

construction and destruction shaped urban residents' affective relationships with the state" (p. 91), for which it requires thoughtful reading to consider details and complications. Of course, articulated well, taking "construction" both as research site and analytical discourse or "framework," the book provides new dimensions for researchers and urban developers/policy makers to understand urban development in Ethiopia. The contribution provides fresh insights on how and what shaped state legitimacy in the "developmental state of Ethiopia." In the study of urban Ethiopia, Mains shows a new perspective which was not yet addressed by previous scholarship.

The book discusses construction as a site and analytical framework by using ethnographic method as its integral approach and employing primary data from the lived experience of participants including researcher's experience in the two urban settings. This helps the researcher to get a wide range of information. The author had a good deal of experience living in these two settings that gave him the full insights about the cities' infrastructural development. However, there are additional political economy insights that the author did not consider while making comparisons between these two case-sensitive urban contexts of Hawassa and Jimma. The cities might have faced similar experiences of governance, but the nature of the Ethiopian ethnic-based federal government might have privileged some cities while ignoring others. The comparisons made between Jimma and Hawassa would have benefited a lot from studying the political history of these two cities in relation to the governing policy and the political nature of the Tigray People Liberation Front/Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (TPLF/EPRDF). Hawassa, as the capital city of one of the nine regional states in Ethiopia, has more development and progress made in the last two and half decades arguably at the cost of other relatively older cities in the regional state. If we critically investigate the political interest behind the establishment of Hawassa as a capital of Southern Nationals and Nationalities and People's regional state, it is not surprising to see construction successes in Hawassa. However, Jimma, a city as old as the capital of Ethiopia, has suffered a lot from the TPLF/EPRDF development strategies as the city is believed to be the residence of the remnants of the old regime. The growth of cities in TPLF/EPRDF's Ethiopia is not just a matter of regional bureaucracy and governance; it is more of a federal government issue under TPLF/EPRDF's new state making process.

Fasika Gedif, *Bahir Dar University (Ethiopia)*

Kara Moskowitz. 2019. *Seeing Like a Citizen: Decolonization, Development, and the Making of Kenya, 1945 – 1980*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press. 322 pp.

In *Seeing Like a Citizen*, Kara Moskowitz documents the transition from colonial rule to the new independent Kenyan nation. At the most general level, the book is about the interactions between the Kenyan population and the colonial and postcolonial state, how these interactions formed people's understanding of statehood and citizenship, and the messy intricacies of everyday negotiations with state agents. At the same time, the book is a more focused study on a particular area of the new nation, Uasin Gishu. The fundamental argument is that the Kenyan state was never monolithic or standardized and that the population thus had plural and contesting notions of citizenship and the state.

Throughout the book we are told that land was at the center of the most important negotiations the population had with the state. The book begins with the settlement programs started by the British government soon after the end of the Mau Mau rebellion. The programs include the Swynnerton Plan and the Million Acre Scheme. Running through this chapter is a story about the kinds of claims that individuals and groups made to the state for a piece of land and how these claims were involved in people's understanding of their identity and relationship to the state. It is here in these co-constitutive relationships that ideas about rights and ownership, patronage and community development begin to emerge. Some people attempted to claim their piece of land through demonstrations of poverty, some through organized communal claims of long-standing ownership, some through what were framed as indigenous values like hard work.

Moskowitz does a particularly good job of linking local level interactions between people and groups and government workers and institutions to broader circuits of power and capital. For example, in the first chapters on the settlement schemes we are given an idea of how they are linked to British finance and the World Bank. These links provide Moskowitz with a platform to show how richer, better-situated Kenyans were able to benefit more from the changes wrought by Independence. We are given privileged access including interviews and life histories of people from Uasin Gishu and from their perspective the richer better-placed Kenyans were often Kikuyu. As government initiatives over land change during the timeframe that is covered in the book from those that help large land-owners to the those who own smaller plots of land and as co-operatives become entrenched as the way for communities to mobilize claims to land ownership, the relative success or failure of using ethnicity as part of claims to land and services ebbs and flows, particularly as there was no formal legislation for the new co-operatives. In this way and in particular in chapter three we are given a sense of the ways that groups start to self-identify and form boundaries between themselves and others.

Alongside land are the services that are expected from the state. Because these are largely non-existent in the settlement areas, Kenyans are forced into self-help schemes that are then funded or not by broader circuits of capital. Again, being able to tap into public funds is shown through the ways Kenyans' social and political networks are activated. Education over best farming practices through extension agents, for example, offered opportunities for personal negotiations over crops and services like a cow dip or a well, and it was often the larger landowners who could benefit from these services. Squashed into smaller and smaller pieces of land and forced into loan repayments and debt, many small landowners were pushed into poverty during the settlement schemes and this did not improve after Independence. The UK's attempt to switch to funding low-density schemes was met with opposition from the Kenyan government which implemented a *Haraka* scheme (fast resettlement). One of the book's main triumphs is the way that small acts of corruption are woven into the fabric of the interpersonal relations between the population and state agents. These acts are never given their own central position in the book or even much analysis, but they pop up from time to time in amongst all of the other details the reader is given about negotiations over land and services. In this way, we see how local level acts of authoritarian rule manifested themselves in the siphoning of public funds or the use of aid money for particular purposes.

Economic autonomy and its relation to Kenyans' ideas about the duties of the state and the duties of a citizen are brought together in interesting stories about extension agents and educators trying to manage the production of maize and other crops in rural settings whilst corrupt bureaucrats and farmers sell their maize in Uganda. We are also given details about different economic management schemes of the government and moments of crises such as famine after massive maize shortages. Some of these schemes are brought to the Kenyan population through growing newspaper and radio media. Running through the sections on economic autonomy is a story about the marginalization of women and the poor in public discourse and the different networks they pursued to alleviate this.

The book answers the question of how the state is experienced through presenting a collection that documents local level interactions. We are successfully given an idea of what "seeing like a citizen" looks and feels like as opposed to Scott's "seeing like a state" but the book is weakest in its overarching theoretical framework of these interactions in that ultimately it rests on a version of the social contract. The study could have been improved if the different visual and affective registers at play were then used to question the central concept of the social contract as an organizing principle.

Nathan Dobson, *University of Florida*

Seth Markle. 2017. *A Motorcycle on Hell Run: Tanzania, Black Power, and the Uncertain Future of Pan-Africanism, 1964-1974*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press. 296 pp.

Seth Markle's book is a fascinating history of how Tanzania and the ideologies and intellectuals that were central to the postcolonial project transcended national (externally-imposed) borders and placed the country under Julius Nyerere central to the Pan-Africanist project. This was by no means a certainty given the huge ambiguity between any putative continental unity and the reality of de jure (if not de facto) sovereign African states. This contradiction has always created tension between the idea that the regeneration of Africa can only be accomplished if the continent is united. Kwame Nkrumah warned that the balkanization of Africa was key to neo-colonial rule as this would enable the imperialists to take advantage of them individually. Nkrumah's cautioning has of course, been vindicated by history.

Central to the wider idea of Pan-Africanism is that it regards Africa, Africans, and African descendants as a unit. Pan-Africanism was originally conceived by people of African descent in the Caribbean and in the United States and can be traced back to the 19th century. In response to their alienation and loss of identity through slavery and their everyday experiences of racism in the New World, people of African origin naturally yearned for their ancestral homeland, where "Africa" represented dignity and freedom—even if only as an abstract concept for those who had been born in captivity.

What Markle's books demonstrates is how Black Power advocates in the diaspora visualised Nyerere's Tanzania as a forward movement for Pan-African organisation and implementation. Dar es Salaam thus emerged as the centre of an incredible intellectual power that still resonates today, with serious debates about the form of the African state, the desirability and practicality of continental unity, the question of neo-colonialism, and the role of