

His evidence is convincing and appropriate. Kenya presents a hard case given that ethnicity is so central to politics and ethnic divisions are routinely hardened via political competition. Using original surveys, interviews and archival sources he presents a convincing case that Kenyan politics is more than co-ethnic voting and favouritism, but rather it is a balancing act for politicians as they seek to appeal to both swing voters (who require and expect inclusive policies/programmes) and their co-ethnic core (which require and expect favouritism).

Horowitz's careful approach is something to be emulated. He makes a convincing case but is careful not to oversell. In fact, at times he is so cautious in his conclusions and clear with potential limitations that he often, I would argue, under-sells the study. Given this honesty and care, and the important contribution the book makes, I expect any class on ethnic and identity politics, especially those for graduate students, would find this book a necessity for inclusion. This book is an important step in our understanding of ethnic politics that will shift how we approach, understand and theorise about ethnic politics.

The main shortcoming I see in the book is the need for more clarity around the role of different party actors. To make the case that politicians focus on universal appeals, Horowitz turns to where presidential candidates hold rallies. The assumption, sometimes explicitly stated, is that lower-level party operatives focus on mobilising core voters. This was demonstrated to some extent via quotes from interviews, but more could be done to help the reader see exactly how these decisions are made and how parties decide to divide both responsibilities and resources across converting swing voters and mobilising the core. Perhaps given past research, it was not necessary to go into detail on the process of core mobilisation, but to paint a full picture of candidates' campaign strategies/choices would have been extremely helpful. Perhaps this is an obvious way in which future work could build on and extend Horowitz's important contribution.

ADAM HARRIS
University College London

Historical Dictionary of Togo edited by JENNIFER C. SEELY and SAMUEL DECALO
Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 4th edition, 2021. Pp. 467. \$180 (hbk).

doi:10.1017/S0022278X22000453

The 2021 Historical Dictionary of Togo is the fourth edition of this volume, the third having been published in 1996. It is crammed with interesting information and will be a handy companion for students and researchers studying Togo's history. This updated version is the result of a collaboration between Samuel Decalo, a political scientist from Durban KwaZulu-Natal University, and Jennifer Seely, an associate professor in the Politics Department of Earlham College in Richmond. Samuel Decalo is the author of other historical dictionaries (Benin, Chad, Congo, Niger, and the sole author of a previous dictionary about Togo).

This reference source provides relevant dictionary entries covering the historical events, political and economic institutions, and prominent cultural practices connected to multi-faceted aspects of Togo. The volume gathers a list of abbreviations (XV–XXVIII); two informative maps (main cities and transport); a chronology of political events since the beginning of the German Protectorate in 1884

(XXXI–XXXVII), an introduction (1–17); the main body of dictionary entries (19–390); an appendix with administrative, demographic and economic data (391–394), and a comprehensive bibliography (395–425). The impressive bibliographic list is divided into subthemes, but we might have expected to find a section for geography here. In particular, the addition of references for exploring Togo's urban geography would be welcome (Gervais-Lambony, Nyassogbo, Aholou, etc.).

With all of the changes in Togo since the last edition of this volume in 1996, this major work of reference and scholarship was much needed. The high number and broad range of entries in the book highlights Togo's complexity and the value of examining the country's history in the long term, reaching back well before independence. The book also incorporates detailed attention to current political and social dynamics. Despite the country's tranquil appearance (the same Eyadema family holding power since 1967, small territory, weak economy characterised by chronic 'crisis'), Togolese society is the product of an evolutionary combination and conflicts between diverse colonial legacies, military and civilian government, democracy and dictatorship. The retention of the Eyadema family in power in 2005 was accompanied by violence and dissent that continues to mark the current political landscape, with recurrent mobilisations to implement the national constitution and limit the number of terms the president can serve. The recent municipal elections of 2019 (the first such local election since 1987) signal a possible inflexion point for a shift to greater sharing of power, while an authoritarian mode of government endures at the head of the state under the rule of Faure Eyadema and the UNIR, *Union pour la République* (previously RPT, *Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais*).

The authors have provided a great deal of material to guide readers in search of information on specific topics connected to the history of Togo. The cross-referencing system from one entry to another is very effective. The dictionary unravels every historical episode necessary to understand current events and will be helpful for those seeking information on both Togo's past and its present. New entries such as 'coronavirus' or 'novissi' (which means 'solidarity' in Ewe and designates a state sector programme launched in 2020) indicate the authors' attention to dealing with contemporary political issues in a society where people strive for a better space for expression and more shared power.

The dictionary gives a condensed and accessible format for a general approach to Togo's most significant developments in social, political, cultural and economic history.

AMANDINE SPIRE

Université de Paris, UMR CESSMA

UMR CNRS PASSAGES 5319

Divided by the Word: colonial encounters and the remaking of Zulu and Xhosa identities by JOCHEN S. ARNDT

Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2022. Pp. 346. \$45 (hbk).

doi:10.1017/S0022278X22000441

This fascinating book challenges the too often accepted binary vision inherited from colonial and apartheid eras of the ethnographic representations of African peoples.