

## Book Reviews

**Maasai and “Coexistence” at Large: From the Field of Wildlife Conservation in Kenya** (*Samayoeru Kyouzou to Massai: Kenya no Yaseidoubutsuhozen no Genbakara*). Toshio Meguro, Tokyo: Shinsensha, 2014, pp. 456 (in Japanese).

The conservation of diverse ecosystems with abundant fauna and flora has been a crucial policy goal of colonial and post-colonial African governments since the early 20th century. However, enforced conservation policies have often resulted in serious conflicts between government authorities and the local people who use the natural resources within and around the conservation areas. Despite the fact that since the 1990s, community-based conservation (CBC) has become a popular conservation strategy, most members of the community are not consulted in the decision-making processes concerning the land and natural resources. This book, based on the author's doctoral thesis, submitted to Tokyo University in 2011, examines the Massai people living in the Amboseli ecosystem located in southern Kenya and discusses issues surrounding the field of community-based conservation.

Chapter 1 introduces the various perspectives of CBC, which has various interpretations depending on the individual, and clarifies these differences. Four approaches: integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs), CBC, community conservation (CC), and community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), are reviewed as new paradigms. The chapter then argues that three aspects: benefits, rights, and dialogues, represent the key for local residents to proactively become involved in conservation activities, and lists the various angles of analysis that appear in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 2 presents a basic background on the history of wildlife conservation policy in Kenya, the society of Massai herders, and the Loitokitok District. It describes what drives the Massai as herders to attempt to diversify their livelihoods into areas such as tourism and irrigated agriculture, as well as the factors that drive the Kenyan government, which has traditionally adopted strict conservation policies, such as the total ban on hunting unique in Africa, to turn to implementation of CBC.

Chapter 3 describes a community sanctuary (KIMANA Community Sanctuary) established on

community-owned land and administered by the residents and analyzes how direct management by the residents transitioned to contracted management by a well-known hotel chain, as well as how the profits are shared. It outlines a new livelihood strategy of the herders to hire tourism business professionals who can generate a larger profit than themselves and use the profit to divide the communal land into private lands.

Chapter 4 analyzes community participation in the administration of a conservancy (Ospuko Conservancy) that a non-profit environmental conservation organization took the lead in establishing. In the conservancy, which is a private sanctuary, multiple land owners form a management association and determine the methods of its operation. The chapter explains situations such as the interventions by the non-profit environmental conservation organization and the problems arising due to the autonomous management by the community representatives.

Chapter 5 analyzes in detail the process in which the residents select a private company to operate the sanctuary. It describes situations such as how the intervention by politicians thwarts the choices that most benefit the residents. The second half of the chapter looks at the damage caused by wild animals and describes the gap in perception between conservation advocates and the residents.

Chapter 6 refers to the so-called “Amboseli Crisis” involving a boy killed by a wild animal and the revenge taken by the local community and discusses the coexistence of humans and wild animals in the area.

The author's main interest involves an investigation of the forms of coexistence brought by the CBC approach to wildlife conservation. An interesting point that he notes is that, whereas the government that promotes a benefits-based approach forces residents to “coexist,” the non-profit conservation organization uses the fact that the privatization of land is increasing to select and exclude residents while emphasizing personal responsibilities. Despite the fact that traditional conservation policy and the neoliberal conservation approach of recent years are taking place concurrently, the government and the non-profit conservation organizations are increasingly involving the residents by prioritizing the CBC approach. In the midst of this situation, the damage

caused by wild animals—the largest issue for the residents—is ignored. Meguro criticizes this fact by stating that the conservation advocates are not considering the meaning and changes in the circumstances and relationships of the Massai's specific involvement, which has enabled their coexistence with wild animals until now. However, after analyzing the opportunities for the Massai to negotiate with the government, non-profit organizations, and private companies that appear frequently in each chapter, the author notes that the community representing the area is actually an “illusion” and that this is precisely the strategy of the Massai. While listing the proactive efforts by the Massai, Meguro also mentions the potential for intrinsic development, such as an initiative to invest their own funds to establish a compensation system for the damage caused by wild animals, and the “Massai Olympics” held as an alternative to hunting. However, because the non-profit conservation organization is heavily involved in holding the Massai Olympics, it is questionable whether it can be regarded as a completely independent idea of the residents.

Whatever the approaches, the strategic response to wildlife conservation policy by the Massai society, which has been strongly affected by policy in Kenya, a country with advanced wildlife conservation approaches with heavy emphasis on tourism, represents an important lesson when considering wildlife conservation in other African countries facing a similar situation. This is a book that is highly recommended for students and scholars in the fields of both natural and social sciences who are interested in the wild animals that symbolize the African continent.

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**Improvised ‘Stage Performance’: Social Relationships among Young People in Contemporary Africa** (*Sbō Pafōmansu ga Tachiagaru: Gendai Afurika no Wakamonotachi ga musubu Syakaikankei*). Midori Daimon, Yokohama: Shumpusha, 2015, pp. 380 + iv (in Japanese).

A passionate kind of ‘Stage Performance’ is depicted in this richly descriptive ethnographic monograph by Dr. Midori Daimon. As a member of a *karioki* performance troupe, Daimon conducted intensive research in Uganda, East Africa, from 2003 to 2014, collecting the material for this book. Not content to be a simple observer, Daimon decided to join a troupe and perform *karioki* herself during her stay in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. For her, everyday participation in a *karioki* performance group and life as a performer become an inseparable

part of academic participant observation as a PhD candidate at Kyoto University. Her active participation in performances enabled Daimon to depict the everyday lives of young people in Kampala in a vivid way, including the inevitable occurrence of conflict and misunderstanding.

The Luganda (the language of the Baganda and the major language in Kampala) word *karioki* comes from a Japanese term, karaoke, meaning “empty orchestra”, or musical accompaniment to singing. In Uganda, however, although music is one of the most important components of *karioki*, usually the performers themselves do not sing; in most cases, the music from the sound equipment contains complete songs, including vocals, meaning that *karioki* here is not “empty”. Ugandans, unlike Japanese, do not sing to the instrumental accompaniment of a karaoke machine. Performers, instead, mime songs, imitating real music stars, dancing and pretending to sing the songs playing from the speaker.

Most *karioki* stage performances consist of three forms of program: ‘mime’, ‘dance’, and ‘comedy’; additionally, sandwiched between the performances, a commentary is provided by a master of ceremonies. Besides miming the act of singing, they also perform dances, solo, in pairs, or in groups. In ‘comedy,’ the comic version of *karioki*, they also mime playing the music coming from the loudspeakers, again, without using their own voices. Such *karioki* activity includes performances at restaurants or bars, which provide a stage setting; such places are where actors can assemble for a one-act performance that relays the experience of city life in a fluid world. The existence of this ‘stage’ is not constant, as the possibility of cancellation is apparently always present.

Daimon focuses on three sets of relationships that hinge on *karioki*: relationships between young people who are committed to *karioki* activities and people of the ordinary world; the relationship between an individual and a group of participants in a *karioki* performance; and relationships among the performers of *karioki*.

Throughout the book, features of an ideal hybridity, or a combination of interdisciplinary academic methods and theories, are presented. Daimon is a product of The Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies (ASAFAS) at Kyoto University; thus, she has a multi-disciplinary, ‘area studies’ background, and has carried out long-term fieldwork, employing a participant-observer methodology. As is common in contemporary sociocultural anthropology, but unlike most traditional studies in anthropology, Daimon’s work has a clear topic, focused on a specific cultural phenomenon, namely a kind of performance. Having systematically collected data through her deep immersion in this subculture, her

analysis, by turns, shows features of sociology, social theory, and cultural studies. However, she refuses to invoke Marxist theory or deprivation theory, as the performers with whom she has worked are not deprived and do not subjectively resist domination as a class or a group. The instrumentality often ascribed to subcultures may be difficult to prove here.

To Daimon, the most outstanding characteristic of these *karioki* performers is that they enjoy complete freedom. They appear to be constrained by no commonly shared goal, value system, or morality. Critically, Daimon suggests that, to grapple with and interpret the reality that these kinds of performers inhabit, as well as that of their activities and the way of life they pursue, a mode of analysis that takes them to be a monolithic group or class must be criticized as being misleading, although it has been taken for granted by previous researchers. Existing general sociological theories concerning social roles and class may very well be useless in portraying the real lives of Daimon's *karioki* performers. They do not follow any formal, prescribed norms. Even if such a norm appeared as a verbal or written rule, or as a certain value system or type of morality, the *karioki* performers would still constitute their own sociality themselves, with their own actions or choices. They do not hesitate to change systems or rules if, temporarily, such a change is needed. Implicit, loose rules are sometimes observed, but their ranges are limited, and the period in which such a rule is active is also very short. This principle leads the actors to not form groups or to avoid constructing steady relationships in the groups; it makes them independent individuals who happen to occupy the same space for the time being. In their life worlds, nothing is set and everything is flexible; they are not willing to be permanently fixed from the beginning. On the spot, from a selection of possible alternatives, they perform their real world, constructed through being in the swing of things. The metaphors of stage and drama are often used to describe the dynamism of social units. In this context, however, the character of the stage for the subculture might be seen as a more ad hoc and temporal phenomenon, in contrast with most dramatic performances, which are already scripted, with plots that lead to certain conclusions. Ad hoc improvisation is the essence of a *karioki* performance, and the social action or principle of the actors' behavior may be, as the author suggests, in accordance with their own performance.

The important factor to assess in this work is time. With every social phenomenon, we can point to a kind of irregularity, as Daimon's book stresses; but when we analyze societies or groups as a whole, we are inclined to omit such a characteristic as a trivial exemption.

As the author is aware, this study covers a very short time span. Inevitably, it must portray a time-limited aspect of the reality of a cultural movement. It is impossible, then, to determine what will happen to this younger generation in the future. This work cannot examine the character of the activity of this *karioki* troupe from a diachronic point of view. Thus, this story, which may become part of the history of the rise and fall of *karioki*, can tell only of the rise; the rest is left untold. It will be told in the future, as a complement to this study, and will show whether the author's arguments are correct. If the *karioki* activities she has observed continue as a social activity, we can expect to learn about not simply what may be attributed to disparate individual actors but also to apprehend how people act in collective groups.

The worldview, as presented in this book, which lauds the freedom and subjectivity of the performers studied without analyzing the structural context in which they find themselves, and omits the concept of deprivation, may fascinate some but will appear frivolous to certain academic conservatives. Such figures in the world of academic social theory may leap to the conclusion that this work is not serious, or that Daimon's methods are not rigorous enough to depict a world system. Such an attitude may remind us, the readers, of the perspective adopted by conservative elders in Uganda, who take youth subcultures like that of *karioki* to be ephemeral and effervescent. Such features, of course, may simply be part of the character of the modern city and the younger generation itself. The author in this academic debate may be a mirror image of the *karioki* performer in Kampala. Thus, this work may well be regarded as manifesting a successful ethnographic strategy, suggesting a new future for this genre. Additionally, even if the style and sensibility that emerge in this book are not easy for conservative academics to accept, we as general readers, welcome this new hybrid writing style and anticipate the next work by this author.

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**Analysis of the Relationships Between Local Development NGOs and the Communities in Ethiopia: The Case of the Basic Education Sub-sector.** Yoshiko Tonegawa, Osaka: Union Press, 2014, pp. 174.

Local development NGOs are established by residents of local communities and play important roles in the development of developing countries. In general, such NGOs are expected to act on behalf of the grassroots interests of the local communities in

which they have emerged. However, few studies have examined the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities in which they operate. Indeed, despite recognition of the need for qualitative analyses of data obtained through field work, most studies and reports in the domain of development cooperation have been based on analyses of quantitative data. Focusing specifically on the basic education sub-sector, this book analyzes the position of local development NGOs in their communities from the perspective of both the NGOs and the members of the community.

This book consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 discusses the three objectives of this study and their significance. The first objective was to clarify the conditions of local development NGOs, as previous studies have focused primarily on international NGOs. Indeed, local NGOs should be examined separately from international NGOs because these organizations differ with regard to financial conditions and relationships with communities. The second objective was to investigate relationships between local NGOs and communities, as most studies on NGOs have analyzed only NGO–government relationships. The third objective was to examine the possible factors that influence the relationships between local development NGOs and the communities.

Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature addressing development NGOs, which focus on social and economic development and operate primarily in developing countries. The number of development NGOs has increased remarkably, and they now exert greater influence at the international level. These organizations are expected to represent opinions at the grassroots level, and many researchers have regarded development NGOs as providing vital links among governments, international organizations, and local communities. It has also been suggested that NGOs are the organizations closest to communities; however, other researchers have argued that they cannot represent the interests of all social classes.

Chapter 3 provides overviews of local development NGOs and basic education in Ethiopia. Historically, local NGOs have operated under difficult conditions in Ethiopia. Although these organizations have recently been officially recognized as vital for development, it has also been reported that they are under strict regulation by the Ethiopian government. In many cases, NGOs depend on external sources to finance their activities. The current Ethiopian government expects NGOs to be engaged not in advocacy activities but in service-delivery activities. Local development NGOs have played important roles in the basic education sub-sector,

including by providing higher quality education for more children. On the other hand, it has been reported that some communities view NGOs as unrepresentative of local communities and hold negative images about these groups. In such cases, low levels of community participation have been reported, and the relationship between the communities and the NGOs has been perceived as unidirectional, with the NGOs acting as givers and the local communities acting as receivers. In other words, the relationship between the local NGOs and the communities has not been characterized as strong.

Chapter 4 explains the research methods and analytical framework adopted by the study. The main focus of this book is the relationships between local development NGOs and their communities, which are examined from the perspectives of both the NGOs and the communities. This research examined eight NGOs in the Oromia region, which has historically been home to active local development NGOs. The NGOs included in this research were selected based on the following: 1) Their status as official NGOs registered by the Ethiopian government. 2) Their membership in an association of NGOs focused on basic education. 3) Their completion of at least one educational project. The author worked as a consultant for Japanese Grant Assistance for Grassroots Projects at the Japanese Embassy in Ethiopia, and she has lived in Ethiopia for 2 years. The main data used in this study were collected over 3 months in 2009, when the author conducted semi-structured interviews with both the staff and directors of each NGO and the members of the communities they serve.

The results of field research are presented in Chapter 5, and Chapter 6 summarizes the conclusion. Chapter 5 begins with a description of the characteristics of the eight NGOs examined in this study. All depend on foreign governments or multinational institutions for financial support. Although they recognize the importance of the community they serve, they have been forced to emphasize the interests of their donors. According to legislation on NGOs enacted in Ethiopia in 2009, NGOs that receive more than 10% of their financial resources from outside sources are classified as “Ethiopian resident” NGOs, and their activities are more limited than are those of “Ethiopian” NGOs. However, this study examined the situation within the previous legal environment. The author analyzed the relationships between local development NGOs and communities in Ethiopia by examining the participation and perceptions of communities, as well as the motivations and perceptions of NGO staff. The author describes the relationships between local development NGOs and communities in Ethiopia as “two-

way, giver and receiver relationships,” which means that both parties are givers and receivers. In contrast, previous studies have argued that local development NGOs have played the role of giver by delivering public services. However, this book explores communities that perceive themselves as givers by virtue of their provision of land and human capital or their participation in the activities of NGOs.

As noted in the conclusion, this book has “contributed to the understanding of the dynamics of relationships between local development NGOs and communities by addressing the background circumstances and perspectives of both local development NGOs and communities.” (p. 150)

I have only one suggestion for this book: that additional analyses of more detailed data on the characteristics of the relationship between each NGO and community be performed to address the question, “What is *community*?” This book defines *community* as the *Afan Oromo* term *Ummata*, which refers to “the group of people living in the same territory and often sharing the same culture, values, customs, and traditions.” (p. 71) This book examines differences in the perceptions of local people with different status. However, should these perceptions be regarded as representative of the entire community? Scholars working in the field of education development have noted the ambiguity of the concept of *community* at the same time as they have argued for the importance of *community* participation in schools. Yamada (2013) pointed out that the community was not a single unified group but was multilayered while discussing ‘community participation’ in school management based on a case study of the Oromia region. The author also acknowledges such multilayered communities in her description of the formal *kebele* administration and the traditional *Jarsabiya* (the elder) system and in her selection of influential community members as informants. Indeed, she mentioned the exclusion of individuals without an official position in the communities or children enrolled in the selected schools as a limitation of this study. Thus, I was left wondering how the complex structure of communities affects their relationships with local development NGOs.

This book explores the complex relationships between local development NGOs and local people based on case studies conducted in Ethiopia. It presents the major perspectives on development, and I recommend it not only to researchers in the area of education development and to NGO staff, but also to practitioners and policy-makers in the field of development cooperation.

#### Reference

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**Embedded Mutualism for Co-Living in African Pastoralism: Ethnographic Studies of the Karimojong and Dodoth in Northeastern Uganda (*Bokuchiku Sekai no Kyosei Riron: Karimojong to Dodoth no Minzokushi*).** Itsuhiro Hazama, Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2015, pp. 312 (in Japanese).

This book is an ethnographic study of the human-animal relationships that serve a pivotal area in the daily life-world of pastoralists in northeastern Uganda. The Karimojong and Dodoth are peoples from a semi-arid zone who live self-sufficiently with animals—mainly cattle, goats, and sheep. In previous research, they have been treated as independent ethnic groups; classical ethnographic studies of each group have been conducted. However, because the two ethnic groups may be considered to comprise a social and cultural cluster, the author discusses them as the “Karimojong-Dodoth” in this book.

In the Western perspective, pastoralism is regarded as a type of technical knowledge by which humans control and use nature for production. As the author states, “domestication” is defined with a focus on humans. From the viewpoint of industrial production, researchers have argued that subsistence pastoralism in Africa no longer enables sustained production, and is headed for a demise. The author clearly refutes this argument:

“Subsistence pastoralism is not achieved merely by having enough goats and cows to transform plant resources that cannot be directly consumed by humans into the usable forms of blood and meat. Obvious facts are neglected and are not included in this recognition. Pastoralism depends on humans perceiving the attributes of animals and acting based on this, eliciting responses from the animals’ side. In other words, pastoralism only exists when relational techniques based on sensory stimuli are deployed for mediation at the level of communication. Namely, humans display gestures and touch animals in a specific way, occasionally giving auditory instructions. Animals approach humans, provide milk, and change their direction of movement and behavior” (p. 2).

Thus, the author's objective was to examine pastoralism not as a technique used to control nature for production but as a type of art, shaping the daily, mutual relations between people and animals. To this end, the author's first achievement is the presentation, based on an ethnographic study of the daily lives of pastoralists, of extremely detailed descriptions and first-rate data showing how interactions unfold between people and animals, and of the explanations of the social and cultural structures created through these accumulated interactions (Chapters 2–4).

The second achievement of this book is that it presents socio-historical accounts of pastoralists' cattle raiding, and the possession of automatic rifles, at the level of the pastoralists' experience. The author urges a reconsideration of low-intensity conflicts between pastoralist ethnic groups in the Horn of Africa, an arena that has drawn continual attention in academia and politics (Chapter 5). Here, I summarize and review these two main contributions of the book.

On the first point, the author discusses human-animal relationships using empirical data and case descriptions, enabling an understanding of pastoralists' activities as reflections of their overall view of humans and animals. Individual animal and human lives are mutually involved and overlap. After children are weaned at around the age of 2 years, they carry goat kids and calves—weighing about 2 kilograms each—into *kraals* (enclosures). This activity is their “debut”; from this point on, they participate in caring for animals throughout their lives (p. 111). Humans raise animals from a very young age: the animals live in *kraals* in human settlements, which become their homes and differ markedly from extensive grazing lands. By this process, one may consider that a heterogeneous, intermixed sociality is acquired (p. 247).

For instance, when a herdsman calls a specific cow/bull/ox by the name given to it, the animal responds and nearby animals do not. The author tested the accuracy of these responses and describes clearly positive results (Chapter 3). In addition, men have “ox names” based on individual oxen. Although several men may have the same ox name, they do not have a special relationship. In other words, these names do not have an individual, specific function for personal identification. Rather, their significance lies in their representation of the body color and pattern of a man's favorite animal (Chapter 2). Moreover, individual herdsman sing pastoral songs; they say that they “recall” the songs or that the songs “appear to” them, rather than that they “compose” them. The names of individual animals are included in the repetitive lyrics of these songs. The author describes topics appearing frequently in a collection of 745

pastoral songs: the songs of adolescent herdsmen frequently refer to pasturage, and those of men aged  $\geq$  30 years frequently refer to animal ownership (Chapter 4).

Has the intensity of cattle raiding between ethnic groups actually increased with the spread of automatic rifles since the end of the 1970s? Why have the efforts of developmental aid organizations and the government—which has intervened through disarmament—failed? On the second point, the author reconstructs changes in people's relationship with rifles using oral history data, describing such conflict as a form of social suffering, determined in a multi-layered way, according to the circumstances of history and the political economy (Chapter 5).

The author's research included: an investigation of the background regarding the acquisition of 214 rifles possessed by adult males in a semi-sedentary Karimojong village; interview-based surveys of people's past experiences with raiding and the historical origin of animal herds obtained by two Dodoth families; examples of how people coped with raiding that occurred around the time of the research; and examples of experiences with disarmament by government troops, including arrest and being taken into custody. Guns have been perceived as a means of attack, but they have great significance to pastoralists as a means of defense. When the sovereignty of Uganda and the neighboring state of South Sudan weakened, the pastoralists obtained rifles from neighboring groups and government troops. The author clarifies that disarmament by the government resulted in experiences of irrational, violent oppression in which the government—arbitrarily and without discrimination—seized the guns it had distributed previously.

In modern warfare, conflicts can develop into full-scale war. In the context of the pastoralists' conflicts, the government's oppression did not prevent this progression. The primary factor behind the escalation was a complex and entangled situation of increasing tension between the two ethnic groups, coupled with the maintenance of personal relationships through association and gift giving between individuals from these groups. The pastoralists' reality in relation to conflict differs substantially from the usual story of full-scale warfare, motivated by collective hostility toward a neighboring ethnic group, with enmity fabricated by politicians and the mass media. Individuals from neighboring groups had formed personal relationships, characterized by the sharing of water and pasture for their animals, as well as the occasional exchange of gifts. Some conflicts have involved the unification of two ethnic groups, and others have occurred between subgroups of the same ethnic group or clan. Karimojong-Dodoth society does not follow the pastoralist

lineage system that became known widely after E. E. Evans-Prichard described it in *The Nuer* (1940). If anything, their political societies are formed based on daily relationships between neighbors who identify with each other—through regional bonds, rather than blood relationships. Rather than being bound conceptually by a categorical awareness of other groups as adversaries or allies, which is not the case in this context, their society is conceived through the accumulation of individual relationships between “me” and “you”. The herdsmen share the joy of gaining cattle through raiding; they also sympathize with the distress of losing cattle through raiding, experienced by those with whom they have personal relationships. The author emphasizes that this attention to the irreplaceable nature of individuals is the key to deciphering these societies.

Individual humans and animals spend their whole

lives in coexistence. Society is conceived based on individual social relationships between humans; in this context, “multicultural co-living”, as an ideological intervention, is not needed. These acts of thorough and personal closeness with other individuals differ fundamentally from the hierarchical categorization of particular, co-essential groups according to differential traits in the modern Western mentality (pp. 11–12). The concept of “mutualism for co-living” discussed by the author in this book is a corpus of practical logic founded on trans-species relationships between humans and animals and relationships with identifiable neighbors; these relationships have been refined in a unique way through life experiences in Karimojong-Dodoch pastoralist society.

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