ferent forms of media on the ways that African women and men imagine intimacy, follows from earlier studies of newspaper love advice columns and how-to booklets on writing love letters. In her chapter on "Dear Dolly" columns published in the magazine *Drum* in the 1960s and 1970s, Kenda Mutongi explores the ways that prevailing gender relations and sexual orientation influenced the column's messages about courtship. Rachel Spronk, in her chapter on young professionals' pursuit of "healthy" love relations in contemporary Nairobi, examines the lifestyle magazine *Saturday Magazine*, which encourages twenty-first century readers to "work" on their relationships and to attend church premarital counseling classes. Thomas analyzes both the women's pages of *Bantu World*, a commercial black newspaper published in South Africa in the 1930s, and anthropologists' writings from the same period on changing ideals of love, kinship, and gender relations. In another chapter on changing marital relations, Daniel Jordan Smith writes about Igbo women's hopes—that monogamous marriage will serve as a buffer against extended family demands—which are tempered by the disappointments of their husbands' sexual infidelity.

Two electronic forms of media, film and television, provide additional models for new ways of thinking about love and intimate relationships. Laura Fair considers the Hindi film *Awara*, which thrilled audiences around the world as well as in Zanzibar and prompted discussion about obligations to family and about the power of love. In the case of the popular telenovela series *Rubí*, aired thrice-weekly in Niger, Adeline Masquelier observes that this series provided impoverished young Nigeriens with models for considering new forms of love relationships and for imagining possible, more optimistic, futures.

Although several chapters in this fine collection of essays focus how the media frame new ways of imagining love relationships, one surprising omission is an extended discussion of the impact of Nollywood videos, which are widely viewed by Africans—they are regularly shown, for example, on STC buses in Ghana. Nonetheless, it would be hard to ask for more from this volume, which provides both invaluable studies of love in Africa and a fresh perspective for HIV/AIDS researchers about intertwined emotional and pecuniary attachments.

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Rudolf Pell Gaudio. *Allah Made Us: Sexual Outlaws in an Islamic African City.* Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. xv + 237 pp. Figures. Maps. Photographs. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. $30.00. Paper.

Allah Made Us is a major contribution to the growing field of gender and sexuality studies in Africa. It also offers fresh, challenging insights and per-

spectives for scholars of Hausa language and culture, contemporary Nigerian politics, and Islam.

The "sexual outlaws" of the title are *yan daudu* (sing. *dan daudu*), typically defined as "homosexuals," "male prostitutes," or "pimps"—if they are noticed at all in accounts of Hausa society and Kano city in particular. Gaudio finds these terms misleading. Indeed, after years of observing and interacting with them he distinguishes all kinds of different and shifting roles, identities, and sexual practices among them and the people with whom they live. The latter include independent women who at times exchange sex for money in arrangements sometimes brokered by trusted yan daudu. There are also "civilians" or "shirted" yan daudu, men who retain the outward guise of hetero-normative masculinity but nonetheless have sex with men; almost all of these "shirted" yan daudu marry and have children, and consider themselves devout Muslims. One cannot assume that sexual roles always conform to predictable passive/active characterizations.

It is clear that through various combinations of sexual practice and degrees of feminine demeanor, attire, language, and occupation, yan daudu are a distinctive feature of one of Africa's largest ethnic groups. Their somewhat secretive existence profoundly challenges commonplace assumptions about the relationships among sex, gender, and sexuality. Official posturing on these topics—such as that displayed in the debates since 2006 on the topic of the "Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Bill" or in Uganda on the subject of the proposed death sentence for "aggravated homosexuality"—sheds light on the "nation building" process in several ways. For example, it includes attempts to define an official "national character" in opposition to the presumably morally corrupt West. At the same time, resistance to political and religious orthodoxies (in some corners) contributes to the development of an active civil society.

Kano is the "hub of a transnational network" of sexual minorities with vibrant links through migrant labor and the *haj* to the Middle East in particular. Over the last two decades economic crisis and the imposition of *sharia* law in northern Nigeria have combined to reduce the sphere of tolerance for this network among the majority population. Indeed, Gaudio documents a swell of overtly homophobic rhetoric in popular culture as well as several high-profile cases of police harassment of sexual minorities. But rather than presume an inherent African homophobia, he asks why exactly yan daudu have become targets of suspicion or anger. Gaudio's main objectives in studying yan daudu are to unravel the many stereotypes about them (and by extension, about heteronormative sexuality as well), and then to discover how they survive in this increasingly hostile social environment.

Some debate exists around the origins of yan daudu. To Hausa elites in the precolonial period they (together with the sexually suggestive dancing associated with the *Bori* possession cult) were an embarrassing and possibly subversive leftover from the pagan past. To the British they seemed to be more in line with such modern phenomena as prostitution or male–male

"mine wives" who appeared elsewhere in Africa as the spreading cash economy and urbanization undermined customary social structures and sexual mores. To contemporary Islamists they are a manifestation of Western or southern Nigerian moral decadence which threatens the imputed national dignity. To the yan daudu themselves, they just are as they have always been and always will be, as the title of the book suggests.

Gaudio has a remarkably close eye for linguistic detail, including the shifting use of masculine and feminine pronouns within the course of a conversation or even a single sentence. Another powerful insight comes from comparing Hausa and English translations of a colonial-era text. Whereas in the Hausa version there is little moral condemnation of the yan daudu and the honest recognition that yan daudu primarily have sex with men, in the English version sex with men is subtly downplayed. This appears to support the argument that European homophobic disapproval was transported into officially approved versions of African culture, which African elites then embraced for their own reasons.

Gaudio is eclectic in his references while significantly grounded in queer and postcolonial critiques of anthropology. He does not directly engage debates on the appropriateness of queer theory applied to African contexts. He does, however, have some critical words for well-meaning gay rights activists in the West who may inflame a tense situation by their insensitivity to the kinds of local nuances and knowledge that make life bearable for sexual minorities under *sharia* law.

Nonspecialists may find a trifle tedious some of the long interviews or chats (in both English translation and Hausa original), along with their dissection for allusions or other meanings. But the pay-off lies in modestly stated conclusions with radical implications for a wide range of scholarly and policy interventions, all standing on an unassailably persuasive body of empirical evidence.

Finally, I should add that Gaudio does not just bring his formidable skills as a talented linguist and ethnographer to these topics. He also puts a moving human face on both his subjects and himself as an author working in a politically charged context. It is rare to come across fun embedded in otherwise highly scholarly writing, and it is all the more appreciated when achieved in such a seamless manner. "To our naughty delight," Gaudio admits, for one of many charming examples. Hence, in addition to advancing sexuality and African studies, the book would make an accessible and effective addition to undergraduate courses on these topics.

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