

by Muslim leaders who were alienated and aggrieved by the history of how the rise of a Protestant oligarchy had effectively derailed Islam's influential introduction in nineteenth-century Buganda. In this interpretation, Mayanja's career trajectory—first as a popular democratic activist, and then as a conservative loyalist of the king—is less a contradiction than an expression of loyalty to the Muslim community's need for inclusion.

Earle's final biography depicts Benedicto Kiwanuka, who read widely as he struggled with ideas of political kingship, social contracts, and how to connect Buganda's past with a godly future. Instead of appearing as a political operator and the Democratic Party's leader, Kiwanuka emerges in this analysis as a thinker who drew on the prophet Samuel to portray Buganda as "a state governed by stubborn royalists and monarchs who through disobedience to God destroyed local communities" (204).

Overall, Earle's work in elaborating the intellectual journeys of these individuals is vivid and methodologically innovative. It reclaims fragmentary sources and interprets intellectual leaps to emphasize a contingent and creative literary culture connecting diverse narratives of Uganda's history, religious ideas, and secular visions of progress, development, and (sometimes) democracy. This, though, is a work that focuses on interpreters, not events. Links between ideas and actions are sparse. Questions remain, for example, about how Musazi's ideas of kingship shaped the organizations of 1949, or how Kiwanuka's careful reading of manuals of constitutional development were understood by ordinary DP activists. In reconstructing these individuals' ideas, though, Earle's work joins an expanding literature on the vitality and intellectual creativity of Ugandans at the end of empire.

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**Dorothy L. Hodgson. *Gender, Justice, and the Problem of Culture: From Customary Law to Human Rights in Tanzania*.** Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017. xii +187 pp. Bibliography. Index. \$30.00. Paper. ISBN: 9780253025357.

Issues of gender and justice surround us daily. Dorothy Hodgson's new book, *Gender, Justice, and the Problem of Culture: From Customary Law to Human Rights in Tanzania*, provides a textured analysis of the changing relationships between law, custom, gender, marriage, and justice among the Maasai in northern Tanzania. Hodgson's book grows out of her enduring engagement with these issues since she first began conducting field research among the Maasai in the mid-1980s. The Maasai of northern Tanzania comprise roughly 300,000 people who share the Maa language and an economy

of livestock and herding. Since the late nineteenth century, the Maasai have been under pressure from colonial and postcolonial authorities to transform themselves into “modern” legible participants in the colonial and national economies. *Gender, Justice, and the Problem of Culture* is Hodgson’s fourth book drawn from her research on the Maasai, and it should be mandatory reading because it demonstrates how important historical change is to the contemporary contests over gender and justice.

*Gender, Justice, and the Problem of Culture* consists of four core chapters with a strong conceptual introduction and a short conclusion. At the core of Hodgson’s argument are the tensions between law and justice and between local and colonial/national/global forces as the Maasai grapple with change and their place within Tanzania. As a historically-minded anthropologist, Hodgson understands that culture is socially constructed, mutable, and determined by those who invoke it. The law is shaped by culture. Even if it invokes universal principles, law is shaped by the particular context in which it emerges. One of Hodgson’s important interventions is to demonstrate that even as British colonial officials were collaborating with Maasai elders in creating customary law (as opposed to the indigenous law that preceded the colonial encounter), they were imposing particular British understandings of what constituted equity and of what practices were considered repugnant. When postcolonial Tanzanian urban elites invoked “universal” human rights discourse, they were drawing on ideas particular to Western Europe and North America during the twentieth century. Colonial officials and postcolonial elites drew on these different legal regimes to justify the social engineering of Maasai societies, especially in regard to marriage patterns, female genital mutilation (FGM), and economic development.

Various groups of Maasai responded differently to these efforts at social engineering. How they did so forms the narrative of the core chapters in the book. “Deluged” by waves of marital disputes, especially in the late 1940s and 1950s, colonial officials sought to codify Maasai marriages in order to render them legible. Codification simplified complex and fluid forms of Maasai household structures by enshrining the male household head’s authority and making bridewealth the foundation of “proper” or respectable marriages. This process undermined the core of *enkanyit*, which was the Maasai concept of mutual or moral respect. Here Hodgson invokes a Maasai concept of culture that is somehow timeless and which serves as a deep well from which Maasai dissidents draw to condemn violations of the moral order and to restore justice. The postcolonial Law of Marriage Act also provided aggrieved women and daughters with other instruments to access in the struggle for moral respect. Hodgson provides a fascinating discussion of a dispute she observed in which a daughter sued her father in a national court for the right to marry the man of her choice. She won the case but weakened the moral order of her community.

Maasai women also had the power to draw on *olkishoronto*, which is a form of collective action to punish violations of the moral order. Women used this to punish men accused of adultery, for example, but they also

used it to protest postcolonial development plans that alienated Maasai land for use as private hunting concessions, which threatened to further impoverish Maasai communities in the name of national economic development. Hodgson clearly celebrates these aspects of Maasai culture that provide women with tools to resist breaches of their moral order. But does culture so understood also limit debate about how to deal with practices such as FGM? Drawing on universal human rights discourse, postcolonial urban elite women launched campaigns to prohibit FGM in the name of “progress.” Hodgson sees the anti-FGM campaigns as a problem of power, not culture, in which these elites attempt to speak for the poor. Listening instead to Maasai women (which women?), Hodgson quotes them as arguing “these are not our priorities” (121). Instead, Maasai women’s priorities are political and economic empowerment in the face of increasing impoverishment. However, since Maasai women are also concerned that their daughters be marriageable, they are thus complicit with the continuation of FGM. Across the border in Kenya, Nice Leng’ete, a young Maasai woman, has launched a campaign to end FGM that has helped at least 15,000 Maasai girls avoid being ritually cut (Jina Moore, “She Ran From the Cut, and Helped Thousands of Other Girls Escape, Too,” *The New York Times*, Jan. 13, 2018). Anti-FGM campaigns are clearly about power, but also about those who wield culture as a tool of power.

Unresolved in Hodgson’s excellent new book is the fuller discussion of the relationship between law and justice. Hodgson is strongest on how law can cause injustice, but she is less clear on how law and courts can be an instrument of political and economic empowerment in the face of impoverishment and oppression. Precisely because of these big issues, Hodgson’s *Gender, Justice, and the Problem of Culture* speaks to a wide range of disciplines and should find pride of place in our curricula.

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**Emma Hunter. *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania: Freedom, Democracy, and Citizenship in the Era of Decolonization*.** New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 259 pp. Paper. £21.99. ISBN: 9781107458628.

This thoughtful book explores how Tanzanians engaged with some of the many languages of progress, democracy, freedom, and citizenship circulating in the mid-twentieth-century world. Rather than telling this story from the outside in, by following the importation and adoption of foreign concepts on African soil, Emma Hunter grounds her inquiry in the historical realities of Tanzanian social and political life under colonialism, emphasizing how local thinkers mediated this process by selectively reframing