

questionnaires and participant observation. The scope of research in each of the countries, as well as in the United States and Switzerland, allows for a remarkable picture of the practices of the MAP. Relevant institutions indigenous to each country studied, and their relationship with those established by the World Bank as a pre-condition of MAP funding, are explained. These institutions include National AIDS Councils (NACs), District AIDS councils (DACs), and the Regional Facilitating Agents (RFAs). Harman then sets out how these institutional contexts relate to the Bank's main focus on multi-sectorality.

The greatest strength of the book lies in the way it shows the connection between the personal aspects of HIV/AIDS and the complex and perplexing role of CSOs. While Harman does not make as strong a case as she might regarding the significance of the Bank's pursuit of liberal outcomes through neo-liberal means, the analysis of how the Bank's multi-sectoral interventions shape the connection between individuals and CSOs, and so change social relations, is timely. This book has significance for the fields both of African Studies and of global health governance.

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Guarding the Guardians: civil-military relations and democratic governance in Africa by MATHURIN C. HOUNGNIKPO

Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010. Pp. 228, £55.00 (hbk).

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Guarding the Guardians asks how and whether African militaries will permit democratic consolidation. Mathurin Houngnikpo believes that khaki consent is necessary, but that civilians and militaries must make 'complex compromises'. Houngnikpo (Chair of Civil–Military Relations at the United States' Africa Center for Strategic Studies) lists a number of normative suggestions, but appears pessimistic about democratic civil–military relations occurring within this generation. The first half of the book revisits the African military literature of the 1960s–1980s (including the Pye-Shils' 'military-as-moderniser' school). Civilian rule has been as bad as military rule, but the former at least allows for some chance of democratic change. This section describes pre-colonial civil–military relations, the growing holistic view that 'security' includes both regime and human security, and the notion that the 'security sector' includes much more than the military (presidential guards, state-supported militias, *gendarmérie* and border/port police).

Commendably, Houngnikpo emphasises that civilians have a major responsibility for democratic civil–military relations. Domestic groups (mostly the state) will largely determine whether effective oversight occurs: AU strictures against coups are ineffectual, and the West can exert only limited influence. Ostensibly democratising governments must not stage 'civilian coups'. Rather, they must exercise transparency and accountability, maintain informed oversight, and, à la Huntington, not intrude into purely military functions.

Although *Guarding the Guardians* is a thoughtful and well-researched book, it could have considered contemporary, country-specific, civil–military relations examples to illustrate 'complex compromises'. Should African countries offer

amnesty to officers of *l'ancien regime*? Doing so may buy khaki compliance but may also reinforce cultures of impunity. Should militaries promote/reflect the state's democratic agenda by being more socially inclusive (for example, in terms of gender), or by deploying their resources for civilian purposes (construction, education, or medical)? Such actions could undermine military *esprit de corps* and readiness, and insinuate the forces into civilian governance. Future writing should include the views of African officers regarding the compromises involved in civil–military relations, as well as suggestions for greater judicial and legislative influence.

Democratic control of the security forces requires governments to balance differing sets of values and priorities. For that reason, civil–military relations remains a *process* for every country. By raising important questions and offering sensible recommendations, Houngnikpo advances the current civil–military relations literature.

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Religion and Politics in Kenya: essays in honor of a meddlesome priest edited by BEN KNIGHTON

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This is a confused, even confusing, book; but an important one. Edited by Ben Knighton of the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies, who taught and preached in Kenya at St Andrew's College, Kabare, in the 1990s, the collected essays can be divided into three parts. Knighton's introduction, which provides an excellent assessment of David Gitari's evangelical theology and his role in the wider Anglican Communion in Africa; the contributions from Galia Sabar and Julius Githongo are essentially accounts of the life and work of Gitari, the long-serving bishop, first of Mount Kenya East (1975–90) and then of Kirinyaga (1990–6), who from 1997 to 2002 was the Archbishop of Kenya and head of the Anglican Church. Next, John Lonsdale, emeritus Professor of African History at Cambridge, and Paddy Benson, who worked closely with Gitari, provide characteristically insightful accounts of the history of Christianity (and especially Anglicanism) in Kenya, with some genuflection towards a discussion of church–state relations and to the role of Archbishop Gitari in the 1970s–90s when he spoke out against both the government of Jomo Kenyatta and the increasingly authoritarian rule of Daniel arap Moi. Finally, most of the essays examine particular aspects of the Christian churches' involvement in political issues, including relations with Islam (John Chesworth), the rise of *Muingiki* (a second contribution by the editor), the role of the NCK in the ethnic clashes of 1991–3 and 1997 when it was activist and comparatively successful. This performance contrasts markedly with the NCK's lacklustre performance following the December 2007 general election when, as Klopp argues, its efforts were undermined by ethnic factionalism – a theme which is taken further by Paul Gifford's excellent contribution on the prophetic role of the Kenyan churches.

Most of the essays are interesting but they do not form a coherent whole or, indeed, really complement or add to one another. The reader is left dissatisfied,