

needs to be intentionality on the part of the government and other local/international institutions to spread the message on HIV/AIDS prevention methods and these are not limited only to the use of the Internet.

Chapter 5 profiles some of the humanitarian organisations that work on Africa's healthcare landscape. Here Foucault's concept of governmentality is invoked to show how 'government(s), private actors, and humanitarians play their part in improving the African health condition' (p. 183). Chapter 6 presents a case study of healthcare policy in Botswana, Ghana and Rwanda. Despite the financial pressure that they have faced, 'African policy makers did not think that healthcare should be a private good, the purchase of which African consumers should be entirely responsible for' (p. 241).

The book concludes by examining some of the challenges currently faced by Africa's healthcare systems. Perhaps reflecting the time when the book was written, the author examines the outbreak of the Ebola pandemic in West Africa in 2014. While the pandemic exposed the lack of proper healthcare planning policies in the affected region, readers might also question the role of international institutions such as the World Health Organization (WHO) in managing such crises. The book concludes by examining the role played by Cuba in strengthening Africa's healthcare system (a model of South-South cooperation) and 'how countries of the South can significantly scale up their healthcare human power, even under conditions of serious budget constraints' (p. 252).

One major criticism of the book is that it focuses largely on sub-Saharan Africa and makes scant reference to North Africa, which is part of Africa after all. One would also have wanted to see an in-depth discussion of how African countries are dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic and how they have responded to the brain drain of health workers from the continent. Notwithstanding these criticisms, Jean-Germain Gros' book is a welcome addition to the literature on healthcare policy in Africa and probably presents the most compelling account of healthcare policy in Africa to date.

ABEL CHIKANDA
University of Kansas

Gender and the Political Economy of Conflict in Africa: The Persistence of Violence by MEREDITH TURSHEN

London: Routledge, 2016. Pp. 198. \$145 (hbk).

doi:10.1017/S0022278X16000677

The growing literature on gender, violence and conflict in Africa has largely focused on the impact of sexual violence on women's lives. Many studies have considered the political economy of war in Africa and the impact of globalisation on conflict that has resulted in the so-called 'new wars' that have predominated in Africa over the past 30 years. These new wars are characterised by intense 'transnational connections', low intensity warfare, new forms of violence that 'blur the boundaries between war and peace and between political and criminal violence', and 'new economic configurations' that both combine 'legitimate and criminal commerce' and cause the conflict to continue (pp. 12–13). In this ground-breaking book, Meredith Turshen undertakes an

expansive analysis that brings gender to bear on Marxist analyses of labour, production and reproduction in the extractive mining economies of Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania. Drawing primarily on secondary sources, she shows the ways in which economic violence, including direct violence such as forced labour, and structural violence like poverty, racism and sexism, creates the conditions for and intersects with the 'new forms of violence [that] have emerged with globalization' (p. 13).

The author injects a feminist, intersectional analysis into the macro-analytic frameworks of political economy and considers the ways in which gender and conflict have been defining features of African political economies since Europeans brought merchant slavery to the continent. In Chapter 1, Turshen brings together the theoretical literature on the nature of violence, its various forms, especially direct violence versus indirect or structural violence, and challenges the assumption that sexual violence is a fixed feature of all conflicts. Adopting a historical perspective in Chapter 2, she examines the violent integration of sub-Saharan African political economies into global markets via European domination and exploitation, first via the trans-Atlantic slave trade and then through colonialism. In this recounting of processes well known to scholars of Africa, she adds a gender analysis that examines the ways that women and their productive and reproductive labour were integral to 'the colonial project of resource removal and labour extraction' (p. viii).

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 comprise the heart of the book where Turshen compares the mining economies of Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Tanzania to examine the impact of conflict on the relationships between gender, violence and political economy. Tanzania serves as a negative case where there has not been war. Chapter 3 considers the violence of production while Chapter 4 focuses on biological and social reproduction. In Chapter 3 Turshen documents the ways in which 'violence economies depend for their existence on a very long human supply chain that crosses national borders and circles the globe' (p. 92). By injecting gender into this analysis she concludes that Africa's new wars are characterised by 'modern primitive accumulation' whereby civilians are dispossessed of their labour power and forced into labour arrangements that are worsened 'by armed conflict, enabled by neoliberalism, enmeshed in international criminal networks, abetted by legitimate corporations, and condoned by complicit governments' (p. 92). Chapter 4 challenges the focus on interpersonal violence in the literature on violence against women by considering the violence of social reproduction. Turshen shows the ways in which European colonialism introduced and normalised European assumptions about the gendered division of labour and relegated African women's customary rights and productive capabilities to invisible and unremunerated domains subsumed under social reproduction. Together Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate that studies should consider production and reproduction holistically as they inextricably interrelated. Furthermore, the relegation of women to the reproductive sphere in the theoretical literature on political economy hides their deep involvement in production.

In Chapter 5 Turshen examines the articulation of production and social reproduction in armed conflict and identifies the many ways that 'conflict

seems to exaggerate and intensify women's and men's experiences in production and reproduction' (p. 150). She asserts that during conflict violence conditions production and social reproduction and creates a shadow economy that simultaneously is necessary for survival, prolongs conflict, and entrenches transnational criminal networks that become very difficult, if not impossible, to dismantle. In the aftermath of armed conflict, 'neoliberals set up shop' and once again separate 'economies (post-war recovery) from politics (the work of reconciliation and accountability)' which leads to the domination and normalisation of 'market-oriented moral order [that] privileges the private over the public and the individual over the collective' (p. 151). In the conclusion (Chapter 6), Turshen undertakes a gendered analysis of social movements and their historical efforts to redress ongoing conflict and 'persistent violence in the public and private spheres in Africa' (p. 159).

The book is vital reading for scholars with an interest in political economy, gender studies, peace and conflict studies, and Africa. It will serve well in upper-level undergraduate and graduate courses in African studies, development studies, gender, and peace and conflict studies.

JENNIE E. BURNET
Georgia State University

Africa's Social Cleavages and Democratization: Colonial, Postcolonial, and Multiparty Era by DOUGLAS KIMEMIA

Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016. Pp. 389. \$110 (hbk).

doi:10.1017/S0022278X16000689

Douglas Kimemia's *Africa's Social Cleavages and Democratization* is a thick book. The density is probably unavoidable, given the complex nature of the subject, the interdisciplinary approach and the author's passion. As a work of synthesis, the book documents the travails and challenges of Africa's democratisation. Kimemia explains that 'social cleavages are to be the recurring themes' of the book (p. 18) and characterises cleavage as 'normative, encompassing interests and fomenting a strong organizational base' (p. 163).

Africa's Social Cleavages and Democratization is like two books in one. In the first half of the book (Chapters 2–5), Kimemia presents three robust, semi-autonomous essays that ought to whet readers' appetites. But the second half (Chapters 6–12) is where the author develops, argues, and presents the theme of the book which, according to him, is to 'analyze how the politics of identity, as evident in social cleavages and their efforts for political control, have impacted multiparty democracy in Africa' (p. 14).

Organisationally, the book has 12 chapters; the content of each chapter is summarised in a section in Chapter 1 (pp. 18–21). It is worth noting that the chapters overlap and cover much the same terrains, sometimes using the same material. Chapter 2 presents a narrative of the origins and development of sectarian politics in Africa during the colonial and post-colonial eras. In Chapter 3, the same subject is taken up but focusing especially on the post-Cold War era. Chapters 4 and 5 (on religion and ethnicity, respectively) revisit the so-called 'third wave of democracy' era of multi-party democratisation