

input of women advocates was instrumental to this process, but still required the support of influential men in several instances. Nonetheless, their achievements during this period established a foundation for ongoing meaningful involvement of women in Rwandan politics as demonstrated by the laws that were enacted after 2003 – the topic of Chapter 6. Considering the 2005 Organic Land Law and the 2008 Gender-Based Violence Law, Mageza-Barthel argues that following monumental success in influencing the 2003 Constitution, ongoing efforts have met with ‘spotty affirmation of women’s rights,’ particularly regarding the Organic Land Law (p. 142). This spotty affirmation largely results from the women advocates’ inability to anticipate which policies might have the best outcomes for rural women, highlighting the salience of class divisions in the post-genocide period. Ultimately, Mageza-Barthel concludes that a select cohort of Rwandan women have had a high degree of success in making their voices heard, both in influencing UN gender norms and in shaping post-genocide Rwanda’s political sphere, though sizeable challenges remain, particularly in meeting the diverse needs of rural Rwandan women.

Taken together, Mageza-Barthel maps the remarkable accomplishments and sizeable challenges experienced among a small cohort of Rwandan women who have been able to become valuable ‘agents of reconstruction’ in debates around gender equality since the genocide (p. 94). Her contribution would be enhanced, however, had she conducted a more thorough analysis of Rwandan gender norms, currently limited to women’s exclusion from politics during Rwanda’s colonial and post-independence period. While this limited historical scope allows her to cast the advocates whom she has interviewed as exceptional, which indeed they are, analysis of Rwanda’s pre-colonial and colonial history would have allowed her to connect them to a legacy of powerful women elites who wielded an impressive degree of political power in their own right – most notably in the role of *Umugabekazi* (Queen Mother). Of particular relevance, the *Umugabekazi* and other notable Rwandan women elites, most of whom were of Tutsi heritage, were often faced with similar tensions in negotiating political power, both with their male counterparts and with the kingdom’s diverse rural majority. This is a minor missed opportunity, however, in what is otherwise a rich contribution to knowledge on post-genocide Rwandan politics and the impact that women from the global South have had on UN gender equality norms.

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**Ethnicity, Democracy and Citizenship in Africa: Political Marginalization of Kenya’s Nubians** by SAMANTHA BALATON-CHRIMES

Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015. Pp. 188. £60 (hbk).

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*Ethnicity, Democracy and Citizenship in Africa* is an excellent analysis on the historical and contemporary status of the Nubian community in Kenya, across the history of the Nubians’ relation to the British colonial authority through the post-colonial regimes. Balaton-Chrimes’s book addresses the political question

of citizenship through a detailed study of the Nubians. As a result she argues that the major rationalisation of the Nubians' marginalisation in the country is due to the centrality of the 'indigenous and autochthonous ethnicity in Kenyan politics' (p. 156). Thus, her main thesis argument is that the Nubians' marginality is more the outcome of a political system that 'privileges the indigenous and autochthonous ethnicity' than any other factor (p. 129).

Since the colonial period and in the post-colonial era, the different means the Nubians have used in advocating for equal treatment as citizens, brings to focus the importance of indigenous and autochthonous ethnicity as the main structure in which 'recognition and distribution regimes operate in Kenya' (p. 18). As a minority group, the Nubians are aware that ethnicity is a crucial organising frame that guarantees 'their access to and enjoyment of citizenship' in Kenya (p. 16). Balaton-Chrimes provides evidence to ascertain that the instance of the Nubians as an ethnic community in Kenya is a reaction to a political culture that favours ethnic groups identified as indigenous and autochthonous. Evident from the book is that the Nubians' citizenship deficits are associated with their ethnic stranger status. This explains the tactics the Nubians employ to oppose their disadvantaged status are influenced by an 'understanding that indigenous and autochthonous ethnic groups enjoy' more 'rights and access opportunities for political participation' (pp. 21–2). And because of both their minority and ethnic stranger status, the Nubians find themselves discriminated by a political system that privileges indigenous and autochthonous ethnic groups, as demonstrated in the recognition and distribution regime that documents Kenyan citizens and excludes the Nubians from it. Faced by this predicament, the Nubians perceive that for the community to enjoy full rights and privileges of citizenship there should be change in the way they are identified in the country: 'from ethnic strangers to an indigenous tribe' (p. 97). But due to their recent arrival in Kenya, which is associated with the colonial power, it casts the Nubians' claim to indigeneity in doubt. Clearly, the Nubians' approach of claiming indigeneity is a struggle for equal citizenship and status.

More so, the author argues that the Nubians' lack of a recognised homeland (ethnic territory) places the community in an awkward position because in Kenya an ethnic homeland is the basis of membership and a qualification for full citizenship. Informed by this Kenyan popular view, the Nubians have in different historical periods unsuccessfully petitioned relevant authorities to recognise Kibera in Nairobi as their ethnic homeland. Their claim of the Kibera land is not due to an autochthonous factor, but is instead founded on an earlier agreement with the British colonial administration. Clearly, Balaton-Chrimes point out that a 'recognized homeland' forms 'the basis of citizenship in Kenya' (p. 124). And consequently, it is this lack of land that has heavily conditioned the Nubians' marginal status in the country. As a way forward, the author addresses how societies, including Kenya, could tackle the problem of privileging of indigenous and autochthonous ethnicity by recommending two alternative models of accommodating ethnicity in politics. Thus the acceptance of 'solidarity and agonism as an alternative ethos' has the potential to change 'political tribalism to moral inter-ethnicity' (p. 150).

Over all, the book is a major step in Citizenship Studies and African Studies, and it will have a significant impact and contribution to these wide fields.

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**The Experiment Must Continue: Medical Research and Ethics in East Africa, 1940–2014** by MELISSA GRABOYES

Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2015. Pp. 350. £23.99 (pbk).

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There has been a continuing and growing interest in critically reflecting on historical and contemporary perspectives of medical research practices and ethical processes. In *The Experiment Must Continue*, Melissa Graboyes contributes to this literature with lessons of caution. Guided by her own background in public health and history, and drawing on archival research and ethnographic fieldwork in Tanzania, Graboyes discusses key aspects of medical research and the challenges of everyday ethics in the field. Detailing medical research in East Africa from 1940 to 2014, the book ‘speaks to the potential misuse of people, historically and in the present, and asks hard questions about why we do medical research, at what cost, who benefits, and whether those benefits are worth the risks we ask some people to bear’ (p. xxi).

A range of medical research is discussed, including lymphatic filariasis elimination attempts, a tuberculosis drug trial, a male circumcision trial and malaria interventions. The book is divided into sections, each dealing with a part of the process of research: from perceptions of medical research, the arrival of researchers into an area, the conduct of research and recruitment of participants, to finalising research and the remnants of what is left behind after field research is completed. Graboyes deftly illustrates these aspects by juxtaposing historical and contemporary vignettes of research experiences before discussing the implications and highlighting cautionary lessons that emerge from the analysis. Presenting the material in this way illuminates the continuities of adverse research practices over time, and, providing historical depth to contemporary practice, how previous experiences continue to shape responses to medical research.

Throughout the book, disparities become evident, some of which echoes other work in this area. Firstly, there are deviations between formal research practices and processes and the realities of translating these into practice. Secondly, there are divergences between the researchers’ and participants’ perspectives on the research itself. Yet on reading the book, further contradictions also become evident. On the one hand, Graboyes discusses how the provision of additional medical treatment through the research can be beneficial to participants’ response to the medical research. On the other hand, she later cautions against the blurred line between treatment and research, describing risks of coercion through ‘an offer that is too good to turn down, and thus inhibits truly voluntary participation’ (p. 115). This contradiction, grappled with in the middle of this book, adds an additional layer of dilemma and further highlights the complexities of doing medical research and ethics.