituting Afro-pessimism as a ranking framework. If such coverage provides a welcome counter-weight to the litany of tragedies that have historically dominated Western media coverage of Africa, we still need to ask: does it really constitute a new paradigm through which Africa is apprehended? After all, doesn’t this discourse also *essentialise, racialise, rank, describe selectively* and *predict* (in positive term this time), thus echoing the five components of Afro-pessimism?

This paper has drawn on the literature on Afro-pessimism in order to clarify the phenomenon that is referred to, in particular in relations to Western news media coverage of Africa. I identified five key analytical components that underlie these discussions: essentialism, racialisation, selectivity, ranking framework and prediction. This is not to say, however, that Afro-pessimism dominates western media coverage of Africa. As Scott (2012) argues, media coverage of Africa “is not a question of adopting either a ‘liberal’ or ‘dominant’ perspective. Rather, it is an entirely empirical question. And this question continues to remain unanswered”. Without a strong definition of what Afro-pessimism actually is, we run the risk of reducing the debates to a simplistic ‘negative/positive’ framework, as can be seen in BBC World debate dedicated to “Africa’s image. Prejudiced or justified?” In quantitative terms, recent research by Scott (2009) suggests that UK press coverage of Africa was “not as marginalised, negative or trivial as it is often accused of being”. In qualitative terms, there is also much to investigate. While discussing journalists’ reflexivity and ‘newer’ narratives – Africa China relations and Africa Rising – I have highlighted that these aspects deserve more attention both to understand the map of meaning about Africa created by news media, but also to assess the extent to which media discourses manage to break free from a certain framework to apprehend the continent. Equally important is the need to assess media representation of Africa in other contexts. For instance, the way Chinese media portray Africa would be an interesting case. Ma Guiha, a former Nairobi correspondent for Xinhua news agency now based in London, stressed her astonishment about the Western media portrayal of Africa. More precisely, she condemned the on-going and constantly negative portrayal of the Africa-China relations by Western media (Franks and Ribet 2009: 133), hence showing that Western media constantly

find ways to focus on 'negative' aspects when it comes to Africa, and in the process "undermine African agency and vilify the Chinese as the threatening 'Other'" (ibid.) But how much of Chinese media portrayal of Africa differs from Western media remains to be shown. Similarly, there is a crucial need to understand how African media themselves portray the rest of the continent. In a comparative study of *Time*, *The Economist* and *The Financial Mail* (South Africa) portrayal of Africa, Botes found that "the only local, African magazine included in this analysis, was also found to support these negative representations of Africa" (2011: 94). Beyond preconceived generalisation, the study of media representations of Africa and Afro-pessimism in fact has a fertile research agenda to attend to.

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# **Understanding Remittances as a Form of Social Protection: An analysis of Kinships and Transnationalism amongst the Zimbabwean Diaspora<sup>1</sup>**

by Farai Michael Magunha

Whilst the essence of migration in search of livelihoods implies that people are looking for a new place where they can begin to work towards a better life, often irrespective of the country in which that place is located, the continued sending of remittances by a migrant population to the country of origin long after migration suggests strong links with that country. Vertovec (2004) notes that researchers on migration have almost always recognised that migrants maintain various forms of contact with people and institutions in their places of origin, and that “many migrants today intensively conduct activities and maintain substantial commitments that link them with significant others (such as kin, co-villagers, political comrades, fellow members of religious groups) who dwell in nation states other than those in which the migrants themselves reside” (p970). In Vertovec (2001: p575) he also notes that “transnational connections have considerable economic, socio-cultural and political impacts on migrants, their families and collective groups, and the dual (or more) localities in which they variably dwell; the most significant economic impact of transnational migrant communities being found in the massive flow of remittances that migrants send to the families and communities in the countries of origin.”

Results from a remittances survey of Zimbabweans living in Yorkshire indicates that all those surveyed remit to Zimbabwe or to Zimbabweans elsewhere, and that remittance activities are strengthening ties between Zimbabweans in the diaspora and those in Zimbabwe, and building new forms of family relations. The survey further indicated that current trends of remitting were essentially meant for daily subsistence of family and friends. A key research question of interest to me as a researcher is, an understanding of why Zimbabweans in the diaspora conduct activities and maintain substantial commitments that link them with their kith and kin left at home; and in particular, an understanding of what links, ties, or relationships oblige them to remit to those left behind thousands of miles away, that they occasionally visit, if only once or twice in five years, whilst others may not have visited at all?

Literature on remittances provides some varying theoretical frameworks that explain why migrants remit, the costs and effects of such remittances, the strategies used, and why. Most of these are centred on the family as the nucleus of remitting activities, although the motivating factors from which they are

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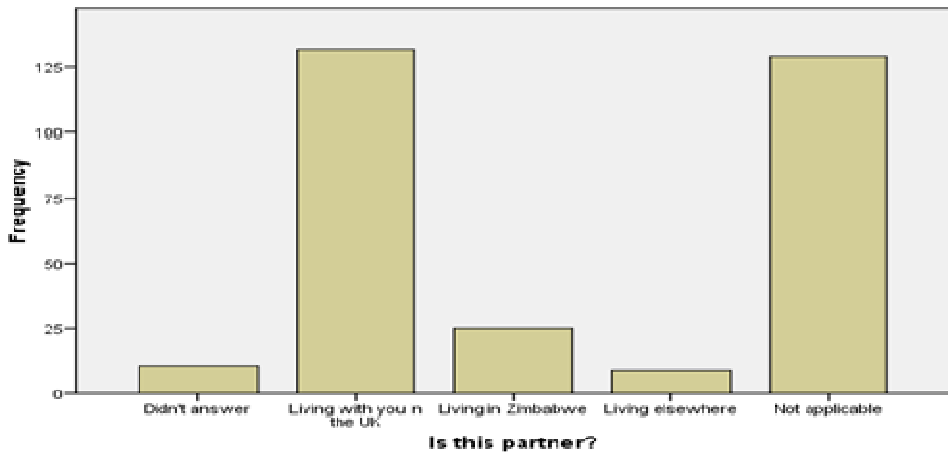
<sup>1</sup> I wish to acknowledge the contributions of Professors Adrian Bailey and Lionel Cliffe, both of whom were team members on the study of Remittances and Transnational Vulnerabilities across the Zimbabwean Diaspora in Yorkshire, on which data used in this document is based, for their assistance with interpretation of data and editorial assistance on this manuscript.

premised vary. Early studies on remittances by scholars like Johnson and Whitelaw (1974) consider altruism (the care of a migrant for those left behind) to be the motivating factor behind remittances. For these early scholars this appears to be the single notion underlying much of the remittance, and they go on to specify an altruistic utility function in which the migrant's utility includes the consumption needs of the other members of the household.

More recent theories by scholars like Lucas and Stark (1985), Agarwal and Horowitz (2002), and Gubert (2002), are discussed by Chami et al (2005) in 'Are immigrant remittances flows a source of capital for development?' Chami et al argue that these are centred on the idea of self-interest as the motivating factor behind remittances, but nevertheless centre on the family. The family here is viewed as "a business or as a nexus of contracts that enables the members to enter into Pareto-improving arrangements," (ibid: p65). Thus migrants will use other family members as their agents or financial intermediary, to look after their investments and any other interests whilst they are away, whilst there is also some compensation for the 'agents.' In some instances family members also "act as an insurance company that provides members with protection against income shocks by diversifying the sources of income," or "...as a bank that finances migration for some members" (ibid: p78).

Chami et al (2005) further give a detailed and insightful analysis on why migrants remit. They categorize empirical literature on immigrant remittances into two main strands: the 'endogenous migration' approach, and the 'portfolio' approach. The endogenous migration approach is based on the economics of the family, which includes, but is not limited to, motivations based on altruism. The portfolio approach isolates the decision to remit from the decision to migrate, and likewise avoids issues of family ties. In this view, the migrant earns income and decides how to allocate savings between host country assets and home country assets. Remittances are a result of deciding to invest in home country assets. The portfolio view is therefore an informal theory of remittances that supports the view that remittances behave like other capital flows (ibid). Chami et al (2005) use the 'portfolio' approach as the basis for their own theory that assumes remittances are compensatory transfers which should fluctuate counter cyclically. In essence, "this implies that remittances are not profit-driven, but are compensatory transfers, and should have a negative correlation with GDP growth" (ibid: p55). They argue that "the relationship between the migrant and the family is characterized by altruism, so that the utility of the migrant depends on the utility of his family members at home, implying that remittances will be sent in order to help the family avoid shortfalls created by a poor economy or simple bad luck" (ibid: p56).

As most theoretical frameworks for remittances that explain why migrants remit are centred on the family as the nucleus of remitting activities, the premise for my discussion of what obliges Zimbabweans to remit also embraces the family. However, trends of diversity of the recipients of remittances noted from the study of Zimbabweans living in Yorkshire suggest overwhelmingly that we should explore the concept of household in relation to the Zimbabwean family. Iken et al (1994: p14) define a household for a 1991 Namibian census as “a group of persons, related or unrelated, who live in the same housing unit and who share common catering arrangements”. This is synonymous with the Cambridge Dictionary definition that a household is “a group of people, often a family, who live together”.



**Figure.1:** Location of partner

It is my argument in this paper that the Zimbabwean household is essentially not typical of the usual household where people are living “in the same housing unit and sharing common catering arrangements”, as some members are living apart. Evidence from the study shows that a significant number of migrants initially found it difficult to migrate as complete family units. Thus, in some cases those who are married and have children either chose to migrate on their own, leaving partners and children in Zimbabwe or, in some cases, children were left in the care of parents or other close relatives. Results from the study indicate that 8.2% of those surveyed had their partners still living in Zimbabwe (Figure 1). The results further indicate that 17 out of 306 respondents had children aged 5 and under living in Zimbabwe, whilst 53 had children aged 6-16 living in Zimbabwe, and 31 had children aged 17 and above still living in Zimbabwe. Whilst some Zimbabweans were eventually able to reunite with their spouses and children in the UK, many others were unable to. Because of the need to support and maintain family members left at ‘home’ many Zimbabweans



therefore continued to remit for their upkeep, especially as the cost of living and inflation in Zimbabwe kept going up on a daily basis.

It is further my argument that most African Zimbabweans are largely characterised by cultural and traditional obligations that have a bearing on the concepts of family and household; hence there is sometimes a vague distinction between the household and the family. These cultural and traditional obligations relate to the concepts of the extended family and that of *hunhuism* (humanity). Thus, whilst members may not live in the same housing unit and share common catering arrangements, the organisation of their economic production, consumption, inheritance, child rearing and shelter is common or shared amongst members; hence the family and household in the Zimbabwean setting are essentially synonymous. Evidence from our study shows that recipients of remittance go beyond the immediate family members, and include fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, cousins, grandparents, fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, etc.

This premise of the family household is key to understanding what obliges Zimbabweans in the diaspora to remit, and will now be brought to bear on two underlying theories of migration; i) the political economy perspective and ii) the globalisation perspective. Given the social, economic and political situation in Zimbabwe in the years 2000 to 2010, a political economy perspective has relevance for analysis and understanding of what obliges Zimbabweans to remit, whilst a globalisation perspective is important due to recent debates about people, place, identity and displacement. “At its most basic ‘globalisation’ refers to the emergence of an extensive network of economic, cultural, social and political interconnections and processes which routinely transcend national boundaries” (Yeates, 2001: p4), and amply manifest in remittances sent from the diaspora to “significant others who dwell in nation states other than those in which the migrants themselves reside” (Vertovec 2004: p970). Evidence from this study estimates the value of remittances from the UK to Zimbabweans at home to be \$960 million for calendar year 2007/8; hence need to explore how they can shape the possibility of realising developmental social policy that promotes universal social protection. This is important to analyse because social protection, “is concerned with preventing, managing, and overcoming situations that adversely affect people’s wellbeing and consists of policies and programs designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability... diminishing people’s exposure to risks, and enhancing their capacity to manage economic and social risks, such as unemployment, exclusion, sickness, disability and old age” (UNRISD, <http://www.unrisd.org>).

A theoretical framework for remitting that considers a political economy approach and globalisation has its grounding in kinship and the traditions of the

people of Zimbabwe, and requires an understanding and analysis of the links, ties, or relationships that bind them. This analysis begins with a premise of the family-household that is contextualised by the experiences and traditions of the people of Zimbabwe. According to Coles (1985), “A people is formed by physical propinquity, a native soil, a shared culture and civilisation, and conferred on it an identity”. Hence, identity or the sense of belonging is derived from traditions and culture, and a shared history that has formed common beliefs and values, which make “the link between people and land a profound one” (ibid). For Zimbabweans, part of these kinships and traditions are amply manifest in the concept of the extended family.

The extended family in Zimbabwe (particular in rural areas) includes members of the family who may be blood relatives, relatives through marriage, and/or people who come from the same village, have the same totem, family friends, and other non-relatives such as servants, that have common or shared “economic production, consumption, inheritance, child rearing, and shelter”. Paramount to this concept is the expectation that one should generally look after their kith and kin; hence children are generally expected to look after their elderly parents. Further, as the extended family includes any relatives other than members of a nuclear family, and importantly due to the fact that not all people considered kin have affinal or blood ties, it is not simply enough to consider the act of remitting as an ‘altruistic utility function’ (Chami et al, 2005: p57) in which the migrant is looking after members of his immediate household.

The concept of the extended family is also part of Zimbabwean culture and tradition generally referred to as *Nhaka* in Shona, that obliges those designated as family heads to look after nieces, nephews, siblings, cousins and other dependent family members, who might even include distant relatives and non-relatives. This is often exemplified in cases of death, where an eldest son might be expected to become the head of family upon his father’s death, and assume responsibilities of looking after the family; or where a younger brother might be expected to look after his dead brother’s family. Responsibilities of *Nhaka* are not solely to look after the family of which one is head, but to also lead the family and perform other traditional functions on family occasions.

Our survey to determine to whom respondents mainly remit indicates that migrants mainly remit to their fathers and mothers followed by children, partners and siblings. The significance of parents being main recipients is indicative of two possibilities; firstly, that in keeping with tradition, people are remitting for upkeep of elderly parents. The predominance of the father as the main recipient could be largely because the father is considered the head of the family in most African Zimbabwean families, and as such has overall responsibility for looking after the family. Secondly, this could be indicative of

the fact that those that are remitting are doing so through their parents, to whom they have entrusted the running of their affairs in Zimbabwe, which in some cases has meant looking after their children. The answer to what obliges Zimbabweans to remit to kith and kin separated by distance and time therefore lies in a sense of home and belonging in the country of origin, that is explicated through bonds and kinship to those close and dearest, to whom they lend economic, social and political support in the form of remittances.

In African tradition, the principle of “caring for each other’s well-being...and a spirit of mutual support...” has long existed, and “is ideally expressed through an individual’s relationship with others, and theirs in turn through a recognition of the individual’s humanity” (Republic of South Africa, 1997: Chap2, sec. 24), first referred to by Mutwa (1964), and further espoused by other African scholars like Samkange (1980). *Hunhuism* or *Unbuntuism* is a term that “articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. As such, it is both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It not only describes human beings as ‘being-with-others’, but also prescribes how we should relate to others, i.e. what ‘being-with-others’ should be all about” (Louw, <http://www.phys.uu.nl/unitwin/ubuntu.html>).

*Hunhu* in the African family context dictates that one shows an appreciation and respect for one’s parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts by giving them gifts, and providing for them. These could be in the form of money for their daily subsistence, buying them clothes, buying furniture for the family homestead, buying them a car, or even building of, and/or extension improvements to the family homestead; hence those in the diaspora send remittance to kith and kin for these purposes. In so doing, the giving son/daughter gets the praise and ‘adulation’ of the recipient elders and those that witness his/her benevolence; hence the saying ‘*Ane hunhu*’ (he/she has humanity). This puts pressure on those that are not doing the same, who may often be reproached for not emulating *hunhu* (the humanity) of Magunha’s child for example. Further, for those who are superstitious, there is the added pressure from the belief that when elders talk well of you it generally brings good luck, whilst their complaints about you bring bad luck. Whilst the dictates of *hunhu* (humanity) apply to all (i.e. those living in the diaspora and those living in the country of origin), those living in the diaspora also have added pressure arising from the belief that diasporans are better financially able to provide than those living in the home country, particularly given Zimbabwe’s recent economic woes, which will be discussed further on.

Another dimension of *hunhuism* is amply manifest in the expectation that those living in the same village or clan look after each other. In most village clans everybody is related as blood relatives, relatives through marriage, through

sharing the same totem, as friends or other commonalities. As such, it is not uncommon for ‘relatives’ to turn up unannounced at the doorstep of those known to be better off (possibly because they receive remittances from a child or relative in the diaspora), conveniently just when they are about to have a meal. Humanity dictates that the host also offer them food no matter how little there is. Further, in the African village setting it is also not uncommon that a favoured relative, neighbour or friend who comes to visit is given a bit of something to take home (e.g. packet of sugar, salt, a bar of soap, or any other grocery item that the host might have a little excess of). This is usual when the host has just received some groceries from a visiting child or relative, or following the household grocery shopping (possibly soon after receiving money from the diaspora).

As the remitting benefactors do not essentially cater for these unannounced visits from relatives, nor the generosity of their beneficiaries, the increased numbers of people being catered for impacts on the available household resources. Whilst details of how the food or money was expended might not be fully disclosed to the benefactor, an obliging child operating on the dictates of *hunhu* might increase the amount or frequency of remitting. Some of these values may have changed in recent years with the harsh economic environment that prevailed Zimbabwe, where there were severe shortages of basic foodstuffs in the country, which might have made even the most giving people more prudent about sharing whatever scarce foodstuffs they might have had.

The concept of *hunhuism* is projected by Ranger (1995) in *Are We Not Also Men*, a collective biography of Thompson Samkange and two of his sons, which deals with the extended family. The biography examines how Thompson Samkange helped to educate many of his relatives from his extended family, including my own mother, who was his niece. Such are the moral obligations of *hunhuism* and the extended family in traditional African culture, which have long bound the fabric of Zimbabwean society for many generations,<sup>2</sup> and partly explain what obliges Zimbabweans to remit to kith and kin left at home.

The correlation between a political economy perspective and cultural norms/traditions such as the extended family and *hunhuism* has implications for analysis and understanding of what obliges Zimbabweans to remit, given Zimbabwe’s recent social, economic and political misfortunes in the years 2000 to 2010. For years Zimbabwe was a major tobacco producer, with a mining

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<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding obligations to the extended family exemplified in the concepts of *nhaka* and *hunhuism*, some Zimbabweans have completely abandoned these traditions, hence some family members are neglected. In the case of *nhaka*, this has sometimes also been abused by the designated family member to plunder the wealth or asserts of their deceased relative, leaving the family of the deceased neglected.

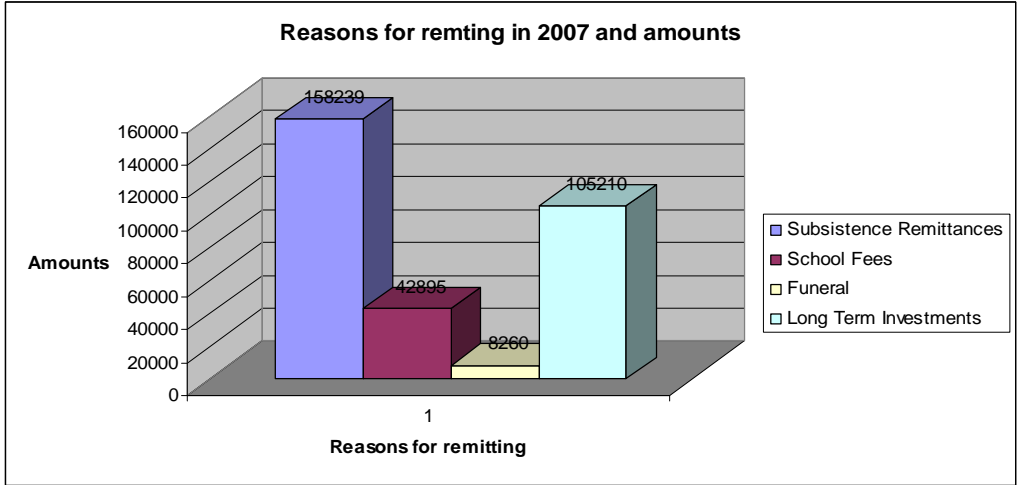
industry producing gold and platinum. It was often dubbed the bread basket for surrounding countries, but the forced seizure of almost all white-owned commercial farms, with the stated aim of benefiting landless black Zimbabweans, led to sharp falls in production and precipitated the collapse of the country's agro-based economy. The need to pay for substantial food imports intensified the impact of reduced foreign earnings, while the government's policy choices in general prompted foreign banks to withdraw credit lines, which affected industries and mining operations, as well as forcing most aid donors to suspend their Zimbabwe operations. Further, balance of payments support was not available for nearly a decade because the IMF and World Bank disapproved of the government's policies, and also because Zimbabwe is in arrears with its repayment commitments to these bodies. An article published by *NewZimbabwe.Com* reported that the IMF had said it was owed \$89 million at the end of February 2009, The World Bank \$600 million, and the African Development Bank \$429 million as of the end of June last year (Dzirutwe, 2009: in *NewZimbabwe.Com*, 25 March). Consequently, the country has endured rampant inflation and critical food and fuel shortages.

At its peak, Zimbabwe's inflation figures were calculated by the Cato Institute in Washington, in November 2008, based on exchange rate movements and market data, estimated to be "13.2 billion per cent a month [...] overtaking 1994 Yugoslavia in the world rankings and putting it behind only Hungary in 1946 as the second worst in history" (Berger, 2008: in *Telegraph.co.uk*, 13 November). Wages could not keep up, and an article published on 16 July 2008 by *The Zimbabwean* reported that it had interviewed a number of civil servants who had expressed that it was now very difficult for them to survive due to inflation and escalating prices of commodities. "It is reliably understood that most civil servants are currently earning an average salary of Z\$50 billion which can only buy a loaf of bread. This has made the lives of most of the civil servants miserable. A number of them are now relying on vending or crossing the border into South Africa to realize extra income for survival" (ibid). An IMF report on Zimbabwe's economy is also quoted as saying that "poverty and unemployment have risen to catastrophic levels, with 70 per cent of the population in need of food assistance" (*The Zimbabwe Guardian*, 06 May 2009).

Trends noted from our survey indicated that current remitting was essentially meant for daily subsistence of family and friends. The survey indicated that 50.3% of total remittances in 2007 were for subsistence, compared to 33.4% for long term investments in capital projects like purchase of housing, land etc., 13.6% for educational support in school fees, and 2.6% for funerals and other family emergencies (Figure 2). Due to the deteriorating political economy of the country, where the buying power of wages was constantly eroded by inflation, Zimbabweans were remitting to support family and friends suffering

from economic hardship, which fits with Chami et al's (2005:p56) theory that "remittances will be sent in order to help the family avoid shortfalls created by a poor economy."

**Figure 2 Reasons for remitting in 2007 and amounts**



Thousands of Zimbabweans in the diaspora were sending money every month to support relatives and friends to buy food and pay for household utilities. In our survey 71.2% respondents indicated that their main reason for remitting was, 'The general upkeep of family direct household in Zimbabwe,' and 4.4% in order to 'To assist in the upkeep of elderly parents,' or 'To assist relatives suffering from economic hardships.' This reflects the importance of remittances in the daily sustenance of people's lives in Zimbabwe. Even among additional reasons for remitting, the same trend is prevalent with 'Support for upkeep of elderly parents' being the most prevalent additional reason for remitting, followed by 'To assist relatives suffering from economic hardships.' This trend is in sharp contrast to trends in previous years when those in the diaspora used to remit money to buy houses, for building projects, and export vehicles such as trucks and trailers. Those with family in the rural areas also remit money for purchase of farming implements, especially during the farming season, with added pressure during the last farming season (2006-7) arising due to rampant food shortages all over the country.

Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) note that transnationalism "produces a plethora of connections spanning home and host societies" (p1177). Indeed, in the case of Zimbabweans some of these connections extend to neighbouring countries. Results from our survey further indicate that Zimbabweans in Yorkshire were also remitting to Zimbabwe's neighbouring countries. Whilst ultimate

beneficiaries of the remittances were in Zimbabwe, the actual remittances were not necessarily sent directly to Zimbabwe, but to neighbouring countries, in particular South Africa and Botswana. Due to shortage of goods and services in Zimbabwe, some Zimbabweans chose to remit to neighbouring countries, to friends and relatives who either live in or travel to these countries, and in turn buy goods and services for onward delivery to relatives in Zimbabwe.

With prevalence of AIDS and HIV in Zimbabwe, there has been an increase in AIDS orphans. “With around one in seven adults living with HIV and an estimated 565 adults and children becoming infected every day (roughly one person every three minutes) Zimbabwe is experiencing one of the harshest AIDS epidemics in the world” (<http://www.avert.org/aids-zimbabwe.htm>). Statistics given by Avert, an international Aids charity, estimated that between 2002 and 2006, the population of Zimbabwe had decreased by four million people, and that infant mortality had doubled since 1990, and average life expectancy for women, who are particularly affected by Zimbabwe’s AIDS epidemic, was 34 years - the lowest anywhere in the world. Avert further noted that WHO officials had admitted that since this figure was based on data dating from two years ago, the real number may be as low as 30. The report further noted that, according to UNICEF Zimbabwe had a higher number of orphans, in proportion to its population, than any other country in the world, most of which were AIDS orphans (<http://www.avert.org/aids-zimbabwe.htm>)

A combination of the prevalence of other diseases such as TB, cholera, malaria and long term illnesses like cancer, coupled with a collapsing health care infrastructure also increased the death rates in Zimbabwe. This is amply evidenced from a 2008/9 cholera outbreak, in which according to WHO statistics there were a total of 91,164 reported cases as of March 17, 2009, with 4,037 reported deaths since the start of the outbreak in August 2008 (Reuters, 26 March 2009). In keeping with the tradition of *Nhaka* a lot of the migrants are therefore remitting to look after orphans from their extended families.

In a country with a tense political and social climate, and a collapsing healthcare system and infrastructure, the authorities generally found it difficult to respond to the AIDS scourge and many other diseases such as TB and cholera. Medicines were generally in short supply, and those that were available were mostly beyond the reach of ordinary citizens whose wages had been eroded by inflation. Thus, the cost of antiretroviral drugs for those suffering from HIV and AIDS, as well as other long term ailments such as cancer, hypertension, TB etc., was generally prohibitive; hence those with relatives living in the diaspora rely on their kith and kin to send them money to buy these medicines or to send them actual medicines.

In an environment where there is a high incidence of death, and dwindling wages eroded by inflation, most people could barely afford funeral costs. Therefore, those in the diaspora played a significant role in assisting with burial of dead relatives back home. The survey indicates that 2.6 % of money being remitted is for funeral expenses, which include principal costs for the coffin, and undertakers' fees. Further, in Zimbabwean culture when someone dies friends and relatives gather to mourn at the deceased's home (usually for two to three days) until after burial, and this entails associated costs of feeding the mourners. There are also inherent transport costs of ferrying the mourners to the place of burial, which can be at the ancestral homestead in the rural areas, sometimes hundreds of miles away from the city where the deceased might have been working or residing.

Several respondents interviewed during in-depth interviews noted that they felt obliged to send money to assist in burial of dead relatives, as people back home simply could not afford it. In one interview a respondent described the desperation of the situation noting that "just the other day somebody phoned me, and their aunt had passed away, and so she had phoned home and she could hear people crying in the background. They told her they were waiting for her to send some money for the coffin... She literally broke down on the phone. It's not like they have the money. They don't have it. They are really desperately. If they can't afford to buy food how can they afford a coffin?"(Excerpt from transcript of interview with Regina).

Further, there is the added pressure of expectations obliging certain members of the family to play a significant financial role at family occasions like deaths and weddings. For example, a son in-law is expected to buy the coffin and provide a beast for slaughter at the funeral of his in-laws. The description of in-laws ranges from the father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sister-in-law, and also includes children of the brother-in-law, irrespective of age. One of the interviewees noted that in the last five years he had sent money to pay for coffins and undertaker's fees for five in-laws that had passed away since he migrated to the UK, which had cost him a combined total of nearly £3000.00. Whilst one is not necessarily obliged to do this for all in-laws, the desperate nature of the situation in Zimbabwe made it incumbent on those in the diaspora to pay for these funeral costs.

Where there are at least two or more people married in the same family and living in the diaspora, the burden of bearing funeral costs of deceased in-laws is at least shared; hence one of the findings of our study was that 38.2% of those interviewed felt that "Bringing family members to the UK is more important than remitting" (Table 1).



**Table 1****Bringing family members to the UK is more important than remitting**

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Didn't answer	70	22.9	22.9	22.9
Agree	117	38.2	38.2	61.1
Disagree	70	22.9	22.9	84.0
Unsure/ Don't know	48	15.7	15.7	99.7
Not applicable	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total	306	100.0	100.0	

Another explanation for what obliges Zimbabweans to remit is that Zimbabweans have a tradition of remitting that dates from the colonial period, when men lived in the towns where they worked, whilst women and children lived in the village or rural home often referred to as '*kumusha*' (Shona) or '*ekhaya*' (Ndebele). Men would occasionally visit their families in the village to bring them resources for their subsistence, or occasionally send money for family upkeep and pay for hut or poll taxes (to be paid in cash). The wife or one of the able bodied children would also occasionally visit their father, or brother in the city to get some money and other goods. For the husband and wife this might even be a time to conceive a new baby. In fact, until recently, the concept of a town working man with a rural based family has been the norm in most Southern African countries, (including South Africa, Mozambique, Malawi, Swaziland, Lesotho, and Zambia), which have been deeply influenced by a region-wide migrant labour system, where there is spatial division and distinction between 'home' (in the cultural sense and in terms of a rural livelihood and a residence for most or many household members), and a locus of an additional, essential livelihood in an urban area or other wage-earning area either within or outside national territory.

This region-wide migrant labour system is aptly evidenced in the WENELA (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) recruitment practice, whereby migrant labour from Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique was recruited to work in South African mines and other labour intensive projects in that country such as plantations, road and rail construction. Part of the working conditions of WENELA stated in section 5 of the provisions and conditions of contract that, "on completion of six months' employment an amount equivalent to sixty per cent of the net earned wages of the worker thereafter shall be retained for payment in the worker's country of origin, (a) by allotment to a named relative as periodical payments ... (b) as a deposit to a savings account in the name of the worker in his country of origin,

or (c) in full to the worker on his return to his country of origin” (WENELA, undated). Although present day circumstances may be different, the concept of remittance is a continuation of a long established tradition dating back from days of colonialism. Both were necessitated by economic considerations of survival, largely compelled by the dictates of elitist governments whose policies forced people to seek alternative means of livelihood.

Further, migrant labour and the consequent remittances have been generally prevalent in Southern Africa, with people from countries with poorer economies migrating to those with richer nations in search of employment and better opportunities. In recent years, the situation has been further exacerbated by civil wars in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Congo, that led to millions of people fleeing their countries to neighbouring countries in search of refuge. Countries like South Africa and Zimbabwe (in the 80s and 90s) that had better economies compared to their neighbours, hosted a significant number of Mozambican and Congolese refugees, some of whom were employed in various sectors of these countries’ economies; mines, farms etc. When peace and stability was restored in their countries of origin, some of the refugees remained in the countries of asylum to work, due to the lack of sustainable livelihoods in their countries, whilst some of their family members returned home. Evidence from studies conducted on the repatriation of Mozambican refugees from Zimbabwe indicates that those who had remained working in Zimbabwe would remit to support those that had returned home (Magunha, 2006).

The answer to what obliges Zimbabweans to remit also partly lies in the review of recent debates about people, place, identity and displacement. Kibreab (1999: p385) writes that, “There is a tendency in the post-modernist literature to assume that the globalisation process characterised by mobility of people, goods, capital and ideas and the subsequent erosion of spatially bounded social worlds has led to deterritorialisation of identity, and as a result people regardless of their territorial origin have become or are in the process of becoming citizens of a deterritorialised global world.” The corollary of these assertions is to deny the relationship between place and identity, and would imply a decrease in remittances as people become settled in their new environments and reduce links that tie them to their places of origin.

Kibreab argues that whilst it may be desirable to treat all people regardless of their place of origin as global citizens, the “territory still remains the major repository of rights and membership” (Kibreab, 1999: p387) and that people tend to identify strongly with a geographically bounded physical space. He further notes that in many states especially in Africa, the “the rights of access to and use of sources of livelihood are still apportioned on the basis of territorially anchored identity” (ibid: p387). He argues that this is particularly the case as

long as the change of location does not involve dramatic forms of change or loss of rights, and because of the opportunities this offers regarding rights of access to resources and protection by virtue of being a member or citizen of that territory.

The concept of globalisation is further negated by the restrictive immigration and refugee policies currently pursued by states that make territories inaccessible to migrants, especially asylum seekers, and prevent those who have already entered from being incorporated into host societies. Kibreab argues that in spite of the fact that the global interconnectedness has in some instances provided opportunities for forging transnational forms of identity, little or nothing has changed to make migrants, in particular refugees, feel at home outside the places or countries of their origin. Migrants, especially refugees, continue to be excluded in host societies, as evidenced by the recent xenophobic attacks on migrants in South Africa, in particular Zimbabweans, who have been openly ostracised for taking South African jobs from South African people. These barriers in host countries encourage strong ties between migrants and their countries of origin, and hence remittances.

**Table 2**

		<i>Which of these statements best describes how you currently feel about returning to settle in Zimbabwe in the future?</i>							<b>Total</b>
		Didn't answer	I intend to return at the right time	I have discussed returning but am unsure still	I have no intention of returning to settle	Don't Know	Not applicable	Other (specify)	
<i>Do you consider yourself to be settled in the UK?</i>	Didn't answer	24	2	0	2	1	0	0	29
	Yes	3	68	13	45	9	1	2	141
	No	8	78	9	25	15	1	0	136
	Total	35	148	22	72	25	2	2	306

Data from our survey indicates that 44.4% of those surveyed indicated that they are not settled in the UK; whilst 148 or 48.4% indicated that they intend to return at the right time, of which 68 said they were settled in the UK and 78 not settled (Table 2). This suggests that these migrants still consider Zimbabwe as home, and view their stay in the UK as temporary and necessitated by current social, economic and political conditions prevailing in Zimbabwe. As such they continue to remit either to support families that they left at home, or for future investment when they return; hence some have remitted 'kombis' and trucks for business, the proceeds of which they themselves never get to benefit from,

whilst others have purchased, built or extended houses that they do not live in, nor can hope to live in, in the near future.

Part of the reason why migrants continue to support families left at home is because the policies of the host societies are not readily inclusive of migrants. As already noted a significant number of migrants initially find it difficult to migrate as complete family units, hence spouses and children are left at home in the care of parents or other close relatives. Evidence from the study indicates that some have still not managed to reunite with their families, and that in cases where they have managed this has often taken expensive legal representations.

Evidence from this study therefore brings us to make three distinct conclusions. First, the continued ties and links between migrants and their families that they left in the country of origin lead us to conclude that migration is essentially not permanent but temporary, and that most returnees hope to return and settle permanently in their countries of origin as soon as they have established sustainable sources of livelihood, consistent with transnational theory. Second, remittances have been a form of informal social protection in the absence of proper functioning and with the collapsing of government support structures in Zimbabwe. An in-depth study however needs to be undertaken to determine prevalence of beneficial access to remittances across Zimbabwe, in particular by those in the rural areas where the majority of Zimbabweans are known to reside; hence this paper sets the agenda for the kind of research that we need to do next.

Third, Zimbabweans have multi-faceted livelihoods enabling them to operate in multiple spaces. Fourth, remittances have long been part and parcel of Zimbabweans' lives dating back to colonialism, and have arguably been the backbone of the Zimbabwean economy during this recent economic crisis. There is however an inherent question about sustainability of remittances. It could be argued that remittances can dwindle over time; and are therefore unreliable as a long term policy measure for social and economic development. Whilst this topic requires further in-depth research, this analysis suggests that Zimbabwean patterns of remittances have evolved over the years, and that they are adaptable to context and time, hence likely to continue in the future. Thus, remittances need to be seriously considered in country programming for the role that they can play in the short-term reconstruction of Zimbabwe, and as a long-term development strategy.

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# **Book Reviews**

**The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade.** Rebecca Shumway. University of Rochester, New York, 2011. Pp. 232. ISBN 978 1 58046 391 1 (hb). \$85.

Recent contributions to the Ghana Studies Council Newsletter (accessible on line) have included articles about the dubious quality of the guided tours given at Cape Coast and Elmina Castles. Selina Wisnes, whose translations have made Danish writings accessible in English, described the information imparted as “demeaned with absurdities”. Merrick Posnansky, who “worked on the only excavations yet conducted on any of the dungeons”, observed that: “It appears that many of the recent talks on the castles are not based on accounts by the original occupants but on emotional interpretations by present-day Ghanaians steeped neither in the documentary nor oral histories of the area”. There is, he went on, “definite evidence of ‘feedback’” from visitors.

Rebecca Shumway’s study is a significant contribution to analysis of what went on at the forts and should feed into the presentations by the tour guides. She writes, for example, that, by 1807, “the coast towns were linked by a highly efficient network of communication that enabled them to orchestrate their responses to the constantly shifting circumstances of the Atlantic trade”; she shows how that network came into being and how it operated. I hope her findings will not only filter down to the guides but that her interest in Anomabu (also rendered Anamabo and, in the C18th, Annamaboe) will place it firmly in the awareness of guides and historians and insert it on the itinerary of visitors.

The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade throws down challenges to established Ghanaian historians and comes with a ringing endorsement from Robin Law. He writes of it in terms of a “significant topic, solidly and comprehensively treated, effectively situated... offering new material.” This statement stands beside a curious series of comments by Larry W. Yarak who refers to (I am tempted to say ‘dismisses’) the book as “a novel reinterpretation of eighteenth-century Gold Coast history” and as “a partial reexamination of the archival record”. To these pejorative descriptions he adds that “Shumway ... attempts to refashion our understanding.” It would be good to have Yarak’s detailed analysis of the book’s shortcomings because, it seems to me, Shumway argues her case with an abundance of carefully marshalled evidence. I find originality rather than novelty, and am impressed by the extent of her research rather than ready to swoop on gaps, or biases (!), that would justify the word ‘partial’. Recognising the limitations of travel, time and access under which all research is undertaken, it is a given that every project is incomplete.

The volume has the strengths and characteristic tone of a rewritten doctoral thesis and its dimensions speak of such a provenance. One hundred and fifty-six pages of text and illustrations are followed by forty-five pages of end-notes



(more than 700 in total). The conclusion covers just over two pages and is followed by a twenty-two page bibliography. What might have been the ‘give away’ of the book’s origin as a post-graduate requirement, the ‘Literature Survey’, is present, but in the form of a readable 25-page Introduction supported by 12 pages of beefy notes!

Although the Conclusion is short, Shumway has certainly taken a stand. This is seen in her observations about the neglect of Anomabo and the contrast she establishes between it and Cape Coast / Elmina. This is presented vividly on the first page of her study where she allows herself to reconstruct the experience of Thomas Melvil, governor of the British settlements on the Gold Coast, on 24 April 175. She brings Melvil before us, sitting in Cape Coast Castle, reflecting on the circumstances down the coast in Anomabo – and writing of Anomabo that “the Negros are masters” there.

I hope that accounts of this ‘mastery’ will be incorporated into the information imparted by tour guides. In the meantime, it should be noted that the people of Anomabo have, with characteristic resourcefulness and independence, guarded their ‘narrative’ and those who come to Ghana through her men of affairs, educationists and writers already find their steps guided to the town. They are drawn thither by, for example, references to Amomabo as the home-town of George Ekem Ferguson, John Mensah Sarbah, Kwegir Aggrey and Kwesi Brew. Brew’s surname hints at his mixed heritage and his links with the family that is at the centre of Margaret Priestley’s West African Trade and Coast Society. Shumway, incidentally, is short with Priestley when generosity would have been more appropriate; the two scholars are kindred spirits - authors of studies that gain resonance through being focused.

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**Globalization and Sustainable Development in Africa.** Bessie House-Soremekun and Toyin Falola. Eds. University of Rochester Press, Rochester USA/ Woodbridge, UK, 2011. Pp. 484. ISBN 978 1 58046 392 8 (hb) £45

This collection of essays was compiled as a result of the First Public Scholars in Africana Studies International Conference held in 2009 in Indianapolis. It benefits from experienced contributors from diverse disciplines, from anthropology, history, economics to law, and from those with a deep knowledge of Africa, demonstrating a profound understanding of a variety of African

issues. A number of the authors are based in the United States or Europe and therefore have dual perspectives.

Its overall theme is to offer solutions to sub-Saharan African development that start with the role of Africans themselves, and their responsibilities to drive their own future, rather than those that maintain dependency on funds and policies from elsewhere. Whilst this is not to suggest that the authors' eyes are closed to the combined effects of the colonial past, subsequent trade liberalisation and the World Bank's influence, it is refreshing that proactive self reliance is the key thrust.

The collection describes issues and cases at multiple physical and temporal scales and is set out in four sections. In the first, essays examine the benefits and impacts of globalisation on the continent using both economics and sustainable development lenses at macro level. The second section comprises micro-level case studies describing local level entrepreneurial activities. The third section sets out the case for differing industrial and financial networking policies and the final section covers aspects of security and conflict that need to be considered for development to take place, in the light of the continent's history.

Taking each of these in turn, assessments of the continent's ability to compete in the global economy include a descriptive historical analysis of sub-Saharan Africa's development and how that has led to the continent's marginalisation in the context of the world economy. In seeking the benefits of development, it is said that African countries cannot replicate the factors that allowed individual European countries to develop in the past, as the global context drives new scale firm capabilities and competitive pressures driving across national sovereignty.

However, tools for growth identified include effective leadership and governance for the benefit of the population at large, in turn to encourage self-reliance, improve education and develop efficient transport, energy and communications infrastructure, and systems to deal with corruption. The fact that a brighter economic picture has emerged in some states, such as South Africa, Botswana, Kenya and Ghana, gives confidence that development challenges can be overcome. It's pointed out that this might include entrepreneurs of African origin being attracted to the continent because of its growth opportunities. Perhaps sustainable entrepreneurs might bypass the developed world's systems of power supply and find new commercially successful ways of building and marketing renewable technologies. Also there is the case for overcoming the lack of economies of scale available to governments in small African states. This provides the context for the second and third sections setting out the prospective for entrepreneurship and pan-African cooperation as a means to improve economic and social structures.

This second section includes detailed accounts of both successful and less successful development from enterprising communities, for instance in Zimbabwe, Cote D'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria, offering learning and encouragement from micro-level commercial activities. Some of the challenges to be overcome are unexpected and the reader shares the frustration of skills and systems in place to support entrepreneurship.

The third section includes consideration of structures that might give African countries a greater impact in the world economy, through some form of United States of Africa or an African Economic Community. At country scale, three chapters offer complementary perspectives from industrial, fiscal and business policy studies on improving, for instance, the prospects for Nigeria.

The final section views the irony of the continent's richness in natural raw materials, leading to what has been called the 'resource curse' and the 'greed and grievance' issues that have followed from it. Added value processing has been elsewhere failing to benefit local economies. The negative environmental consequences of mining and drilling have contributed to social and health problems and all this has led to fractious politics. Whilst solutions are elusive, paths to solutions for these longstanding issues are identified.

What might be missing in the work as a whole are opportunities and successes from commercial enterprises at scales between the micro-entrepreneur and the global multinational enterprise. However this volume offers expertise and insight into how Africans might take leadership roles to drive sustainable growth for themselves, consistent with reduced dependency on both non-African aid and non-African organising systems.

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**Slavery By Any Other Name: African Life under Company Rule in Colonial Mozambique.** Eric Allina. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville and London, 2012. Pp. 255. ISBN 978 0 8139 3272 9 £44.50/\$49.50

Between 1892 and 1942 the Mozambique Company ruled much of what is now central Mozambique by royal charter on behalf of the Portuguese state. During this period, the Company oversaw a massive forced labour system in which tens of thousands of Africans were compelled to participate. Eric Alliana's *Slavery By Any Other Name* is highly detailed and informative account of the role of

‘modern slavery’ in Company governed Mozambique. Researching this book, Allina was able to gain unprecedented access to the previously lost Mozambique Company archives. This historical gold mine, in addition to the over 100 interviews Allina conducted in the mid-1990’s with Mozambican elders who had lived under Company rule, allows him to paint a particularly rich and detailed account of life during the period. The juxtaposition of the Company’s official statements and legal declarations, against the statements of Mozambicans and front line Company administrators, allows Allina to be particularly effective in explicating the gap between official regulation and the brutality of on-the-ground practice.

The first half of the book broadly looks at the discourses and practices that constituted the Mozambique Company’s exploitative labour regime. At an official level the company justifies its activity with all the classical racist platitudes of colonialism. Colonial labour law, passed in 1899, stipulated that “[a]ll natives of Portuguese overseas provinces are subject to the moral and legal obligation to seek to acquire through work the means they lack for subsistence and to improve their own social condition” (p4), and granted the company the right to “impose” (p5) this obligation on those who would not fulfil it “of their own free will” (p139). What this law meant in practice was that almost any African male who was vaguely capable of working was potentially open to press-ganging by company agents to serve as [in practice] unpaid labour for white private concerns. What is most striking about *Slavery By Any Other Name* is the sheer extent of the arbitrariness, hypocrisy, brutality and incompetence of Company Rule that Allina has meticulously documented. Although, due to massively inadequate understanding of local populations, the company’s labour programme was ruinously inefficient, almost every aspect of African life was disrupted and damaged by Company activity. Throughout the book, Allina drives home the point that whatever formal rights the company granted Africans in law or official proclamations, on the ground these were always tenuous with Company practice consistently driven by the desire to dominate and exploit African labour.

The second half of the book focuses more strongly on the ways in which Africans attempted to resist and actively engage with company rule in order to achieve some degree of stability and prosperity in their lives. This section reads well alongside other accounts of subaltern resistance emphasising how most resistance took the form of avoidance and utilised the superior local knowledge of the African population rather than risk direct confrontation. This section also includes interesting descriptions of how a few Mozambicans were able to take advantage of the limited rights granted to them and carved out positions of moderate prosperity for themselves within the colonial order.

Ultimately, *Slavery By Any Other Name* provides an extremely detailed account of the role of forced labour within a privatised colonial regime that encompasses both African and European perspectives. With the exception of the introduction and the conclusion the text is largely descriptive, and as a whole the book does not seek to add any specific new insights to postcolonial theory. It is however infused with a strong political commitment to highlighting the brutality and hypocrisy of colonial forced labour regimes [which were not limited to Mozambique] and does provide an interesting analysis connecting Mozambique's colonial past to its postcolonial present. This text would be of interest to scholars researching colonial history in general, and of particular relevance to anybody with an interest in colonial legal systems, subaltern resistance to colonialism, or the modern history of slavery and forced labour.

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**Luka Jantjie – Resistance hero of the South African frontier.** Kevin Shillington. London: Aldridge Press, Johannesburg: Wits University Press, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Pp.306. ISBN 978 9520651 1 1 (pb). £18.95

This biography traces the life of Luka Jantjie Mathibi Molehabangwe, a much neglected hero of resistance to British colonialism, in detail. Jantjie was the first independent African ruler to lose his land to the colonialists, with the discovery of the Kimberley diamonds in 1870. This was one of the key events that defined South Africa's history. However, it is often narrated in terms of the Great Trek and the conflict between the British and the Afrikaners. Here Shillington retraces this history from the perspective of the people it affected most: the Batlhoru and Batlhaping peoples.

This history challenges many of the mythologies of apartheid history, in particular the narrative of the Great Trek into 'empty lands', and apartheid constructions and definitions of specific ethnic groups. It suggests how intertwined, and often conflicted the relationships were within an ethnic clan, how complex the hierarchies of power and loyalty; as well as how both connected and fraught the relationships were between the Bantu and the Khoe, Korana and Griqua peoples. Ironically, often these latter peoples have been lumped into one group referred to as the Khoe-San, but Shillington challenges this representation and shows not only how inaccurate it was, but also how this misrepresentation served the colonial endeavour, and later the hegemony of apartheid, as the British opportunistically encouraged the divisions in order to 'divide and rule'.

Another fascinating contribution this book makes is its reflection on the complex role of missionaries in colonial southern Africa. It suggests a powerful and poignant tension between the Humanitarian values taught by the missionaries and their unquestioning belief in 'British justice'. It suggests that no matter how well-meaning they were, missionaries like LMS Revd Robert Moffatt, and his colleagues the Hamiltons, played a profound role in the compromises made by men like Luka's father, paramount chief Mothibi. Shillington shows how the missionaries were caught between a desire to change the symbolic beliefs in the Batlhaping people and a desire to be humanitarian and treat the people with dignity and respect. However, ultimately their loyalty was to their mission and England, and their conversion of Mothibi resulted in mistrust and confused loyalties, which better facilitated colonial manipulation for access to and finally control of the Batlhaping's ancestral lands. Here Shillington draws on many British sources, and implicitly challenges some of the arguments made by John and Jean Comaroff in *Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa*, without directly referring to this work.

Shillington traces various different approaches to British colonisation: for example, John Mackenzie's 'thin end of the crowbar' versus Lanyon, and the more typical South African 'rude blow of a flat-headed hammer' (115), both of which the Batlhaping people experienced. This nuances our understanding of the different ways in which colonialism took hold in southern Africa, but also the geneses of many of the divisions and issues South Africa still faces, like ethnic distrust and division and the complexities of land reclamation.

Ultimately this is a story of how division weakened the indigenous peoples of southern Africa – the Xhosa of the eastern cape could not come to the aid of Luka Jantjie, as they had their own fight with the British, the Griqua and some Korana peoples were struggling for cattle and land and so fought the various Batswanan people. Even within the Batlhaping people themselves, their struggle over the question of who could legitimately claim the position of paramount chief weakened their fight against the colonial powers and the colonials as they moved ever further inland.

One of the particular strengths of this work is the way in which Shillington has extended his earlier research on the southern Tswana which was published in *The Colonisation of the Southern Tswana, 1870 - 1900* in 1984. He has accessed new primary material: family letters and diaries, and oral testimony as he has continued his 'a long emotional journey' (p. xiv) with the history of the Batlhaping people and Lukas Jantjie. He conveys this narrative clearly, in a style that is easily followed and powerfully evocative of the complexities and struggles of this time and the various peoples involved. It draws the reader in –

whether s/he is reading as a specialist from the field of African Studies, African history, or someone like me who reads history for interest. I certainly feel I know this man better. This work also convinces me that there are many such men and women who attempted to live peaceably in periods of profound conflict, who negotiated the complexities of inter-cultural exchange graciously, but who took a definite position regarding themselves and their people from which they would not compromise, even if this meant they faced death.

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**The Nation Writ Small: African Fictions and Feminisms, 1958-1988.** Susan Z. Andrade, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2011. Pp 259 + ix. ISBN 978 0 8223 4997 9 (hb) \$89.95 / 9 780 8223 4921 1 (pb) \$24.95.

This delightfully clear and scholarly book investigates the emergence of African women's writing, with a focus on intersections between domesticity and nationalism. *The Nation Writ Small* admirably resists any temptation towards a literary survey, but rather, in four chapters framed by an extensive and most helpful Introduction and a short Conclusion, seeks to provide readings that enable us to see how and why women's writing gradually emerges from an almost exclusively domestic focus, and how the domestic may often be read as allegorical commentary on nationalist politics.

The first two chapters utilise the strategy of reading early iconic male authored texts, Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* in Chapter 1 and Ousmane Sembene's *Xala* in Chapter 2, alongside nearly contemporary women authored texts which have achieved much less critical attention: Flora Nwapa's *Efuru* and Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of Motherhood* in the first instance, and Mariama Ba's *Une si longue lettre* and Aminata Sow Fall's *La grève des bàttu* in the second. At the most basic level Andrade asks why the men have received so much more attention than their female contemporaries, and comes up with the answer that it is because the men are seen as engaging with the social and political whereas the women's focus is viewed as almost purely personal and domestic. Emerging from that conclusion are further questions: if early women writers are domestically focussed why is that? And can these domestic tales be read differently to cast a light on female analysis of nationalist concerns?

Here the depth of Andrade's scholarship is very useful. She takes us back in history, demonstrating her thesis that while *Things Fall Apart* in particular is often inscribed as *the* foundational text for modern African literature, it had a significant number of precursors to build on, whereas Nwapa writing in 1966

had no female role models and therefore could scarcely do other than write out of the only recognised sphere of women's authority – the domestic. The women who followed she sees as gradually expanding their commentary, while still privileging issues of marriage and family, because they now had voices to respond to and engage in dialogue with.

Chapters 3 and 4 look at the *Bildungsroman*, especially Tsitsi Dangerembga's *Nervous Conditions* and Assia Djebar's two novels – which are read here as a pair - *L'amour, la fanatasia* and *Ombre sultane*. In these later texts of the 1980s Andrade sees women developing the confidence to move from plot led constructs to novels where women's subjectivity is far more fully realised, and where women can become representative of middle class aspirations to autonomy and agency, even when frequently thwarted by the continuing power of patriarchy. She argues that even though the political world is still seen as a predominantly male affair, through readings that privilege women's active struggle for agency and carefully noting often passing references to a wider national context, we can see how female writers are increasingly using the domestic as an allegory for commentary on what is wrong with the nation. Andrade is also concerned to illustrate how even male authors sympathetic to feminist aspirations such as Ousmane Sembene and Ngugi wa Thiong'o continually reduce women to symbolic status, all too often penning their female characters into straightjackets as suffering mothers or whores representative of differing visions of Mother Africa. She argues that as women writers build on each other's fictions and respond to their male peers they come to offer us much more nuanced and psychologically realised portrayals of complex female characters.

Finally Andrade is a welcome voice when African literature is often bifurcated along Anglophone/Francophone and Arab/black African lines. She is able to bring voices into conversation across linguistic and racial divides as she seeks to understand the evolution of African women's writing and its increasing confidence in taking on the macroeconomic world while still writing out of reality dominated by the constraints of the domestic.

**Jane Plastow**  
**University of Leeds**



**Abyssinia's Samuel Johnson: Ethiopian Thought in the Making of an English Author.** Wendy Laura Belcher. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 2012. Pp. 285. ISBN 978 0 19 979321 1 (hb) £45.

In the winter of 1733 the twenty-four-year-old Samuel Johnson was in a poor state. Obligated to leave Pembroke College Oxford as a result of poverty, he had succumbed to one of his recurrent depressions. He took to his bed, from where he dictated to a friend an English translation of Father Jerónimo Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, originally written in Portuguese, via a modified French translation made by Joachim Le Grand. The immediate reason may have been a need to make some money, though when published in 1735, the slender book made little. But why did Johnson choose to devote his energies to this particular, obscure text? A quarter of a century later, needing at short notice to defray his mother's funeral expenses in Lichfield, he dashed off in a week a short work of fiction in which he returned to the location of Lobo's book. *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* at least has the merit that, unlike the Lobo translation, it is still widely read. Published in the same year as Voltaire's *Candide*, to which it bears a coincidental and oblique relation, it is a parable of the frustrated search for wisdom and happiness, which starts in a 'Happy Valley' in Abyssinia, and proceeds to Egypt, whither the princely Rasselas is accompanied by a philosopher called Imlac. Like the Lobo book, it manifests a familiarity with the country we now call Ethiopia vastly in excess of that one might expect of an Englishman at the time, or indeed since.

The principal claim in Wendy Laura Belcher's perceptive but repetitive book is that Johnson was not simply obsessed by Abyssinia, but possessed by it. She adduces her argument from a variety of sources. First, there is the open question, why, having travelled so little in the flesh, Johnson repeatedly returned to this particular foreign terrain at moments of personal crisis. Belcher points to the fact that as a young man Johnson immersed himself in everything he could get hold of on the history, the customs and the literature of that country, and more particular of the Habesha, the predominant ethnic element. There were sound reasons for this choice. The Habesha possess a literature three thousand year old, and Coptic Christianity is older than Catholicism or, indeed, than any European version of the faith. Tormented by doubt and misgiving, the piously Anglican Johnson was evidently attracted by a church that was neither Protestant nor Catholic, nor indeed traditionally Orthodox, and which seemed close to the teaching and practice of the early desert fathers.

Belcher's strongest suit stems from her careful examination of relevant texts. Nobody before her has examined the Lobo translation in such detail. As a result she is able to demonstrate what few have suspected: that at numerous points Johnson intervenes to counteract the chauvinistic and pro-missionary biased

Lobo and Le Grand, correcting their accounts of history in favour of indigenous Habesha point of view reconstructed largely from surviving Habesha writings. Something in the Habesha way of life evidently drew him inexorably to them. The trouble arises when, buoyed up by her empirical discoveries, Belcher proceeds to expand polysyllabically on them. To represent the oddly eclectic and learned character of Johnson's African tales, she has dredged up the early eighteenth-century term 'energumen', meaning one who has been taken over by a devil or spirit. Both Johnson and these particular books were, she believes, 'possessed' by the Habesha. Johnson's case history is, she proposes, one example of a not infrequent syndrome whereby various European authors have been captivated by the spirit of a particular foreignness. To suggest thus is a welcome counter-blast to the drab postcolonial drum. And to announce this form of reverse appropriation she brandishes the new term 'discursive possession', the illustration of which will doubtless occupy her, and other scholars, for some time to come.

At moments Belcher does seem to be aware that she is driving her plausible case too far. The most salient illustration of this, and among the more moving passages in Johnson, concerns the Egyptian astronomer encountered by Rasselas and Imlac, who has convinced himself that he can control the weather, even the course of the stars. Belcher's arcane explanation is that the Habesha nobles once claimed to be able to control the course of the Nile, and that the astronomer is like them. The famous passage is therefore about Johnson's encounter with 'the other'. Yet, as every student of Johnson knows, it is most poignantly about Johnson's own encounter with the delusive depths of his own personality. To insist, as Belcher does, that the two readings may co-exist, should not distract us from the recognition that here as ever Johnson is primarily concerned with the pitfalls of a human nature consistent, as he proclaims in the first couplet of *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, from China to Peru, even to Princeton.

**Robert Fraser**  
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**Who Killed Hammarskjöld? The UN, The Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa.** Susan Williams, Hurst & Company, London, 2011. Pp. 241 ISBN 978 1 84904 158 4 (hb) £20.00.

The death of any world figure is an unforgettable event almost by definition. It is not surprising, therefore, that the death of UN secretary-general Dag Hammarskjöld in September 1961 should still be talked about in the twenty first century, 50 years after the occasion. And the death of such a UN secretary-general, who supported the process of European decolonisation when some

European powers within the UN are reluctant to abandon their rich African colonies, can be expected to raise suspicion and controversy.

Dag Hammarskjöld's death had reverberations everywhere in Africa. In Nyasaland (Malawi) he was mourned by the nationalists who followed closely the politics of the Congo as they fought for self rule from Britain in their own country. I was a secondary school student when I heard that Hammarskjöld had died. Almost everyone knew that Hammarskjöld was sympathetic to the African struggle for independence, not only in the Congo but throughout Africa and the rest of the third world. Rumours had it that Europeans did not want the civil war in the Congo to end because of the wealth that they would lose. So they eliminated Hammarskjöld through an accident that they carefully planned.

The rumours, speculations and controversies surrounding his death have been unravelled by Susan Williams in her brilliant book. I find four aspects of Williams' book fascinating. First, it is thoroughly researched. Second, it boldly takes cognisance of African oral testimonies which have always been neglected in such studies. Thirdly, the book is readable; the story is told in the most accessible language possible. Finally, the maps and photographs which the writer has included tell their own story of the personalities involved in the struggle for Congo's liberation; if you know how to decipher photographs you will easily discern the truth, falsehood, despair or desperation on the faces of the people in the photographs.

Methodologically Susan Williams challenges scholars in African historiography who have relied on the evidence provided by white settlers and written documents in their studies. The African respondents that Williams interviewed in Zambia became prominent politicians after Zambia's independence. They had no reason to tell lies about what they saw, heard or knew about the death of an important man with the noble intention of wanting to liberate the Congo from civil strife and colonial rule.

The reactions to Williams' book are predictable. By December 2011 and January 2012 *London Review of Books* was already carrying objections and counter objections to what her research considers the causes of Hammarskjöld's death. Based on her father's findings, Suzy Nelson (*LRB* 15 December, 2011) effectively asserts that her father, who was one of the technical advisers to the Rhodesian Commission of Inquiry on the death, had concluded that the crash in which Hammarskjöld died "was the result of pilot error". But this position does not invalidate Williams' principle argument that this decision was reached without taking into account the oral testimonies of Africans who saw or heard the airplane crash.

When Kenyan Mau Mau fighters today are claiming compensation for the wrongs that the British inflicted on them during the colonial period, it is right that British researchers be honest and question the credence that has always been given to official documents based on European testimonies in matters that involved Africans. Williams' inclusion of African oral testimony is, therefore, a courageous and welcome aspect of the search for truth that modern African historiography is looking to establish.

I believe that the 'conspiracy theories' which commentators have invoked to try and dismiss Williams' conclusions are neither necessary nor relevant to her claims. Think of the conspiracy theories that have been provided for the airplane crash suffered by Mozambican President Samora Machel, where the truth of who did what is almost palpable. Susan Williams has done remarkable research and taken great pains to gallantly demonstrate that the UN, the Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa, directly or indirectly, caused Hammarskjöld's crash. I recommend this book to anyone who is interested of the history of the Congo and decolonisation; it is very well researched, lucidly written and provides an alternative point of view to a subject that Europe refuses to claim responsibility for, when it should. The price will count for nothing if you are engrossed, as I was, in this absorbing book.

**Jack Mapanje**  
**University of Botswana**

**The Front Line Runs Through Every Woman: Women and Local Resistance in the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle.** Eleanor O'Gorman. James Currey and Weaver Press, Suffolk and Harare, 2011. Pp.192. ISBN 978 1 84701 040 7 (pb) £17.99/\$29.95.

*The Front Line*, based on O'Gorman's doctoral thesis, examines the ways in which African women participated in the country's protracted liberation struggle in Chiweshe, a village 80 km north of Harare. Principally, O'Gorman sets out to understand the failure of revolutionary politics in terms of their feminist agendas. Based on extensive oral histories that O'Gorman collected in Chiweshe, *The Front Line* makes several important interventions into the literatures of women and war, Zimbabwean history and more broadly the transition from colonial to post-colonial governance.

From the Zimbabwean perspective the literature of 'peasant mobilisation' continues to be dominated by Terence Ranger's influential but ultimately flawed 1985 study, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*. O'Gorman, further nuancing Norma Kriger's masterful 1992 study *Zimbabwe's*

*Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices*, which argued contrary to Ranger that peasant mobilisation was based on coercion rather than commitment, argues that the model of peasant mobilisation “does not fully take account of the complexity of women’s lives in revolution and that a reconsideration of revolutionary consciousness is necessary to explain women’s participation in the Zimbabwean war” (p6). For O’Gorman women were constantly negotiating their “relations with the state, the revolutionary forces and their neighbours” (p7), simultaneously traversing the tightrope of support and subversion. Claiming to challenge the ways in which we understand the position of peasant women in war as either fighters or victims, O’Gorman is concerned with representing women as ‘agents of war’ with the further suggestion that the experiences of the women in the liberation struggle are best represented through explorations of localised resistance such as those in Chiweshe.

Structured by the way of six main chapters, chapter one reviews a range of diverse but complementary literature in which O’Gorman examines why revolutions fail women. Challenging Ranger’s theme of ‘romantic nationalism’, O’Gorman argues that nationalism in fact subsumes and ultimately marginalises women’s struggles. Further challenging the notion of a unified peasant consciousness, O’Gorman argues that her ‘bottom-up’ study of Chiweshe “ruptures many of the neat academic narratives that ‘explain’ the workings of women in war by revealing the deeply complex and localised terrain of women’s daily struggles” (p16).

In chapter two O’Gorman proposes an alternative framework of gendered localised resistance in which she argues that by “shifting our theoretical focus to women’s identities, resistance and survival in revolution, we are able to redefine the realm of the local... for understanding women’s revolutionary lives” (p41). In what follows, O’Gorman offers a detailed, sometimes dense discussion of the linkages between power and identity, whilst also suggesting the need to interrogate the concept of ‘consciousness’ to understand the difference between anti-colonialism in the context of revolution; anti-colonial sentiments that arose from felt injustices and struggles that pre-dated the war.

In chapter three O’Gorman provides a brief chronological overview of the events of the liberation struggle, moving to contextualise them specifically in Chiweshe. It is difficult not to think that this chapter should have been placed earlier in the monograph, as this detail is crucial to understand why O’Gorman disagrees with the Ranger model of mobilisation. In addition, while O’Gorman generally labours towards the idea that women were specifically mobilised through patriarchy rather than against it, she fails to explicitly make this connection (pp58-9).

Arguably O’Gorman has the most interesting things to say in the latter half of the monograph, with chapters four and five examining the different ways in which women were mobilised and participated in the struggle. Exploring the case studies of Sarah and Taurai, O’Gorman demonstrates that female mobilisation was a highly relativised process. While Taurai joined the struggle for explicitly political reasons, Sarah was caught between a state and insurgent battle and seemingly had little option but to join the insurgent fighters. Perhaps the most interesting way in which O’Gorman deviates from writers such as Tanya Lyons (*Guns and Guerrilla Girls: Women in the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle*) is that she devotes considerable attention to the other roles that women occupied. Chief amongst these were women who supplied the guerrilla fighters with food. As O’Gorman notes, “food provision emerged as the major theme of self-identification for many of the women when they talked about their participation in the liberation struggle” (p77). While some women supported the revolutionary fighters because of the belief that the end of colonialism would bring greater access to education and a redistribution of land, O’Gorman builds a narrative that emphasises the centrality of violence and the fear of retributive attacks that many rural peoples experienced. Consequently “in such a confused and high-risk environment, talking out was not encouraged and secrecy became a tactical decision of survival; it meant absorbing the horror and surviving. No criticism could be made openly as soldiers or comrades might retaliate” (p106).

Building on her discussion of food networks, in chapter six O’Gorman emphasises the centrality of such networks to guerrilla survival, arguing that these systems placed “women at the heart of guerrilla strategy” (p125). Yet as she so cogently notes, even though women became increasingly important, power still remained in male hands, with the food networks simultaneously demonstrating the “compliance, resistance, powerlessness and sacrifice” (p130) that many women endured.

For the most part O’Gorman’s study comprehensively demonstrates that the women of Chiweshe “do not readily fit the iconography of the revolutionary woman, fighter and mother” (p148). Depressingly she concludes by suggesting that we should not be surprised that revolutionary movements fail women. While perhaps there will always be a dissonance between revolutionary aims and governmental realities it is difficult not to agree with O’Gorman about the ways in which the Zimbabwean state has spectacularly failed women who helped bring about the end of colonialism. This lament aside, O’Gorman’s richly detailed study helps to refocus how we understand the role of women in war; liberating our understanding from a binary model of victim/agent that has dominated the literature for far too long.

**Kate Law, University of the Free State, South Africa**

**German Colonialism. A Short History.** Sebastian Conrad. Translated by Sorcha O'Hagan. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge *et al.*, 2012. ISBN 9781 107400474 (pb) £17.99/\$27.99; ISBN 9781 107008144 (hb) £45.00/\$80.00

Originally published 2008 in Germany, the author (professor of modern history at the Free University of Berlin) presents in this concise overview his intimate knowledge on the thirty years of German colonialism (between 1884 and 1914) and the subsequent impacts, also in terms of how the period is reflected upon in the (mainly German and English) scholarly debate. It serves as a very readable and instructive introduction to the subject, which adds numerous illustrations (photos, cartoons, maps) visualizing the era and providing some feeling for it through contemporary lenses. The target group is clearly beyond a specialised academic community, for which not so much new is offered. Its value is much more the popularisation of the subject, whose relevance is often ignored or overlooked for both, the impact upon Germany as a colonial power and at least as much the colonised societies at the receiving end.

The book provides a sensible structure, which starts with colonialism before the colonial empire and ends with chapters beyond the end of the German colonial empire, including colonialism in Europe, the global contexts of German colonialism and the current day relevance in terms of memory politics. Instead of a plethora of footnotes and references in the text, which might diminish the readability for a wider audience, most of the relevant literature on all the chapters is presented with short annotations at the end of the book. This is a useful and by and large comprehensive service. The entries were updated for the (excellent) English translation and include titles until 2010. But there are some few unfortunate omissions (which are in striking contrast to the otherwise well informed collection, which seems anything but erratic or selective) and a surprisingly big gap with regard to the literature published in 1984 on occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Berlin conference.

This does not reduce decisively the informative character of the summary narrative presented in the chapters. As mentioned, the book has not the ambition to present new research findings. Instead, it offers a sensible review of the state of the art with a broad knowledge of most of the relevant scholarly contributions. The author also manages to give voice to differing (at times controversial) views. He carefully avoids positioning himself by too overtly dismissing or ridiculing other views. Instead, his presentation seems guided by intellectual fairness and integrity. Especially the recent debate on the notion of genocide in South West Africa, the related school of thoughts emphasising in line with Hannah Arendt's approach a trajectory leading from the colonial wars to the Holocaust, as well as the recent debates around the memory politics and

demands for reparation in Namibia are carefully treated and the proponents (at times engaged in pretty tough exchanges over their differing views and interpretations) are treated with respect.

Conrad is careful to identify the merits of a variety of different analytical undertakings and hence manages to indeed present a nuanced and broad picture of the research and especially the results in recent years. One does not have to agree with all his conclusions and preferences to accept this as a solid and helpful popular introduction to the subject matter. One can also easily agree with the author's claims in the Introduction that "for comparative and global historians, German colonialism offers a rich and revealing case study", that colonialism "had a more significant role to play within German history than has long been assumed" and that "the colonial past is still very much with us" (p4). As he reinforces: "Indeed, it is almost ubiquitous, and not just in the former colonies. The legacy of colonialism is equally evident in the metropolises, and colonial issues continue to be central to present-day political conflicts." (p4f.) At the same time, as Conrad ends his – maybe a bit too sketchy and incomplete – final chapter on 'Memory', decolonisation is a much longer process than the formal end of foreign rule seems to suggest at the surface, "one that was by no means completed at the moment of political independence, but rather continues into our post-colonial and globalized present" (p201).

The most important value of this volume is in stressing this insight, that colonialism is not a matter of the past. Those interested in learning more about how colonialism has impacted also on our current life and mindset, would find this a valuable and worthwhile reading and time well spent.

**Henning Melber**  
**Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation**

**Sexuality and Gender Politics in Mozambique: Rethinking Gender in Africa.** Signe Arnfred. James Currey, 2011. ISBN 978 1 84701 035 3 (hb) £\$70/£40

Danish scholar Signe Arnfred presents compelling scholarship and challenges to theories of gender and understandings of Mozambique's modern history. Her account provides a hopeful view of women's lives in rural Mozambique whilst avoiding the suggestion such lives are easy. It is a unique and immensely valuable anthropological and historical study based on thirty years of research and building relationships with women in northern Mozambique. With other recent work on gender in Africa, Arnfred's research in Mozambique challenges "the Eurocentrism of the international women's movement that emerged in the



1980s,” noted by Walsh and Scully in their discussion of the politics of gender in southern Africa (2006, 12).

Arnfred first arrived in Mozambique in 1979, four years into the establishment of Frelimo’s (the Front for Mozambican Liberation) post-colonial socialist republic, under the presidency of Samora Machel. It was also a time when European and American feminism sought to connect with other liberation struggles around the world. Machel promised an enlightened, compassionate, and egalitarian response to the excesses of colonialism, and Arnfred and her partner went to Mozambique with a wish to contribute to social and political reconstruction.

The book is a collection of her writings over three decades, and the flow isn’t always smooth. But each of the fourteen chapters offers a rich and useful contribution to a sweeping portrait of gender and sexuality in rural Mozambique, along with challenging and original insights. This time span is a strength of the book but also results in some repetition and awkward historical jumps. The slightly confusing thematic organisation sometimes fails to account for change over those decades, occasionally leaving, for example, the impression that early Frelimo perspectives and policies are contemporary.

The central claim is that fundamental assumptions about gender identity and gender relations among rural Mozambicans are often either uninformed or wrong. Yet these are shared across the decades and politico-cultural regimes of Portuguese colonialism, early Frelimo socialism, and contemporary neoliberal-inspired society. In line with much ethnographically informed social research from rural Africa, hers is ultimately a plea for policy informed by investigation of how, and why, people lead their lives, rather than by assumptions about how they should.

In 1979 Arnfred and her partner joined a visit to Mozambique of a Danish solidarity organisation, like many others seeking with enormous enthusiasm to support the egalitarian reconstruction of Mozambican society. On behalf of the OMM (*Organização da Mulher Moçambicana*), Frelimo’s national women’s organisation, Arnfred travelled throughout Mozambique collecting information for an extraordinary conference on women’s social problems, including such issues as initiation rituals, polygamy and *lobolo* (brideprice). Frelimo assumed from its early days that such traditions were incompatible with their liberationist, socialist agenda. This began Arnfred’s fieldwork and the fascinating challenge to her own European feminist assumptions.

Arnfred begins by quoting Samora Machel’s assertion “The liberation of women is a necessity for the revolution, a guarantee of its continuity” and explains how

such sentiments “spoke to my feminist heart” (4). But she moves quickly to referring to “the president’s often moralistic and misogynistic points of view” (8). Throughout the book she uses her research well to argue against perceptions of women’s traditions, such as initiation rituals, held by the Catholic church, colonial policy makers, the Frelimo government, and the international community with their neoliberal development policies. These actors have all fundamentally misunderstood such practices, assuming they are demeaning to women, oppressive and should be abolished. She disagrees and finds they play a positive role in promoting relationships between women, and that the women in question do not want them to be abolished.

She describes how such practices are not about oppression but fundamentally about the relationships between women of different ages and organising female society. She stresses how affirmative such practices are: as young women are being sexually initiated before their first encounter with a man, they keep a degree of female control over the sexual relationship between men and women, and a focus on mutual sexual pleasure. In contrast to neighbouring Malawi, where recent research by Anderson (2012, 275) describes women on the receiving end of their sexual relationships, Arnfred portrays northern Mozambican women as active participants whose sexual pleasure is important and legitimate. She describes the raucous and joyous behaviour of older women at initiation weekends, to which the younger women come with fear and trepidation. Well-meaning attempts to bring change and equality threaten such vital social structures and are reductive and, paradoxically, disempowering to women; indeed, she concludes, such efforts are male control dressed up as liberation.

In the case of *lobolo*, which was assumed to be a means of repression – a transactional system of male ownership of women – she shows how it was in fact about protection of and respect for women, a measure of their worth. These reviewers observe that even today, educated middle class Mozambican women often make an active decision that they want to be *lobolada*, choosing this above civil marriage because they see it as preserving status and identity and connecting them to valued traditions. The amounts of goods and money now involved are purely symbolic, but the different aspects of the ceremony have important cultural significance.

Another key area of Arnfred’s analysis is Mozambique’s family law – an early legislative project of independence, which ended up taking the better part of three decades to be introduced. From 1977 there was a plan to have a new family law to replace the Portuguese *código civil* and create a legal basis to regulate and protect all Mozambicans’ lives, through legislation based on the principles of uniformity, equality, and secularism. A draft was circulated in 1980

but, due to its complexity and ongoing contestation and renegotiation during years of civil war, it finally came into law in 2003; an example of how much more complex the project of governance in Mozambique turned out to be than Frelimo and its supporters initially imagined. Arnfred uses the law and its application as an example of policy which fails to account for the realities of women's lives. For example, "the law is supposed to support women, but it does so only to a limited extent, because a network or an organisation to support women in (legal) matters is lacking" (94). She highlights a discrepancy between the law with its ideology of gender equality and the realities of Mozambican women.

Arnfred's exploration of three decades of gender politics in rural, traditional Mozambique is persuasive, and offers a great deal beyond a narrow social history. The anthropology is detailed and insightful, but is refreshingly presented from the perspective of compassion, in the spirit of valuing female experience and learning, as well as documenting. This is an impressive example of empathetic, rather than voyeuristic, ethnography, and should be considered vital to discussions both of the modern history of Mozambique and of gender politics in southern Africa and beyond.

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**Looking for Transwonderland: Travels in Nigeria.** Noo Saro-Wiwa. Granta, 2012. ISBN 978 1 84708 030 1 (pb) £14.99

'In England, cheerful phone enquiries about the provenance of my name are occasionally met with silence when I tell them I'm Nigerian. The world judges me according to this mess, and looking at it made me feel rather worthless'.

'According to the Bible, God made the earth in six days and took a rest on the seventh. But by creating Nigerians, he ensured that that was the last day off he's enjoyed ever since.'

'Suddenly, one of the tyres burst and we came to a stop in the middle of nowhere. I became an anxious speck in this vast semi-desert, But soon after, a man on a motorcycle travelling in the opposite direction stopped next to us. The nearest service station was 16 kilometres behind him, he told us, yet to my

amazement, he turned around and rode back to fetch help, trundling towards the horizon without complaint. His altruism seemed motivated not by duty but by innate reflex. No matter how alien my surroundings in Nigeria, I always felt cushioned by this safety net of human decency.'

These extracts to whet your appetite!

This is a brilliant chronicle of 'travels in Nigeria' and one that could reasonably have been underscored with anger at the brutal killing of Noo Saro-Wiwa's father, Ken Saro-Wiwa, at the hands of the Abacha regime. His presence is everywhere in this sensitive chronicle, but serves to stimulate an almost innocent exploration of the nation to which the writer belongs but from which she has been so long estranged. The great cities of Nigeria – Lagos, Ibadan, Kano, Maiduguri, Port Harcourt – are revisited by the writer in her travels often in the company of relatives or friends, but there are also solitary and intriguing journeys to the most remote parts of the country. She climbs up to Sukur, the UNESCO World Heritage Site in the Mandara mountains on the Cameroonian border and down to the rainforests of the Rivers region of south-east Nigeria. The small asides of her commentary are both perceptive and moving: "Nothing is more beautiful than a rainforest in the morning mist. The sunlight shot through the towering trees, giving their greenness a dewy, sparkling translucence, which hinted at the possibility that spirits truly existed in the forest". At Ibadan she recalls her father's student days, "memories of him conversing with his friends: of loud intellectual gripes that hung in the tobacco clouds...".

This is a remarkable piece of travel writing, but also a brilliant personal voyage of rediscovery.

**Martin Banham**  
**University of Leeds**

**Osogbo and the Art of Heritage: Monuments, Deities, and Money.** Peter Probst. Indiana University Press, 2011. pp207+ xi. ISBN 978 0 253 22295 4 (pb) £16.99/\$24.95

The town of Oshogbo (to use the un-subscripted version of the name) is a small, thriving northern Yoruba town that has a unique place within Nigeria (and beyond) as the locale for a thought experiment that produced fabulous material manifestations. What distinguishes Oshogbo from many, similar, Yoruba towns is a recent history of intersection with two expatriates – one an artist, the other a cultural entrepreneur. There is of course a history of Oshogbo before the arrival

of Susanne Wenger (the artist) and Ulli Beier (the scholar entrepreneur). It is a history that follows the lineaments of much Yoruba settlement and development, certainly unique in its own trajectory, but nonetheless familiar to scholars of south-western Nigeria. The distinctive part of this long history is undoubtedly Oshogbo's adherence to its tutelary deity – Osun, but other Yoruba towns and other places have similar, named, metaphysical figures that stand at the font of their founding. The singular nature of Oshogbo in the world today, similarly, undeniably rests upon the transformations wrought in the 1960s and 1970s. This is a problem, for it is all too easy to describe Oshogbo as the product of external intervention.

Peter Probst's book is a clever articulation of both histories. While at times it feels that this is a work that has to address two markets (anthropology and heritage studies) and that heritage is a convenient frame for the marketing of ethnography, there is little way that, given the nature of Oshogbo, things could have been any different. The book is in fact an excellent ethnography of the local; it is just that this local has an undeniable international imprint. Probst's challenge is to marry the two elements of this within his ethnography. That to do so is to inevitably bump up against current debates in the understanding of African art, material culture, the relationship between tradition, culture and the 'modern' is all grist to his mill.

The framework of heritage structures the book. Each chapter marks a reflection upon a facet of this theme. Thus Probst builds the book on chapters that are all headed "Heritage as..." (source, novelty, project, style, spectacle, remembrance, control and finally presence) and under which titles a particular study is examined. The first chapter, "Heritage as source", describes Oshogbo history, outlining the familiar mythic narrative of the town's founding, but also providing a brief archaeological and colonial history. The next three chapters are about the event of Ulli Beier and Susanne Wenger's arrival in Oshogbo and their effect upon the town. Calling the arrival an event refers back to a Yoruba mytho-historical understanding and there is something of the mythic about Beier's intervention, even if it is myth of his own making. Nonetheless Beier's Mbari Mbayo workshops undoubtedly changed the employment prospects of quite a number of young men and women in Oshogbo, creating a genuine cultural industry. There is undoubtedly more that Probst could have done to situate Beier into the context of the extra-mural department in Ibadan, as well as within the general sense of modernisation (theory?) abroad in Nigeria at this time, but as Oshogbo is the central character in this book and not Beier, perhaps this is to the good. Wenger is inevitably given more space – and mainly because the chapters on spectacle, remembrance and control are directly related to the political manoeuvrings surrounding the Osun festival, the prominence of which undoubtedly does depend upon Wenger's German expressionist experiments at

the Osun grove, as well as her (until 2009) prominence within the town. Having said that, Probst's analysis of the growth and cultural dominance of the Osun grove and festival is excellent, it is judicious in the analysis of the political events surrounding the incorporation of the grove as world heritage site and the contestations around the festival's 'religious' reformulation. It is a shame that, in Chapter Five (spectacle), he slips into an all too familiar art-historically inspired analysis of the festival as ritual, that is the most speculative and weakest moment of the book. It seems that there is a form of Yoruba studies that cannot avoid the temptations of 'deep meaning' even when the rest of the book so demonstrably shows the mutability of that concept.

This book achieves a real sense of Oshogbo as a place. That the place has a complex festival that offers the ethnographer a phenomenon that differs from other places and invokes global penetration should not distract from Probst's genuine ethnographic analysis. In a sense this anthropological treatment offers a real solution to the Beier / Wenger problem as it allows Probst to demonstrate that despite the modernist interventions of that couple, Oshogbo is structured by, develops and looks to the future according to the very real social relationships within the town, and those do not depend upon any external mediation, expressionist or not. And while heritage offers a useful framing device, what Probst has actually produced in this book is an ethnography that allows Oshogbo and its people to emerge as a very real presence in the formation of its own cultural narrative.

**Will Rea**

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**The Female King of Colonial Nigeria: Ahebi Ugbabe.** Nwando Achebe. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2011. Pp. 305. ISBN 978 0 253 22248 0 (pb). \$29.00

*The Female King of Colonial Nigeria: Ahebi Ugbabe* is one of the most compellingly argued, rigorously researched scholarly writings in the fields of history and women studies in colonial Igbo society, Nigeria and Africa. Based on the unusual political dealings of Ahebi Ugbabe of Enugu-Ezike, a woman who by challenging the systems of male power rose from obscurity in a world of suffocating patriarchy to become the only female warrant chief, local adjudicator, and ultimately, king, the book is a more than a welcome and timely addition to the discourse on Igbo women in colonial Nigeria. The book's five chapters and copious but very helpful Appendix and Bibliography trace the transformation of Ahebi Ugbabe from an ordinary village girl to a king whose

social and political decisions and actions impact on her locality of Enugu-Ezike and its neighbours, destabilising geopolitical and gender constructions whilst leaving their marks on the colonial authorities and the making of modern Nigeria. With most of Nigerian and African histories generally underplaying the contributions of women in national struggles and development, barring the exceptions, in the case of Nigeria, of Margaret Ekpo and Funmilayo Ransom Kuti, Ahebi's story is worth reading for both historical and sociological reasons.

*The Female King of Colonial Nigeria* places Ahebi Ugbabe on the same, if not on a higher iconographic pedestal as Ekpo and Ransom Kuti, two of Nigeria's most celebrated political crusaders for women's rights, education and emancipation. It contests, as a secondary objective, the dominance of men's control of historical narrative as well as offering a peculiarly insightful reading of the unhelpful misconceptions of women in Igbo civilisation and Africa in western scholarship and epistemology. Ahebi was ahead of her time. Her political positioning at the heart of colonial enterprise despite the risk of becoming an irritant to British rule and to Igbo patriarchal institutions, was remarkable. Her pioneering roles, as we are now privileged to read, in education and commerce, and dealings with male chieftains and kings across the borders of her then northern Igbo kingdom, beyond to Igala and possibly to Benin, is a feat that few pre-independence Igbo and Nigerian women achieved anywhere.

The book is a historical document and mirrors the tendency in historians to want to prove everything. As helpful as this may be for historians, the maze of detailed descriptions, oral and documentary evidences, images, musical scores, maps, government and private papers, and lengthy analyses of individual and collective accretions of memory could be daunting for non-historians. However, this tendency for elaboration is not allowed to become a major weakness; it is tempered stylistically as Achebe uses her incisive storytelling, *performative* voice to draw audiences and readers to the most important features of her narration. The result is not only a narrative in which Ahebi Ugbabe shines through, it is a captivating read and document with little of the anthropological preference for *rebuilding* and *polishing* Ahebi's image in the quest for historical authenticity.

Nwando Achebe's achievement is a publication that is definitely headed for prominence in scholarship on Igbo history and women studies in Africa's colonial and postcolonial histories. But for Achebe's perseverance and scholarship Ahebi's story would have remained unheard: her restoration is not simply as political crusader; her positioning of women at the centre of political and cultural discourse is an important counterpoint to the collectivisation of women in African and western discourse as Achebe argues in the introduction. Achebe avoids the temptation to idolise her subject as another legendary

character: her picture of Ahebi Ugbabe is that of a real woman, a political visionary and cultural activist whose place in history was secured by the combination of commercial and political astuteness with human frailties. For a society with few such figures this book is a scholarly feat worth reading and owning for more than the authenticity and quality of research. It reveals something of the spirit, social activism, and individualism of Igbo women epitomised by the closely related collectivism displayed by the Aba women's riots.

**Victor Ukaegbu**  
**University of Northampton**

**When a State turns on its Citizens: 60 years of Institutionalized Violence in Zimbabwe.** Lloyd Sachikonye. Weaver Press, Harare, 2011. Pp.xxii + 121. ISBN 978 1 77922 164 3 (pb). £18.95

**Zimbabwe's Lost Decade: Politics, Development and Society.** Lloyd Sachikonye. Weaver Press, Harare, 2011. Pp. xvi + 227. ISBN 978 1 77922 171 1 (pb). £22.95

Lloyd Sachikonye has an outstanding record of research and writing on Zimbabwe and southern Africa, on his own and in collaboration with compatriots and pan-African scholars, over 30 years. He has covered a range of topics under a broad rubric of political economy: labour and other class dynamics, on the state, democracy and political change, on land and rural development, on livelihoods and the overall economy. He has never shunned the awkward themes and has spoken truth to power. Both volumes show this readiness to challenge and tell it how it is, and also considerable methodological ingenuity in overcoming the official disapproval of such exposures. The fact that such publications come from someone who has been rooted in his base in the Institute for Development Studies in Harare, throughout the bad times, means it is well-informed by day to day interaction with realities on the ground.

The first book deals up front with repressive violence and how it became institutionalised. He sets the appalling patterns since 1998 in a historical context, showing how violent means were endemic to the racist, repressive settler-colonial regime's control of the African people, but also how African nationalist parties, from the time they emerged, often resorted to violent means in competition between parties, and the coups and rebellions and repression within both movements as they engaged in armed struggle against the Rhodesian state. After independence these culminated in the savage *Gokarahundi* in Matabeleland – atrocities that have never been 'dealt with' by reconciliation. The major emphasis is placed on the use of violent means after 2000: against the



new political party, MDC and other political foes of the regime, in the occupations of farm land owned by whites, in the fights between militias and youth of both parties, especially during elections in 2005 and 2008, and in 'retribution' after them. A systematic cataloguing of all types of violence is provided, drawing on a rich repository of information collected by brave and determined networks of NGOs, supplemented by the author's interviews and focus groups and conferences in 2009-10.

The book seeks to go beyond the many accounts of such brutalities by offering some *explanations* for this long history of the use of violence politically. Whilst arguing that there is "no single cause of the violence..." (p105), he argues "at the heart of violence has lurked a combination of greed, self-aggrandisement by the ruling elite and its supporters" (p100). This has emerged as the "preferred instrument of choice for the regime" through a long process of "institutionalised impunity, improved technologies of repression and material greed". But the 'institutionalisation' process has extended to society as a whole, which is now "severely scarred, ...traumatised and devastated from successive waves of violence during the last three decades" (p100). These deep roots and the societal impact are then used to offer some preliminary recommendations as to how the process might be reversed. Yes, start with documenting what perpetrators would like to remain secret – a job that is being done with courage and diligence. But it should go on to cover transitional justice, reconciliation, security sector reform and the promotion of an alternative political culture of peace and civic studies.

The second volume uses a similar historical approach and in fact reflects work done over a generation of engagement. It covers the broad themes of the political economy: in Part I the politics - colonialism and the national question, the state, parties and participation and constitutionalism; in Part II the social and economic dynamics – development and its deferral, land reform, livelihoods and migration, civil society, plus a chapter on foreign relations. But its core purpose is once again to *explain*, in this instance how and why the promise of Independence gave way to the 'lost decade' of the 2000s. In this endeavour he first, as in the first book, distances himself from the tendency to revert to one-man versions of historical causation:

It would be fashionable but simplistic to explain the rise and decline of Zimbabwe solely in terms of the leadership and role of Robert Mugabe. Historical, structural and systemic factors should loom large in any explanation. But it would be naive to ignore the strong imprint of Mugabe's policies, decisions and personality on the direction and fortunes of the country. (p. xiii)

Instead he also sees the effects of the settler-colonial legacy, inappropriate economic paradigms later pursued, even in the relatively positive 1980s, the

politics of authoritarianism (drawing on and broadening out the conclusions of the *Institutionalised Violence* volume), and the lack of vision and strategy in the lost decade. Here again he bothers to set out possible alternative futures.

Any reader might quarrel with some particular emphasis in analysis or diagnosis, given their sweep. For instance, his discussion of what “could be the path of (agrarian) recovery and transition” (p207) starts from “the consensus between scholars who support and criticise land reform” of the 2000-03 period was accompanied by declines in agricultural output, which is only a slight overstatement of the unanimity. But his call then for review of land policy, involving compensation, tenure security and a land audit as well as major investment leaves unspecified whether any re-redistribution should be on the agenda. Equally the review and recommendations about the role of civil society organisations, about which he has a wealth of participant experience, is realistically aware of problems of their existential context of repression and financial dependence and of their structural challenges, such as fragmentation and capacity limitations, but might be push further to explore further how they might interact with the state and parties given the present Global Political Agreement beyond the advice to “maintain political distance”.

Overall these two books provide both valuable explanatory background on the crisis of Zimbabwe and an agenda for debate about alternatives. They constitute necessary reading for anyone wishing to enter those debates. The University of Leeds can feel proud in being recognised by the author as one source of his ‘intellectual pedigree’. The publishers should also be congratulated for continuing to bring out such challenging titles.

**Lionel Cliffe**  
**University of Leeds**

**Being Maasai, Becoming Indigenous: Postcolonial Politics in a Neoliberal World.** Dorothy L. Hodgson. Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2011. Pp. 266. ISBN 978 0 253 22305 0 (pb) \$28.

**I Say to You: Ethnic Politics and the Kalenjin in Kenya.** Gabrielle Lynch. University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 2011. Pp. 291. ISBN 978 0 226-49805 8 (pb) \$27.50.

**Pastoralism and Politics in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia.** Gunter Schlee and Abdullahi Shongolo. James Currey, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2012. Pp. 179. ISBN 9781847010360 (hb) £40.

Kenya is a country of extremes. Fertile and well-watered uplands in the central mountains and by Lake Victoria are surrounded by huge areas of semi-arid lands

across the north and stretching south down the Rift Valley. The volumes by Lynch and by Schlee and Shongolo shed welcome light on these latter, often neglected areas and their people, including those resident across frontiers: Lynch on the people in the centre of Rift Valley Province who have come to form the Kalenjin; Schlee and Shongolo on Somali and Oromo peoples in north east Kenya and across the border into Ethiopia. Both focus on “the ethnicisation of politics” (Schlee and Shongolo p115), seen as recent historical processes rooted in the colonial experience. Hodgson’s ethnography, on the other hand, concerns the Maasai in Tanzania, and more particularly the role of Maasai NGOs and the ‘positionings’ (Hodgson p5) of ethnicity there, and thus examines such processes in a state context different from the Maasai in Kenya, who are neighbours, and sometimes political allies, of the Kalenjin.

While the approaches underlying the three books all rely - to greater or lesser extent - on ethnographic accounts, they contrast in how they attempt to explain these processes and their implications for ethnic politics (vertical and horizontal), for broader politics (national and globalised), and for contestation, conflict and corruption. The differences are not primarily disciplinary. Although Lynch is a political scientist she focuses on the shifting patterns of what constitutes ethnic identity and government policies that shaped ‘Kalenjin-ness’ and the central role its leaders came to play in national politics. Hodgson, an anthropologist, also examines political processes, with NGOs as a crucial vehicle. Schlee and Shongolo, also anthropologists, root their analysis in the material basis of life of people whose livelihoods and culture depend on mobile livestock pastoralism.

Hodgson notes, “anthropologists have struggled over whether there is a way to talk about making culture without making enemies” (p5 citing Jean Jackson). All three works do not shirk the reality, i.e. that ethnic groups, however they may promote a culture of ‘origin’, ownership rights and being oppressed, and one of environmental, social and economic morality, also demand participation in politics, and defend and reinforce livelihoods, and even, as Hodgson (p1 citing Ferguson and Gupta) argues, make themselves “a marketable commodity”. Ethnic politics, like all politics, also shows itself as contested. Furthermore, as much as nation-states ‘invent’ national culture and impose convenient historical narratives as *the* reality that underlies it, so too do ethnic groups do this for ethnic culture, or even, as argued by Lynch for the Kalenjin, invent their ethnicity’s very existence.

In Dorothy Hodgson’s book the concept of ‘positionings’, drawing on Stuart Hall’s and others’ conceptualisations of ‘articulation’ and ‘positioning’, convincingly makes sense of Maasai politics in Tanzania, as they ‘became’ indigenous. Maasai activists, working through NGOs and increasingly

participating in the United Nations Working Group, legitimated the establishing of rights and political activism. Hodgson's focus on NGOs, far from engendering a narrow focus on development aid and localised politics of resources, evidences Maasai as working towards a position of political recognition, albeit acknowledging that this "takes place in complex fields of power" (p139). Such recognition eventually brought the reversal of the settlement of Maasai in villages as rationalised in Nyerere's "socialist vision of *Ujamaa* (familyhood)", a policy that sought to "move beyond ethnicity to build national unity" (pp66-7). The journey to recognition was not straightforward, and, the gains in solidarity and support in the international arena was sometimes at the expense of a more united grassroots organisation-building at home (p143). While Hodgson evidences well the positionings, pragmatism, and Maasai agency overcoming complex political contexts, she sometimes appears to rue the contested and rival indigenous politics, almost suggesting that Maasai politics is weakened or even tainted by disagreement. Arguably though, when ethnography writes up 'culture', there is focus on photogenic essentialisations, facilitating an attractive presentation of people in harmony, while politics, especially subaltern politics, is by definition about resistance, contestation and difference; Hodgson's 'positionings' frame this context well while providing a useful analytic model.

In *I Say to You* by Gabrielle Lynch, contestation and difference in ethnic politics are seen to have darker outcomes. Lynch reveals a fascinating and innovative discussion of the processes by which the Kalenjin were 'made' (chapter 2) with reference to narratives on past injustices and in opposition to Kikuyu identity, especially concerning disputed land ownership and political representation. Chapters 3 and 4 look at President Daniel arap Moi and the Kalenjin's rise from 1955. Lynch does, as she sets out to, "move[...] beyond a common but oversimplified account of political patronage". This does not, though, deny the importance of local processes, disputes, and, contradictions: Moi himself "was just as autocratic and probably more autocratic among the Kalenjin as he was with other communities" (p133 quoting a retired Kalenjin civil servant). Lynch further develops accounts of the transition to multiparty politics from the early 1990s to 2007 in chapters 5 and 6, discussing the heightened militancy of ethnic politics, complicated by various actors and institutions: for example, evangelical church leaders "'train[ed]'... a wide range of Kalenjin 'youth' [who] became Kalenjin 'warriors'" (p195). The violence and displacements (the latter in the hundreds of thousands) following the 2007 election are explained through linkage to political and economic marginalisation and resultant 'resentment' ('bottom up'), and not just elite provocation ('top down'). Lynch concludes with the enduring politics of belonging, the discursive repertoires of marginalisation, and the sense of entitlement making for 'ethnic chauvinism'; she returns pessimistically to her opening and the "potential for a sense of ethnic difference to endorse, and even demand, violent atrocities against the 'other'" (p1).

In the Introduction and Chapter 1, which situate the work in terms of frameworks for analysing ethnicity in general and Kalanjin identity in particular, conceptualisations and debates are not always convincingly explained. There is no discussion about the book's combined use of the epistemologically and methodologically distinct discursive and empirical conceptualisations that inform the work. Many concepts, arguably too many, are introduced but often barely explained. For example, although Benedict Anderson is cited, 'imagining' of ethnicity is implied as a weaker form of Hobsbawm and Ranger's 'invention', and both concepts are loosely used. Notably, as the book develops, references are made to 'culture brokers' and to 'power brokers' without explaining who these were and how they conducted such brokerage. Having said this, the main chapters of empirical analysis have much to reveal, and there the quality of the research shines.

This same period of Kalanjin political emergence and the 'Moi era politics' are seen to underlie processes of 'territorialization of ethnicity' in Schlee and Shongolo's book. Their account of these dynamics is very much bottom up, exploring what those national processes meant for clans whose identity and inter-relations evolved into a more clear-cut definition of being 'Somali' and 'Boran' (in turn part of Oromo). Interaction, often on a huge and devastating scale, was around what mattered most to the livelihoods of these different pastoralists and was marked by mutual raiding and conflict over access rights to grazing land and water, and efforts at resolution of these conflicts. These issues are explored through a more detailed and sensitive discussion of the 'logic' of pastoralism and prospects for development within it than ordinarily appears in the discourse of social analysts and politicians in Eastern Africa. Among the welcome truths articulated: "Nomadism is a form of specialisation which has nothing archaic about it. ... it is not only sophisticated in the field of organization, but also technologically ..." (p14). Furthermore, the authors assert that no pastoralists in Kenya have "ever been self-sufficient [but have always] barter[ed] for agricultural produce" (p11). The analysis has profound implications for understanding 'tribalism' in Kenyan politics: the conflict issues in these localities are not the simple result of a Malthusian logic of scarce resources, nor of 'environmental wars', but of local leaders' political belief that "whatever resources are available should be shared ... on the basis of tribe". Thus land is at the core of the ethnicisation of politics. Secondly, the authors highlight that the land rights which the pastoralists claim (and are ready to fight over) are *collective* rights to common land. This is especially so since social and economic sustainability depends on "an open boundary policy and by reaching agreements with their neighbours" (p151), something that is contradicted by urban Kenyan politicians who, unconcerned, work instead toward taking, distributing and sub-division. Paradoxically then, not only does patronage in

these regions not even provide trickle down benefits to clients, but acts against their interests.

The conclusion of Schlee and Shongolo's book deserves deep consideration of the connection between political participation and appropriate land reform, between identity and development – in other areas of Kenya and Eastern Africa. All three books have implications for the analysis of ethnic politics and its relationships with national and broader politics. They provide invaluable insight into the regional context, as well as useful analyses for those researching ethnic conflict and policy implications in other parts of the world.

**Karen Cereso and Lionel Cliffe**  
**LUCAS, University of Leeds**

## Books Received

Titles listed here may be subject to future reviews. The LUCAS Bulletin is always interested to hear from colleagues who might wish to review titles listed below. Contact African-studies@leeds.ac.uk

**S is for Samor. A Lexical Biography of Samora Nachel and the Mozambican Dream.** Sara LeFanu. Hurst and Company, 2012. ISBN 978 184904 1894 2 (pbv) £16.99

*Under review by Simone Doctors*

**Matatu Journal for African Culture and Society. Focus on Nigeria: Literature and Culture.** Ed. Gordon Collier. Rodopi, Amsterdam and New York, 2012. ISBN 978 90 420 3572 0 (hb). €105

*Under review by Femi Osofisan*

**Ethnicity in Zimbabwe. Transformations in Kalanga and Ndebele Societies, 1860-1990.** Enocent Msindo. University of Rochester Press, 2012. ISBN 13 978 1 58046 418 5. £65

**Islam and Ethnicity in Northern Kenya and Southern Ethiopia.** Günther Schlee with Abdullahi A Shongolo. James Currey, 2012. ISBN 978 1 84701 046 9. £40

**There Was a Country. A Personal History of Biafra.** Chinua Achebe. Allen Lane, 2012. ISBN 978 1 846 14576 6. £20

*Under review*

**The Freetown Bond. A Life Under Two Flags.** Eldred Durosimi Jones with Marjorie Jones. . James Currey, 2012. ISBN 978 1 84701 055 1. £30

*Under review*

**Reading Revolution. Shakespeare on Roben Island.** Ashwin Desai. Unisa Press, Pretoria. 2012. ISBN 978 1 86888 683 8. Rand 350

*Under review*

**Photography in Africa: Ethnographic Perspectives.** Ed. Eichard Vokes. James Currey, 2012. ISBN 978 1 84701 045 2. £40/\$70

*Under review by Jane Plastow*

**Wars of Plunder: Conflicts, Profits and the Politics of Resources.** Philippe Le Billon. Hurst, London, 2012. ISBN 978 1849041454. (pb.) £20

*Under review by Ray Bush*

**A History of Malawi 1859-1966.** John McCracken. James Currey/Boydell & Brewer, 2012. ISBN 978 1 84701 064 3. £60/\$99

*Under review by Shane Doyle*

**Outcomes of post-2000 Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe.** Eds. Lionel Cliffe, Jocelyn Alexander, Ben Cousins, Rudo Gaidzanwa. Routledge, 2012. ISBN 978-0-415-62791-7. (hb.) £90

*Under review by Fayking Chung*

**From Head-Loading to the Iron Horse: Railway Building in Colonial Ghana and the Origins of Tropical Development.** Komla Tsey. 2013. Langa RPCIG, Cameroon. ISBN 978-9-956-72899-2. (pb.) £24.95

**Summoning the Rains.** Eds. Hilda Twongyeirwe and Ellen Banda-Aaku. Femrite Publications Limited, Kampala, 2012. ISBN 978 99707 00257. (pb.) £18.95