

### REVIEWS

pioneered by the British colonial regime. In such institutions, corruption was a label that might be used to explain getting rid of officials in political trouble' (p. 221). By independence in 1960, corrupt practices which were inseparable from the charge of corruption, which itself was inseparable from patterns of political contestation, had become and remain central to state practice in Nigeria. Corruption had become a necessary and sufficient means for creating and maintaining political hegemony in Nigeria. This is the political work of corruption and explicating it as a 'set of practices and ways for describing them that simultaneously critique and enable those practices to happen in the first place' (p. 225) is the central problematic of Pierce's book.

Deploying exhortation or enforcement as strategies for addressing corruption in the context where corruption is a political performative can, Pierce argues, only be marginally successful (p. 229). Rather, ameliorating corruption will require dealing with issues fundamental to the logic of local political culture, which in the Nigerian case involves the 'intersection of patronage and political life and the distributive issues of revenue across a culturally diverse country' (p. 229). In other words, 'corruption cannot be solved until we appreciate its status as a political artifice and political performative' (p. 21). But, as the author points out in his conclusion, 'that is easier said than done' (p. 229). The uniqueness of the book lies in its emphasis on the fact that 'corruption cannot be fully appreciated without a relatively systematic attention to the history not just of corrupt practices but of the ways in which corruption has functioned as a means of engaging in politics and political critique (p. 222), and doing so by 'juxtaposing local, national, and global scales of analysis and following them across time' (p. 222).

### REFERENCE

Johnston, M. 2010. Syndromes of Corruption: wealth, power and democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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# The Responsibility to Protect and the International Criminal Court: Protection and Prosecution in Kenya by SERENA SHARMA

London: Routledge, 2015. Pp. 156. £90 (hbk). doi:10.1017/S0022278X1600094X

As the Trial Chamber vacated the charges against William Ruto and Joshua Sang on 5 April 2016 and thereby terminated the only remaining ICC case relating to Kenya's 2007/8 post-election violence (PEV), prospects have vanished that any senior figures will be held to account for their role in organising the violence which claimed the lives of more than a thousand people and injured and displaced many more. Serena Sharma's book offers a vivid account both of the dynamics that led to the opening of an ICC investigation in the first place and the factors that contributed to ultimately undermining it.

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Drawing on the R<sub>2</sub>P framework, Sharma – a fellow in global politics at the London School of Economics – argues that although the situation in Kenya commenced with 'the intention of delivering both protection and prosecution, it swiftly developed into the opposite – protection from prosecution for the suspected perpetrators' (p. 13). A central argument of the book is that Kenya seemed to be a case where R<sub>2</sub>P and the ICC could be 'genuinely complementary', but some of the measures initially designed to protect the population in Kenya – notably the power-sharing agreement, encouraged by international powers as a way to end the crisis, under which both sides to the disputed election were included in a 'grand coalition government' – ultimately undermined the efforts to prosecute perpetrators (p. 11).

These are important lessons which raise profound questions concerning the timing and interplay between political and judicial solutions to election violence. Crucially, as Sharma writes, the failure to prosecute the masterminds of the PEV brings into question whether we should endorse the view that the outcome of the internationally led mediation process in Kenya was 'a success story for R<sub>2</sub>P and an example of best practice for atrocity prevention in other contexts' (p. 46). However, several other scholars have already made the argument that whereas power-sharing may be instrumental to end a crisis of the nature of Kenya's PEV, it is likely to complicate efforts to seek accountability (see e.g. Vandeginste & Sriram 2011; Hansen 2013).

More generally, as opposed to developing novel arguments concerning the role of R<sub>2</sub>P and the ICC in Kenya, the main quality of Sharma's book is that it concisely – yet with an eye for important detail – describes the political and legal processes that followed the PEV, including the sometimes fluctuating roles of international and domestic actors. In so doing, Sharma mainly relies on secondary sources, but nonetheless provides for a nuanced analysis which will be of value for anyone interested in obtaining an easily accessible overview of the attempts to simultaneously pursue a political settlement of Kenya's 2007 election dispute, institutional and legal reforms and a criminal justice process.

# REFERENCES

Hansen, T. O. 2013. 'Kenya's power-sharing arrangement and its implications for transitional justice', *International Journal of Human Rights* 17, 2: 307–27.

Vandeginste, S. & C. L. Sriram. 2011. 'Power sharing and transitional justice: a clash of paradigms?', Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations 17, 4: 489–505.

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From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda by ELISABETH KING Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. 212. £19·99 (pbk). doi:10.1017/S0022278X16000951

From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda is one of the few empirical works that examine violent conflicts from an educational perspective. The primary aim of the book is to analyse the role of education in creating conditions for