

After discussing the Dawe's plan, presented to the Colonial Office in 1942 and calling for a grant of self-government to Kenya's settlers in the White Highlands, Maxon discusses the *majimbo* plans put forward in the 1950s. He divides them into three periods. The first period is from 1950 until the declaration of a state of emergency resulting from the Mau Mau war/rebellion in October 1952 through the European elections of 1956. Next come the proposals being promoted mainly by settlers from the first African elections in March 1957 to 1959. The final period runs from the end of 1959 through the early months of 1960, which marked a transition away from federalist's schemes. Throughout the fifties the ultra-racist branch of the settler community, a distinct minority within this group, demonstrated inordinate imagination and determination to ensure that non-Europeans had no access to ownership in the White Highlands, that schools remained racially divided, and that European power and privilege within Kenya as the country approached independence was guaranteed. Alas, they failed to convince the Colonial Office or the British government or, for that matter, the majority of the settler community of the correctness of their views. The British government, mainly a Tory ministry at the time, saw these agents as wanting something similar to the apartheid regime of South Africa, anathema to much of the world. Why this right wing of the settler community was unable to make common cause with the rest of the settlers remains something of a mystery. Perhaps it was because of their extreme racism though surely most settlers would have agreed with their view that Africans were inferior to Europeans. Perhaps it was because the Blundells and Vaseys understood that such programs were absolutely non-starters with the British government, and that greater accommodation with the African peoples was the only way forward.

This is a work of impressive and careful scholarship. One looks forward to Professor Maxon's further volumes on Kenya's constitutional history.

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Little Mogadishu: Eastleigh, Nairobi's Global Somali Hub. By Neil Carrier. New York: Oxford University Press 2017. Pp. 313. \$31.95 paper.

Neil Carrier's *Little Mogadishu* explores the recent rapid transformation of the Somali-populated Eastleigh district in Nairobi into a vibrant global commercial hub. Revealing the transformative power of global diasporic connections, the book examines the ambiguities and contradictions created by the "displaced development" of expanding global refugee populations. The recent refugee crisis has resulted in historically unprecedented volumes of displacement transnationally as well as within state borders. *Little Mogadishu* is a rich and colorful ethnography of the hidden dimensions of global diasporic forces that mediate the grassroots agency of migrants in a world increasingly interconnected by transnational human and capital flows.

In many ways, the book is an answer to recent calls for a closer study of the open-ended and relational dynamics of displacement economies,¹ and empirical exploration of diverse strategies available to refugee populations.² By exploring the role of grassroots agency in the Eastleigh estate in its cultural and historical transformations, the monograph highlights the cultural factors and political struggles that shape the emerging spaces of global exchange of people, capital, and ideas.³ It is also one of the most detailed explorations of the regional impacts of Somali diasporic ties and remittances in East Africa, following Lindley's seminal analysis of Somali remittance transfers⁴ in the global context. Making significant contributions to the anthropological study of globalization and displacement, *Little Mogadishu* highlights the relevance of broader historical forces and settings in the emerging global pathways of human and financial flows.

The result of eight months of ethnographic field research in Kenya, the book is divided into seven chapters that interweave history and theory with a rich tapestry of local voices and descriptive detail. Chapter 1 situates the estate in the long-standing histories of arbitrary space making by the administrations of Kenya and Somalia. Its inception shaped by colonial policies of racial segregation, Eastleigh has offered refuge to residents of diverse ethnic and social affiliations. Its marshy grounds served as segregated zones for South-Asian populations in the early twentieth century. The Somali ethnic group replaced Indian residents in post-independence Kenya in several waves, including the “doubly displaced” war refugees (p. 53) fleeing from camps in northern Kenya in the early 1990s. Becoming home to those with social rather than economic capital, the “shifting and super-diverse ethno-scape” (p. 54) of Eastleigh has thus historically built on cross-border connections and “hypermobility.”

The long history of cross-border trade underlies the rapid commercialization of the estate in the 1990s. Chapter 2 examines the urban transformation that accompanied the “mallings” of Eastleigh as a result of expanding trade networks of Somali migrants with countries of the East—China, India, Thailand, and the Arabic Gulf. The first malls emerged at lodging houses. The main commodities underlying Eastleigh's retail economy built on broader Kenyan and East African demand, but also fulfilled important social and cultural functions in the Somali migrant economy, as chapter 6 reveals. Eastleigh's commercial success owed to what Carrier calls “low-end globalization”—the influx of cheap consumer goods from the emerging global manufacturing hubs in Asia—transforming urban economies in the Global South and facilitating novel transnational connectivities. At the same time, Eastleigh remains a “profoundly Kenyan economy,” involving substantial Kenyan investment and building on its recent liberalization policies.

¹ A. Hammar, ed., *Displacement Economies in Africa: Paradoxes of Crisis and Creativity* (New York: Zed Books, 2014).

² A. Betts, L. Bloom, J. Kaplan, N. Omata, *Refugee Economies: Forced Displacement and Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

³ A. Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁴ A. Lindley, *The Early Morning Phone Call: Somali Refugees' Remittances* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010).

This new diversity of cross-border and global connections affected patterns of entrepreneurship and social trust in the estate. Chapter 5 paints a picture of the growing ambiguity of Eastleigh Somali entrepreneurship, characterized by mutuality and self-interest, risk-taking and reliance on kin-based trust networks. Chapter 3 examines the formation of new alliances and divisions in the social field of Eastleigh contemporary urbanity where multiple and diverse communities intersect.

The image of Eastleigh as a place of ambiguities is perhaps most poignantly expressed in the discourses of security and development, as chapter 7 reveals. The anxieties of the Kenyan state over Eastleigh's diaspora-linked commercial success as well as the recent terror attacks by Somali-linked Al-Shabaab shape the images of "displaced development," linking the economic growth to piracy and illicit flows of guns, drugs, and money laundering. The grounding of Eastleigh business activities in the informal economy contributes to the popular perceptions of heightened lawlessness and danger. The ethnography serves as an illustration of the ambivalent situatedness of many contemporary conflict refugees, characterized by political insecurity and economic deprivation, but also offering new opportunities through individual initiative and emerging diasporic connections.

The book could therefore be seen as a timely call for reconceptualizing the migration-development nexus in the increasingly interconnected world, through attention to informal economic networks and coping strategies that highlight the transformative power of grassroots agency. Revealing a profoundly relational character of contemporary "displacement economies," *Little Mogadishu* explores the scales and historical processes that create the interconnections underlying the vibrant commercial hub. Situating rich ethnographic material and colorful street-level depictions within the multilayered histories of Eastleigh and its inhabitants, the book effectively uncovers the invisible ties of transnational diasporic connections that power the seemingly chaotic informality.

Considering that Eastleigh is built on transnational remittances, greater focus on the materiality of these pathways to the estate's "super-diversity" might have been helpful—including local *hawilaad* companies and their cross-border dynamics, and the questions of who was sending remittances and why. More information about the attitudes of Kenya's political and administrative authorities could have helped better situate Eastleigh within the contentious multiethnic dynamics of the Kenyan state. Such details about channeling this super-diversity materially and within the political landscape would have given a fuller temporal grounding of the processes that forge and contest the pathways mediating the novel diasporic flows in *Little Mogadishu*. Nevertheless, the book should be considered a path-setting contribution to the emerging scholarly literature on the grassroots and multi-scalar dynamics of globalization—and one that offers valuable insights to students and scholars alike.

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