

System, nur einzelnen gegeben war, etwa durch Stadt-migration oder durch Flucht in eine Missionsstation.

Hat der Kolonialismus schon keinen Unterschied in Bezug auf die Verletzung der Menschenrechte durch Früh- oder Zwangsheirat gebracht, so sieht das in den postkolonialen afrikanischen Gesellschaften kaum anders aus. Der niedrige sozioökonomische Status der Frauen fördert deren Abhängigkeit von den Vätern, den Ehemännern und auch den Söhnen. Gesetze, die in den meisten afrikanischen Staaten zugunsten einer partnerschaftlichen Ehe oder einer Schulpflichtverlängerung verabschiedet wurden, verändern das Bewusstsein nicht, wo Frauen keine eigene Existenzgrundlage haben oder wo keine umfassenden Programme zum Empowerment der Frauen eingeleitet werden.

So erscheint es zynisch, wenn zum Beispiel die staatlich organisierte Massenheirat im Staat Kano in Nordnigeria als dem Interesse der Frauen dienend deklariert wird. Der Staat stellte dabei öffentliche Mittel zur Verfügung oder mobilisierte Spenden von reichen Kaufleuten, um Männern die Heirat zu ermöglichen, die nicht in der Lage sind, einen Brautpreis aufzubringen, die Hochzeitszeremonien zu finanzieren sowie einen Hausstand einzurichten. Zwischen 2012 und 2014 wurden 2.461 Mädchen und Frauen in mehreren Kohorten über dieses Programm mit Ehemännern zusammengeführt. Bestand die Gruppe der betroffenen Frauen anfangs aus Witwen oder geschiedenen Frauen, die auf dem Heiratsmarkt wenig Chancen hatten, so übten später zunehmend Eltern Druck aus, ihre Töchter mit ins Programm zu nehmen, weil sie deren Verheiratung nicht finanzieren konnten (260).

Genewärtig ist in vielen afrikanischen Gesellschaften eher eine Verfestigung der Verdinglichung der Frauen zu beobachten, vor allem wo die Islamisierung fortschreitet. Der gambische Historiker Bala Saho zitiert die ägyptische Arabistin Amira Mashhour: "Although women's rights in non-Muslim societies are not totally fulfilled, oppression of women's rights in Muslim societies is unique in that it is primarily done in the name of Islam. These communities claim that certain discriminatory practices are congruent with *shari'a* law. ... By doing so Muslim societies create a sacred justification for any discrimination or inequality" (192f.).

"To Be Taken as a Wife Is a Form of Death", zitiert die Rechtshistorikerin Stacey Hynd eine Protagonistin und überschreibt damit ihren Beitrag über die soziale, militärische und humanitäre Dynamik von Zwangsheirat und minderjährigen weiblichen Soldaten in afrikanischen Konflikten. Sie sieht die Entführung von Mädchen zum Zwecke der Verheiratung an Soldaten in dem Zusammenhang, dass Frauen in afrikanischen Kriegen immer schon als Opfer und Kämpferinnen, aber auch als Unterstützerinnen in der Logistik eine Rolle spielten (292).

So wird insgesamt ein düsteres Bild der Frauenrechte in Afrika gezeichnet, und zwar in Südafrika wie in Kenia, in Somalia, in Mauretanien, in Gambia, in Nigeria und in Sierra Leone. Aus Afrika stammende Asylbewerber tragen das Problem nach Europa, wie der Beitrag von Benjamin N. Lawrence und Charlotte Walker-Said zeigt, die die Frage aufwerfen, inwieweit (drohende) Zwangsheirat

als ein Asylgrund für Frauen anerkannt und wie in diesem Zusammenhang Zwangsheirat definiert wird.

Ein einziger Beitrag, nämlich der der Frauenrechtsaktivistin Muadi Mukenge, lässt zumindest einen gedämpften Optimismus aufkommen. Sie plädiert in "Dreams of My Mother", so der Titel ihres Artikels, für Programme, die den Mädchen das Schulgeld bezahlen als wirksameren Schutz gegen Frühheirat als nur eine gesetzlich regulierte Schulpflicht. "Finally, ending early marriage requires promoting donor support for economic growth initiatives that benefit African communities and enable job creation that will also benefit women" (289). Dem ist nichts hinzuzufügen außer vielleicht die Frage, wo bei aller "Entwicklungshilfe" oder "Zusammenarbeit" diese Grundvoraussetzung für die Wahrung der Menschenrechte in Afrika berücksichtigt wird.

Es ist den HerausgeberInnen hoch anzurechnen, dass sie das äußerst aktuelle, aber im gesellschaftlichen Diskurs wenig beachtete Thema in den Fokus rücken.

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**Calkins, Sandra:** Who Knows Tomorrow? Uncertainty in North-Eastern Sudan. New York: Berghahn Books, 2016. 269 pp. ISBN 978-1-78533-015-5. Price: \$ 120.00

How is uncertainty experienced? In what manner is it lived in situations of scarcity, transformation, and rupture? How do people process un/predictability and cooperation in existential situations? Inspired by these large issues Calkins has studied how a newly settled community of previously mobile Rashaida pastoralists in Lower Atbara, northeastern Sudan, deal with "unknowns." Poverty is prevalent in the community, yet some are better off due to male labour migration to the Gulf States and gold mining in northeastern Sudan. Uncertainty is here mainly approached through women's perspective. Society is sex-segregated – an organisational fact that has motivated the gendered as well as the gender perspective, while the objective poverty situation people accommodate have engendered additional methodological issues, thoroughly considered throughout the text. Empirical and theoretical issues have developed during periods of ethnographic fieldwork (2007–2010) in a community marked by marginalisation, positioned in the margins of the Sudanese state. Sociocultural configurations framing the community's lived experiences and choices are only gradually disclosed, a procedure labelled "progressive contextualisation." It is based on the idea that context constitutes part of a situation, not structures or institutions existing beyond or behind situations of interaction. Thus, Calkins approaches this Rashaida life-world by focusing on particular situations and their relevant situationally established "social forms," that is, "institutionalized parts of reality, constituted mainly through semantic devices activated to bestow meaning on the world and order it." Anyway, currently settled, deprived of livestock, with men engaging in labour-migration, Rashaida experience new forms of unpredictability of income, food, and health. Departing from theoretical discussions on risk and danger, unknowns, social forms, institutions, Calkins examines un-

certainty's crippling effects, but also its unprecedented outcomes. Through four empirical chapters (2–5) she investigates how uncertainty is pronounced in re/action as well as relationships and social structures, how situations are negotiated and temporarily agreed upon so as to curtail unpredictability.

Chapter two explores a single day event: a Kuwaiti welfare organisation distributing charitable gifts including goats, chickens, and house-building materials. It shows how controversies aroused when people experienced unpredictability regarding the distribution of goods. Uncertainty was due to a conflation made between external bureaucratic form and local form based on gender distinctions and priority of kin. On the whole, the situation analysed reveals how people re/act and reflect on processes of inclusion and exclusion in networks of distribution as well as what for them remain moral ideals and rules of behaviour. Frugality is an existential condition, while especially gold mining reverberates potential prosperity.

Chapter three explores precisely artisanal gold mining, which formally is under governmental prohibition, yet informally partially accepted. Labour, technology, knowledge, and power relations involved in gold mining is elaborated, creating a background for the analysis of uncertainties and the coping strategies involved. Excavation from mines and searching for surface deposits with metal detectors are labour situations which have added new uncertainties; how to escape governmental prohibitions and confiscations, health risks, theft, and unpredictability of income. Unknowns in gold mining are rhetorically and practically tackled by men's insistence on organisational forms moored in locally institutionalised relationships and values; ethics of brotherliness, redistribution of resources, rules of behaviour, notions of faith. In this sense, the analysis reveals how established cultural forms are re-activated, yet partly reshuffled to handle unprecedented situations and the uncertainty involved, especially regarding income securing food and health for those left behind. Women seem cut off from any income-generating activities; they depend upon men for their survival. They wait for husbands to bring food to the household upon their return, yet availability of food and prevention of hunger is seen as women's responsibility. Whether women imagine future potentialities for investment in small livestock remain undiscussed.

Chapter four examines uncertainty related to income and food and social distinctions affecting their management-strategies. Food shortage seems predictable and women avert hunger by negotiating and establishing food exchange networks. Inclusion requires recognition of equivalence as reciprocity must be ensured. Women considered poor, "those who do not have a thing," are excluded on the assumption of their inability to reciprocate. The community is market by scarcity, yet to be defined as poor is seen as shameful, to ask for support is begging – both being an indicative of a person's incapacity. While uncertainty seems characteristic of women's approach to food-management, whether poor or better off, sickness is perceived as critical.

Chapter five discusses fear of death and mobilisation of assistance in situations of crisis. Calkins draws attention to what distinguishes regular, chronic, and life-threatening sickness, how it is identified and in what ways gender and poverty surface in negotiations of treatment. Three situations convey the forms women and men, poor and better-off invest in and mobilise to cope with ailments. In contrast to food, which is redistributed in long-term networks among equals, medical treatment is negotiated in asymmetrical relationships and according to situational dynamic – the social standing of the person/household involved and its social network. In these situations, uncertainty expresses itself in how women and men negotiate and act for support. When sickness is socially recognised patrilineal kin, especially father's brother's son, is obliged to help, although support from others is highly needed. Interestingly, despite complex compositions of what is named "therapy management group," people accentuate support received from patrilineal kin, thereby ascertaining this culturally ingrained convention.

The book explores the problem of uncertainty in a community where people live under harsh life-conditions; where unpredictability seems inescapable. Their Muslim faith provide Rashaida with some trust despite ruptures and emerging unknowns evoked by changing life-conditions, including current scrutiny of their local Muslim practices. Theoretically, Calkins positions herself in a field between anthropology and STS. Among the two, the inspiration drawn from STS appears less convincing than the insightful ethnography conveyed. Uncertainty, reflexivity, and the "social forms" people situationally reactivate must be moored in a shared sociality. And, precisely, through Calkins's exploration of people's practical and reflexive processing of uncertainties, their expectations, which institutions, social and cultural conventions and values they turn to or defer, become untangled. They, so to speak, process "social forms" in the interface between conventional institutions and newly invented practices. Within temporary negotiated situational frames, the perennial un/reflexive issue seems, nevertheless, to be when and how can who act in ways not fully appropriate, yet not totally inappropriate according to established social forms and rules of behaviour? Unfortunately, Calkins's choice of "progressive contextualisation" restricts the anthropological comparative perspective. Not so much because of the limited, yet sound ethnography provided, but more so due to her deconstruction of social life into only identifiable, delineated, unique situations. At times, one wonders whether this Rashaida settlement constitutes a society or a random assembly of people trying to make sense of how to relate to each other and to the world. Perhaps, either way, this is what sociality is all about. Notwithstanding, "Who Knows Tomorrow?" is a thought-provoking text for all preoccupied by theoretical, philosophical, and development-related issues regarding lived unpredictability and how its culturally diverse configurations could be translated into "uncertainty."

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