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Contents / Sommaire

Critical Convergence: The Great Depression and the Meshing of Nigerian and British Anti-Colonial Polemic Moses Ochonu	245
Récits de vie postcoloniaux, regards ethnographiques et jeu de miroir: <i>Jéliya, Hustling Is Not Stealing et Exchange Is Not Robbery</i> Edgard Sankara	282
Just West of Neutral: Canadian "Objectivity" and Peacekeeping during the Congo Crisis, 1960-61 Kevin A. Spooner	303
Women's Agency and Collective Action: Peace Politics in the Casamance Valerie Stam	337
Exclusion et pouvoir: Formes et forces de l'occulte dans les cinémas d'Afrique Alexie Tcheuyap	367
<i>Contributors / Collaborateurs</i>	399
 <i>Book Reviews / Comptes rendus</i>	
Cheikh Anta Babou. <i>Fighting the Greater Jihad: Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853-1913.</i> Martin Klein	400

Grace Bantebya Kyomuhendo and Marjorie Keniston McIntosh. <i>Women, Work and Domestic Virtue in Uganda: 1900-2003.</i> Julie MacArthur	402
Vivian Beckford-Smith and Richard Mendelsohn, eds. <i>Black and White in Colour: African History on Screen.</i> Isabelle de Rezende	405
Giorgio Blundo and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan (with N.B. Arifari and M.T. Alou). <i>Everyday Corruption and the State: Citizens and Public Officials in Africa.</i> Daniel Jordan Smith	408
Ann Cassiman. <i>Stirring Life: Women's Paths and Places Among the Kasena of Northern Ghana.</i> Grace Adeniyi Ogunyankin	411
Marie Soleil Frère. <i>The Media and Conflicts in Central Africa.</i> Sean Jacobs	414
Bayo Halsey. <i>Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana.</i> Ana Lucia Araujo	416
Marie Miran. <i>Islam, Histoire et Modernité en Côte d'Ivoire.</i> Tiffany K. Gleason	419
Donald S. Moore. <i>Suffering for Territory: Race, Place and Power in Zimbabwe.</i> Blessing J. Karumbidza	421
Isabel Moutinho, <i>The Colonial Wars in Contemporary Portuguese Fiction.</i> Tony Simoes da Silva	425
Stephen Rockel. <i>Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa.</i> Felicitas Becker	427
Daniel Jordan Smith. <i>A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria.</i> J. Shola Omotola	430

news media representatives. Nkunda, according to OxResearch, actively courts journalists (see "Central Africa: Warlords Develop New Media Strategies." *OxResearch* [Oxford] 31 July 2008).

Despite the criticisms above, the book must be welcomed for adding to a very limited literature on African media, especially for studies of media in Central Africa. Annually updated versions of this book would serve as handy reference tools.

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Bayo Holsey. *Routes of Remembrance: Refashioning the Slave Trade in Ghana*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2008. 280 pp.

Over the last ten years, few studies have dealt with the memory of slavery in Africa. Even though "memory" is a popular trend, the word being largely used in different titles of books and conferences, the majority of the scholarly works conceive memory as "tradition." In *Routes of Remembrance*, Bayo Holsey's purpose is different: "instead of searching for hidden, implicit memories of the slave trade" (8) she rather deals with the public constructions of the past. Relying on extensive fieldwork in Southern Ghana, Holsey tries to understand how the residents of Cape Coast and Elmina construct different narratives of the past, relying on European histories of the slave trade; how these two towns are conceived as part of the Atlantic World; the role of the African diaspora and the tourism industry; and finally, the various attempts to publicize the history of slave trade in productive ways. In the opening pages of the book, Bayo Holsey makes clear her conception of memory by asserting that she does not judge the histories collected "against the fantasy of a complete history" (17). Instead of searching to establish the "historical accuracy of these histories" she rather tries to understand "the process and effects of reconstruction" (17).

Routes of Remembrance is divided into two parts: part one comprises five chapters examining how local residents attempt to sequester the history of the slave trade; part two comprises two chapters dealing with how the history of the slave trade is being reconstructed in Ghana as a result of the tourism industry, especially targeting African American visitors. In the first chapter, Holsey revisits the history of Elmina and Cape Coast during the period of the Atlantic slave trade, by focusing on the European presence in the region, in particular the various forms of association with locals and gender relations, including the marriages between European men and local women. Chapter 2 deals with the place of what of

Holsey calls "domestic slavery" in the constructions of family histories. By using oral interviews, Holsey succeeds in showing how slavery in Ghana is omitted in the public discourses, by remaining a stigma for the descendants of slaves and a forbidden subject for the descendants of slave owners. If the silence involving slave ancestry can be seen as a mean to "protect" the slave descendants, the distinction between the descendants of former slaves and the descendants of slave owners persists. Despite using the term "domestic slavery" to define slavery in Cape Coast, Holsey agrees that the notion of "incorporation" is a myth. Chapter 3 deals with regional histories and narratives. Holsey examines how coastal residents try to distance themselves from the stigma of the past vulnerability to enslavement by placing at the same time this stigma on the residents of Northern Ghana, a region that is still perceived as a reservoir of potential slaves. Holsey successfully explains the complexity involving the different groups of Ghanaian society: regional differences, inherited from the period of the Atlantic slave trade, are still present, despite the efforts of the nationalist movement. Chapter 4 explains that while the slave trade is sequestered from public discourses, local residents have developed strategies to replace the narratives of enslavement with stories of integration into the Atlantic economy in favourable terms. In these stories, the slave trade and the colonial past are merged to rather insist on the positive aspects of European presence (especially the Dutch) in Elmina and Cape Coast. These constructions are ambivalent: by recognizing the European legacy, coastal residents reject an image of inferiority, but their "fundamental identity remains that of black people" (120). In Chapter 5, Holsey demonstrates that slavery and the slave trade are minimized in national histories, in history textbooks and history teaching. She states that these fields were first dominated by Europeans, who used the slave trade to stigmatize Africans, and later by Ghanaian historians who privileged colonialism and independence. Holsey revisits the debate on the impacts of the slave trade in Africa (Fage, Rodney, Boahen, Inikori) and the African involvement in the trade.

Holsey also analyzes in detail one textbook used in Ghana's high school system. This textbook addresses the positive and the negative effects of the slave trade, and associates the participation of Africans in the slave trade with immorality. Holsey also attended some classes devoted to the slave trade in a local private school, where, once more, the complexities of African participation in the trade were absent. In the classroom, the history of the slave trade is presented as "the physical defeat of those enslaved and the moral defeat of those who enslaved them, from which there can be no redemption" (145). Chapter 6 focuses on the development of tourism and commemorations aimed especially at African American

visitors. Holsey reviews the history of what she calls "Afro-Atlantic" dialogues, since the period following the independence of the country. She draws up the history of Cape Coast and Elmina castles, the two main historical sites related to slavery. Indeed, since the 1980s, their importance as tourist sites has increased, mainly over the influence of the United States, via a major USAID grant. Holsey develops a brilliant analysis on how the local population deals with the presence of the castles in the landscape of the two coastal towns. She also examines in detail the discourses developed by the tourist guides during the visits as well as the impacts of these discourses and the sites themselves (the Door of No Return, the male and female dungeons) on African American tourists. Chapter 7 examines how diaspora tourism is leading local residents to negotiate and to renew their own discourses. If the development of slave trade tourism has faced opposition from Ghanaians because of the emphasis on a past they want to forget and overcome, the tourism industry offers to the local population new possibilities not only to make new uses of history in an emancipatory perspective but also to be part of a global dialogue.

In *Routes of Remembrance*, Holsey highlights that "slavery existed among the Fantes, and indeed throughout West Africa before the arrival of Europeans; however it was a very different institution from slavery in the Americas" (41). Relying on Larry Yarak's study "Elmina and Greater Asante in the Nineteenth Century" (*African Affairs* 70, no.279 [1989]: 113-24), Holsey affirms that slaves were integrated in the family life. However, she also reminds us that *nnonkofo* did perform many activities as agriculturalists, miners, skilled artisans, porters, soldiers, and household servants as well as "garden slaves" who worked on plantations. By overlooking a thirty-year old debate in the historiography of slavery involving scholars, such as Claude Meillassoux, Suzanne Miers, Igor Kopytoff, Paul Lovejoy, and Martin Klein, Holsey involuntarily reinforces an idealized and benevolent vision of slavery in Africa. Along the text, the reader would like to know more about the transformations in the nature of slavery during the three hundred years of the Atlantic slave trade in the Gold Coast, as well as the distinction between the trade aiming at providing slaves to the New World and the trade aiming at providing captives to the Trans-Saharan slave trade. Despite these points, *Routes of Remembrance* has many strengths. The book covers in detail the most important aspects related to the construction of the public memory of slavery in Southern Ghana. The book makes visible all the complexities related to the slave past (doubtless an uneasy subject) that emerged during Holsey's fieldwork. It also suggests interesting avenues to all those planning to conduct multi-sited fieldwork in West Africa. *Routes of Remembrance* is, overall, a valuable contribution to the studies of the public memory of slavery in West Africa and an

unavoidable reference to scholars working on the plural memories of slavery in other parts of the North and the South Atlantic.

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Marie Miran. *Islam, Histoire et Modernité en Côte d'Ivoire*. Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2006. 546 pp.

Marie Miran embarks on an ambitious journey recounting the recent history of Muslim communities in *Islam, Histoire et Modernité en Côte d'Ivoire*, a book based on her dissertation. By incorporating the theoretical frameworks of anthropology, she endorses a new approach to urban African history. This study is a micro-history of urban Muslims in Abidjan during the twentieth century. Focusing on civil society and leadership, Miran shows how the social space occupied by the Muslim communities of Abidjan changed profoundly in the course of this long century, and how, in this process, they created an *Ivoirian* Islam.

At the center of this study are conceptions of modernity within Islam of which education is a major component. Additionally, the development of an inherent nationalism emerges as a key factor dividing Ivoirian and non-Ivoirian Muslims. With the need for the affirmation of discrete identities within increasingly urbanized lifestyles, the city mosques embodied the symbolic function the villages once played in these Muslim communities. At the same time, the transition to the newly-independent nation in the 1960s favoured Christianity and secular institutions. Miran argues that Muslims, in this context, became increasingly alienated from public participation. The relationship for Muslims to the state in Côte d'Ivoire has been and continues to be complex. The one party system that emerged after independence left Muslim communities in a precarious political position with most opting to remain in the periphery of public life.

In the 1970s, as a result of the oil boom, money came into the country from Arab nations, namely Saudi Arabia, and this fostered Muslim associational life centered on Wahabbism. Elder Ivoirian Muslim leaders reacted by reforming religious practices from within. By rejecting strict orthodoxy they created a new outlook on modernity and Islam. Identifying as a Muslim then, became ideologically charged by the end of the century. But after being politically marginalized at first, Muslims eventually achieved government representation with the establishment of the Conseil National Islamique (CNI), in 1993.