

the fact that these authors evaluate the impact of aid in light of recent shifts in aid modalities and the rise of non-traditional donors, such as China. These case studies vary in their verdict. The authors show that donor conditionality was quite successful in coercing Hastings Banda to allow multiparty elections in Malawi and persuading the Frelimo government to reform the electoral laws in Mozambique. However they point to several failures, such as Mali's military takeover in 2012 and support for political patronage in Tanzania.

The authors' derive some important lessons: They note that economic aid is occasionally successful at influencing multiparty transitions, particularly when donors have economic leverage. They also note the importance of democracy aid for funding electoral processes. The authors are more pessimistic – though not hopeless – about donor efforts to promote horizontal accountability or to prevent democratic backsliding. They note that donors have a history of bypassing legislatures, and may therefore contribute to executive dominance over policymaking. They also raise concerns throughout the book about how donor fragmentation limits policy leverage, particularly since non-traditional donors sometimes fail to share the concerns of the rest of the donor community.

There are challenges. Some chapters could make a stronger case for causation, and I occasionally wonder whether donors are getting credit for an emerging liberalisation process, rather than for an effect of aid on reforms. For similar reasons, it would also have been useful to know more at points about why decisions were made by donors to target aid in a particular way and to particular places. But this book is an improvement over much of the empirical work on aid and democratisation, and a helpful update on contemporary issues. Scholars and practitioners interested in Africa's democratisation process and the political effects of aid will find this well worth reading.

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**Sexuality and Social Justice in Africa – Rethinking Homophobia and Forging Resistance** by MARC EPPRECHT

London: Zed Books, 2013. Pp. ix + 222. £12.99 (pbk)

doi:10.1017/S0022278X1400010X

This is a book full of hope, which is surprising in view of the general impression that homophobia is rampant in Africa, and that it is intensifying – spreading all over the continent especially during the last decade and advocating ever heavier sanctions. But it is precisely Epprecht's aim to debunk this general impression. He certainly recognises that there are reasons for worry – the book is full of sombre examples – but he feels one of the most urgent tasks is to dispel this image of Africa as a continent that is uniformly homophobic. There are important variations in the way homosexuality became a public issue and there are numerous counter-voices (and -actions). Recently several others have emphasised that the emerging field of homo-studies in Africa should not be dominated by a will to denunciate homophobia but rather by emphasising

variations in its emergence, thus robbing it of its self-evidence as just 'African' (cf. for instance the recent special issues of *Politique Africaine* 126 [2012] by Christophe Broqua and *African Studies Review* 56, 2 [2013] by Ayo A. Coli). Epprecht's specific aim—in line with the *African Arguments* series—is to address a broader audience and to make academic insights available in wider debates. Moreover, as a historian who has an impressive record in the study of the topic and who has for some time been most actively involved in public debates in various parts of Africa, he is particularly qualified to address these thorny issues.

The result is, indeed, a very rich book. I admire not only the consequent strategies with which Epprecht sets out to 'engage'—the word recurs throughout the book—homophobic ideas and spokesmen, but also the riches of the data he offers the reader in order to substantiate his arguments. The book has become, indeed, a true *Fundgrube* of knowledge about same sex issues throughout the history of the African continent—from same-sex as 'wealth medicine' in older and more recent times to colonial paradoxes, ambiguities in Bible and Quran texts or unexpected twists in post-colonial leaders' views. As an historian Epprecht is well placed to bring out the full complexities and surprising turns in the trajectories of homophobia, that has never been a given in African thought, but is shown to be a constantly changing hybrid of all sorts of internal and external influences. And he uses this complexity to the full in 'engaging' with religious leaders, self-proclaimed traditionalists and political leaders.

This framework returns in the various chapters—on the need to demystify sexuality studies in Africa in general, on the role of religion and on the role of the state. For many his detailed demonstration that, for instance, neither the Bible nor the Quran are unambiguous in their condemnation of same sex will come as a surprise (despite my solid Protestant upbringing many of the Bible texts he quotes were new to me). Thus he provides data that are, indeed, very useful for nuancing the public debates that now go on in many parts of Africa. In line with this, the closing chapter addresses present-day struggles and strategies.

Instead of notes, Epprecht refers the reader to small overviews for each chapter of useful literature. This makes one sometimes wonder from where he got certain observations from. Can one, indeed, say that Protestantism, from its beginnings in Africa propagated that '... not only would salvation await in the next life in heaven, but prosperity would follow also in this one on earth?' (pp. 87/8—seems to underrate the impatience of many missionaries with forms of luxury). I wonder also whether the long passages about the choice of terms—of course necessary, but already at the beginning of the book (pp. 20–36) somewhat long—will not put off the non-academic readers whom the author wants to address most explicitly. But such questions are a bit futile because the panache with which Epprecht places present-day struggles in wider historical contexts (from Dona Beatriz in Congo's old capital Salvador around 1700 to present-day issues of HIV and the broader effects of ignoring 'men who have sex with men' in health programmes) really works. The main merit of the book might be how the author shows most convincingly that the struggle about homosexuality is not an issue concerning

only a small minority but touches most directly on central issues for society at large.

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**Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement** by  
A. BETTS

Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013. Pp. 234. US\$ 26.95 (pbk)

doi:10.1017/S0022278X14000111

*Survival Migration* starts out by noting that the primary cause of cross-border displacement has shifted from persecution to deprivation. This shift in causation makes the 1951 Refugee Convention increasingly inapt and consequently produces a shift in protection regime, from precision and consistency to imprecision and inconsistency. State responses to people fleeing serious human rights deprivations vary tremendously: in some cases, the migrants are protected as though they were refugees; in other cases they are rounded up, detained and deported. Explaining this inconsistency is the objective of Betts' analysis. He argues that in the absence of legal precision, protection regimes are shaped by how interests and incentives play out for elites within host state governments.

The book is situated at the intersection of two substantive themes. First, it examines the rise of cross-border migration that is motivated by fear, dispossession and desperation, but nevertheless falls outside the framework of the 1951 Refugee Convention. Betts coins the term 'survival migration' to refer to 'people who are outside their country of origin because of an existential threat for which they have no access to a domestic remedy or resolution' (pp. 4–5). This concept is a valuable contribution that analytically separates the dynamics of displacement from the regime that governs it, and simultaneously avoids making assumptions about migrants' (lack of) agency, like the increasingly discredited notion of 'forced migration' does.

The second substantive theme of the book is the national politics of international institutions. Along with other scholars in the same tradition, Betts argues that in order to understand how international institutions work, we must not look only to Geneva or New York, but take a bottom-up perspective that is sensitive to particular national contexts. This aspect of the book makes it relevant to the study of African politics more generally, beyond the specific field of migration governance.

The empirical analysis makes use of six paired cases of displacement: Zimbabweans in South Africa and Botswana, Congolese in Angola and Tanzania, and Somalis in Kenya and Yemen. In each of the cases, Betts examines the patterns and causes of displacement, the government responses and the role of the international community. He then seeks to explain the particular responses with reference to interests and incentives. Methodologically, Betts is influenced by what he calls an 'embryonic ethnographic turn' in the study of world politics; he seeks to combine the traditional comparative, multi-case approach of international relations scholars with in-depth knowledge gained through fieldwork.