

nised as such: \**ʔuuli* ‘ladino,’ cf. Lowland Mayan \**ʔuul* ‘nobleman, foreigner, master,’ \**weetan*/\**keetan* ‘large worm,’ cf. Mexican Spanish *cuétlano* ‘(large) edible worm,’ *miifi* ‘cat,’ cf. Nahuatl *mistoon* ‘cat,’ *mistli* ‘puma,’ etc. More attention to loanwords would have been rewarding. For instance, loans from Mayan languages might inform the reconstruction of proto-Xinkan and perhaps preproto-Xinkan.

I recommend the book to every library specialising in Amerindian languages as a good introduction. I would hope that more books on Xinkan languages are on their way. Some great desiderata are a collection of analysed texts and detailed work on reconstruction including an etymological dictionary. I also hope that the 1967 thesis of the late Otto Schumann – incorrectly cited in the work as a book under review – will be finally published with an introduction and commentaries.

Albert Davletshin

**Röschenthaler, Ute, and Mamadou Diawara** (eds.): *Copyright Africa. How Intellectual Property, Media, and Markets Transform Immaterial Cultural Goods*. Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston Publishing, 2016. 393 pp. ISBN 978-1-907774-42-3. Price: £ 75.00

The application of copyright laws in first world nations has a long and complex history, based primarily upon the fundamental principles of author’s rights and the protection of their intellectual property. The primacy of an identifiable (usually single) author has been the foundation upon which international copyright regulations and agreements, for example, the Berne Convention of 1886, have been built. An additional layer is the concept that an author’s works exist in a kind of stasis, where borrowing and reproducing from its core elements (for example, in music, the melody and lyrics of a song) would constitute an infringement on the author’s rights.

How then to apply such principles, bound as they are to the primacy of the individual over the community, to Africa, where “authorship” of cultural materials is shared and owned by communities? Who owns “intangible cultural heritage” and how are concepts of copyright and intellectual property applied in order to protect and preserve it? These questions are the focus of “Copyright Africa,” an edited collection of 14 chapters which addresses the issue through case studies of local creative industries.

Since the digital era and its inexpensive access to technologies, Africa has been beset by the large- and small-scale copying of cultural materials. Piracy on a commercial scale is commonplace in many African nations, where notions of “ownership” and authorship are contested and where major creative works reside in the realm of intangible cultural heritage. The situation is complicated by lax enforcement of anti-piracy laws, and the introductory chapter provides a historical context to these conditions, explaining that concepts of “ownership” of cultural materials, be it a song, work of art, or literary piece, are not new to Africa. Indeed, for many centuries, ownership of cultural materials was clearly structured. Local societies,

castes, families and nominated individuals were vested with the mantle of ownership and were the recognized custodians. However, with colonialism, these rights and norms were challenged and in many cases superseded by Western regulations and laws. The imposition of copyright agreements on African societies brought with it inherent conflicts, particularly Western ideals related to the ways in which cultural materials are created, shared and reproduced. This “genealogy of cultural expression” (22) is critiqued by the editors in a fine introduction which leads to the case studies which are divided into four sections based upon theme.

The case studies of how copyright laws are practiced in Africa cover the major cultural industries, with a strong focus on music. Chapters are devoted to hip-hop in Africa, wrestling in Senegal (with its accompaniment of drumming troupes), music piracy and traditional dance in Cameroon, the transmission of intangible cultural heritage in Mali, and several chapters on different aspects of music in South Africa. Of the latter, “Lion’s Share: Intellectual Property Rights and the South African Music Industry” is an impressive chapter worthy of attention as it illuminates one of the greatest copyright scandals of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1939, Solomon Linda released on 78 rpm disc an *acapella* song called “Mbube,” a composition which embeds Western and South African musical ideas in a style known as *isicathamiya*, of which Ladysmith Black Mambazo are the contemporary heirs. “Mbube” became a hit, not just in South Africa, for it found its way into the living rooms of continental Europe and the USA via groups such as The Weavers, who re-named it “Wimoweh.” Under that name and also as “The Lion Sleeps Tonight” it became, no less, “one of the most profitable songs in the history of recorded sound” (88), making fortunes for its owners, Disney Enterprises, while Solomon Linda died in poverty. The author of the chapter, Veit Erlmann, provides a thorough overview of the copyright agreements in South Africa which permitted such bounty at the expense of local creators. First World incursions into Africa and the wholesale “borrowing,” to put it mildly, of its cultural treasures still litter the landscape (“The Lion King” franchise and the epic narrative of Sundiata, a key piece of the intangible cultural heritage of the Mandé people of West Africa, for example, and Paul Simon’s “Graceland”), and a concurrent theme throughout the work is the argument that Western models for the publication of creative works and their regulation have been imposed upon African society, and that copyright agreements, such as the Berne Convention, facilitated the “reproduction of imperial colonialism on the level of international law” (58).

It is Africa’s response and resilience to this “imposition” which forms the basis of the text, and case studies are presented which investigate the ways in which local actors have responded creatively to the limitations and opportunities presented. In addition to the aforementioned chapters on music, the text presents works which critique the Nollywood film industry of Nigeria, beauty pageants and the shifting notions of femininity in Mali, and the World Cup in South Africa and its cultural markers. A critical question that underlies these and other chapters in

the work is “who is the author in societies where knowledge and cultural artefacts are passed from generation to generation via oral testimonies”? This is the focus of Mudimbe-Boyi’s chapter “Whose Text Is It? Writing the Oral,” where the author interrogates the process of “authorship” while referencing Van Gennep, Barthes, Foucault, and Bourdieu.

“Copyright Africa” successfully presents an overview of the dynamics at work in realising a contemporary and Africa-centric solution to questions of ownership and copyright. It is a remarkable collection, wide-ranging in scope, with relevance to many sectors of the arts and cultural industries.

Graeme Counsel

**Sa’ar, Amalia:** *Economic Citizenship. Neoliberal Paradoxes of Empowerment.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. 248 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-179-4. Price: \$ 110.00

The type of mixed welfare regimes currently operating in the global north, gives way to fragmented citizenship contracts responding to the intersectionality of gender/class/ethno-national/region/civil status and more. For low-income women who participate in a microcredit program, mixed welfare refers to the mixture of past and present entitlements and disentanglements reflected in their dialogues with both community activists and state representatives, all stating their commitment to future increases in the women’s income. Hope is cultivated in microcredit projects against a reality of restructuring, a shift to privatized services and shrinking forms of de commodification. The hope is promoted by a range of social forces suggesting that mixed welfare provides the opportunity to examine how notions of citizenship are formed. Amalia Sa’ar found in the Israeli shape of mixed welfare a particularly effective opportunity for studying these issues because of the sharp turn between a very generous welfare model of which Ashkenazy Jewish citizens (and others who managed to secure public sector jobs) benefited until the mid-1970s and a very stingy welfare model currently taking an indifferent stance towards food and housing scarcities as well as failing education and health systems. In her book, Amalia Sa’ar engages in a thorough analysis of the mixture of languages that reflect this shift in a specific project: she aims at understanding the process of localization of the discourse of economic citizenship from the point of view of the various carriers of its multiple, hegemonic and oppositional, meanings.

The localization of “economic citizenship,” defined by neoliberal morality as the possibility to politically organize social rights of citizenship and related budgeting as depending on individuals’ economic activity and income, is examined as evolving around “women’s economic empowerment” projects. These are local forms of the microcredit logic, where women who would receive a minimal loan, would be able to increase their income by turning the (feminine) skills they own into a small business. Several parties expose their understanding of economic citizenship in their various activities around these projects. These parties are: civil society organizations whose vested interests are in the rehabilitation of community eco-

nomics and solidarity; philanthropes donating to the projects funds; feminist activists and organizations involved in operating the project; and finally, the participants themselves. On the basis of a systematic ethnography, conducted in several sites over about a decade reinforced by discourse analysis of media and additional texts, Sa’ar reveals a vastly important social process of resistance: feminist activists, among quite a few other social and community activists, reject the hegemonic neoliberal idea of economic citizenship. Its rejection is enabled by the hope that social rights of citizenship protected by the older model of the welfare state can be recovered. Activists become proud by experiencing themselves fighting for such recovery and their pride creates a social space within which they work with women, socially very different from them, towards strengthening resistance. The social process that was found to characterize the projects’ participants echoes activists’ hopes to the extent that participants, with some differences between the Jews and Palestinians, are still confident that the welfare state should be there for them. However, to manage the gaps between their sometime severe poverty, their inability to extract state support and their (privatized/secret) sense of entitlement for human dignity and respectable citizenship they rely on a discursive coalition. That is, the mutual reinforcement between the neoliberal notion of self-development and the emotion saturated New-Age discourse of their femininity as flourishing in environments of love, care, and interpersonal intimacy and commitment. By achieving such conceptualizations of the hybrid forms of speech, which she found in the field, Sa’ar is able to argue that the Israeli field of social economy facilitates a dialogue between diversely located actors. Their dialogue reflects their insistence on creating a local, community-based, form of economic order that value human beings and their contribution and rejects the idea that social rights of citizenship should be contingent upon economic contribution. The hybrid discourses used by these actors cherish social justice, solidarity, and civil inclusion and is again used to ground optimism: as long as neoliberalism is unable to defy older ideological perceptions on women’s rights and strength, its progress can be slowed down.

The main discursive device in turning “economic citizenship” into a locally sensible one, according to Sa’ar, is the incorporation of collective belonging and heroic contribution to the nation, as part of it. While historically, motherhood itself would be a relevant contribution of heroic deeds, economic citizenship is perceived as associated with motherhood only by the feminist activists and the participants. Others maintain their insistence on such (empty) slogans as “diversity.” This allows them, explains Sa’ar, to replace their indifference towards women from deprived ethno-national categories, who live in poverty, with empathy. However, empathy is contingent upon their ability to label them “independent entrepreneurs” even if nothing has changed in their income. Economic citizenship becomes a powerful exclusionary device for many who cannot hide behind the “right labels.” What is so shaking in the analysis which this book presents is the fact that even the trainers of the economic empower-