

black-run opposition to ANC political hegemony and successor to white political progressives under apartheid. His chapter on Afrikaners in 21st century South African life is also powerful.

Two chapters examine the questionable results of the elaborate Truth and Reconciliation Commission proceedings. As Southall shows, too few upper echelon perpetrators of apartheid cruelties were ever named, much less prosecuted for their heinous acts. Whites, more generally, learned in some detail how the authorities had brutalized Africans, but those revelations hardly led – as Archbishop Desmond Tutu wanted – to meaningful societal reconciliation or ‘rainbow’ togetherness. Moreover, amnesty procedures were applied inconsistently and reparations were never agreed.

Southall well handles President F.W. De Klerk’s failed attempt to transfer less than complete authority to the ANC and asserts on good evidence that Mandela and his ANC team, especially Cyril Ramaphosa, thoroughly outmanoeuvred the outgoing white regime in so many determining respects; nevertheless, those final arrangements still benefited whites.

Under Mandela, from independence in 1994 to his retirement in 1999, whites felt most connected to and welcoming of an African democracy under which they would be much less privileged than before, and possibly marginalised, status compressed and agricultural land deprived; Mandela’s gifts of emotional intelligence and his instinct for inclusionism enabled the ‘rainbow’ nation to begin on a high note of reconciliation and promise, one that it alas soon lost.

What works less well are chapters in the middle of this book that attempt to employ focus group opinion gatherings to reveal what representative whites think and feel about relatively contemporary South Africa, its democracy and its myriad defects: crime, rampant corruption, schooling lapses, massive electricity shortages and more. One of the results of these focus discussions and Southall’s penetrating analysis throughout, however, is that English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking whites have distinct perspectives and different interests, with Afrikaners much more ethno-aroused than their Anglophone compatriots.

African numbers will grow, whites will decline demographically. Southall’s excellent examination of colour and race from a rare angle of analysis provides an innovative and welcome accomplishment that stands out among the abundant literature on today’s still evolving rainbow nation.

ROBERT I. ROTBERG  
*Harvard Kennedy School*

**Good Governance in Nigeria: rethinking accountability and transparency in the twenty-first century** by PORTIA ROELOFS

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For most people, including political scientists and Africa specialists, Nigeria is not the first place that comes to mind when one imagines embarking on a case study of good governance. But in her bold first book, Portia Roelofs argues for a new way of understanding this widely promoted goal – one shared by many international

donors, African policymakers and ordinary citizens, not to mention numerous scholars. Utilising an impressive body of research, including ethnographic fieldwork, archival study, extensive review of journalistic accounts and a capacious and erudite reading of the relevant scholarly literature, the author makes the case for the pivotal importance of what she calls socially embedded good governance. With the so-called Lagos Model as her focus (an approach pioneered in Nigeria's biggest city after the transition to democracy in 1999, but influential throughout the Yoruba-dominated southwestern region), Roelofs shows how socially attuned governance avoids many of the pitfalls of conventionally dominant strategies, which she labels epistemic and material.

Perhaps the most intriguing – and certainly the most provocative – aspect of Roelofs' argument is the way she turns influential perspectives on their head. Most concretely, she deconstructs the concept of neo-patrimonialism, one of the dominant diagnoses of Nigeria's – and Africa's – perceived governance problems. Put simply, the neo-patrimonialism diagnosis attributes the failure to achieve good governance, and especially the problem of corruption, to the capture of the state by society. Roelofs suggests that not only is this a Western-centric idea that pathologises African political culture and blames the victims (an argument others have made), but also that this critique obscures positive lessons that can be gleaned by looking at the successes of the Lagos Model. She takes seriously Nigerian citizens' desires for politicians who are socially accountable (and accessible) to their constituents. In the Lagos Model, citizens prefer and get better results from such officeholders, in contrast to elite thought leaders guiding their people to modernity (as per the epistemic model) or politicians who simply dole out resources in exchange for support (as in the material model – known colloquially in Nigeria as 'stomach infrastructure').

*Good Governance in Nigeria* is a masterful book on several fronts. First, in addition to developing an original argument that is smart and well supported with evidence, Roelofs demonstrates an encyclopaedic knowledge of local, state and regional politics in the Yoruba-speaking states of southwestern Nigeria. Second, I was particularly impressed with the incorporation of so much scholarship produced by Nigerian researchers based at local institutions. The book is a model in this regard, reminding readers how much is missed when only Western sources are used. Third, much of the second half of the book engages expertly with political theory, taking the author's material and her argument about socially embedded good governance and examining what her findings imply not only for conventional concepts like accountability and transparency, but also for theories of democracy and governance.

Specific chapters of the book will be of greater or lesser interest to different audiences. For example, the introduction and conclusion (not surprisingly) take the most overarching perspective and will appeal to students, political scientists and Nigeria specialists alike. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 drill down into the southwestern Nigeria case material. Chapters 2 and 3 in particular will be a dense read for all but Nigeria specialists, because of Roelofs' amazing grasp of dizzying detail. Political scientists of all stripes will be especially enamoured with chapters 4, 5 and 6, which deploy Roelofs' empirical material and extend her Nigeria-specific argument to explore the implications for political science scholarship and political theory more generally. All of it is well written, sophisticated and obviously committed to understanding complex and important issues.

Arguably, *Good Governance in Nigeria* appears at a most opportune time to test its conclusions. Potentially, Roelofs' case study and its lessons are about to be implemented at the national level. Nigeria's new president, Bola Tinubu, was the governor of Lagos State from 1999 to 2007 and has been a powerful actor behind the scenes ever since. At least in the public's imagination, he was the most important protagonist in the implementation of the Lagos Model. Whether he can make it work for the country as a whole is a question nearly every citizen has a stake in. Most Nigerians will not care about the implications for political theory. For them, the consequences will be anything but theoretical.

DANIEL JORDAN SMITH  
*Brown University*

**Conflict at the Edge of the African State. The ADF Rebel Group in the Congo-Uganda Borderland** by LINDSAY SCORGIE

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How can you research and analyse one of Africa's most mysterious and secluded rebel groups in Africa? In *Conflict at the Edge of the African State. The ADF Rebel Group in the Congo-Uganda Borderland*, Lindsay Scorgie answers this question using a conceptual framework rarely used for the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF): the borderland. She addresses the social, political and economic environment where the ADF operates, namely the region between Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Her study challenges myths and assumptions surrounding African borderlands, particularly those affected by violence and conflict. Deploying a border studies approach to the topic, Scorgie offers a comprehensive and quite detailed picture of the ADF, one of the oldest rebel groups still active in the region, that never really stopped its activity, despite being one that attracted very little attention, probably because of its secretive nature and remote location.

As Scorgie explains in chapter one, the 'book argues that the Rwenzori borderland of western Uganda and eastern Congo is profoundly anti-state in character and networked/liminal in nature' and her research 'discovered that not only were the ADF pivotally shaped by their critical interaction with the surrounding borderland, but that they used their embedded position to strategically take advantage of the resources "on offer" from the borderland' (p. 12). Hence, together with the ADF, the borderland is the co-protagonist of this book, a space with specific characteristics, too often neglected by scholars that prefer to focus on the State or the international networks at work in conflict areas. Over the years, most of the works on the ADF activity have focused on and explained the violence using mainly three explanations: '(1) proxy warfare, (2) spill-over violence from the Congo and (3) most profoundly, Islamist terrorism'. Lindsay Scorgie's choice, on the other hand, is to zoom in and study the environment where the rebel group originates and still acts. In so doing, she analyses how the history of the region intersects with the history of the group, explaining how simplistic analysis in some way helped not only the ADF to act for quite a few decades, but also Uganda and Congo to use the conflict's narrative to implement their policies at the 'peripheries'. Based on her