

editors show good analytical skills as they blend theory and reality in their two chapters.

The originality of this book is that it moves beyond the flouting of the boundaries of public office to a broader spectrum of social and political relationships that result in political aggrandisement and illicit enrichment. In many cases this is done legally, but of course, not ethically. This tension between morality and legality runs through this book.

Many of the authors are from Rider University, and it is good to see the spread of interest in corruption in one political science department. As is often the case, the chapters here are uneven in quality and scope, but some excellent chapters give us a lot to ponder. There are chapters that pose theoretical questions and there are chapters that build on themes espoused by the editors, and relate them to specific countries. These chapters offer insights into how corruption affects the polity in parts of Europe, the United States, China, and the Middle East.

By and large, there is pessimism about whether corruption can be contained and many chapters demonstrate its rampant nature and ineffectual responses. Italy has tried criminalization; Spain seems to have given up; Austria is corporatized, which creates opportunities where political power meets economic strength; while the Chinese juggernaut just powers on with corruption rampant.

The chapter by the editors on the Arab Spring uses the Burkean definition above and proposes a diagnosis of the factors that made the revolution. While this is done systematically, events have overtaken the Arab Spring revolutionaries, and each of the regimes has regressed, except perhaps Tunisia, but this has a new set of intractable problems. While the Arab Spring was ostensibly brought on by rampantly cultural corruption, there has been no diminution, just a shift in emphasis. This chapter does not give us solutions but it does summarize in six bullet points (p. 101) standards of corruption, and follows this with five countervailing arguments as to why new brooms will not be able to sweep it clean (p. 104). These points make a good base for analysis of corruption in many different settings, and are usefully laid out for teachers and researchers.

Some of the theoretical chapters are disappointing. The anthropological chapter tells us little that we do not already know—that in some cultures nepotism, for example, is not a civic problem, but a moral duty, and also that the West's view of bribery and nepotism is not the prevailing view in many non-Western cultures.

Chapter 2 on world opinion is badly dated. It analyzes 2006 data and does not refer to any literature after that date. It concludes that the more empowered citizens are, the less likely they are to perceive corruption in their countries. This is simply not so. In many of the countries at the top of the Transparency International lists, the

citizens who are empowered are deeply aggrieved by acts of corruption that would not raise an eyebrow in poorer countries. They see their countries as corrupt when minor breaches come to the fore. This chapter could well leave the reader with correlation fatigue, and little real understanding. Chapter 8 on Corruptible Competition also plays with a lot of data about sleaze, but does not yield a lot of understanding, and this too cites very little recent literature.

There are many types of corruption—it's not just bribes, but there is extortion, conflict of interest, nepotism, pay to play, etc. It happens in different activities, such as developing infrastructure, building projects, approving development plans, inspections, hiring people, issuing licences etc. It happens in different sectors, in local government, in the sporting sector, the health sector, the mining sector, the energy sector, etc, and corruption is different in different places. This book takes its cue from political theory and starts to give good understanding of the shape and the dynamics. The opening chapter gives us a basis to understand these types and activities and sectors. At times the theory is particularly illuminating, and at other other times one has to look hard to identify how value has been added. On balance, the editors have put together a useful volume that gives political scientists a framework to better understand and analyze corruption.

**Muslims in Kenyan Politics: Political Involvement, Marginalization, and Minority Status.**

By Hassan J. Ndzovu. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2014. 232p. \$79.95 cloth. doi:10.1017/S1537592716002504

— Robert A. Dowd, *University of Notre Dame*

Throughout history and in different societies, politicians and religious leaders have attempted to use religion to mobilize people for political purposes. At some points in time and in some places, such appeals have been rather effective. At other times and places, they have not. We have yet to understand very well (1) the variation in the decision to use appeals to religious identity in order to mobilize people for political action and (2) the differences in the effectiveness of such appeals.

In *Muslims in Kenyan Politics: Political Involvement, Marginalization, and Minority Status*, Hassan J. Ndzovu seeks to, among other things, deepen an understanding of why Kenya's Muslim politicians and religious leaders have been more or less successful at mobilizing Muslims for political action. Ndzovu describes the place of Kenya's Muslim minority in colonial and post-colonial eras, assesses how competitive electoral politics has affected the political importance of religious identity, traces the founding of various Muslim political organizations, and offers plausible explanations for why most, if not all of them failed to gain widespread support and lasting traction. According Ndzovu, attempts to mobilize

Muslims on a national scale have failed partly because race, ethnicity, geography, and ideology have divided Kenya's Muslims and partly because successive Kenyan governments have successfully thwarted Muslim attempts to organize. Nonetheless, Ndzovu claims that Muslim religious identity has become increasingly salient as, in the wake of terrorist attacks by groups like *Al Qaeda* and *Al Shabaab*, many Muslims perceive themselves to be victims of unfair discrimination. Thus, Ndzovu suggests that future attempts to mobilize Muslims as Muslims for political purposes are likely to meet with greater success. This, concludes Ndzovu, presents Kenya's policymakers with an important choice: They may continue to refuse to allow Islamic political parties to legally register, thereby increasing the likelihood that they become increasingly radical or recognize Islamic political parties, therefore increasing the chances that such organizations provide a peaceful outlet for Kenya's Muslims to participate in the mainstream of the country's politics.

The book's greatest strength is its rich description of Muslims in Kenya's political history and the various organizations that Muslims have founded to protect their religious freedom and promote their political influence in a Christian-majority country. The book includes information that many students of religion and politics in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa more generally would find very useful. However, one cannot help but wish that the rich descriptions that Ndzovu provides were accompanied by greater analysis and that the claims he makes were backed up with empirical evidence. Ndzovu makes some assertions (e.g.: including the hypothetical claim that Kenya would be better off if its Constitution were to allow religious-based parties), which are not supported by the research presented in the book.

In order to understand the place of Muslims in Kenyan politics, it is crucially important to know something of Kenya's religious demography and geography. While Muslims represent a minority in Kenya nationally, they form the majority of the population along Kenya's Indian Ocean coastline and in the northeastern region of the country near the Somali border. Further, nearly every urban area in Kenya, particularly Nairobi, includes sizeable Muslim populations. Kenya's Muslims are diverse and Ndzovu notes that race and ethnicity, in particular, have divided Muslims since at least the mid nineteenth century. Upon their arrival in the mid and late nineteenth century, the British simply solidified a racial hierarchy so that "Arab" Muslims continued to rule over African Muslims, such as the Mijikenda and the Swahili ethnic groups (pp. 21–33). Ndzovu vividly describes how the Muslim community was severely divided as Kenya's independence neared. While Arab Muslims viewed with dread the coast's incorporation into an independent Kenya dominated by Africans and Christians, the coast's African Muslims viewed independence as an opportunity to be free of Arab

domination. Ndzovu points to evidence that shows Kenya's African Muslims preferred to be part of a greater Kenya, in which they would be members of racial majority even if that meant being in the religious minority (pp. 41–44).

One of the recurring themes of the book is the extent to which racial and ethnic identities have been more politically salient for Kenya's Muslims than their religious identity. In fact, most of the Muslim organizations that Ndzovu describes were more like ethnic-based organizations than religious-based organizations. For example, the Coast Arab Association, founded in 1921, was clearly established by Arab Muslims and not intended to promote a Muslim-wide political agenda (p. 33). In response, a group of African Muslims formed the Afro-Asian Association (pp. 33–38). Ndzovu goes on to describe how Muslim organizations fared under successive post-independence African governments and how Kenya's political leaders, particularly presidents Jomo Kenyatta (1963–1978) and Daniel Arap Moi (1978–2002), either ignored or sought to coopt and control the country's Muslims through government-supported or approved Muslim organizations, such as the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (p. 80). The interesting point that Ndzovu's book drives home is that attempts to politically contain Muslims through the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims did not succeed as such efforts were exposed by Muslim religious leaders for what they really were, instruments of political control.

Although Ndzovu suggests that the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK), founded when multiparty politics was restored in Kenya during the early 1990s, was a more non-racial, multi-ethnic, and trans-regional organization than previous organizations, he goes on to describe how even this big-tent grouping of Muslims gradually weakened. However, Ndzovu's research leads him to suggest that the reasons for the weakening of the IPK are different than the reasons why other Muslim organizations declined. Ndzovu suggests that the IPK weakened not so much because of ethnic or racial conflicts between Muslims, but because of religious-ideological disagreements. In other words, some coastal Muslims wanted the IPK to promote an Islamist religious agenda, at least along the northern coast where Muslims form a majority of the population, while other Muslims desired that the organization be more of a mainstream political party (pp. 88–89).

There are important theoretical questions that the book raises but never fully or directly engages. For example, if racial and ethnic identities have been more politically salient than religious identities and, if religious identities have recently become more politically salient, why has this been the case? What are the plausible explanations for the variation in the political importance of religious identity in Kenya? Ndzovu suggests that the Kenyan government's response to the bombing of the

United States Embassy in Nairobi by *Al Qaeda* operatives in 1998, the debate over the place of Islamic courts in the run up to the referendum on Kenya's new Constitution in 2010, and security measures the Kenyan government has implemented in the wake of deadly attacks mounted by *Al Shabaab*, have all served to increase the political salience of Muslim political identity. Ndzovu suggests that Muslims of all ethnic groups increasingly feel like they are under siege (pp. 118–124; 150). However, while it is altogether plausible that religious identity is becoming more politically salient for Muslims in Kenya, the book provides no hard evidence that in fact this is the case. One cannot help but desire some survey data that would clearly show whether in fact there has been a change in the political salience of religious identity among Kenya's Muslims. In the absence of such data, it would seem that the author would have been better off refraining from claiming that there has been such an increase.

There can be no doubt that Ndzovu is an expert on Islam, Muslims, and politics in Kenya and that the book is a must read for anyone interested in learning more about the Kenyan case. However, the book must be appreciated for what is. Ndzovu describes the place of Muslims in Kenya's political scene and how changes in Kenya's political scene have prompted Muslims to form various organizations intended to further their interests. While raising plausible explanations for the changes in the political significance of Muslim religious identity, the book is not devoted to testing such explanations. While the book does not make a major theoretical contribution, it does further knowledge by providing detailed accounts of how members of a Muslim minority have struggled to organize themselves to further their interests within an African country that has recently been affected by violent Islamist extremism.

**Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places.** Edited by Brendan O'Leary and Joanne McEvoy. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. 448p. \$85.00.  
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— Jaime Lluch, *University of Puerto Rico*

Editors Brendan O'Leary and Joanne McEvoy have assembled an enlightening and substantial volume on the current state of research on power-sharing systems in deeply divided places, as practiced by a distinguished collection of scholars. O'Leary is one of the world's most outstanding comparativists working on this subject. He is the editor of a book series published by the University of Pennsylvania Press on power sharing in theory and practice, autonomism and federalism, nationalism, and ethnicity. This volume is one of the latest in this important series, and it significantly advances our understanding of the range and depth of research on power-sharing systems and the accommodation of ethnic and national diversity.

I first outline some of the major features, as well as virtues, of this collection and then discuss some of the lacunae in the volume.

*Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places* contains a very useful and thoughtful Introduction by O'Leary, as well as a thorough Conclusion that ties together many of the themes of this project. Most of the chapters are focused on contemporary power-sharing systems. As he states in the Conclusion, authoritative scholars present some of their most recent research, and the chapters as a whole are intended to illuminate the current state and range of scholarship on power sharing across multiple disciplines (p. 386).

The Introduction provides us with a rather creative and broad definition of power sharing: "any set of arrangements that prevent one agent, or organized collective agency, from being the 'winner who holds all critical power,' whether temporarily or permanently" (p. 4).

Several aspects of the volume's general approach to power-sharing systems are commendable, including its realistic and sensible approach to the political dynamics in complex multiethnic or multinational states. Thus, its referent is "*deeply divided places*." As O'Leary explains, "places" is a better term than "societies," given that it would be a mistake "to presume that a divided place contains just one society; that may be an issue of deep dispute, and a deeply divided place may be characterized by rival, parallel, or segregated societies. . . . In deeply divided places, standard stratifications are superseded, or profoundly reinforced, by further divisions of nationality, ethnicity, race, tribe, language, or religion" (p. 6).

The volume explicitly frames power-sharing strategies within the useful typology that O'Leary and John McGarry have been working on in the last decade or so on the continuum of constitutional strategies that contemporary states use to manage ethnic or national diversity. O'Leary further elaborates these strategies of integration and accommodation in his Introduction, considering how these divergent strategies differ in their goal orientations, types of political parties preferred, visions of federalism, their elective affinity for institutions, and their choice of electoral systems. Therefore, the volume is framed by the notion that accommodationist power-sharing strategies toward minorities come in four varieties: centripetalists, multiculturalists, consociationalists, and territorial pluralists (p. 20). As is well known, there is a lively debate within the power-sharing tradition between centripetalists (e.g., Donald Horowitz) and consociationalists (e.g., Arend Lijphart and O'Leary). The editors of this volume are not neutral observers in this debate: They are more sympathetic to consociationalism than centripetalism (pp. 33 and 412). Nevertheless, they present a balanced analysis of aspects of both centripetalism and consociationalism, as well as some forays into multiculturalism and territorial pluralism.