
Book Reviews

Alfred G. Nhema (ed.), *The Quest for Peace in Africa. Transformations, Democracy and Public Policy*. Addis Ababa: International Books with OSSREA, 2004. 416 pp. \$29.95/£20.00 paperback.

Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo (ed.), *Liberal Democracy and its Critics in Africa*. Dakar, London, Pretoria: CODESRIA in association with Zed Books and University of South Africa Press, 2005. xviii + 213 pp. £45.00/\$59.95 hardback, £13.95/\$19.95 paperback.

Mahmoud Ben Romdhane and Sam Moyo (eds), *Peasant Organisations and the Democratisation Process in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA, 2002. x + 365 pp. £25.95 paperback.

Are peace and democracy unattainable in Africa? Research efforts in Africa by African scholars are desirable and highly commendable, worthy of being available to the academic and wider public. Two of the oldest and most successful African research institutions in the social sciences are OSSREA and CODESRIA. Three edited volumes from these two institutions, containing only works of African researchers, offer studies on problems of democratization and peace, with a view from inside. At their best, these contributions present a particular view, temperament and involvement which only the concerned insider can offer.

Conference proceedings and edited volumes around one topic are not usually very attractive to publishers or readers. Yet they contain some golden nuggets, between some empty husks. Many excellent and highly relevant articles may be overlooked because they are hidden away in such volumes among irrelevant (for a particular research interest) material. Scholars with such interest may find it worth buying a book for just one chapter. Fortunately modern data technology allows new ways of searching to get access to those golden grains. The problem today is mostly how to select catchwords to search for.

The best and most relevant publications mostly concentrate on well defined research topics, selected for systematic research by different authors, and lead to a concluding conference. But varying quality plagues editors and induces them to allow material of marginal value to sneak in, just to 'cover' different aspects seen as relevant.

The Quest for Peace in Africa: Transformations, Democracy and Public Policy gives the proceedings of the 7th OSSREA Congress of 2002. The title is little more than a common topic to bind together contributions covering varying subjects, with varying empirical content, quality, and interest. The first part presents ten studies on conflicts in different African countries, the second deals with democracy and democratization in four countries, the third and least connected part adds three studies on three governments' public policies. Papers are mixed in quality, some just present research designs not findings, while others give enlightening pieces of social analysis. A few papers deserve particular mention: 'An Analysis of Ethnic Conflict Management in Ethiopia' by Asnake Kefale; Nixon S. Khembo's interesting criticism of Malawi's constitution without constitutionalism; a paper by Felician Tungaraza explaining that the 'target population' had no influence on social policy formulation in Tanzania, leaving policies void of social justice and economic efficiency; and Merera Gudina's conclusion that Ethiopian federalism works as a device to maintain the governing party in power. Depending on their particular interests, others may find other papers more interesting and useful.

More of a co-ordinated research effort lies behind the volume *Liberal Democracy and its Critics in Africa*. It documents the results of a research project of CODESRIA on democracy and democratic processes in Africa, initiated in 2001. It presents some interesting insights on democratic forms and contents in an African social context. In different African countries, eight authors identify conditions for and obstacles to democratization in Africa, arriving at a more general picture of the potential for African democratization. In the introduction the editor suggests that democracy has no appeal in Africa, because there is a primary need for social

programmes, and because the voter does not think in terms of individual utility but of group identity and social needs. Rachid Tlemtsani suggests that African regimes use liberal democracy as a smokescreen for establishing police states; Joseph-Marie Zambo Beluja points to the multiplicity of motivations behind voter decisions, questioning the thesis of dominating ethnic voting patterns. Historical experience, the trauma of liberation struggle, and issues of social security play more of a role, he concludes. Aimé Samuel Saba demonstrates that corruption, tribalism and patrimonialism continue to erode democratic achievements in Africa day by day. In his summarizing chapter the editor lists a series of missing factors in the debate on democracy in Africa, and concludes that developing democracy must be considered a process of struggles, contests and protests which eventually may allow democracy by creating a state to be owned by the people.

Peasant Organisations and the Democratisation Process in Africa is the most consistent of the three volumes in dealing comprehensively with one topic. It is the fruit of a CODESRIA Multi-national Working Group established in 1995. The book contains twelve studies which analyse the social and political context of peasant organizations and their contribution to democratization in eight African countries. An excellent introduction by Sam Moyo, a known scholar on peasant organizations, land tenure and rural policies, draws a broad picture of the potential and significance of peasant organizations for democracy in Africa. The texts of the twelve authors again vary in content and quality, but a general theme for all evolves. Gilbert Naccache exposes it by showing that peasants are not involved but conceive of democracy as an issue of central power. Even scholars, he says, see democracy not as a means for becoming self-reliant; it is a process giving peasants rights, while the use of these rights is not considered a precondition of the transformation. Mohamadou Sy continues this argument when he observes that peasants see the state as a threat, as an agent of exploitation. Politics, for them, is confined to the towns, not designed for them to have influence. This theme — the exclusion of large parts of the rural population but also other minorities — is strangely absent from most debates on democracy. The more fashionable definition of a ‘civil society’ defining democracy may have contributed to hiding this issue, which the present volume sheds light on.

Much more could be said about the three books. Instead, scholars and other interested readers are encouraged to explore these volumes for themselves, following their particular interests and research needs.

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Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh and Will Kymlicka (eds), *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*. Oxford: James Currey; Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004. xvi + 336 pp. £50.00 hardback, £18.95 paperback.

Harri Englund and Francis B. Nyamnjoh (eds), *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa*. London and New York: Zed Books, 2004. xiv + 283 pp. £55.00/\$75.00 hardback, £18.95/\$25.00 paperback.

One theme which is definitely assured of continued interest in the African context is that of the politics of identity. In recent years there has been an unrelenting flow of books and articles on the appearances of ethnicity and other articulations of identity, yet the essential question is what novel perspectives are offered and what different aspects illuminated.

These two volumes, each competently organized in the light of its chosen focus, together provide a useful introduction to the current discourse on identity politics in Africa. Both represent rich and varied collections highlighting a range of dimensions and issues in the politics of ethnicity and identity politics more generally. Both subscribe to a degree of pluralism with respect to the perspectives from which ethnicity and the politics of identity can be considered, also allowing for a certain measure of dissent within their project boundaries. There is also a shared appreciation of the centrality of democratic forms and political processes in the two projects.

Regarding the latter, Bruce Berman and his colleagues start out from the premise that 'democratic development in multi-ethnic Africa depends on the contingent interactions and adaptations of both indigenous and exogenous institutions and cultural elements' (p. xiii). For that reason, they suggest that '[s]uccessful democracies in Africa will probably neither look like, nor function as facsimiles of, familiar forms of Western liberal democracy, but rather produce distinctive African variants as the fundamental issues are argued out and negotiated in each state' (pp. xiii–xiv). In much the same vein, Harri Englund in his introduction argues for 'a certain flexibility in imagining the institutional forms that democracy may take in Africa', submitting that '[if] Africa, like any other part of the world, is to be understood not through analogies derived from other historical experiences but through its specific historical trajectories, the debate on appropriate forms of democratic institutions ought to be informed by close analysis of diverse circumstances' (p. 24).

Nonetheless, there are significant contrasts in the respective approaches and the questions addressed in these projects, and partly for that reason they are quite complementary. The differences are aptly captured in the titles of the two books. In the light of frequent questions about the role and effects of ethnicity in African politics and processes of democratization, the focus of Bruce Berman et al. is squarely on 'ethnicity and democracy in Africa'. This focus is taken very literally, starting from a perspective on the 'ethnic' and seeking to explore the impacts of different ethnic configurations on processes and prospects of democratization. By implication, ethnicity comes to figure as the essential field of identity politics in Africa, building on a longstanding line of scholarship in this area. In contrast, the Englund/Nyamnjoh volume broadens the scope to comprise a much wider range of identity and 'recognition' questions.

Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa has been authored largely by a cast of Africanist historians and political scientists, most of them based in North America and Britain. The collection includes three chapters on South Africa (Hendricks, Marks and Murray), three on Kenya (Lonsdale, Odhiambo and Muigai), two on Nigeria (Falola and Mustapha) and others on Cameroon (Eyoh), Botswana (Solway), Senegal (Diouf), Congo (Jewsiewicki and N'Sanda Buleli) plus more general conceptual contributions by Ekeh, Ejobowah and the volume editors. Opening with a general section on 'ethnicity and democracy in historical and comparative perspective', followed by two sections with country studies devoted to the 'dynamics of ethnic development in Africa' and 'ethnicity and the politics of democratization', the volume ends with a broadly comparative section on 'ethnicity and institutional design'.

Reflecting on the processes analysed in various contributions, the editors in their conclusions formulate a number of propositions concerning the role of ethnicity in contemporary political dynamics and the way this should be understood. Central here is the idea that 'contemporary ethnicities are modern, not primordial survivals . . . intimately linked to the processes of colonial and post-colonial state formation and the development of capitalist market economies . . . [shaping] and also shaped by other bases of social differentiation and conflict' (pp. 317–18). The respective propositions are not exactly new, but together offer a useful state of the art of ethnicity studies in relation to processes of democratization. Connoisseurs of the field will recognize the set as representing capsule formulations of particular theoretical positions which in recent years have evolved in ongoing discussions of ethnicity and the politics of identity in Africa. There are important areas of continuing debate with respect to several of the propositions concerned, such as the idea of ethnicities representing more or less closed moral economies and engaging in a kind of a-moral competition amongst one another, which has found its challengers as well as its adherents since it was first developed by John Lonsdale (Lonsdale, 1994). Leaving these aside, the overall set depicts a dynamic field of interactions between ethnicity and politics, affecting the political contours of African states and societies and presenting major challenges to institution-building on the continent.

This collection's merit is that it brings a wide range of connections between ethnic configurations and institutional dynamics impacting on democratization within a single focus. The flip side is that in doing so it runs the risk of being (mis)taken as sketching a picture of African politics and political change as being strongly or primarily ethnicity-driven, thus reflecting or reinforcing recurrent popular conceptions of the same. This may result in insufficient recognition of the variability of the factor of ethnicity over time and space, including situations where ethnicity plays a less predominant role in the shaping of political transformations. Berman et al. end on a plea for institutionally recognizing

ethnic diversity wherever appropriate. At the same time they are banking on the progressive extension of a broader spectrum of individual human rights and non-ethnic collective identities being generated through processes of class and social differentiation. It is then assumed that ethnicity may come to be embedded alongside other forms of solidarity and representation.

Dynamic social processes widening the field of the politics of identity beyond the ethnic domain may actually have advanced much further than is sometimes recognized. Turning to the Englund/Nyamnjoh volume, it is striking to note how the phrase ‘the politics of recognition’, borrowed from the philosopher Charles Taylor (Taylor, 1994), which serves as the authors’ point of departure, at once highlights other dimensions and different kinds of issues — though still basically evolving around identity politics. Aside from Englund’s reflective introduction and an astute epilogue by Werbner, this volume is authored largely by a group of Nordic and African scholars, most of them social anthropologists, their case studies originating from a wide spectrum of African countries. Starting from a set of questions focused on the implications of liberal individual rights frameworks for the (non-)recognition of distinctive social and cultural identities, ‘rights and the politics of recognition’ are discussed with reference to such questions as deaf culture in Kenya (Andersen), gender inequalities in Mauritius (Bunwaree), positions adopted in constitutional-political manoeuvring in Uganda (Halsteen), voluntary associations standing in for ethnicities in Burkina (Hagberg), competing claims for linguistic-religious representations in Eritrea (Bereketeab), floods and elections in Mozambique (Bertelsen), the politics of ecology, belonging and xenophobia in Cameroon (Geschiere), as well as in critical discussions of the ‘rhetoric of rights’ in Botswana (Nyamnjoh), Malawi (Kanyongolo) and South Africa (Johnson and Jacobs).

This collection in part thus draws interest on account of the variety of empirical domains from which its examples have been derived. However, this has not been the editors’ sole or even primary purpose. The key concerns brought forward by most of the authors are twofold, with only a thin dividing line between them. One is the issue of unrecognized or ‘denied’ identities, whether in regard to ethnic identities or others like those of gender or the deaf. The questions here include those of non-recognition, suppression or denial, or else of misrepresentation of social groups, either officially or in popular discourse. The other, closely related concern is the politics of identity construction, focused on group conflicts and competition about which groups and categories are to be subsumed under what labels, giving rise to winners and losers in various ongoing quests for social and symbolic recognition. Demands for recognition in particular respects may be provoked by, but remain at variance with, ‘difference-blind’ individual human rights regimes based on liberal constitution-making. Such regimes often do not recognize significant intermediate solidarities between the state and the abstract notion of the individual citizen. As Englund puts it, there ‘are cogent historical reasons for questioning individualistic notions of citizenship that marginalize various intermediate solidarities’, warning that ‘the prospect of anti-democratic processes can be mitigated only by resolute efforts to understand historical specificities, not by imposing models that are incompatible with realities on the ground’ (p. 23).

A cursory impression of the respective foci of these two volumes suggests that *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa* constructively consolidates existing knowledge, while *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa* raises intriguing innovative questions. Nonetheless, some contributors to the former volume similarly engage in discussions of the ‘politics of recognition’ (for example, Ejibowah), while the latter also contains a fair amount of received wisdom and in one instance engages in some discussion of the ‘primordial’ basis of ethno-linguistic identities (in Bereketeab’s chapter on Eritrea). Another way of distinguishing the foci of the two projects might be to say that by and large they appear to be concerned with different successive manifestations of ethnicity. In the case of Berman et al. this has led to an emphasis on the politicization of ethnicity that one has witnessed throughout the continent ever since independence and certainly upon the adoption of multiparty systems in various countries. In contrast, in the case of Englund et al. this appears to have resulted in an emphasis on the more localized issues of autochthony, belonging and exclusion that have frequently asserted themselves in recent years. Still, the Berman et al. volume also carries some discussion of autochthony struggles at lower levels, as in Jewsiewicki and N’Sanda Buleli’s chapter on ‘Ethnicities as “First Nations” of the Congolese Nation-State’. Rather, the real difference is that *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa* is primarily oriented towards issues of ethnicity reaching and affecting ‘national’ politics and processes

of democratization, while *The Politics of Recognition in Africa* is largely concerned with identity struggles that fail to get attention from, or make a dent in, 'national' politics.

Not unrelated to this, perhaps the most striking contrast between the two volumes lies with their respective points of departure and their identification of the 'problem'. For Berman et al. the central problem lies with the political implications of ethnicity and Africa's evolving ethnic configurations. Taking the position that ethnic identities and configurations must be accepted as part of Africa's heritage and modernity, their objective is to seek an answer to the question as to 'which institutional models offer ways of ameliorating the challenge that ethnicity poses to democratic nation-building' (backflap). Berman et al.'s position can be read as carrying a note of caution that articulations of ethnicity should not come to command 'too much' space and attention. In contrast, the key problem for Englund et al. lies with the institutional factor, namely in Africa's ostensibly liberal rights frameworks. Derived from dominant liberal theories of democracy, in various contexts it is felt these are unable to accommodate popular searches for recognition and representation pursued on the continent. In this respect Englund et al.'s concern is rather that ethnic and other identities at times may find 'too little' space for expression within Africa's institutional state frameworks. Consequently, their interest is to 'describe and assess the various intermediate solidarities that complicate the liberal insistence on a dichotomy between individuals and society, citizens and the state' (p. 3). Yet, although this is an initiative deserving credit, one wonders whether it sufficiently takes into account the many formal and informal expressions of collective interest under current 'liberal rights regimes'.

The respective visions on future developments from these projects follow from their contrasted starting points. Berman et al. tend to look for solutions to the predicaments they have identified in the extension of the realm of non-ethnic identities and individual human rights. In contrast, Englund et al. travel the opposite direction, drawing attention to the way in which 'difference-blind' individual rights entail limitations and hidden inequities in terms of the 'politics of recognition', and should be overcome. It is perhaps noteworthy that the former position has been developed by a group of mostly political scientists and historians, while the latter is advanced by a cast comprising mainly social anthropologists. If the two groups of scholars were taken as representative of their respective disciplines, then the political scientists' primary concern appears to be with the adequacy of institutional arrangements, while the social anthropologists seem to identify themselves more readily with grassroots outlooks and experiences. Neither of these may be particularly surprising, though they underscore the 'limiting' effects that distinct social science disciplines may have when it comes to problems that are essentially indivisible.

Nevertheless, the implied message of both of these projects is the need for adequate forms to accommodate ignored or misrepresented identities, ethnic or otherwise. Both volumes make an important contribution to the clarification of this need.

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Shadrack Wanjala Nasong'o, *Contending Political Paradigms in Africa: Rationality and the Politics of Democratization in Kenya and Zambia*. New York and London: Routledge, 2005. xx + 225 pp. \$80.00 hardback.

In *Contending Political Paradigms in Africa* Shadrack Wanjala Nasong'o interrogates the 'conjuncture of contending political paradigms between democratization and enduring

authoritarianism in Africa' (p. 1) using the election outcomes of 1991, 1996 and 2001 in Zambia and those of 1992, 1997 and 2002 in Kenya. This brilliant analysis of 'regime change' focuses on the embattled status of democracy in Africa, tribulations of transition from single party paradigm to multiparty paradigm, a transformation that has been marred by corruption, poor leadership, ethnicity and lack of perceptive opposition and good constitutions.

The first chapter discusses the 'Emergence of Authoritarianism' in Africa after independence using a historical trajectory, showing how it led to the rise of one party rule with leaders preoccupied with 'increasing consolidation of power in the hands of the executive' (p. 7). The second chapter discusses forces of democratization in Africa, both endogenous and exogenous, beginning in the 1990s 'spawned by the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe' (p. 39). In the third chapter, the author examines the controversial role of the civil society in democratization in Africa, focusing mainly on the role of 'political activism'. In a very stimulating analytical discourse, Nasong'o valorizes the role of civil society as 'an agent of political change' in Africa, defending it against scholars who have argued that Africa lacks such groupings. The fourth chapter looks at the role of ethnicity in Africa's democratization process, seeing it as 'perhaps the most important variable not only in African politics but also in politics of every society across the space of time and place' (p. 93). Citing relevant examples, the author demonstrates how 'ethnicity has remained the most potent political force in contemporary Africa' (p. 99) — in Zambia it led to maximum coalition and in Kenya it led to fragmentation in the renewal of democracy. The author reveals how in Zambia democratic forces under Frederick Chiluba's Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) defeated incumbent Kenneth Kaunda with his UNIP party in 1991, in the country's first multiparty elections. In chapter six, Nasong'o seems to suggest that the structure of the labour movement in Zambia was the greatest advantage for the opposition there, whereas in Kenya, it was the civil society that provided the opposition with the required support. Nasong'o identifies two groups, one that sees hope for democracy in Africa ('demoptimists') and one that sees no hope for democracy ('demo-pessimists'). Democracy activists and enthusiasts were disappointed by the pedestrian performance of Chiluba as president. Nasong'o shows that the success of multiparty advocates in Zambia motivated Kenya's opposition to rally against the dictatorship of Daniel arap Moi and KANU in 1992. Although Moi and his party KANU vanquished the then nascent opposition at the polls, it was very clear that the people had voted overwhelmingly for the opposition. Overall, Nasong'o believes that the first multiparty elections in Kenya and Zambia 'were held without a comprehensive restructuring of the electoral system' (p. 163). He feels that opposition failed to renegotiate the rules of political engagement before elections. This book is a penetrating, if scathing critique, of unfulfilled expectations and lost opportunities in the revival of democracy in Kenya and Zambia.

Nasong'o's book has five major strengths. First, the author is not afraid to go against the grain, especially his indictment of previous scholarship that has dismissed the existence of a civil society in Africa. On this, he writes, 'In spite of this pessimistic prognosis that tends to dismiss the very idea of civil society in Africa, the fact that there exists a civil society in Africa is beyond denial' (p. 71). Second, Nasong'o utilizes a rich variety of sources — secondary and primary, particularly interviews, including conversations with ordinary people on the farms and streets of Kenya and Zambia, voices that have often been marginalized in the research on African politics. Third, the book provides a comparative canvas for two emergent democracies on the continent. Many books on politics in Africa have looked at single country studies, making it nearly impossible to compare progress made in democracy in Africa. This book provides us with an opportunity to juxtapose experiences in Zambia and Kenya, which is useful in knowing where Africa stands. In fact, much of the literature cited by Nasong'o will serve as a treasure trove for political scientists, historians and other disciplines in illuminating the past forty years of Africa's independence, while shedding light on the future of democracy in Africa. Fourth, the book draws on analyses by other scholars that have looked at democracy in Africa, particularly his use of the case study method. Particularly informative is the very detailed manner in which ethnicity is discussed and how it emerges that it has played out in almost similar details in Kenya and

Zambia. Finally, in addition to its importance for research on politics and policy, this book has a lot to offer on how economics affect politics. Many accounts of politics in Africa have tended to privilege political elite and their thinking.

Even though Nasong'o has no kind words for the group that he refers to as 'demo-pessimists', he seems to adroitly address the vexing question of why the opposition in Kenya and Zambia resorted to the same bad acts that previous regimes were accused of perpetrating, such as corruption, human rights abuses, political murders and ethnicity, after acquiring power. He does this by showing how the new governments ended up renegeing on most of their electoral promises. His conclusion that the regimes of Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi in Kenya are no different from Mwai Kibaki's — even if Kibaki has tried to embrace democratic principles unsuccessfully — is very convincing, especially in terms of structural and institutional changes. He shows how in Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda's and Frederick Chiluba's regimes were dictatorial and how Levy Mwanawasa's is no different. I believe that the author's greatest contributions with this volume are three-fold. First, that transition from the colonial and single party political paradigm is not complete in many countries in Africa, as they only allowed for modest democratic tenets. Second, that despite some reservations, 'democracy has covered much distance from the days of single party monolithism' which needs to be acknowledged. Third, he calls for continued dialogue, and the need for 'enhancing the consolidation of the democratic gains so far achieved' (p. 195). One hopes that this work will encourage others to begin to fill the gap on other countries during the period of democratic transition. Overall, the author has produced a succinct and well-written, unbiased discourse that is certain to be appreciated by students of African politics as well as generalists for many years to come.

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Peter Gibbon and Stefano Ponte, *Trading Down: Africa, Value Chains, and the Global Economy*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2005. xviii + 251 pp. \$21.95 paperback.

Until relatively recently, analyses of African commodity value chains have been overwhelmingly focused on agricultural products within national boundaries, primarily concerned with marketing margins from farmgate to urban centre or port. Farmers' returns were the ultimate basis for evaluating market efficiency and the story ended at the port. Much of the rationale for implementing structural adjustment policies rested on such studies. It was argued that higher prices for farmers would only be possible with the removal of state intervention in commodity marketing. Under SAP African parastatal market systems were dismantled and open markets now prevail. African farmers should be reaping the benefits, but they clearly have not. Gibbon and Ponte's book offers a lucid account of how, despite almost three decades of remedial policy reform, African commodities are, in general, not faring well in world markets.

It is a complicated story. For purposes of balanced assessment of market trends, a wide-angle lens is deployed, which gives the analysis a highly diffuse character. Numerous country experiences are cited over a range of commodities: traditional African exports like the beverage crops coffee, cocoa and tea as well as newer horticultural exports are contrasted with clothing, an industrial good. But the book is not intended to be an empirical review of commodity markets *per se*. Rather the reader is treated to an invaluable discussion of the relative strengths and weaknesses of value chain analysis and convention theory as tools for identifying key nodes in marketing chains and revealing how commodity value formation and distribution take shape along the chain.

The authors begin with a broad sketch of African political economy in the age of global capitalism followed by an exposition of international attempts to reform world commodity markets and enhance developing country participation. The World Trade Organization's (WTO) 'equality of opportunity' approach has superseded the special attention accorded to developing countries' trade circumstances under the Lome Convention. Intransigent positions of developed countries

protecting their farmers has resulted in a string of inconclusive negotiations and the proliferation of preferential trade agreements, especially on the part of the European Union. The third chapter introduces global value chain (GVC) theory, demonstrating how it is a far more embedded approach to international trade compared to neoclassical economic trade theory. GVC stresses the institutional structures that govern commodity transactions; drawing attention to how lead firms set up production and maintain trade.

The authors' central argument is that over the last two decades, becoming especially pronounced during the last ten years, African commodities have been subjected to buyer-driven commodity circuits orchestrated by international lead firms. Lead firms, however, are by no means monolithic *vis-à-vis* commodity producers. Their outsourcing of tasks to first-tier suppliers distances them from African producers and even second and third-tier African suppliers. In effect, the firms assert monopoly power by virtue of their conglomerate size and their ability to gain market share through the branding of products that consumers perceive to be superior. Branding gives lead firms the scope for defining quality standards. International regulating agencies, such as the WTO, mediate the enforcement of standards, which are primarily suited to western preferences. The hitch is that the quality standards pose a major entry barrier for many African producers who are unable to maintain predictable supplies of the product at the specified standard, making it impossible for African exporters to guarantee market supply.

Producers elsewhere in the developing world, notably Southeast Asia for tropical agricultural products, and China for clothing exports, have gained market share at the expense of sub-Saharan Africa. The authors point out that the dismantling of African parastatal markets under structural adjustment greatly weakened the quality controls on African exports and served to erode African negotiating power in international markets. Where African-based suppliers have managed to hold their own, it has been mainly through timely action on the part of private co-ordination, usually associated with powerful non-African business elites in those respective countries, rather than public action (p. 160).

A grim picture emerges from Gibbon and Ponte's dispassionate analysis of African value chains. The book provides an incisive analysis of the changing structure of international markets for African commodities. Theoretically and empirically rigorous, its structural analysis reveals how lead firms have become dominant through product branding. Given the book's broad structural overview, the narrative is largely devoid of reference to human agency in an immediate sense. This is the world of corporate strategy normally reviewed in the *Financial Times* or *Wall Street Journal*. The book demystifies the value chains for several major African commodities and makes sense of sub-Saharan Africa's deteriorating international export performance. African producers face a buyers' market that demands exacting quality standards and supply schedules orchestrated by lead firms that have little direct contact with them. In the face of this remote control, the authors recommend that African suppliers respond with 'greater economies of scale while maintaining quality standards, diversifying customer bases, and leap-frogging intermediaries' (p. 201), as well as becoming more involved in international negotiations over forms of product regulation. At the domestic level they prescribe the promotion of private co-ordinating initiatives and the broadening of the social base of chain participation. But how realistic is this? The book has focused on restructuring in international commodity markets and lacks analysis of *why* sub-Saharan Africa has not been able to respond positively so far. What would compel effective African agency in the future? Gibbon and Ponte largely sidestep this key issue.

It would be a mistake to classify this book as solely of interest to academics and African trade specialists. It should be required reading for anyone concerned with African economic development, especially African exporters and government policy makers, because it so clearly sets out what they are up against.

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Patrick A. McAllister, *Xhosa Beer Drinking Rituals: Power, Practice and Performance in the South African Rural Periphery*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2005. xx + 355 pp. \$45.00, paperback.

This is a respectful book about beer drinking and this respect is inherent in the author's attitude towards research. Patrick McAllister discovered while researching labour migration and ritual that he should be led by what Xhosa consider as ritual and not what the researcher defines as ritual. From this new perspective, the importance of beer drinking became obvious and this gives the book the hallmark of good anthropological work: we get to know the logic of a society that is very different from our own.

McAllister started work with the anthropologist, Philip Mayer, who made among the Xhosa the distinction between a 'red' response — referring to the ochre colouring that is used as body decoration — and the 'school' response to the world of money and labour. This study is situated in a remote area that was formerly associated with the 'red' response to contact with the cash economy as distinct from the 'school' response. However, a 'red' response of withdrawal from the cash economy is no longer possible and that distinction made by Mayer has nowadays to be qualified. Remittances are necessary to keep the rural economy going and therefore continued integration of the migrant into rural society is imperative.

A central place in the book is therefore given to a particular beer drink, called *umsindleko*, associated with the return from a period of wage labour in urban areas. McAllister's analysis shows how this beer drink 'illuminates the rural Xhosa view of labour migration and the strategies that have been developed to deal with the wider incorporation into a wider society and at the same time to resist it' (p. 127). *Umsindleko* takes centre stage in this book, but other occasions are also given a place. For example, *umsindleko* is contrasted with and compared to two other rituals in which beer plays a role: the foundation by a son of an independent homestead (*ntwana nje!*) and the release of a widow from mourning (*ukukhulula usapho*).

The organization of these beer drinks is highly stylized and therefore can be adequately characterized as ritual. Oratory and the performance of ritualized tasks, such as the sequence in the distribution of beer, seating arrangements, etc., buttress crucial structural elements in rural life: the authority of the father/older people and the importance of integration into the neighbourhood. The authority of the elders is of prime importance to keep the young men bound to the rural area from which they come. The importance of the neighbourhood has to be understood against the background of the disintegration of the extended kinship household as the prime working unit in agriculture, as a result of which people have become dependent upon loose arrangements of collaboration within neighbourhoods. McAllister shows, for example, that a special gift of beer (*iminono*) at the start of a beer drinking ritual goes overwhelmingly to people outside the particular section of the sub-ward where the ritual is being held.

It may be obvious from this summary that the danger of reifying social structure looms in a study like this, as this is the prime concern of the rituals. McAllister is acutely aware of this problem. Chapter 11 is devoted to modification and improvisation, and here the role of rural labour in work parties and beer for sale turns up. Roles can be reversed in these contexts, and the importance of labour power takes precedence over, for example, the general rules concerning elders' priority. 'For example, at a beer drinking ritual to celebrate the harvest, the young man who had been the leader, in his father's absence, of the ploughing company that did the homestead's agricultural work, played a major role in determining how the beer should be allocated, even though he did so from his low-ranking place with the other young men in the back of the hut, coming forward from time to time when necessary to discuss matters with the *injoli* (master of ceremonies)' (p. 234).

It may be that this society is particularly well-integrated, but there may be a slight bias towards order on the side of the author. The book would have been more convincing for me if there had been more instances reported of breaking the consensus aimed at in the ritual because of discussion over labour. A possible bias towards order is also suggested by McAllister's stress on the mildly intoxicating nature of the beer being drunk in a highly ordered fashion. Yet he also mentions, following Victor Turner (1974), that all ritual has 'some' anti-structure: 'No sooner

has an allocation been announced, the beakers distributed, and the *injoli* stood down, when the beer drink dissolves, as it were, into apparent disorder, and the assembly in the hut is transformed from a still, attentive, structured group into a noisy, moving, chaotic mass' (p. 214). Order is re-established when the beakers have been drunk and another sharing out follows. There is very little attention paid to these chaotic periods in comparison with the ordered, ritualized ones. Yet it is in this period that one would expect conflicts to manifest themselves.

These reservations should not discourage readers from taking up this very good book. It is the antithesis of development sociology as represented through Rapid Rural Appraisals: it is a long-term study that was not dictated by development concerns. It is healthy for people involved in the fast-moving world of development management to take time for such a study, as it makes us more aware of the different cultures that we move amongst and that we might otherwise ignore. Although it may be difficult for some to cope with McAllister's elaborate style, this may reflect the slow, diffident oratory at the beer drinking rituals documented in this book.

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Edward B. Barbier, *Natural Resources and Economic Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. xvi + 410 pp. £48.00/\$85.00 hardback.

Edward Barbier is a well known economist who has made important contributions to the field of development and environmental economics. In this book he has the ambitious aspiration of building a theoretical framework to analyse some features of the relationship between natural resources and development. The first element is the failure of resource rich countries to achieve sustained economic growth. The second element is the fact that the poor in developing countries are expanding the frontier of natural resources exploitation without being able to escape the poverty trap. Barbier calls the combination of these features 'duality within duality'. The book is mostly based on work that the author has already published in various forms over the last few years.

It begins with a review of the literature on natural resources and growth and theories of development and history. Also, theories of economic frontier expansion and land use changes are surveyed and developed. Subsequently, the author turns to the issue of water availability as a possible limit to economic growth and rural poverty as a cause of resource degradation. Finally, a theoretical chapter and three case studies of successful development through natural resources exploitation are presented and policy recommendations are drawn.

The author makes several interesting points and is able to summarize some debated issues in the literature providing interesting insights. For example, the discussion on the historical evolution of the role natural resources had for economic development is particularly interesting. The author highlights that an iron law linking natural resources abundance and economic performance does not stand the test of historical review. While not entirely new, this notion is often overlooked in the literature on natural resources and economic growth.

A serious shortcoming of the book is the lack of coherence across the chapters. To convincingly outline a comprehensive theory of natural resources, development and poverty (and thus achieve the stated aim of the book) a more focused effort would have helped. The chapters make for interesting contributions, but they are not well integrated. Furthermore, the book is marked by tedious repetitions of some stylized facts, while definitions of some crucial concepts are missing or superficial (such as the concepts of cumulative causation and fragile lands, which are important and mentioned throughout the book, but remain elusive).

Other concerns relate to the fact that difficulties in the literature on natural resources and economic development would have deserved some space in the review (for example, the endogeneity of the most popular measures of resource abundance) and existing literature is presented somewhat uncritically. Finally, when presenting empirical findings, a thorough discussion of causality is required but is omitted altogether in the book.

The chapter on water availability as a possible limit to growth exemplifies most of the drawbacks mentioned above. It does not discuss the limits of the econometric techniques in use (it does not provide robustness tests of the results, does not mention problems with out-of-sample predictions, etc.). More importantly, the issue of causality in the relationship between water scarcity and development is not addressed. The author seems to get confused himself and, later in the book, states that the chapter focused on the key economic forces behind increasing demand for freshwater, while it actually focused on water availability as a limit to economic growth.

The case studies (Botswana, Malaysia and Thailand) would have benefited from a clearer analysis of how exactly the receipts of natural resources have been used to improve the economic performance of each country. Whether the contribution of natural resources to economic development was fundamental (especially in the case of Thailand) remains ambiguous.

Overall the book offers interesting insights on some crucial issues for development and environmental economics. Nevertheless, the author fails in providing a clear and comprehensive framework for understanding the link between natural resources, economic development and poverty. In other words, the book is not entirely successful in accomplishing its ambitious goal.

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J. Peter Brosius, Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing and Charles Zerner (eds), *Communities and Conservation: Histories and Politics of Community-Based Natural Resource Management*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005. 504 pp. \$95.00 hardback, \$39.95 paperback.

Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) emerged as the dominant conservation narrative from the late 1980s. However, during the last few years, this win-win narrative has been increasingly questioned and criticized by conservationists as well as by development advocates and social scientists. While the former lament that CBNRM does not lead to biodiversity conservation (and are therefore increasingly arguing for a movement 'back to the barriers'), the latter conclude that CBNRM does not foster tangible benefits to poor rural people and that it has been captured by global financial, development and environmental organizations to further their own agendas. This second position is also the one held by the editors of the volume, as well as by several of the authors of individual chapters.

But a strength of this book is that it also includes chapters by CBNRM advocates. This creates a certain dynamic and even tension between the chapters. The editors state in the introduction that the aim is to assemble 'a conversation in which participants address each other to amplify each other's points, offering contrasting cases, and agree or disagree' (p. 4). This is a laudable aim, but one which is only partially achieved. It would have strengthened the book further if the editors had found a way for defenders of CBNRM, such as Marshall Murphree and Owen Lynch, to answer some of the criticisms raised by several authors. For instance, after Lynch's personal account of his work to promote community-based property rights (CBPR) in the Philippines, there is a chapter by Tania Li addressing this work directly arguing that 'contrary to its proponents, CBNRM may serve as a vehicle for intensifying state control' (pp. 440–1) and that CBNRM 'takes community as an essence or starting point . . . rather than as the result of community-forming processes. It ignores the deep and subtle ways in which communities, states, and NGOs are mutually implicated in relations laced with power' (pp. 445). It is a shame that Lynch does not answer this criticism in his chapter or in a rejoinder. This could have resulted in more of the 'lively dialogue' that the book aims at.

The chapters in the book are based on presentations made at a conference organized in 1997; even though the conservation and community debate has moved on since then, the chapters are still highly relevant. Actually, I think this is one of the best and most updated books available on the topic. Key questions discussed throughout the volume, which are still at the centre of the current debate, are: What is a community? What is natural resource management? What type of interests do the community and the management in question serve?

The book is divided in two parts. The first part presents detailed examinations of the histories and politics of various CBNRM initiatives including critical reviews of these initiatives. Marshall Murphree's chapter on the history of the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe plays a central role in this part, as it does in the CBNRM debate in general. Subsequent chapters by Kenneth Wilson, Roderick Neumann, and Louise Fortmann relate to CAMPFIRE in various ways, with Neumann's chapter standing out as the most critical of CBNRM and CAMPFIRE in particular.

The second part of the book offers discussions of the politics of mapping and legal advocacy, the central technologies of CBNRM. I found this part of particular interest, because this theme is largely absent in competing titles. Maps and laws are key tools that have been used by the colonial and later national regimes in the exclusion and punishment of local natural resource use. 'Countermapping' and 'community-based property rights' (CBPR) are recent techniques proposed to facilitate the land and resource claims of marginalized communities around the world. Implementation of countermapping projects is presented and discussed by Marcus Colchester and Peter Poole, while Dianne Rocheleau reminds us that countermapping is not only used to contest property rights, but also to contest a particular system of land evaluation by making alternative maps of agricultural potential and land capability.

All in all, this collection consists of well-written and powerful chapters, which will serve as references for students, researchers and practitioners in years to come.

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Samantha Jones and Grace Carswell (eds), *Environment, Development and Rural Livelihoods (Earthscan Reader)*. London and Sterling, VA: Earthscan, 2004. xxiv + 253 pp. £19.99 paperback.

Christo Fabricius and Eddie Koch with Hector Magome and Stephen Turner (eds), *Rights, Resources and Rural Development: Community-based Natural Resource Management in Southern Africa*. London: Earthscan, 2004. xii + 288 pp. £65.00 hardback, £18.99 paperback.

Barry Pound, Sieglinde Snapp, Cynthia McDougall and Ann Braun (eds), *Managing Natural Resources for Sustainable Livelihoods: Uniting Science and Participation*. London: Earthscan, 2004. xx + 252 pp. £65.00 hardback, £22.95 paperback.

Looking at these three books together seemed to make sense: not only do they come from the same publishers but they also cover the common themes of the links between natural resource management and livelihoods, the role of communities and participation and methodologies for better management. They also in their own way encapsulate the latest research development (and findings) on the issues of the last decade or so. They should all easily find their way onto reading lists.

The first book *Environment, Development and Rural Livelihoods* is a welcome Reader which will no doubt be useful for teaching. It contains most of the seminal papers published on natural resource management and livelihoods in the 1990s which are packaged into a coherent manual. The papers are organized in three sections: 1) environmental problems in the tropics — challenging the orthodoxies; 2) themes in environment and development — including causes of environmental change; agents and approaches in environment and development; property,

institutions and community based management; and 3) analytical approaches — divided into tools for analysis and conceptual frameworks.

Each section is preceded by a short but well-referenced introduction which lays out the major research findings or debates of the decade ('population, poverty and environmental degradation' and 'the role of participation in natural resource management', to mention just two) and highlights advances in the field. In a way, scholars in the field of natural resource management can congratulate themselves (a bit) as the last ten years or so have really challenged the orthodoxies which dominated the field for so long. Though unfortunately these findings are not yet sufficiently and consistently reflected within development policy and projects, at least the role of local people and indigenous knowledge in conservation and sustainable use and management, the complex reality of heterogeneous communities and the necessity to understand them, and the negative impact of colonial policies and practices are no longer disputed. So we have made progress. However, as the situation in the field continues to be bleak — if not degrading — it seems that we still need to learn and understand more. And perhaps this is where the Reader falls a bit short of opening the door to new issues.

Needless to say, one of the dilemmas of putting a collection of papers together is deciding which ones to include and which to drop, and it would no doubt be easy to point out gaps (for example, the debate on environmental security or the limits of participatory management). Yet the gender blindness which runs throughout the Reader is disturbing — even more so because when gender is finally mentioned in one of the papers it is (yet again!) through the story of the Chipko movement and the critique of ecofeminism. This is disappointing: gender issues — but also social division — are at the heart of not only natural resources management and livelihoods, but also of participation and political ecology. So in a way, this Reader will be a useful start, but more will be needed.

In *Rights, Resources and Rural Development*, Fabricius et al. (mostly locally based researchers) take us on a journey through natural resource management in Southern Africa. Their observations are critical but in a constructive way and they do not romanticize community-based natural resource management (CBNRM). The region is prone to tensions and conflicts, but there is a wealth of natural resources, ample livelihood opportunities and the community dynamism is quite high. The collection of fourteen case studies starts with 'the synthesis' comprised of five papers constituting the framework: history (of the region, but also of the concept of CBNRM and conservation); CBNRM and livelihoods; political economy governance; the meaning of 'community' in CBNRM; and the endless debate about conservation versus development. This framework is useful because it contextualizes CBNRM within the specificity of the region and thus even readers who know very little about the given context can make useful connections and interpretations for their own contexts. The biodiversity value of the region, as well as a strong history of conservation through a network of exclusive national parks, has shaped the relationships between people, the state and nature.

The cases studies are short (about ten pages) but give us a good flavour of the local issues, what works and what doesn't. They also provide the final chapter with lessons learnt which are framed into a CBNRM systems model (p. 273). Again this model will be of great use to start the discussion, clarify issues and make connections between them. Yet, once again power relations, gender and social divisions are not explicitly present in the framework though they are implicit in many of the case studies. The book closes with a list of seven principles which 'if ignored will increase the likelihood of' failure. What I am left wondering is why, if we know what works and how it works, we still don't seem to be getting it right in most places?

Whilst academics have been busy challenging orthodoxies, practitioners (like those in *Managing Natural Resources for Sustainable Livelihoods*) have — in parallel and sometimes together with academics — challenged conventional science and reductionist approaches. Whatever has been said against rapid rural appraisal and similar earlier tool kits, participatory practitioners can take credit for acknowledging early on that the complexity of natural resources management, because it brings together people and ecosystems, needs more complex and dynamic tools than the ones available. And perhaps it could even be argued that it is the renewed methodological

interest — the ‘grassroots’ people’s contributions — which has prompted researchers to start challenging orthodoxies in the first place. The focus on participatory development has opened up the possibility of looking at reality in a different way. One of the logical outcomes of working in a participatory manner is to consider that research is *for* development rather than alongside development (for example, R&D). And, in turn, the need to make research relevant for development has highlighted the need not only for natural and social scientists to work together but also to try to develop approaches, methodologies, and tools that are interdisciplinary in nature and encourage contribution from a wider spectrum of stakeholders. In other words the marriage of science and participation in models like Adaptive Management, for example, allows for vertical and horizontal collaboration and becomes multidimensional. How to do it, how it works, and who gains and benefits is what Pound et al. try to share with us. This book brings together natural and social scientists — all grappling with the social and ecological complexity and dynamics of natural resources management and livelihoods, where power and gender are constantly examined and reflected upon. What I like about the book is that it goes far beyond tools and principles for good practice: it takes the logic of engaging in such work further. In order to do research for development, not only do we need to do things in a different way, but we also need to change our (personal and institutional) attitudes toward learning and more specifically look at what within organizations and institutions needs to change. Put simply, participatory research (when it is carried out properly) carries within itself the process of change and that is the wealth of the process. Sceptics about participation and participatory research will find some food for thought whilst converts will find answers to methodological puzzles.

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Erik Wibbels, *Federalism and the Market: Intergovernmental Conflict and Economic Reform in the Developing World*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. xi + 276 pp. £35.00/\$65.00 hardback.

This book argues that the extant literature on federalism has concentrated heavily on issues such as tax competition and expenditure competition and has underplayed the difficulties, particularly in federal developing countries, of co-ordinating decisions across subnational jurisdictions. This has become particularly important as these countries face the unprecedented challenges of market-driven globalization. Officials elected from national constituencies have a different set of incentives from those elected at state levels and working in state-level constituencies. Depending on how co-ordination in response to the forces of globalization develops, federations could be arrayed in a range from market-preserving to market-distorting. In particular if the incentives for pursuing sub-national political interests are strong enough and the effects of adjustment at the state level have spillover effects onto other states, there may be considerable inertia in taking policy initiatives at the state level. This may stymie economic reforms. Thus unless reforms at the state level are undertaken, market-driven globalization may not have beneficial effects on federal developing countries.

Wibbels develops this argument particularly for the case of macroeconomic reforms and associated volatility — budget balancing, inflation and debt. After a lucid introductory chapter the theoretical argument is developed in chapter 2. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on political federalism and develops three hypotheses that are consistent with the theoretical model presented in chapter 2: (i) federal nations have poorer macroeconomic performance than unitary states, (ii) federations experience greater volatility in macroeconomic management than unitary states, and (iii) all other things remaining equal, federations will experience more frequent bouts of economic crisis than unitary states. Chapter 4 tests these hypotheses for a number of federal developing countries over the period 1978–2000 in respect of select measures of macroeconomic performance. After establishing the veracity of these three hypotheses in a

cross-country sample the author then goes on to make a detailed case study of Argentina and its provinces.

Thus the book is aimed at the theoretical and cross-country as well as country specific empirical levels. On the whole the book is well written and, in my view, a welcome addition to the literature on federalism. That said, I have the following comments on the book.

The author develops a good case for containing the costs of subnational co-ordination, but he overstates their importance. Counterbalancing the co-ordination difficulties that state governments can impose on the centre are problems that central governments can impose on states. In the case of India, for example, major contributors to fiscal stress at the state level include the fact that the central government's fiscal adjustment in 1991 took the form of reduced transfers to states and the imposition of the Fifth Pay Commission Recommendations for central government employees which had to be matched by state governments. In other words, it is not as if co-ordination problems arise from across state governments alone, they could emanate from state governments as well.

In asserting that subnational co-ordination issues have been neglected in the literature the author ignores the political accountability literature where the phenomenon of state governments and central governments working at cross purposes is explicitly modelled. (For an example and references to the literature see Gupta, 2001.) This is an important omission.

While the author considers two tier governmental arrangements with elected representatives, he does not consider three tier arrangements such as that which has evolved with the introduction of the *Panchayati Raj* in India. All three tiers of government have elected representatives.

The author emphasizes the role of fiscal transfers in exacerbating co-ordination problems, but he ignores subnational tax effort. Variations in these can have important implications for tax design and tax devolution.

A number of questions arise with respect to the empirical testing. The literature often makes a distinction between deficits on current expenditure and those on capital expenditure: the latter are usually less wasteful than the former. The author does not make this distinction. Furthermore, the external account is relatively neglected. The definition of federalism — a trichotomous variable — is narrow. There should have been a more precise definition of this variable in line with the author's view that federations range from being market-preserving to market-distorting.

There could have been more diagnostic statistics in Table 3.2 through Table 3.4. We have little idea of issues such as normality of residuals, etc. When volatility is modelled (as first differences) it is clear that there could be non-linear effects on levels. Possible interaction effects between party fractionalization and democracy as well as ethno-linguistic fractionalization could have been considered. On a more positive note, the discussion on Argentina is quite lucid.

Variations in incentives across state and national levels have been overplayed in the book. National politicians have state level ambitions and state level politicians have national ambitions. These are not confined to the cases where there are coalition governments in power. Surely the form of democracy matters for federalism. More discussion of the differences between presidential and parliamentary forms of federalism would have been welcome.

I have some sympathy for the thesis put forward by the author — that federalism can thwart economic reforms. But such thwarting can be multi-dimensional and multi-directional. The book, as it stands, is an excellent but incomplete inquiry into the effects of co-ordination on failure or success of macroeconomic reforms in federations but it is a first-rate contribution to the literature on political federalism.

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John Toye and Richard Toye, *The UN and Global Political Economy: Trade, Finance, and Development*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004. xv + 390 pp. \$75.00 hardback, \$29.95 paperback.

This extraordinary book is part of the multi-volume United Nations Intellectual History Project established in 1999 and based in the Institute for International Studies of the City University of New York (CUNY). I found this book absolutely gripping. It reads like a detective novel only losing some of its vibrancy towards the end, perhaps because by then the story is more familiar and the ideas less original. The historical scope, attention to detail and elegant style of this book are impressive. The text focuses on the contribution of several key economists at the UN who worked on the development of development thinking. It mainly examines critically, though fairly and sympathetically, the ideas of Michal Kalecki, Nicholas Kaldor, Raúl Prebisch, Hans Singer, Celso Furtado, Sidney Dell and Juan Noyola. But the ideas of others are also drawn upon, albeit more briefly, such as those of Gamani Corea, Arthur Lewis, Gunnar Myrdal and Walt W. Rostow. Although the *dramatis personae* are mainly from the North the authors are careful to avoid Anglo-Saxon centrism or a Eurocentric analysis. Whereas the selection of the thinkers is fitting, the presentation of their ideas is somewhat uneven. Prebisch and Singer deservedly take pride of place whereas the intellectual contribution of Furtado is hardly explored despite being, together with Prebisch, the key architect of the Latin American structuralist school of development and underdevelopment which originated in the UN Commission for Latin America (ECLA).

The story of the Prebisch-Singer thesis on the secular decline in terms of trade for the primary commodity exporting developing countries is particularly well told. It is the most detailed and accurate account of the respective contribution of Prebisch and Singer to this thesis to date. Although it bears their names they never wrote a joint essay on this or any other topic. Both worked independently in the UN — Singer in the Department of Economic Affairs in New York and Prebisch in ECLA in Santiago de Chile. Toye and Toye (a father and son team) resolve most of the puzzles but they do not pose the question of who was the person (or persons) who gave the thesis its name. The ‘Prebisch-Singer thesis’ label is appropriate and as far as I know neither Prebisch nor Singer questioned it or seemed to be too bothered as to who should be recognized as having first formulated the thesis. While the authors give priority to Singer regarding, firstly, the empirical fact of a secular decline and, secondly, the explanation of the economic factors that account for it, they accept that ‘from the viewpoint of publicity and political repercussions . . . it was indeed the “Prebisch-Singer” thesis’ (p. 130) given Prebisch’s greater presence on the international stage.

While I always found Singer’s analysis more elegant I think that Prebisch’s analysis had a more profound underlying methodological message, as his analysis of the deterioration of the terms of trade is rooted in his cyclical and long term analysis of the dynamics of the world economy and the relationship between the ‘centre’ and the ‘periphery’, as he referred so graphically to the developed and developing countries, respectively. Thus Prebisch’s analysis was firmly embedded in a ‘global political economy’ framework and gave rise to the centre–periphery paradigm which Octavio Rodríguez, who unfortunately is not mentioned in the book, has developed more systematically in his writings since the 1970s. Thus Prebisch’s analysis contained a more powerful message for reforming the existing world economic system and had a greater influence on dependency and world system theory than Singer’s work.

The story of Michal Kalecki’s travails during his eight years in the Department of Economic Affairs at the UN headquarters is fascinatingly told given his enormous talent, controversial ideas and complex personality. I am also pleased that Toye and Toye present, albeit briefly, the contribution to the structuralist theory of inflation of the outstanding, but little known, Mexican economist Juan Noyola who joined ECLA in 1950. In May 1959, soon after Castro’s revolution, he became the director of its office in Cuba while still in his mid-30s. But the Secretary-General of the UN, Dag Hammarskjöld, decided to close this office in 1960 when he got cold feet over Castro’s embrace of socialism. Noyola resigned from ECLA as he preferred to stay and support the Cuban revolution with his technical expertise. He tragically died in 1962 in an aircraft

accident while on a mission for the Cuban government. The shameful episode of Trygve Lie, the UN Secretary-General, who allowed FBI officials onto the UN premises to interrogate UN staff during the anti-communist hysteria, whipped up by the US Senator McCarthy in the early 1950s, is documented and its tragic consequences for the lives of some UN staff is recounted with sensitivity.

About a quarter of this book is notes which provide much of the necessary detail as well as the sources for substantiating the authors' statements. Given the richness of these notes it is to be regretted that the publishers decided to place them as endnotes rather than as footnotes so that the interested reader has to constantly flick back and forth between the main text and the endnotes. After much irritation I decided to read the endnotes before reading the main text of the chapter, which gave me a good idea of the issues discussed in the chapter as well as revealing some juicy snippets. This impressive book undoubtedly makes a major contribution to the history of ideas in development economics, especially as to their origins, evolution and impact since the post-1945 period.

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Kevin P. Gallagher (ed.), *Putting Development First: The Importance of Policy Space in the WTO and International Financial Institutions*. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005. x + 301 pp. \$80.00 hardback, \$27.50 paperback.

The role of national policy space in economic development has become the subject of intense debate, and no doubt will motivate further discussion. Among the most controversial aspects are two questions. (i) Do the rules and disciplines of the multilateral trading regime and the conditionality imposed by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) restrict the autonomy of developing countries to adopt effective development policies? (ii) What should developing countries do to preserve and expand upon their current policy space?

The volume reviewed here focuses on these two questions. Kevin Gallagher collected twelve contributions, most of which had already been published. The result is an informative introduction to the subject that will become a useful reference for policy makers looking for advice and scholars seeking ideas for further research. The collection is rich in identifying key questions and in approaches seeking answers. While there is consensus among the authors that existing rules for the global economy are restricting policy space, there is diversity in both the rationale for enlarging national policy space and proposals of how to achieve this. This diversity is a virtue as it reflects the lack of consensus in this area.

The introductory chapter by Kevin Gallagher provides the framework for and summarizes the main findings of the volume. The remaining chapters can be divided into three parts. Part I comprises contributions by Joseph Stiglitz and Sanjaya Lall who draw on economic theory and East Asia's development experience to argue that proactive economic policies are more important than ever. Part II emphasizes that policies which Part I has shown as being justified by modern economic theory and which were essential to development in the now industrialized countries, as well as in East Asia's late industrialization, are now proscribed, in particular by WTO rules and commitments. The more conceptual contributions by Ha-Joon Chang and Robert Wade are complemented by concrete examples drawing on the Uruguay Round agreements on TRIPS (Carlos Correa) and TRIMS (Albert Cho and Navroz Dubash, and Nagesh Kumar). Part III of the book includes contributions by Alice Amsden, Amit Bhaduri, Peter Evans and Ajit Singh that provide a range of alternative perspectives and proposals as to how nations can preserve and expand current policy space.

A main contribution of the volume is its call for open-economy industrial policies, rather than for a revival of the anti-trade, protectionist policies of some developing countries in the 1960s and 1970s. This is captured best in the concept of an 'optimum degree of openness' (Bhaduri, Singh), defined as providing a balance between totally outward- and totally inward-looking policies.

But the only concrete recommendation in the volume is Singh's attempt to make this concept operational. He advocates reform of Special and Differential Treatment of developing countries in the WTO such that it would allow them to opt out of any of the WTO rules and commitments and participate in the multilateral trading system on the basis of 'GATT à la carte'. However, this would effectively result in a multi-track multilateral trading regime, thus conflicting with the basic rule of non-discrimination and complicating adherence to the consensus-based norm of the multilateral trading regime. It would risk leading to a proliferation of specific agreements, with disciplines that may well go beyond the desired scope of developing countries.

The greatest weakness of the volume is that it does not define the concept of 'policy space'. While it is clear that one single volume cannot discuss the entire range of constraints on policy autonomy in developing countries, WTO issues need to be placed in a broader context of globalization. As briefly discussed by Stiglitz and Singh, financial liberalization and integration subject developing countries to the discipline of international financial markets, that may pose constraints on independent national policy making at least as much as WTO rules and commitments. But multilateral rules and disciplines also enlarge the policy space, in particular of small developing countries. The absence of multilateral arrangements may tempt policymakers in influential economies to employ commercial, macroeconomic, financial or exchange-rate policies in pursuit of national economic objectives. Thus, the real question appears to be how to determine the right balance between maintaining sufficient flexibility in national economic policy making and constraining any potential abuse of policy space through multilateral disciplines and collective governance.

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Peter Gallagher, Patrick Low and Andrew Stoler (eds), *Managing the Challenges of WTO Participation: 45 Case Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. xiv + 652 pp. £35.00/\$60.00 hardback.

This edited publication contains forty-five case studies of developing countries involved with the World Trade Organization (WTO). It illustrates the management and integration of their economies into the global, multilateral trading system almost a decade after the WTO's formation.

Managing the Challenges of WTO Participation covers a wide range of diverse issues. These include the anti-dumping efforts of the shrimp industry in India, Ayurvedic medicine in Nepal, Vietnam's banking sector, Thailand's tuna exports, telecommunications liberalization in Barbados and the protection of music rights in Bangladesh. This provides overwhelming evidence of the benefits of WTO membership to various sectors in a country's economy.

The book points out that the size and influence of a country does not matter within the sphere of the WTO. A larger and more powerful country will not be allowed preferential treatment, because cases are judged according to the situation and adherence to regulations. Some chapters will certainly provide inspiration to developing countries seeking to air their grievances. Junsok Yang examines the scenario in which South Korea successfully submitted a case to the WTO to eliminate a trade barrier with the US. The source of contention was resolved with the eventual removal of restrictions, thus allowing the export of South Korean colour television sets to the US.

Similar outcomes are disclosed in which Costa Rica and Pakistan successfully battled the US over its unfair textile safeguard actions. John Breckenridge views the case between the US and Costa Rica as a landmark one, as it was the first in which a small developing country brought a dispute against the US. Secondly, it represented the first formal dispute case to address issues arising from the liberalization of trade in textiles as stated in the Agreement on Textiles and Clothing (ATC). In retrospect, these appear hollow victories, because the resources utilized in winning lengthy legal cases could have been better directed to improving the social

services or reducing unemployment in Costa Rica and Pakistan. The important lesson to be learnt is that developing countries can be victorious in principle but it is a costly and lengthy affair.

The chapter 'Patents, Parallel Importation and Compulsory Licensing of HIV/AIDS Drugs: the Experience of Kenya' is one that is relevant and crucial in understanding the underlying factors contributing to a crisis which plagues Africa. The frustration of being denied access to vital AIDS drugs in Kenya has been blamed on the country's Industrial Property Act, 2001 and the WTO Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). However, Ben Sihanya contends that the problem is not the debate over patents but issues such as the government's inefficient distribution of resources, poverty and the dire need for public health reform. He advises 'Kenya should learn to invest in research and development, and national health law and policy as well as patent law, all of which have affected AIDS research and development' (p. 283).

Some developing countries have not directly benefited from WTO membership, as illustrated by J. P. Singh in 'Services Commitment: Case Studies from Belize and Costa Rica'. He queries why both countries made few commitments in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) at the Uruguay Round and the Fourth and Fifth protocols made after 1997. This appears odd because both countries have sizeable service export surpluses and need foreign investment. Singh notes the alarming fact that 'Belize has not seen tangible benefits from participation in the WTO. While officials admit that isolation is not an option and would send the wrong signal to the international community, they point to losses that they attribute to the WTO' (p. 93).

There are some minor shortcomings in this seminal publication. Firstly, the chapters could have been grouped under broad geographical themes such as Latin America, Asia and Africa. This would have allowed the reader to better assess and compare the impact of the WTO and response of the various countries. Another format could have been grouping the chapters under thematic headings such as Health, Agriculture and Industry.

Unfortunately, the scholars overlooked issues of gender and religion. It would have been interesting to learn about the economic effects on women or gender organizations that either benefited or suffered as a result of infringement of WTO's rules. Also, another possible area of exploration might have been the impact of WTO participation on the functioning of religious institutions.

The case studies strongly suggest that decisions about membership in the WTO are not a responsibility solely for the government. Instead they demand the involvement of diverse groups inclusive of academics, consumer associations, civil society groups and trade unions.

This volume will certainly prove to be a guidebook for countries serious about charting their destinies in the global village. The book should be compulsory reading for economists, policy makers and technocrats in developing countries.

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Pranab Bardhan, Samuel Bowles and Michael Wallerstein (eds), *Globalisation and Egalitarian Redistribution*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006. xiv + 326 pp. £22.95 hardback.

This is a collection of papers that responds to a widely shared view that global economic integration (in short, globalization) has constrained egalitarian redistribution and social insurance by national governments. It begins with an introduction by the editors that sets the agenda for subsequent contributions (such as whether globalization has accentuated income inequality, impact of globalization on poverty, effects of capital mobility on wages, whether globalization limits the ability of governments to tax and redistribute income, the links between public support for free trade and immigration). In a concluding essay, the editors synthesize various contributions into six lessons.

These lessons are: (i) international movements of goods, capital and labour have increased inequality in labour earnings in developed countries and constrained governments' ability to tax the winners and compensate the losers; (ii) freer movement of goods, capital and labour creates opportunities for enhancing the welfare of the poor in low-income countries; (iii) freer trade and capital mobility enhance the effectiveness of redistributive policies that raise workers' productivity and diminish the effectiveness of redistributive policies that lower returns to mobile factors of production; (iv) freer trade and capital mobility do not constrain policies that redistribute income among (immobile) wage earners; (v) globalization may drastically influence redistributive politics through growth of immigration; and, finally, (vi) sustainability of globalization may depend greatly on governments' success in redistributing income and providing protection against risks of producing for global markets. The overall conclusion is that Keynes's (1932–3) alarmist prediction that globalization would fail to produce 'some uniform equilibrium according to the ideal principles . . . of *laissez-faire* capitalism' (p. 4) is exaggerated or misplaced. In the editors' vision, greater access to credit, education and health care, and responsiveness of public bodies to the concerns of the poor would enhance productivity. When this is combined with global competition, more egalitarian outcomes are likely.

I enjoyed several contributions — 'Globalisation and the Limits to Poverty Alleviation' (Bardhan), 'Constraints, Opportunities, and Information: Financial Market-Government Relations around the World' (Mosley), 'Public Opinion, International Economic Integration, and the Welfare State' (Scheve and Slaughter), 'Immigration and Redistribution in A Global Era' (Soroka, Banting and Johnston) — for their rich and insightful analyses. Although I found the introductory and concluding chapters extremely useful, I must point out that the optimism of the editors is extraneous to the empirical evidence reviewed and somewhat misplaced. The editors are right that under certain conditions globalization *may* yield egalitarian outcomes but this assertion cannot be taken seriously unless it is empirically validated. Two obvious difficulties are: (i) little is said about generalizability of various findings to the developing world where 'weak', 'fragile' or 'failed' states are not just a special case but a frequent phenomenon; and (ii) whether the role of the state has to be redefined in relation to a shrinking agriculture with stagnating yields (agricultural productivity growth was barely 1 per cent per annum in ninety-one countries over the period 1981–2000), and the continuing importance of this sector in reducing poverty, inequality and volatility of income and food prices (Gaiha and Thapa, 2006).

More specifically, are there policies that would promote agriculture in a globally competitive environment and reduce poverty and inequality at the same time? Is promotion of high value agricultural commodities through contract farming, for example, likely to reduce transaction costs, induce competition and reduce risks for producers? Would interlinked innovations of futures markets, and grades and standards — for example, third party certification (TPC) — exclude smallholders and thus result in greater inequality? There are no easy answers but that cannot be a reason for not raising the questions in the context of largely agrarian developing economies. The editors may justify side-stepping of these concerns and issues by insisting that their main focus is ability of governments of developed countries to redistribute in a context of rapid globalization. Fine, except that the concluding comment (and the fact that there is only one chapter on the poor in low income countries) is likely to mislead.

This brings me to another substantive issue. In a stimulating and extraordinarily rich analysis of the impact of globalization on poverty and inequality, Bardhan is meticulous in his assessment of the effects of multinational corporations (MNCs) on wage earnings. After making the point that there is very little evidence to support the contention that MNCs pay lower wages and hire fewer unskilled workers relative to the counterfactual of without MNCs, we are confronted by the frequently cited Nike example and clash of counterfactuals. One view is that in the absence of Nike (a monopsonist) the wages would revert to the low hinterland wage. There are, however, two different scenarios with different labour market outcomes, as sketched by Bardhan. One is that in which Nike drives up the marginal cost of labour against itself by hiring more workers from the hinterland. A second scenario is one of 'unlimited' supply of hinterland labour 'banging at the gates' in which the marginal and average cost of hiring labour for Nike is not

very different. A third scenario with more favourable outcomes for hinterland labour is a more competitive labour market with several buyers of labour/several Nike-like producers (a common feature of consumer durables in India). This is a familiar textbook case and I am intrigued by its omission.

Altogether this is a rich and provocative collection of papers on globalization and redistribution but with a somewhat narrow focus.

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Debdas Banerjee, *Globalisation, Industrial Restructuring and Labour Standards: Where India Meets the Global*. New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London: Sage Publications, 2005. 320 pp. \$69.95 hardback, £33.95 paperback.

This book is a timely and valuable contribution to the ongoing debates and controversies surrounding the usefulness of labour standards under globalization. It provides a thorough and critical review of the existing theories on these issues and with the use of relevant empirical data puts forward convincingly the importance of ensuring collective bargaining and enforcing labour standards in the work place in the organized factory sector in order to prevent India from moving along the 'low-road' path of development.

The book is particularly critical of the mainstream neoclassical thought that seeks to justify the promotion of perfect competition or labour market flexibility in the labour market — a view that the author argues is both misguided and impractical. Using a wide range of historical and comparative experiences the author makes a case for the creation of jobs of acceptable quality — the high-road strategy of investments in human and physical capital. Using data from India, the book argues that low labour standards stem from government minimalism which results in declining labour standards in the corporate manufacturing sector and the setting of low standards for labour in the rest of the country, including the informal economy.

This study of Indian industry is more directly focused on understanding the pattern of relative shares of profits and wages, and in showing that growing disparities since 1984–85 cannot be explained by the demand and supply factors but rather the shifting balance of power between capital and labour. In order to do this Banerjee examines the different arguments that have been used to understand this phenomenon, including: (a) changes in the technological conditions of production, (b) high wage industries declining at a faster rate, (c) import effect on real wage growth, (d) the rising unemployment rate, (e) the inflation rate, (f) competition and (g) the trade union effect. What he argues is that both the market and the labour institutions failed and the wage–profit distribution in major Indian states been characterized by a wage squeeze and the violation of labour rights.

Of particular interest is the in-depth discussion in the book on labour market flexibility. The author argues that the flexible labour market as propagated by the IMF and the World Bank is focused on the decentralization of labour relations and the cutting of protective and pro-collective regulations, with no place for workers' rights. This is likely to move in the direction of the dissolution of employment stability and the growth of non-standard contracts norm. While this argument is not necessarily new, the author does use extensive theoretical and historical material to analyse the relationship between wage productivity and labour market flexibility. And while wage productivity and profitability in Indian factories increased by about threefold in the last two decades of the twentieth century, wages continue to lag

behind productivity in Indian manufacturing and workers are not compensated for productivity gains.

Globalization and labour standards are tackled more squarely in the final chapter where the author examines the possibility of countries in the South improving labour standards in the context of globalization. He indicates how the North and South compete on different segments of the global market while the core high productivity, high technology sectors have remained in the North. Outsourcing practices by the latter have been concentrated within the North and only amongst a few developing countries. He also indicates the weakness of the competitiveness argument for lowering labour standards as developing countries do have room for improving labour standards even in the case of India which has experienced growing importance in South–South trade. Banerjee goes into the existing arguments of the role of the WTO (versus the ILO) in enforcing the social clause in trade and argues that even if this were to be the case, existing remedies suggest that labour standards are likely to be respected only in the traded sector, with the possibility of other sectors being worsened. He argues for labour standards to be part of a wider packet of employment strategies. If government could adopt policies by which wage costs would be lower and take-home pay higher, then wage levels would increase.

The book is dense in theoretical and empirical analysis. However, while the over-arching themes are supposed to be globalization, industrial restructuring and labour standards in India, the different chapters of the book tend to tackle separate issues and the links between them are not always clear to the reader. While the in-depth study is of Indian industry, the book is of use to a wider range of people who are concerned with industry and labour restructuring under globalization, including economists, sociologists, policy makers and trade unions. The language is clear and easy to follow. While there are sections which contain econometrics, these do not dominate the main arguments and can be followed by an audience unfamiliar with these methods.

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Lammert de Jong and Dirk Kruijt (eds), *Extended Statehood in the Caribbean: Paradoxes of Quasi Colonialism, Local Autonomy and Extended Statehood in the USA, French, Dutch and British Caribbean*. Amsterdam: Rozenberg Publishers, 2006. € 24.50 paperback.

This is a collection of essays on territories in the Caribbean that do not want to become fully independent. On the other hand their relationship with former colonial powers cannot be characterized as colonial either: in all the governmental arrangements there is an element of equality that may vary from full inclusion in the French state to all kinds of arrangements that grant some form of autonomy. Extended statehood covers a wide variety of practices that involve the maintenance of some form of constitutional arrangement with former colonial powers. The book contains contributions on Puerto Rico and the US; Guadeloupe and Martinique and France; the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba and the Netherlands; and the collection of very small territories and populations that are the British Caribbean Overseas territories. As an extra there is an essay by Francio Guadeloupe on a popular disc jockey in Saint Martin/Sint Martin that expresses the particular nationalist feelings to be found in these territories.

The other contributions are in the first place factually informative: they deal in an almost stylized format with constitutional arrangements, economic development, nationalism and security. The overarching theme is the different arrangements of tutelage by the home countries. The chapters read almost like policy briefs for a touring delegation of diplomats. The major policy concern for such a mission would be how to react to the rejection of a route to independence — in various plebiscites there is only a minority for full independence — and on the other hand the claim to autonomy, except in the French case, that could lead to what is nowadays called bad governance, but which may be better alluded to as criminalized states in these cases. Criminality, the drugs trade, corruption and the shady financial offshore industry are common themes in these

contributions. The fraudulent energy company Enron, for example, used 692 companies in the British Cayman islands, and 54 in the British Turks and Caicos islands to save itself hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. That was legal, but cannot be called laudable. Nevertheless, there is resistance in these territories against mild regulation of these sectors. It may be significant that the criminalization of the state seems to be less prevalent in Guadeloupe and Martinique which are considered French territories (Departements d'Outre Mer). Autonomy offers opportunities for criminal elements to enter the political processes and the state in general.

This tendency towards criminalization of the state has to be seen in conjunction with the failure to develop viable development strategies for these small territories. The chapter on Puerto Rico is most interesting in this respect as it pioneered tax-free export processing zones in Operation Bootstrap. The situation would have been worse without this strategy, but it has definitely not led to a territory lifting itself out of poverty and dependency on the US. 'In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Puerto Rico changed from a model of political and economic modernization to a high-cost and politically contentious corporate tax haven' (p. 33). In other cases dependency on welfare handouts is the plight of many poor people.

Emigration to the 'mother country', or to use the euphemism 'constitutional partner', is therefore significant in all cases, maybe less so in the very small British territories. In many of the latter the offshore financial industry is also the most developed. Emigration also brings the issue of nationalism sharply into focus: as a rule inhabitants of these territories are keen to have a passport from the 'constitutional partner' while at the same time they continue to identify themselves with their place of origin. This is compounded with new elements in the patterns of migration: thanks to technological change such as e-mail and mass air travel migrants keep contact with their place of origin more than before. There is now much more circularity in the migratory patterns.

The issue of nationality permeates not only the section of the book on emigration but is also central to the whole book. Therefore the contribution by Francis Guadeloupe is extremely valuable. His thesis is that for people in these territories adherence to the constitutional partner is a pragmatic issue and the DJ that is the subject of his article is called an anti-national pragmatist. The first thing that is striking in the discourse of the latter is the poorly articulated anti-Western resentment that is common in the Caribbean; 'The small man in the Caribbean, and let me be frank, most of them are black, has been struggling ever since Babylon' (p.162). However, that is associated with a massive inferiority feeling with regards to the capacities of black people to rule themselves: 'Those that had embarked on the road of nationalism had not done well: it had worsened the life chances of the poor in these countries' (p.168). At the same time he eulogizes the 'constitutional partner' that is most strict on tutelage: 'The French have the racial thing too, but when you go to any French island, drive around on the French side and you can see that they are helping out, that they keep things fairly crisp. On the French side the politicians can thief but they still have to be fair cause them boys in France watching them and will intervene if they have to' (p.167).

The complexity of such contradictory nationalist feelings is hard to subsume under a discussion of constitutional arrangements. Yet that has to be done in one way or another. The value of this modest and informative book is that it raises these questions.

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Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet, *The Power of Everyday Politics: How Vietnamese Peasants Transformed National Policy*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2005. xii + 305 pp. \$39.95/£21.95 paperback.

Ben Kerkvliet has spent more than a decade doing detailed documentary research in Vietnam's National Archives and extensive fieldwork in the Red River Delta in order to understand how,

in an unorganized and non-confrontational way, Vietnamese peasants were able to undermine collective farming and in so doing oblige the government to replace it with peasant family farming in the late 1980s. The resulting book, *The Power of Everyday Politics*, will no doubt be the definitive account of rural politics in Vietnam for some time to come.

Consisting of seven chapters, *The Power of Everyday Politics* commences with a thematic and methodological introduction that leads into a theoretical chapter that establishes the relationship between the peasantry and Vietnam's Communist Party, the conditions necessary to build and sustain collective farms, the character and power of everyday politics, and the implications of such political action for our understanding of the Vietnamese polity. Four analytical chapters cover the collectivization of agriculture in the north of Vietnam in the late 1950s, the operation of and everyday resistance to collective farming practices during the struggle for national unification, the undermining of collective agriculture from within in the latter half of the 1970s and its impact on national politics, as well as the decollectivization of rural production and the establishment of peasant family farming in the 1980s.

Each analytical chapter seeks to systematically substantiate the theoretical points that were previously established, using an unparalleled wealth of archival material, particularly newspapers and government documents, as well as drawing upon open-ended semi-structured interviews with eighty-one villagers who lived through the period, local cadres, as well as 'about three dozen' (p. 5) people involved in policy at the national, district and sub-district level. The conclusion of the book then draws together its principal arguments and suggests the wider applicability of the theoretical propositions advanced in *The Power of Everyday Politics*.

The central focus of *The Power of Everyday Politics* is in understanding of how and when people living and working side by side with each other welcome, adopt, or defy authority over the production or distribution of resources. Everyday politics involves quiet, mundane and subtle expressions and acts that indirectly and usually privately accept, reconstruct or reject dominant procedures, rules, regulations and order. They involve little or no organization, and convey a people's understanding of and judgement about the political economy within which they live and work.

Within this theoretical framework, Kerkvliet demonstrates that in the late 1950s and early 1960s there were clear reasons why many peasants joined collective farms: they provided enhanced access to subsistence needs, either by providing work, alleviating debt, improving access to inputs and thus productivity, or by providing a social safety net. However, suggests Kerkvliet, in order for collective farms to work, there were four conditions that needed to be fulfilled: commitment, trust, effective oversight of the contribution of members to the collective farm, and good governance. These conditions, Kerkvliet argues, did not hold in rural north Vietnam, even in the early 1960s. Often lacking adequate access to basic subsistence, peasants needed to provide for their families. Villagers therefore found methods of creating and distributing resources that were at odds with national rules and regulations. In particular, families tried to skirt around official rules in order to obtain more land, labour, draft animals, and other inputs that could increase production on their self-managed plots. In this way, they demonstrated their lack of commitment to the collective, which in turn, of course, undermined the trust necessary for collectives to succeed. The violation of the principles and procedures that were supposed to be followed was known to party officials and others in authority, but in many instances cadres used this knowledge for rent-seeking purposes. Thus, corruption resulted in a lack of effective oversight of the members of collectives, and a failure of governance. It also profoundly angered peasant farmers. However, villagers did not undertake advocacy politics — active contestation with authorities, policies or programmes regarding the ways resources are produced and allocated — during the war for reunification. Rather, they expressed their grievances, continually and unremittingly, through everyday politics, which were systematically at odds with the arrangements of collective farming: how land, labour, draft animals, work points and harvests should be produced and allocated.

Kerkvliet demonstrates, convincingly, that everyday politics undermined official practices. However, they also did more, transforming national policies so that they more closely resembled everyday practices. Peasants were able to do this, suggests Kerkvliet, for five reasons. First,

peasants had more power in Vietnam, because of the need for their labour and their role as a political base, than that with which they are generally credited. Simply put, if they did not work as hard on the collective as the local state wanted them to, there was very little that could be done, because of the role of the peasantry in sustaining the political structure. Second, and related to the first reason, while coercion was used, the state was, overall, averse to the use of force because of the war. Third, by engaging in everyday politics, in terms of how labour and other resources that peasants controlled were used, the peasantry was, essentially, capable of manipulating national policy regarding collectivization to their own ends. Fourth, there was little that the local state could do to stop the manipulation of national policy, because everyday politics are non-confrontational and leaderless, and thus by definition hard to stop. Fifthly, and importantly, local leaders often undertook actions that supported everyday politics, by either actively encouraging them or turning a blind eye to them.

Despite the persuasiveness of Kerkvliet's argument there is, nonetheless, a sixth reason as to why everyday politics was able to transform national policies in Vietnam, one that Kerkvliet recognizes (pp. 220–3) but does not stress as much as he might. Driven by an economic crisis that was widely undermining access to food, there slowly emerged a national leadership that sought to bypass intermediate state and party bureaucracy and form an implicit coalition with the peasantry predicated upon generalizing successful forms of peasant production and distribution. Thus, despite the power of everyday politics, it remains the case that decollectivization was ultimately only possible when a national leadership that was, in an economic sense, highly pragmatic, accepted and then advocated the need for market-led resource allocation within a rural economy dominated by peasant family farms. In a sense, then, everyday politics worked to strengthen advocacy politics taking place within the central leadership.

This leads to a second, related, issue: Kerkvliet's analysis of agency within everyday politics is, to a degree, one-sided. Kerkvliet emphasizes peasant agency, in the form of everyday politics. However, if in the process of decollectivization everyday politics was ultimately about getting local authorities to accede, in some way, to violations of official rules and practices, then the fact that local authorities chose to accede demonstrated that they too expressed some form of agency. In other words, everyday politics in rural Vietnam took place in two arenas, both within the collective and within the local state. Admittedly, the distinction between the two was not as clear as one might like; nonetheless, there was a distinction. Thus, there is, it could be suggested, in the history of decollectivization in Vietnam, a need to better understand the operation of everyday politics in the local state in order to more comprehensively understand everyday politics in rural Vietnam.

It is important to stress that these are two minor points. Kerkvliet has made a monumental contribution to peasant studies. *The Power of Everyday Politics* deserves to be widely read by officials, academics, activists and students.

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Adriana Allen, Julio D. Davila and Pascale Hofmann, *Governance of Water and Sanitation Services for the Peri-urban Poor: A Framework for Understanding and Action in Metropolitan Regions*. London: Development Planning Unit, University College, 2006. 124 pp. £20.00 paperback.

Globalization is affecting the world's cities through processes of transnational migration of professionals and rural–urban movement of both white- and blue-collar workers. The pressure that such movements of people places on water and sanitation services has been well documented in *Governance of Water and Sanitation Services for the Peri-Urban Poor*. In doing so the publication espouses the case for public–private partnerships for service provision in developing countries. Drawing on case studies from Tanzania, India, Mexico, Venezuela and Egypt the book highlights a whole gamut of institutional practices ranging from bribe taking, private vending,

rain water harvesting and NGO-run piped water kiosks that mediate people's access to water and sanitation services. The book points to the inability of national governments to cater to the needs of the poor and emphasizes the need for 'a better understanding of the rationale and rules that govern informal practices and the ways in which these could be articulated in a formal water supply and sanitation system' (p. 11). And yet, this is precisely where the publication is least persuasive.

The book would have benefited immensely from an analytical framework that discussed concepts like Integrated Water Resources Management (IWRM) (which can mean different things to different people), governance (co-production may have been a better term), public-private partnerships and livelihoods (that include a discussion of power and history). Notice for instance, that the Cochabamba water supply systems in Bolivia had a history of conflict involving international water companies, national governments and local communities. Interestingly, a study of the Cochabamba water wars concluded that the social movement that emerged to dislodge an international water company from the region drew the support of middle classes, peasants and urban working class and 'ruptured the rural-urban dichotomy that characterizes politics in many countries of the south' (Laurie, 2005). This calls into question the rationale for the use of the term 'peri-urban' by the authors. If there is something that we can learn from experiences of rapidly globalizing cities like Beijing, Bangalore or Shanghai, it is that multinational companies have the power to influence the urban landscape (Melchert, 2005). Here the State is obliged to provide a regulatory framework for land and municipal services with a focus on the poor (Nair, 2005). In cases where globalization has not yet had a significant impact on urbanization the State, one can argue, is obliged to provide basic services for the poor even if that means making additional investment to create physical infrastructure (Rijsberman, 2004). Introducing analytical constructs like peri-urban does not make it any easier for administrators to prioritize and develop strategies for service provision for the poor whether they reside in urban or rural areas or the expanding swathes that lie in between.

This book misses the opportunity to inform the discussion on strategies to operationalize public-private partnerships for provision of water supply and sanitation services. This is for want of an analytical framework that identifies the role of private contractors in service provision, conditions for rule compliance by beneficiaries and the role of functionaries of state parastatals like irrigation or water supply departments. In other words, under what condition does stakeholder co-operation emerge to provide public goods? Further, it is worth asking whether an improvement in service provision automatically enhances access of the poor to water supply and sanitation services. For this reason a critical part of understanding informal practices of users of water supply and sanitation systems is to 'penetrate into a deeper layer of beliefs, needs, aspirations and limitations that need to be contextualized in relation to power and institutions' — such as caste in the India case (Haan and Zoomers, 2005; Fortman, 2006). Would not a case study from a transition economy like China or Ethiopia have offered additional insights on institutional arrangements at higher levels (such as laws and policies) and the processes by which they interact with rules at the level of communes to influence access of the poor to water and sanitation services?

In the absence of a well-developed analytical framework what we get is a reference to the merits of granting collective titles (in Namibia), cross subsidizing poor households (in Brazil and Argentina), community management of water supply (in Tanzania) and institutional reorganization for water and management and wastewater and sanitation (in Egypt). The persuasiveness of the arguments presented in support of each of the above options could have been considerably enhanced if they had been developed within the context of a rigorous analytical framework. Such an exercise would have also considerably improved the discussion of the water and sanitation cycle (p. 62), health and livelihood links (p. 37) and water as a human right (p. 32).

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