What becomes clear in the book's last chapter is that ujamaa was, in many ways, just one part of people's lives that were already characterized by fairly constant change. Whether they moved to the villages voluntarily or were forced to move in the later years of ujamaa, Tanzanians were flexible and adapted to their new situation. The final chapter, containing mostly interviews with elders, shows that ujamaa was not just "a destructive power grab by an invasive state" (177). Instead, "given such widespread disappointment with contemporary affairs, nostalgia pervades many older villagers' assessments of the ujamaa-era government, especially among those who saw ujamaa as linked to a benevolent state and a feeling of membership in a meaningful national community" (220). That is not to say that ujamaa was always thought of well, and Lal makes it clear that that was not the case. However, she argues that in remembering ujamaa today, people think of it nostalgically through contemporary lenses shaped by their present situation and post-ujamaa experiences of economic hardships.

Lal directly addresses many of the book's possible limitations. Old age and memory loss made oral sources potentially less than accurate, and patching together a coherent narrative of memories about ujamaa and villagization is quite difficult. Additionally, some of the people Lal interviewed did not understand what she meant by ujamaa. That the TANU archives are not accessible to researchers presented another difficulty, though the book does not suggest that any essential sources are missing. The contradictions and complexities Lal finds enhance, rather than detract from, her argument that ujamaa transcended many of the boundaries often inherent in nation-building and development discourse. *African Socialism in Postcolonial Tanzania* is an engaging account of ujamaa, from its small-scale village ramifications to its global Cold War connections.

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POLITICS, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND GLOBALIZATION

Emma Hunter. ***Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania: Freedom, Democracy and Citizenship in the Era of Decolonization.*** New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. xv + 259 pp. Acknowledgments. Map of Tanzania. List of abbreviations. References. Index. $95.00. Cloth. ISBN: 9781107088177.

This thoughtful book explores how Tanzanians engaged with the many languages of progress, democracy, freedom, and citizenship circulating in the mid-twentieth-century world. Rather than telling this story from the outside in, by following the importation and adoption of foreign concepts on African soil, Emma Hunter grounds her inquiry in the historical realities

of Tanzanian social and political life under colonialism, emphasizing how local thinkers mediated this process by selectively reframing external ideas to fit their own indigenous discursive traditions and popular concerns. In exploring the changing ways in which Western idioms intersected with Tanzanian lexicons, *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania* takes the reader outside of the narrow sphere of elite politics and into the realm of popular debate among literate, newspaper-reading publics. Hunter mines a vibrant Tanzanian press, read alongside archival sources, to reveal the complex and diverse ways in which educated voices reworked old vocabularies and styled new ones to make sense of an era of political transition between 1945 and 1967. Her book uncovers a fascinating landscape of ideas in motion, suggesting important new conceptual avenues for future research on decolonization and democracy in Africa as well as modeling new methodological strategies for such analysis.

The first chapter of the book argues for the existence of a distinct public political sphere in late colonial Tanzania. This realm was characterized by the growth of a semi-autonomous Swahili-language print culture and a dynamic grappling with global discourses of political development. The next two chapters examine how Tanzanian colonial subjects interpreted the languages of "democracy" and "representation" popularized by international institutions such as the United Nations and colonial regimes themselves. Specifically, Hunter unpacks the wide range of sometimes contradictory interpretations of these terms, documenting how they were deployed by advocates of conservative political agendas promoting older hierarchies as well as more radical calls for substantive equality. Chapter 4 scrutinizes the work of a local ethnically based citizens union in Kilimanjaro, illustrating how campaigners for an elected paramount chief creatively fused new ideas of political community to older norms. The book returns to this local context later on (in chapter 6) to examine how the nationalist party of TANU (the Tanganyika African National Union) challenged Kilimanjaro elites' legitimacy by mobilizing different ideologies of freedom. The discussion here builds on an examination in chapter 5 of the meaning of "freedom" in mid-century Tanzania more generally and the ways in which the concept resonated with Tanzanians' calls for strengthened social ties and relations of dependence rather than simply entailing a liberal conception of individual autonomy. This had important implications for early postcolonial politics, discussed in the final two chapters, particularly the fairly rapid closing down of spaces for dissent and opposition that occurred in the 1960s. In light of Hunter's previous analysis, this development seems less puzzling or paradoxical than conventionally assumed. Instead, what came to be the dominant, somewhat restrictive understanding of political membership in the Tanzanian nation-state emerged from, and was consistent with, prominent strands of debate among literate publics in the late colonial period.

At times Hunter's careful attention to the precise contours of political language used by historical actors contrasts with her own, somewhat vaguer, use of terminology. Further elaboration on the theoretical implications and

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intellectual genealogy of some of the analytical concepts deployed, such as "public sphere," would have been instructive. Additionally, Hunter sometimes presents newspaper writings as disembodied articulations without providing accompanying contextual evidence that might allow the reader to grasp the human dimensions of these expressions. Nevertheless, these sources simultaneously make *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania* an original and enlightening study, and the book does offer concrete characters to anchor the floating world of words when it examines local debates in Kilimanjaro. Hunter's adeptness at moving between the specificity of such particular cases and the broad discussion of abstract ideas on a global scale is facilitated by her lucid writing and engagement with an impressively wide body of comparative scholarly literature. These features help make this book at once accessible to nonspecialists and meaningful to Africanists. They also confirm that the core insights of *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania*—starting with, but hardly limited to, its basic premise that popular political deliberation should be taken seriously as the subject of nuanced intellectual history—will contribute to shaping scholarly discussions in many fields for years to come.

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Emma Hunter. *Citizenship, Belonging, and Political Community in Africa: Dialogues between Past and Present*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016. vi + 306 pp. Acknowledgments. Postscript. Index. Paper. No price reported. ISBN: 978-0821422571.

Growing up in Nigeria, I used to think everyone enjoyed the same rights of citizenship, but I soon came to question those childish beliefs. With rigorous erudition, *Citizenship, Belonging, and Political Community in Africa* attempts to answer several questions: namely, how did various modes of citizenship evolve historically in Africa, and what are their contemporary implications?

In her introduction, Emma Hunter argues that there are two fundamental problems with scholarship on citizenship in Africa. First, it is often predicated on the assumption that the continent does not have a history of citizenship that precedes colonization. Second, citizenship is almost always seen in terms of privileges and the legal rights that accompany them, thus making us lose sight of other domains in which modes of political belonging are articulated. *Citizenship, Belonging, and Political Community in Africa* addresses this vacuum by presenting the works of ten African scholars—historians, political scientists, and sociologists—to provide a more balanced study of citizenship on the continent. Collectively, the scholars draw on precolonial and colonial archival materials to historicize the notion of citizenship and