

labour union support, for example, did not reverberate with large sections of the poor urban population that belong to the informal sector.

This careful study is mostly about voting behaviour and electoral strategies. The chapter discussing populist political strategies and its history in other parts of the world does not really ask questions about the degree to which these kind of policies are viable, responsible and sustainable in the long run. There is no discussion on the arguable parallel with mass populist movements in the early 20th century in Europe that did use ethnic linkages in order to win elections – the fascist and national socialist movements. There are similar tendencies within some very successful populist parties in southern Africa. However, it could be said in defence that such questions are outside the strict scope set out for the present inquiry.

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Examining the Human Rights Issues and the Democracy Project in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Theoretical Critique and Prospects for Progress in the Millennium

by E. IKE UDOGU

Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2014. Pp. 242. £51.95 (hbk)

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Six chapters dealing with human rights in selected African states are sandwiched in this book between sections on ‘the democracy project’. E. Ike Udogu examines South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Liberia and Nigeria – a good geographic spread across the 48 Sub-Saharan states, though not focused on countries with the most massive human rights abuses. He concentrates primarily on protection of civil and political rights. His ambitions are high. However, the results fall short of what might have been achieved.

Examining Human Rights Issues and the Democracy Project reflects the strengths and weaknesses of Udogu’s primary source. He draws overwhelmingly from the 2010 US State Department’s ‘Reports of Human Rights Practices’. Published annually since 1977, these voluminous analyses have strengths of continuity, geographic breadth and detail. The country reports give far less attention to economic rights than to civil and political rights, however. The State Department relegates economic factors to a section of ‘worker rights’, including freedom of association and collective bargaining, prohibition of child labour, and acceptable conditions of work. Arguably, however, consolidated democratic systems rest upon economic systems governed by legal norms, in which individuals have reasonable opportunities for upward mobility and governmental policies do not discriminate against particular groups or persons. ‘Human rights begin with breakfast’, many assert.

In the struggle for independence, ethnic, class and other differences were subordinated to seeking the ‘political kingdom’. Once self-government had been achieved, however, military coups, major civil wars or massive human rights abuses occurred or continued through most of Africa. Udogu notes that the ‘consolidation of ethnic nationalism’ resulted in major human rights abuses. Left unexamined, however, is how economic disparities exacerbate cultural divisions. ‘Class’, in other words, becomes expressed in large part

through ethnic antagonisms. Udogu also says little about how *rentier* income – as from governmental office, oil revenues and the like – intensifies corruption and struggles for control, which results in major human rights abuses.

Some minor errors or oversights should have been caught. The 1834 ‘Great Trek’ in South Africa went northeast, not northwest. Udogu gives short shrift to external pressures against apartheid. Far more than ‘hundreds’ were jailed in Kenya’s Mau Mau ‘emergency’; Caroline Elkins found that between 130,000 and 300,000 Kikuyu were ‘unaccounted for’ as result of these events. Civil unrest in Ethiopia involved Oromo and Somalis, not only Eritreans or Tigrinyans. RENAMO in Mozambique received significant support from pre-majority rule Rhodesia and South Africa. An otherwise useful chronology of Nigeria’s political change omits the unexpected death of Sani Abacha, leading directly to the end of military rule.

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Governance Reform in Africa: International and Domestic Pressures and Counter-Pressures by JEROME BACHELARD

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Jerome Bachelard’s book asks how we can understand the moderate progress towards good governance in Sub-Saharan Africa. He asks this question because he believes that good governance is both the key to growth and also possibly to more democratic political systems. It is corruption, neopatrimonialism, and narrow forms of political authority that constrain African states in their quest for progress.

The book addresses the question through two contributions. In the first place, the book offers a political model of governance progress based on the interweaving of pressures and counter-pressures for reform. This pluralist model allows the analytical framework of the book to encompass a diversity of political agencies and to allow that they might act in ways that promote or resist governance reform. Pressure is defined in a fairly familiar behaviouralist fashion – the observed exercise of material or normative power in the pursuit of a push for or against a specific kind of governance reform. This leads to a set of four hypotheses: that incumbent neopatrimonial states will resist reform, that domestic pro-governance organisations will be more effective with external support, that pressures for democratisation need to outweigh pressures against for elections to be free and fair, and that pressures for good governance need to outweigh pressures against to ensure new rulers do not regress into neopatrimonial practices.

Reflecting on these hypotheses, two thoughts occur. Firstly, these hypotheses seem almost like the common sense of the bulk of mainstream political analysis of African governance to the extent that they are more akin to social facts than hypotheses. They verge on being tautologies within which, say, a regression towards neopatrimonialism is explained through the pre-eminence of neopatrimonial forces. Secondly, the use of the term ‘outweigh’ suggests something that can be empirically demonstrated, perhaps a set of independent