

a discussion of NGO networks towards the book's conclusion. While highlighting the need for a structural response to a structural problem, Anderson's account of how Malawian women navigate their disadvantaged position using what Scott terms 'weapons of the weak' (p. 81) suggests another area to explore. When seeking solutions, should we also look to forms of action that occur outside of, or in spite of, official policy realms? Given the barriers identified, are policy makers the most important audience?

Through detailed description of structures of violence Anderson implicitly challenges readers to consider and construct structures of health and positive peace. This complex book is an important read for those seeking to scratch beneath the statistics of the HIV pandemic, and would also be a useful addition to graduate qualitative methods training.

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Creating Africas: Struggles over nature, conservation and land, by Knut G. Nustad. London: Hurst Publishers, 2015. xiv + 192 pp. £ 25 (paperback). ISBN 978 1 84904 258 1.

Creating Africas is a worthwhile addition to existing literature on nature conservation, in particular for scholars interested in South Africa. The book provides an in-depth historical account of the Dukuduku Forest and its surroundings, the iSimangaliso (St Lucia) Wetland Park, and how this area has more recently become subject to land claims. This is complemented by well-documented ethnographic research and a clear overview of the different interests, activities, and ideas of the various stakeholders down the years – sugar farmers, (subsistence) hunters, conservationists, and smallholders. Nustad meticulously lays bare these different interests, and does so in an accessible style that makes the book a very pleasant read. He approaches these dynamics by building on the 'ontological turn' in anthropology, convincingly explaining that many different realities of Dukuduku Forest and its surroundings – or ideas of what the area should be – are being constructed. The book can therefore also be read as a critique of the dominant ontology of nature conservation that draws heavily on the nature–society dichotomy.

This strong focus on the influence of the nature–society dichotomy is refreshing and valuable in studies on nature conservation and provides a clear explanation of nature conservation on the ground. However, *Creating Africas* shows two limitations deriving from its use of this approach. First, this dichotomy is only modestly complemented with ideas and case material based on other ontologies. The book reads as if there are more or less two separate ontologies: one of nature conservationists (based on mainly Western ideals of what African nature is, or should be) and another, undifferentiated ontology of the 'Africans', 'indigenous people' or 'natives', as Nustad repeatedly calls the local population. Explaining that 'people who live here have an intimate relationship with their environment' (p. 4) does not necessarily mean that they unanimously share the same worldview. In fact, the book gives us little insight into the different ontologies of local groups in and around the Dukuduku Forest, and how these have changed throughout history under the influence of nature conservation and land claims.

The second limitation is that the use of this important theoretical approach could have addressed other crucial themes in nature conservation. The focus is heavily on the influence of thinking in a nature–society dichotomy and the dynamics this creates, but ontologies contain a great deal more. Some important topics, such as paternalist relations or ideas about indigeneity and capitalism, remain relatively backgrounded: in nature conservation, (neo-colonial) paternalist relations and their inherent ideas of white supremacy play an essential role in how people – locals as well as ‘outsiders’ – see the world. This also applies to ideas about who are considered ‘indigenous’ and who are not, why, and by whom. The latter theme could have been particularly interesting to address in relation to the land claims. Moreover, historical and contemporary versions of nature conservation are drenched in (neo-liberal) capitalist values and ideas, which shows in the book’s conclusion – but this remains quite disconnected from the case material. However, these ideas and values are crucial in the dominant ontology of conservation, and arguably also of (the historical development of) contemporary local ontologies. I believe the book’s solid argument about the strong influence of a nature–society dichotomy could have benefited from in-depth connections with such themes.

The book does not have a thorough methodological section and it seems as if the title does not clearly reflect its content, which is not so much about ‘Africas’, but about different ideas of what the Dukuduku Forest and the iSimangaliso Wetland Park is or should be. ‘Africas’, I assume, refers to one ‘Created Africa’ in particular; a construction of African nature void of people based on the dominant ontology of nature conservation. As far as local ontologies are being covered, these do not contain specific ideas about other ‘Africas’.

Altogether, *Creating Africas* is a valuable piece of work for anyone doing research on nature conservation because it reveals and reflects upon important dynamics in this field that have happened – and continue to happen – in (South) Africa and globally. The book could be inspiring in particular to scholars who are interested in an ontological approach in nature conservation, describing highly relevant topics such as land evictions and claims, (forced) changes in livelihoods, the problematic concepts of property and of communities as homogeneous, violence, poaching, power structures, and how we relate to our environment. Nustad does this in a pleasant and very readable way.

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Africa rising? BRICS – diversifying dependency, by Ian Taylor. Oxford: James Currey, 2014. ix + 194 pp. ISBN 978 1 84701 096 4.

There is so much global attention on the rise of Africa as the next frontier of economic growth and as a destination for high returns on investment. Ian Taylor’s book provides a dispassionate analysis of the growth narrative through the deployment of a rich historiographical account of the domestic and international factors, as well as the contemporary dynamics, that have been shaping socio-economic conditions on the continent in recent years. The book contains seven interconnected chapters that illuminate the limitations of the African growth narrative.