

cal research is a science of human life itself, which intertwines technical, political, and moral action" (2). The focus on life and improving its quality clearly ties into the "moral valence" of medical science, and this is evident in the chapters, including Vinh-Kim Nguyen's (chap. 1) discussion of foreign funded HIV treatment programs and Uli Beisel's (chap. 9) analysis of a malaria control program in Ghana, which started as "a citywide [corporate social responsibility] project" and is now "being extended to the currently largest national Ghanaian malaria control project" (282).

The human body and the population as objects of government programs and policies is not a new phenomenon and has been a trend throughout the world for centuries, but what has changed is the nature of the state's control in this. The authors demonstrate through their detailed accounts that non-state actors – corporations, international agencies, non-governmental organizations, pharmaceutical companies, academia, and research organizations – largely shape the form of and trends within medical science in Africa. However, this does not mean that the state is completely absent or non-existent. The chapters in the volume work together to illustrate that medicine and health in Africa have in fact transformed in light of globalization, economic reforms, neoliberalism, and privatization, but even with the importance of non-state actors, the state continues to be a dominant force – hence the use of the term "para-state" to highlight its changed nature and role. Geissler writes, "[g]iven the independence of these entities from the nation-state, why is the state still necessary for para-statal science? The answer is that it provides legitimacy and rationale to the scientific undertaking ... It allows legitimate access to citizens' bodies and avails public medical facilities for the recruitment of participants ... And finally, it serves as the ultimate destination of findings" (13). The contributors do not theorize the state as being absent or a non-actor in neoliberalism or privatization – as some literature on the state in Africa tends to do – but rather takes into account the unique ways that its nature and role may have changed.

One of the many strengths and intriguing theoretical points of the book is that "[t]he authors do not position 'the state,' with its biomedical technologies, in opposition to people or locality, as in the 'state versus people' imaginary of liberal anthropology ... Instead, they share an interest in the mutual, open-ended constitution of health and larger collective forms and in the political possibilities of collectives engaged or evoked by scientific and medical action" (24f.).

The first section of the book examines changes to biopolitics in Africa in the present and past. This section includes Nguyen's discussion of mass treatment programs to eliminate the HIV epidemic known as "Treatment as Prevention" (TasP) and John Manton's (chap. 2) current and historical account of leprosy research in Nigeria. The next section of the book engages with the impact of neoliberalization on medical research in Africa. Guillaume Lachenal (chap. 3) traces trajectory of HIV research in Cameroon and uses the notion of "nihilism" to "problematize the recent transformation of the landscape of

medical research and public health in Africa" (106) and Geissler (chap. 4) explores the National Clinical Research Organization (NCRO), which is "non-government founded" and "[t]ied in with wider processes of privatization and drastic reductions of government funding" (143). The third section of the volume investigates whether or not the state has disappeared in Africa through looking at medical research and treatment programs. This includes Rene Gerrets' (chap. 5) analysis of malaria research in Tanzania and Susan Reynolds Whyte's (chap. 6) discussion of Ugandan government employees who collaborate in AIDS research. The fourth section focuses on relationships and transformation given that multiple entities situated on different levels (community, national, international, etc.) are involved in medical science in Africa. This includes Branwyn Poleykett's (chap. 7) discussion of HIV research in Senegal and Lotte Meinert's (chap. 8) investigation of the "meeting of scientific research and lived realities" through an analysis of "the encounter between a major internationally funded medical antiretroviral therapy (ART) research project" (257). The final section of the book focuses on the changing nation in Africa and includes Beisel's chapter on malaria control in Ghana; Anne H. Kelly's (chap. 10) analysis of medical research in the Gambia, even though it is one of the smallest countries in Africa "it is also one of the most researched ... Gambian populations have yielded key insights about nutrition, agronomy, and infection and vector-borne diseases, transforming the field of tropical medicine" (303); and Didier Fassin's (chap. 11) exploration of the "scientific and political biography" of the HIV "wonder drug" nevirapine, whose "scientific life became political, revealing tensions and divisions inherited from the recent past of [South Africa] and still profoundly inscribed in the present" (336).

This volume is a crucial read for those interested in medical anthropology, science and technology studies, HIV/AIDS research and treatment, malaria, public health, development, and policy making and will be useful for graduate courses on these topics as well as those focused on Africa, globalization, neoliberalism, and the nation-state. The authors give careful attention to the many complicated networks and relationships between people, institutions, and states that inform medical science in Africa. Their writing styles are overall smooth and easy to comprehend, even for those who are not specialists in the issues covered. I can see this entire volume to be of interest to readers, and at the same time, I can see readers selecting particular chapters to read that focus on their specific areas of interest. Geissler created a provocative account of medical science and health care, which not only contributes to scholarly discussion, but also to public debates about foreign funded treatment programs and research, which benefit from clinical trials, and the development of new drugs and their side effects.

Cortney Hughes Rinker

**Gifford, Paul:** *Christianity, Development, and Modernity in Africa*. London: C. Hurst & Company, 2015. 187 pp. ISBN 978-1-84904-477-6. Price: £ 18.99

This slim volume provides an accessible introduction to pertinent issues for those engaged in international development and politics in Africa: what is the nature of the faith-based organizations that populate the contemporary landscape? What are their views on human flourishing? It is written by a senior scholar who writes with an ease and verve that engages the reader. Christianity, Gifford avers, is “perhaps the most salient social force in sub-Saharan Africa” (12) and, therefore, its “public significance” – a preoccupation of much of his writings – has an importance far beyond its membership. In particular, he explores how far Christianity helps or hinders Africa’s ability to join “the modern world” and “transcend neopatrimonialism, enforce the rule of law, build institutions” (11), and so on.

The structure is straight forward. After dealing with “the issues” in chapter one, he divides the next eight chapters into two areas; three of the chapters deal with Pentecostalism, and four with Catholicism. Gifford identifies two broad distinctions in Pentecostal churches in Africa. Those that operate in a “spiritual warfare register” often referred to as “deliverance” churches, and those that operate a victorious approach to life through their religious beliefs and practices. He considers the first set as a product of an evangelical holiness preaching seen in other parts of the world which has tipped over into perceiving the world as maleficent, a place of constant battle against a persistent pantheon of evil spirits. His second set place more emphasis upon the material world, claiming prosperity for adherents apparent in miracles of material blessing. Evil is contained in the figure of Satan whose power can be overcome by the Holy Spirit. Gifford has made an extensive examination of the published works of significant leaders of the churches, and he considers that the import of their writings is evidenced in the observation and interviews he has conducted over years. The fourth chapter considered how this two distinct streams of Pentecostalism can be understood as having similar approaches to modernity. In different ways, he says, they operate a “winning motif” by encouraging motivation, entrepreneurship, and practical skills, accompanied by convinced faith claims, strong leadership, and defeating of spirits. The first three elements fit neatly into conceptions of modernity but the second three show an engagement with an enchanted world that defies normal expectations of modernity and retards development. Fear of a host of spirits, often at work in one’s neighbors and friends, breeds mistrust and mitigates against social capital needed for civic development. Likewise, Gifford argues, the belief that prosperity comes not from work but from divine blessing is in some way from Weberian notions of the protestant work ethic and capitalism.

The second half of the book analyzes Roman Catholicism in Africa. Gifford stresses that Catholicism, for all its centralized, global, institutional bureaucracy, is a pluriform entity in Africa. He describes the influence of global trends on African Catholicism, particularly mentioning secularization, notions of orthodoxy and authority, prominent action in human rights, and attention to local contextual factors which has encouraged in Africa

an intellectual search for authenticity and self-reliance. Its institutions have adopted a globe developmental perspective and run grassroots health, agriculture and education projects, leveraging political influence, thus making the Catholic Church the largest development agency in Africa. He considers that the Catholic faithful in Africa have a largely enchanted religious imagination and seek spiritual succor beyond the Catholic mainstream. He criticizes Catholic intellectuals for not engaging sufficiently with the implications of the disjuncture in perceptions between a modern, development mindset and the spirit-filled world of charismatic Catholics, this ignoring the religious imaginations of most members. Indeed, he considers that the need for patrons to sponsor development work probably mitigates against considerations of this nature and further advances an “internal secularization” of leadership and elites. For Gifford the Catholic Church, whilst flawed, is more successful at making Africa modern and developed than the Pentecostal churches. His examination of Catholic theology, however, is a little out of date and it is unclear that there is such a sharp distinction between ordinary Catholics and their leaders.

Gifford is confident in his trade and immersed in his subject. Those familiar with Gifford’s other works will recognize certain trademarks; a focus on urban religion, on religious leaders and institutions; an awareness of Christianity’s various global connections; a boldness about investigation on a large geographical scale and thus an ability to draw wider conclusions from specific ethnographic or textual work; and a fearlessness in judging the movements he studies. He is unconcerned with such niceties as close examinations of theory and methodology, preferring to ask the reader to trust his erudition and ethnographical experience. His conclusions work well on a macro-level and so this book will be a boon to those who seek an entrance to the religious dynamics in contemporary public life in Africa. It is to be hoped, however, that Gifford’s clear and insightful prose and lively examples will encourage the reading of other works whose studies complicate the narrative he tells.

Recent academic interest in Pentecostalism and Catholicism in Africa has generated work which examines smaller-scale responses of ordinary members to participation in local forms of religious practice. These fine-grained works of history and anthropology should be read alongside Gifford’s macroscale analysis. Anthropologists are likely to be curious about the ways in which church members interact with church leaders and their writings, and how the private may impinge on the public role of Christianity on the continent. They may be reluctant to use Gifford’s measure of modernity. Gifford eschews notions of “multiple modernities” (152), arguing for a modernity which permits African nations and their citizens to compete for cultural and material wealth and maintain independence in the 21st century. He does not explore whether the steps he outlines towards modernity are recognized by those he studies. For many, this volume will provide a useful tool against which to argue.

Emma Wild-Wood