

Furthermore, Amantana makes an interesting argument that fosterage of rural children in urban areas used to provide opportunities for young people that it no longer does. Now that adults have stopped taking seriously their obligations to their foster children, instead exploiting or ‘enslaving’ them (in the words of one girl), urban migration has taken the place of fosterage in allowing young people to access the necessary resources for social maturity, although it, like fosterage, is not always successful and entails suffering and the risk of exploitation by canny adults. Young people’s urban migration is a sign of the failure of fosterage, or at least of young people’s rejection of fosterage’s current conditions and expectations.

In general, I find these conclusions interesting but the research that supports them a bit thin, and I would have appreciated greater analysis of Amantana’s material. Her work is based on a focus-group discussion with 11 *kayayoo* girls in Accra, interviews with 24 street children in Accra and Tamale, and interviews with parents of some of the participants (it is not noted how many) in Buipe and Tamale. Half of the book, however, is not focused on the original data, but on setting the context through a general discussion of how structural adjustment programs in Africa have affected rural-urban disparities. I would have appreciated greater discussion of any differences between the street children in Accra and Tamale, and between male and female street children. The literature on street children in East Africa makes much of the latter distinction, with fewer girls living on the streets but those who do being more estranged from their families than are male street children. It would have been interesting to know if Amantana’s research found similar results. Furthermore, comparing street children in the capital (where many studies of street children are done) and in a regional capital closer to the original homes of the children seemed like too good an opportunity to pass up. I should also note that the title is misleading, as we do not see kinship breakdown in the stories of young people, but rather their desires to resuture kinship ties through providing their mothers and siblings with money, clothing, and education.

In general, this book is a useful addition to other work on street children in Africa, stressing the difficult lives of street children but also normalizing them; it is a book in which living on the street becomes an alternative path to moral personhood and social adulthood.

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THE GLOBAL CIRCULATION OF VALUE

Muslim Families in Global Senegal: Money Takes Care of Shame.

By Beth Bugenhagen.

Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012. Pp. xi+242. \$70, hardback (ISBN 978-0-253-35710-6); \$24.95, paperback (ISBN 978-0-253-22367-8).

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Key Words: Senegal, gender, generational conflict, Islam, migration.

Muslim Families in Global Senegal is an engaging account of the struggles, at once moral and material, which Senegalese families face to ensure social reproduction in the current

context of fiscal instability and religious reforms. It contributes a nuanced understanding of gendered economies in a Muslim society and is highly suitable for classroom adoption due to its relatively short length and the clarity of its presentation. Beth Buggenhagen brings to this ethnography a sustained history of research in Senegal as well as a keen understanding of the Murid diaspora and its role in the Senegalese economy.

Over the past half-century, the modalities of wealth production and circulation have changed radically in Senegal. Once the primary site of production, the home is now the primary site of consumption. Since the decline of peanut monoculture, the land has ceased to be the main source of livelihood for Senegalese families who rely instead on remittances from junior men living abroad. Buggenhagen opens her account with a description of Khar Yalla, the Dakar neighborhood where she conducted her ethnographic research and which bears the telltale signs of the transformations she is documenting: originally a semi-urban district settled by Dakarois displaced by colonial urban policies, Khar Yalla has become a *quartier* of absentee landlords and is often designated as a ‘shadow city’, given the number of residents who engage in extralegal activities to make ends meet. It is also where the G er family, which occupies center stage in Buggenhagen’s ethnography, lives.

The G ers are a typical household, struggling to create value – material, spiritual, and otherwise – through various forms of investment that ultimately reveal how, behind the facade of wealth, ‘real wealth is absent’ (p. 198). The mother, Sonka G er, actively strove to generate honor for the lineage through complex strategies of gift-giving such as *ndawtal*, a competitive display and bestowal of cloth held during life-cycle ceremonies. Like countless other Senegalese women who concretize their wealth and worth by engaging in ostentatious gift-giving, she paid no heed to religious and political leaders’ as well as male kin’s denunciation of *ndawtal* – and other forms of ceremonial exchange – as wastefulness. Initially, Sonka was largely successful at maintaining her respectability and authority through ritualized displays of wealth; she was a member of some forty women’s organizations yet knew how to hold back from the pressure of giving – a tactic known in anthropological parlance as ‘keeping-while-giving’. However, when her husband returned from the pilgrimage to Mecca and it became time to repay the debts incurred through her participation in reciprocal networks of exchange, she could not satisfy her partners’ expectations that she return more than she had received. Her failure, Buggenhagen suggests, exemplifies the predicament of many Senegalese families who spend excessively but know little about the conditions in which the wealth they depend on is earned abroad. Meanwhile, her foster daughter Bintu’s refusal to enter into an arranged marriage with an overseas migrant and her son Abdoul Aziz’s frustration with women’s investments in the gift economy evidences a wider pattern of gendered and generational disjunctions in the Senegalese vision of what drives social production.

Buggenhagen expertly traces how the material basis of social reproduction and the capacity to sustain the social networks that generate wealth through social exchange have shifted in past decades as Senegalese at home and abroad confront the possibilities and constraints of the current neoliberal moment – and the post-9/11 ‘War on Terror’. Her examination of gendered efforts to ensure social reproduction in the context of reformist Muslims’ calls for moral austerity and fiscal restraint, and NGO’s appeals for investment in human (and specifically women’s) development, makes an important contribution to the literature on gender and Islam in Africa. Commonly portrayed as timeless,

unproductive, and out of step with reformist Muslim values, Senegalese women's practices of gift-giving are adaptive strategies for confronting challenges while seizing opportunities. Buggenhagen's focus on the trials of the Géer family enlivens the narrative and brings depth and intensity to the ethnography.

As lively and interesting as *Muslim Families in Global Senegal* is, it is not flawless. The narrative is filled with unnecessary repetitions. At times, it lacks the most minimal sense of direction. I also wondered why the reader has to wait to Chapter 6 to find out what motivated the choice of the book's subtitle. 'Money takes care of shame', we learn on p. 145, was what Sokna Géer uttered upon realizing that she would not be able to pay back all the debts she had incurred to finance (and celebrate) her husband's trip to Mecca. Even then it was not entirely clear to me how money actually 'took care' of the shame Sokna presumably experienced when confronted with her family's newfound fiscal insolvency. Buggenhagen mistakenly assumes that these issues, which are at the heart of her argument about the moral terms through which Senegalese apprehend economic realities, are self-evident. Sokna's experience of shame would have been a useful point of departure for exploring further the productive tension between the moral and material dimensions of wealth as well as the implications of 'shame' in contexts where honor, spiritual merit, and religious virtue are so central to women's understanding of value.

Despite these shortcomings, *Muslim Families in Global Senegal* provides valuable insight into our understanding of how Senegalese men and women variously participate in the global circulation of value.

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NOVA SCOTIA AND SIERRA LEONE

The African American Odyssey of John Kizell: A South Carolina Slave Returns to Fight the Slave Trade in His African Homeland.

By Kevin G. Lowther.

Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2011. Pp. xx+301. \$39.95, hardback (ISBN 978-1-57003-960-7).
doi:10.1017/S0021853713000510

Key Words: Sierra Leone, diaspora, biography, slave trade.

The story of the Nova Scotians in Sierra Leone is inherently compelling. It comprises the experiences of enslavement in Africa, slavery and war in the British North American colonies, emancipation, and settlement in Nova Scotia, and finally, in 1792, the return to Africa. There nearly 1,200 of them settled in the foundering 'Province of Freedom' which had just been taken over by the Sierra Leone Company. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Nova Scotians have attracted considerable interest from historians and continue to do so. The book under review by Kevin Lowther, a non-academic historian, is an addition to this historiography. Lowther's objective is to provide a 'serious' biographical study of John Kizell and to explore 'the evolution of the African-Atlantic diaspora' and