tics of these organizations, such as their high level of indigenization and community involvement. She portrays them as potentially ideal for the promotion of democratic values because of their institutionalized systems of participation. More detailed discussion of the dynamics of potential relations with the state would have improved the essay. Anheier’s case study analysis of NGO consortia in Nigeria and Togo offers useful insights and his dimensions of analysis, such as goal displacement, are very interesting. His main thesis, that the problems of NGOs vary significantly according to different environments, is well supported. However, more consistent historical references are needed. The study by Anang of foreign NGOs in Ghana is rich in detail and gives a graphic picture of the local political, social, and especially bureaucratic factors which have limited NGO work there. His review of the literature to date on NGOs is succinct and useful. Unfortunately, the “problem-solving” methodology from Seidman and Kalyala [called ROCCIPI] looks promising, but is not well explained or applied.

Bratton’s chapter, like Anang’s and Anheier’s, contains provocative case studies and consideration of such relevant points as relations with donors and composition of clients. His larger purpose, however, is to shift the focus away from discussions about development agencies reaching the poor majority. Rather, the focus should be on how the poor majority can reach the makers of public policy. This, in the end, is a key contribution of this volume. It is born out of a sense of political realism that acknowledges the complexities of the situation. All actors must become aware that true development will have to be based on meaningful consultation with local people, who are often very poor. The state may not be able, or even willing, to do this, but NGOs have the opportunity to act as institution builders by means of their focus and structure, as well as through their intermediary role between donors, the beneficiaries of development, and the state. The framework of institutionalism, as expressed by Sandberg’s ideal-types of NGO-state relations, should allow other scholars the opportunity to study how to answer Bratton’s question.

Robert Sauder
University of Ottawa


Christopher B. Steiner has written an important and comprehensive description of trade in West African art objects and used this area of activity to illustrate modern anthropological theories in the fields of economics and politics. These theories transcend the interpretations of small “self-contained” societies that were the objects of study of earlier (1920s to 1930s) anthropologists.

He begins with a brief but important history of the West African art trade, showing how it is older and more complex than has been generally thought. The rest of the book is a demonstration of how “the study of the African art trade uncovers not only a complex economic system with its own internal structure, logic and rules; it reveals also an elaborate process of cross-cultural exchange in which the image of Africa and its arts are continually being negotiated and redefined by a plurality of market participants spread out across the world” [10]. Steiner exposes the invalidity of the
distinction, usually made by art historians, between art objects made for home consumption—ritual objects, cloth utensils, jewellery—and those produced for sale, and he shows how both are integrated into the same commercial network.

Chapters 1 to 4 consists of detailed descriptions of marketplaces and market activities, the social network of traders and producers, the processes of bargaining, and the role of kinship and ethnicity in every aspect of the trade. An interesting point is that many of the traders are Muslims who also practice indigenous religions. Since the Muslim religion rejects religious sculpture, Muslims need have no compunction about trading in ritual objects (though Allah may possibly disapprove of any association with them).

Chapter 5 is devoted to a discussion of Western notions of authenticity and how these notions are understood and manipulated by African traders. “For the Westerner, authentic African art only existed in the past, before European contact. For the trader, authentic African art only exists in the present, after European contact, when the objects were taken out of Africa and declared by the Western authorities to be authentic” (102).

The concluding chapter shows how the African art trade illustrates a modern social theory that challenges us to view the penetration of capitalism in Africa as a series of “personal linkages forged at a time by different individuals, each with their [sic] own motives, ambitions, and set of goals” (164).

The photographs are well chosen and quite well reproduced, but the maps are inadequate and poorly printed. In addition, there are some quite important omissions. One concerns some aspects of the history of the art trade. Leo Frobenius’s *The Voice of Africa*, an account of the German Inner African Exploration Expedition, 1910-1912, makes it clear that systematic trading in art between West Africa and Europe was well established before the end of the 1920s. The Nigerians were well aware of both the artifacts that were sought by European museums and the prices that they should obtain for them. They exasperated Frobenius by their often successful attempts to deceive him and manipulate the legal system.

Also absent is any mention of the unscrupulous methods of European collectors in the 1930s; unlike the sophisticated Nigerians, the more isolated peoples of the Sahel were defenseless against the brutal and cunning methods of Griaule and others in acquiring artifacts for the Musée de l’Homme. Griaule himself denoted his acquisitions as “butin” [loot], and in his teaching manual, *Methode d’ethnographie*, compares ethnographic fieldwork to military campaigns [see Michel Leiris, *L’Afrique fantôme*, Editions Gallimard, 1934, 1981]. Denise Paulme, who worked among the Dogon in the 1930s and 1940s,

... had not expected to collect any objects for the museum, for Griaule and other ethnographers seemed to have already “pillaged” most of the sculpture. But when she offered to buy a carved granary door, “offers came pouring in. Thus we collected over a hundred carved locks... We held firm on prices, making it a point of honour never to pay more than five francs for a lock.”

Another important topic which Steiner does not mention is the policy of most West African governments not to allow antiquities out of the country without a permit. If a permit is legitimately obtained, it would be useful in proving the “authenticity of an
object.” But there is also considerable bribery and smuggling involved in exporting objects, which make for tricky negotiations between African traders and foreign, especially American, buyers. Perhaps Steiner omitted this topic out of discretion.

Nevertheless, his book is highly valuable to both anthropologists and art historians. Besides being thoroughly versed in the “literature,” he is an excellent field-worker.

J. R. Rayfield
York University


This important and very useful book came out of a workshop sponsored by the Association of Rural and Urban Planners in Southern and Eastern Africa (RUPSEA), held in 1990 in Harare, Zimbabwe. It embraces eight countries – Botswana, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe – and does so far better than most compendia of conference papers, thanks to much subsequent work by the authors and editors.

The theme that runs persistently through the book is that planning must be decentralized and become an active partner in local economic development if the cities of these nations are ever to accommodate the needs of their growing populations. K.H. Wekwete and C.O. Rambanapasi express the hope that this volume is the beginning of a long-term process of indigenous-led research on these issues. I think they have a very successful beginning.

Wekwete, Senior Lecturer in Rural and Urban Planning, University of Zimbabwe, sets the tone of the volume in his introductory chapter, briefly reviewing Africa’s status as the world’s least urbanized region (thirty percent) with declining terms of trade, inability to service debt and procure inputs, large informal economies (over fifty percent in Lusaka, Nairobi, and Dar-es-Salaam, for example), limited municipal taxing powers, and inappropriate property systems. After assessing the explanatory contributions of the dependency thesis, modernization theory, the formulations of Manuel Castells, and David Harvey’s circuits of capital, he concludes with two main problems for the book. The first is to understand the role of urban development in the national economy and the second is to search for a new paradigm for professional planning, distinct from traditional land use planning’s emphasis on infrastructure.

These themes are then treated in six country-based chapters: Zimbabwe by Wekwete again; Zambia by E. Shamilupa Kalapula, Senior Lecturer in Geography, University of Swaziland; Swaziland by A. Rwomire, Lecturer in Sociology, University of Swaziland; Namibia by M. Majengua, a planner in Namibia; Botswana by E. Serathi, Senior Planner in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands; and Kenya by M. Kiamba, Senior Lecturer in Land Development, University of Nairobi. Of particular interest in these chapters are the discussions of both the impact of colonial systems on land tenure and the effect of unaffordable European development standards and ordinances, the specific histories of town settlement patterns, good maps, and a