

usable in this history, and the authors describe how the secession's rhetoric and symbolic repertoire have proven to be potent political tools with which to make certain political claims today. In describing the early 21st century secessionist movement, the authors tellingly describe this newest manifestation as 'no longer the preserve of intellectual elites or of exiled political leaders but has taken a popular form' (p. 184). This quote's contrasting conjunction seems to be an admission that perhaps the gendarmes' historic dream of a free Katanga might have been theirs and theirs alone.

Historians can only reconstruct the past from those fragments left behind, as incomplete and as imperfect as they are. It is hard to imagine future scholars will be able to match the breadth and depth of primary research done on this specific topic by Kennes and Larmer, which not only includes sources drawn from several national archives and personal papers, but also extensive personal interviews of ex-Katangese gendarmes conducted inside and outside Africa. Yet even though the scope of their primary research is both wide and deep, the authors still must rely heavily on the recollections of participants many years after the fact, informants who might in reconstructing their participation in events retroactively attribute them to a higher purpose and ascribe more support for their cause than was actually the case. In their conclusion, the authors directly acknowledge these unavoidable limitations of their informants' narratives, and the authors eloquently discuss these complex relationships between history, memory, and present day political agendas. Kennes and Larmer's book will not be the last word on the Katangese separatism, but it will likely mark an important shift in the literature that may be challenged in parts by future scholars, but will prove impossible to ignore.

NOTES

1. The authors had peeled off a section of their research making this point for an article published in 2014 (cf. Kennes & Larmer 2014).

REFERENCES

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JOSIAH BROWNELL
Pratt Institute

Remediation in Rwanda: Grassroots Legal Forums by KRISTIN CONNOR DOUGHTY
Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. Pp. 296. \$65 (hbk).

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Few African societies are as researched as post-genocide Rwanda. And most of that attention is devoted to the legacy of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi. Kristin Connor Doughty's *Remediation in Rwanda* is part of this wider trend but opens

important new vistas given the analytical and methodological approach adopted. Doughty looks at dispute resolution as such, thus not only genocide related, and offers a contextualised perspective based on extensive fieldwork. Doughty examines what she calls the ‘harmony legal model’ in which state law, even when punitive, is given performative force in an ideology of ‘harmony’.

The recent attention to grassroots approaches – often through the use of so-called tradition-based justice and reconciliation mechanisms – entails not only a turn toward more culturally appropriate and homegrown solutions but often also implies the decentralisation of the judicial procedure or the reconciliation process to the most remote local level: small face-to-face communities. Chapters 1 and 2 provide a background to, on the one hand, the Rwandan case study and, on the other hand, this global context in which grassroots law is gaining importance.

Such a shift towards ‘the local’ in transitional justice and peacebuilding requires appropriate empirical insights. These follow in the other chapters that seek to collapse dichotomies such as ‘genocide’ and ‘non-genocide’, ‘before’ and ‘after’, ‘war’ and ‘peace’ (p. 94). Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present the ethnographic material derived from the author’s fieldwork experience. Each of these chapters is devoted to one legal forum or, what the author calls, ‘techniques of state-backed community building’.

Chapter 3 examines the Rwandan *gacaca* courts that dealt with the legacy of the 1994 genocide. This court system is probably the best-known instance of such a new model for dealing with a history of mass violence. At the same time, the actual working of this court system remains little understood and its outcomes are contested. The novelty of Doughty’s analysis resides in the fact that she considers these genocide courts in the same analytical frame as other legal grassroots forums dealing with non-genocide disputes. Therefore, the author also provides rich empirical evidence of the working of the so-called *Abunzi* (Chapter 4), committees of mediators, and a legal aid clinic (Chapter 5). Chapter 6 further collapses the distinction between these different forums by focusing on a commonality: the position and work of ‘lay judges’ occupying a liminal position between government authority and deep knowledge of their neighbourhoods.

Bringing the *gacaca* courts in dialogue with other grassroots dispute resolution mechanisms is a refreshing perspective. At the same time, one might wonder whether the author’s instance on ‘contextualized conversation’ (p. 135) and, in general, mediation as the dominant logic of the courts that dealt with the legacy of the genocide is not a bit overstated. Indeed, *Remediation in Rwanda* rightly calls attention to those lay judges that managed to combine judicial, cultural and religious registers to mend social ties that were viciously ruptured by intimate genocidal violence. But were these type of judges not rather exceptions to the rule? *Gacaca*’s lay judges had little room for genuine mediation given the rigid legal framework and typical criminal trial procedures guiding their activities. The institutional framework only provided for mediation as an option for property cases, not for crimes against humans. And my own fieldwork and the final statistics on the *gacaca* courts process released by the government of Rwanda demonstrate that also most of

these property cases were settled by adopting typical criminal trial procedures, not by mediating. These statistics also show that the confession and pardon procedure – often evoked to stress the restorative, at times quasi-religious qualities of the court system – was only partially used: most defendants did not confess but were nevertheless convicted. This alone already points to more frictional ‘conversations’ and an adversarial logic animating the space of the *gacaca* courts.

That said, this book moves well beyond a first generation of overtly legalistic, theoretical and normative studies analysing the legal responses to the Rwandan genocide. This literature often made assumptions about law-in-reality with little understanding of the Rwandan socio-cultural universe and insights regarding the ‘smaller-scale interpersonal interactions that make up ordinary life’ (p. 21). It is the careful attention to these micro-empirical dynamics that sets *Remediation in Rwanda* apart from earlier studies. Indeed, the book presents vivid evidence of what it means to settle disputes and how these things get done in practice, not only *de jure*. And the work makes an important call to stop romanticising the ‘local’ and acknowledge the inherent violence of social repair, at the grassroots as well.

BERT INGELAERE
University of Antwerp

Transboundary Cooperations in Rwanda: Organisation Patterns of Companies, Projects, and Foreign Aid Compared by ROBIN POHL
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Robin Phol’s PhD thesis book aims to provide an in-depth anthropological account of transboundary actors in Rwanda. The aim of the book is to contribute to the literature on globalisation and transboundary interactions, coining the term ‘transboundary cooperation’ to describe relationships between the ‘local’ and ‘boundary-crossing’ actors in the private sector, government and development agencies. It is an investigation of instances where ‘the global’ meets ‘the local’, that are the essence of globalisation, but often less studied from this angle, particularly in Africa. Seven case studies are delved into and are well integrated into anthropology and transboundary theory. Dissecting these elements of globalisation in a developing country context, and through detailed case studies, is the key interest-point of the book. Of added significance is the contribution of the thesis to the Rwandan-focused Africanist literature. Providing detailed cases of the workings of a variety of private-sector initiatives and development aid projects adds to the recent political economy literature about Rwanda (cf. Goodfellow & Behuria 2016) and is important given the centrality of international actors to the country’s post-genocide success story.

The seven case studies interrogate the workings of development agencies, government secondment programmes and notably, the private sector, including multinational business, an Indian diaspora businessman and Rwandan-focused transnational businesses. Particular attention is given to the energy sector, complementing recent literature (cf. Dye 2016), with the ministerial