

Book Reviews

Uniting a Divided City; Governance and Social Exclusion in Johannesburg by Jo Beall, Owen Crankshaw and Susan Parnell, Earthscan Publications Ltd 2002, London and Sterling, VA. ISBN 1-85383-916-7 (pbk; £18.95) and 1-85383-921-3 (hbk; £48). Reviewed by David Simon, Royal Holloway, University of London.

It should come as no surprise that the process of post-apartheid urban restructuring in South Africa has stimulated a flourishing new literature. Urbanists of South and southern Africa had long speculated on the need for, and nature of, such change when it finally materialised and – as in my own case – some had sought to discern lessons from post-colonial urban transitions in other parts of eastern and southern Africa, as well as further afield. Nevertheless, the challenges of rethinking and reordering South African cities to accord with new political, social and economic priorities since 1994 have been profound. The divergent agendas and visions of the numerous stakeholders had somehow to be discussed and accommodated in rapidly changing national, provincial and local political contexts. Ultimately, the real resource constraints, the nature of the local governance system to be introduced and the relative weight to be accorded to equity versus efficiency-type priorities have lain at the heart of debate and policy.

Whereas the other recently published South African city-study, *D(u)rban Vortex; South African city in transition*, edited by Bill Freund and Vishnu Padayachee (University of Natal Press, 2002) addresses a broad range of economic, local governance and basic needs themes, the book reviewed here focuses centrally on

governance and social exclusion over the period 1994-2000/1 in South Africa's largest conurbation. As such it also adopts a geographically and thematically wider canvas than Alan Morris's detailed and more ethnographic study, *Bleakness & Light; inner city transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg* (Witwatersrand University Press, 1999).

So much for situatedness. *Uniting a Divided City* is an impressive account of research on a set of closely related issues undertaken by the authors over several years; it is at once both eminently readable and immensely enlightening. Jo Beall, Owen Crankshaw and Sue Parnell have produced a conceptually informed 'story' that integrates themes often treated separately and/or in essentially empirical or technical terms, and that pulls few punches in a balanced yet sympathetic evaluation. They draw on recent international (but predominantly Northern) literature on globalisation, economic restructuring, urbanisation processes, social exclusion and governance, as well as local material, to contextualise the complex challenges facing Johannesburg. These can be summarised as seeking to restructure economically in globally competitive terms at the same time as having to tackle the profound inequalities and contradictions implicit in transformation away from racial Fordism.

The first two chapters provide the contextual orientation alluded to above, while chapters three and four survey Johannesburg's changing spatial structure, providing a historical periodisation with particular reference to apartheid after WWII and the emerging post-Fordist order from the early 1980s, when residential and commercial flight from the CBD

and inner city to far flung suburbs and 'edge cities' began to gather pace. Then follow two chapters on institutional responses. The first addresses the various permutations of local government reform that occurred in quick succession, finally emerging as what the new legislation terms 'developmental local government', via a process they dub 'decentralisation by stealth'. The complexities are immense and although this is one of the most informative accounts I have yet read, the insufficiently clear distinction between the so-called 'interim' and 'final' phases in places may prove somewhat bewildering to the uninitiated. The second of these chapters assesses the financial problems that arose and the resultant fiscal austerity that reduced pro-poor programmes and emphasised managerial efficiency over redistribution in the *iGoli 2002* plan. The contestations and tensions thereby generated are portrayed clearly.

The final part of the book comprises four rich case studies of restructuring and change representative of different exclusion/inclusion-governance processes in contrasting parts of the metropolis. These are the inner city (exemplified by Yeoville, an area of mixed high rise and detached residential housing, and which provides an interesting comparison with nearby Hillbrow as reported by Morris 1999); efforts to formalise and incorporate Diepsloot, a peri-urban informal housing area of over 30,000 people on Johannesburg's northern fringe; upgrading and reorganising housing and services in Soweto, the powderkeg of oppressive high-density apartheid township development; and the self-exclusion of people in gated communities. Most interestingly, this fortress phenomenon is not restricted, as in the USA and Brazil, for instance, to elites fearful of pervasive crime and violence, but includes people from a range of socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds. One example the authors examine is the historically notorious migrant worker hostels in the townships, now mainly converted to family

accommodation but providing what many residents perceive as a safe or defensible space in a dangerous area. Perceptions are strongly gendered, though: most women residents cited affordability as their principal consideration, and expressing fear of harassment by male residents.

The concluding chapter offers some thoughts on ways of understanding divided cities, summarising key conclusions from the foregoing analysis and emphasising the themes of social differentiation polarisation and exclusion on different axes as a counterpoint to the dominant concern in the South African literature with racially determined inequalities, and as challenges to inclusive governance. In this, they seek to distance themselves from what one might call the 'apartheid as exceptionalism' camp, and to underscore the commonalities between Johannesburg and divided cities elsewhere. This echoes one of their introductory assertions about the way in which – on account of its profound schisms and legacy of entrenched Fordist and apartheid inequalities – Johannesburg's efforts to meet the challenges are serving as something of a laboratory for many parts of the world.

With this I concur. However, in view of such invocations, I would have expected more reference to the substantial literature on comparable processes and experiences of postcolonial and post-Fordist restructurings elsewhere in eastern and southern Africa, Latin America and south-east Asia (not least Singapore, Bangkok and Manila). For instance, the shift from race or ethnicity to class as a key social and residential differentiator, which is emerging clearly in Johannesburg, has been well documented in many situations. At another level, the concluding discussion on integrating divided cities would have been a golden opportunity to link governance and social exclusion/inclusion issues to the necessity for sustainable urban development in broader

economic, environmental and human terms. Indeed, what might this mean in such a rapidly transforming context, not least in relation to the profound tensions between the spatial fragmentation (distant suburbanisation, edge cities, walled and gated communities) and the spatial and social polarisation which they document on the one hand, and pressures for inclusive unicity governance on the other? What prospects exist for the local state to undertake or facilitate redevelopment of large swathes of centrally located land from reclaimed mine dumps and disused railway marshalling yards, for instance, and how might they be used to contribute to more sustainable forms of inclusive urbanisation and urban development? Yet the only mentions of sustainability in the book are passing references to injunctions in local government legislation.

These thoughts aside, let me reiterate that this is an important book that reports substantial advances in research on the complex dynamics of South African urbanism in transition and which deserves a wide readership among students and urban practitioners alike.

Book Notes compiled by Roy Love

Cowen, Michael & Lisa Laakso (eds.) (2002), *Multi-Party Elections in Africa*, James Currey, Oxford; Palgrave, New York

Difficult to summarise, the thirteen chapters of this book discuss elections during the 1990s in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (as one chapter), Ethiopia (gender aspects), Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Nigeria (1993-98), Sudan, Tanzania, Zambia and Zim-

babwe. The authors have been in one way or another connected with the Helsinki University Institute of Development Studies and this has dictated the selection. There is a useful introductory chapter by the editors (albeit from an earlier version in the *Journal of Modern African Studies*) entitled 'Elections and Election Studies in Africa'. This is a self-standing review rather than an introduction to the country chapters which follow and there is no attempt either here or in a concluding chapter to draw out common themes or implications from this particular collection. Consequently, readers will look only at the chapters covering countries in which they have an interest. In that sense it is a useful compendium but any attempt to browse further is discouraged by the extremely small font size and dense print coverage of each page that has been necessary in order to keep the contents within 400 pages.

Waterbury, John (2002), *The Nile Basin: National Determinants of Collective Action*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

In the space of only 200 pages the author has produced an admirably concise, though clearly written and essentially comprehensive, study of the major issues in the debate about control over the waters of the Nile basin. In reminding us that there are ten riparian states with an interest, extending from Egypt in the north to Tanzania and Burundi in the south (mainly via the Kagera Basin Organization), and that even the DRC has an interest through that part of its border with Uganda which passes down the middle of Lake Albert, he demonstrates how potential points of conflict extend deep in to the continent. His theoretical premises are those of theories of collective action and game theory at a discursive level, taking as a prototype Bates' rational choice analysis of the Interna-

tional Coffee Organization. This need not deter those with other views, however, as the bulk of the book may be read as conventional historical and contemporary political analysis of the various agreements, plans, and projects of the major players, Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda.

The flavour is given by chapter headings: Negotiating Regimes, Three Level Game in the Nile Basin (referring to historical periods of the 19th century, early 20th, and the cold war), Food Security in Ethiopia, Imperfect Logic of Big Projects, and the Sudan as Master in the Middle. The tension between the concepts of 'acquired rights' and 'equitable use' is explored at some length, particularly in the context of Ethiopian-Egyptian claims. In summary, this book offers an informed and substantively referenced introduction to a topic which ROAPE could well look at in some future issue from a more political economic perspective.

Khadiagala, Gilbert M. & Terrence Lyons (eds.) (2001), *African Foreign Policies: Power and Process*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder and London.

On reading this book after the preceding one on the Nile Basin, the absence of water politics seemed a surprising omission, though perhaps less so in the light of the editors' comments in their concluding chapter that 'most of the chapters have pointed to institutional and leadership incoherence as one of the continuing obstacles to effective decision-making in African foreign policies'. Somewhat unusually for a collection of conference papers there is a cohesion and unity in this volume which increases its interest, though questions remain about what is distinctive about an 'African' foreign policy. After a (fairly short) introductory chapter by the editors which place the

chapters in a linked context there follow two on Anglophone and Francophone (retaining this colonial terminology) West Africa, two on Central Africa and the Great Lakes region, one on the Horn, and one each on South and Southern Africa respectively. The chapter on the Horn, by Ruth Iyob, raises the interesting, but challengable, assertion that the Horn of Africa 'continues to be an arena in which the continent's oldest states are pitted against its newest', a classification which not only begs questions but which structures debate along predetermined lines. The chapter on Southern Africa, by Gilbert Khadiagala, usefully dissects the weaknesses of SADC as a common foreign policy forum, while that on South Africa, by Denis Venter investigates the 'quiet diplomacy' and 'pragmatic internationalism' which has been characteristic of the Mbeki government, though he has little on internal debates within the ANC and thus on the origins of policy. The latter contribution appears to pre-date the birth of NEPAD, and neither of these chapters address the Zimbabwe situation other than cursorily. A penultimate chapter by William Reno discusses the external relations of weak states and stateless regions, while the final chapter consists of a round-up and conclusion by the editors. Other contributors include Clement Adibe, Peter Schraeder, John F. Clark, and Rene Lemarchand.

Bertin Martens, Uwe Mummert, Peter Murrell & Paul Seabright (2002), *The Institutional Economics of Foreign Aid*, Cambridge University Press.

In one sense the title is accurate; in another it is misleading. This is essentially an economists book where institutionalism is that of principal-agent theory, and what characterises its application to international aid is 'a broken information feedback loop'. The princi-

pals are the voting citizens of the donor country, the agents the official and NGO donor organisations, and the intended beneficiaries citizens of another country who have no effective way of feeding back to the principals. The ramifications of such an arrangement are explored at length in a variety of formal approaches in the six chapters of the book. The flavour is indicated by the following remark by Uwe Mummert in the chapter entitled 'Embedding Externally Induced Institutional Reforms': where he declares that 'an actor will comply with a social norm as long as the discounted utility he expects to realise from compliance will exceed the discounted utility he expects to derive from violating this norm' (p.138). A number of diagrams and other equations appear throughout the volume. In his introductory chapter Bent Martens confesses that it is not the purpose of the book to empirically test the models and assumptions presented. All four authors are male professors of economics. For those who are interested in principal-agent theory, and who are comfortable with a sprinkling of mathematics, the collection presents a concise and not wholly formalised application to the topic of international aid. Others will ignore it.

Duffield, Mark, (2001), *Global Governance and the New Wars*, Zed Books, London & New York

In what could be a reference to the volume by Martens et al. noted above, Mark Duffield refers to 'the economic framework ... that dominates development discourse' in which 'discussions of aid and its effects are confined to an imaginary world of self-contained and reactive household units, ignoring the reality that the strategic networks of global governance and the political complexes of the new wars conjoin and intermesh to form a new development-

security terrain' (p.252). It is the latter which forms the principal focus of this carefully argued and empirically grounded book, and which is developed in a series of chapters which are impossible to summarise in a brief note. In part it is about exploring the origins of the fact that 'the widespread commitment among donor governments and aid agencies to conflict resolution and social reconstruction indicates that war is now part of development discourse', to quote the publisher's blurb. But rather than imply merely that war or prolonged civil conflict now are recognised as a recurring part of the environment in which aid agencies have to operate, and an awareness that their operations may even have an influence for the worse, this is also reflected in a merging of development and security under what the author refers to as the 'liberal peace' and the 'new humanitarianism'.

The development of the author's subtle and highly nuanced argument is indicated by chapter headings on the new development-security terrain, strategic complexes and global governance, the growth of transborder shadow economies, non-liberal political complexes and the new wars, while two penultimate chapters illustrate his thesis in an extended case study of Sudan in which the substantial internal population displacement has resulted in a complicity of international aid and social subjugation in the creation of desocialised, cheap labour force. Thus, as he summarises in his final chapter, 'while opposing the violence and dislocation of the new wars, the strategic complexes of liberal peace also embody the selective, regionalised and conditional relations of global governance that now link North and South' (p.258). This a significant and major book which will reward careful reading by conflict and development specialists, senior NGO policy makers, and students from a variety of courses; but politicians and TNC leaders will miss the absence of an executive summary.

Hutchful, Eboe (2002), *Ghana's Adjustment Experience: The Paradox of Reform*, UNRISD, James Currey, Heinemann, Woeli Publishing

The paradox here being the slipping back of the state in Ghana to its pre-adjustment patrimonial mould after two decades or more of neo-liberalism. In this densely argued book Eboe Hutchful explores the origins of crisis in the early independence period, the 'unorthodox managerial strategies that underpinned adjustment under the Rawlings' governments' which eventually proved to be unsustainable, and in its distortions laying the groundwork for the policy decline of the 1990s following the 1992 general election including the rise in corruption, the absence of a microeconomic strategy, and the uneasy tension between state and market. Eleven chapters are spread over four sections: Economic Crisis & Background to Adjustment; Adjustment Policies and Performance; The Politics of Adjustment; and From Adjustment to Democracy.

Lest the final section be wrongly interpreted it is worth noting that the last chapter within it is entitled 'The Fourth Republic: Adjustment Aborted?' This is, in some respects, the most interesting chapter, summarising and assessing as it does the nature of the principal problems that continue to prevail, and in so doing breaking away from the highly detailed historical accounts of the earlier part of the book. The two principal challenges for the future, says Hutchful, are the economy and the area of security and civil-military relations, and 'unless the regime is able to respond to these challenges, and in the process uncover that elusive nexus between security, development and democracy, the 'Rawlings inheritance' may prove to be a poisoned chalice' (p.248). This is a well written, well researched, comprehensively argued, history of adjustment in Ghana, though once again a 268 page volume of very small print and narrow page margins,

which are becoming characteristic of certain publishers, does not make for easy reading or skimming.

Panford, Kwamina (2001), *IMF-World Bank and Labor's Burden in Africa: Ghana's Experience*, Praeger

At last a title with attitude. Unfortunately, the promise is not borne out by the content as this is a fairly bland account of changes to labour legislation in Ghana following the introduction of ERP in 1983 and SAP from 1986. With considerable factual historical content and a bibliography covering the period up to mid-2000, the book provides a useful introduction to recent labour history in Ghana, but doesn't really enter into the political background of labour relations under the different regimes in satisfactory analytical depth.

Books Received

1. *Africa: A Continent Self-Destructs* by **Peter Schwab**; Palgrave, ISBN 0 312 24018.
2. *Farmers & Markets in Tanzania* by **Stefano Ponte**; James Currey, ISBN 0 85255 168.
3. *Contested Resources: Challenges to the Governance of natural resources in southern africa* by **Tor Arve Benjaminsen, Ben Cousins & Lisa Thompson** (eds.), University of Western Cape, South Africa; ISBN 1 86808 537 6.
4. *Brickyards to Graveyards: From Production to Genocide in Rwanda* by **Vilia Jefremovas**, SUNY, New York, ISBN 0 7914 5487 9.
5. *Les Bandits: Un historien au Mozambique* by **Michel Cahen**, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, ISBN 972 8462 28-X.
6. *Walking the Tight Rope: Informal Livelihoods & Social Networks in a West African City* by **Ilda Lourenco-Lindell**, Almqvist & Wisksell; ISBN 91 22 01968 5. ♦