

Spinak's book is a disheartening read. Fully exploring and explicating this history makes the task ahead seem almost impossibly daunting. But maybe, just maybe, if power shifts, so will the idea and so will the court.

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Daniel Agbibo, *They Eat Our Sweat: Transport Labor, Corruption, and Everyday Survival in Urban Nigeria* (Oxford University Press, 2022).

In popular understandings, “corruption” is the essence of acting outside rational-legal authority. It is also generally understood as “cultural” behavior, something that is innate and structural—even immovable. In this sense, the process of modernization, in which the primacy of rational-legal authority comes to dominate “patrimonial” relations, is one in which a culture of corruption should wither away. Daniel Agbibo's *They Eat Our Sweat* takes aim at this view through a theoretically important and empirically grounded study in a country that is, for some, almost a byword for a culture of corruption: Nigeria.

Corruption, he argues, should instead be understood as “socially embedded.” This concept helps Agbibo to build an analysis of how corruption is not merely a deviation from modernity or somehow a pre-modern, or timeless cultural trait. Instead, this concept makes it possible to uncover how the meaning of corruption should be analyzed through the actually existing social structures through which “informal,” corrupt exchanges take place. In order to do so, the book dives deeply into the interpersonal relationships that shape everyday life in Lagos, the largest city in Africa at sixteen million people, and estimated to become the world's most populous city by the end of this century.

In choosing a context like Lagos, which is perhaps the world's quintessential rapidly urbanizing megacity, Agbibo has selected a place that is as “modern” as it gets. His focus is on the sector of collective transportation dominated by a largely informal network of bus owners, operators, and unions. The choice of city and sector locates “corruption” firmly within a thoroughly contemporary—and indeed, “modern”—place and moment. His argument is that corruption is a social tactic and not the product of “culture” in the highly structured, even immovable sense of the term. Instead, corruption is a tactic that responds to structures embedded in a larger political economy. In Lagos, as in much of the fast-growing urban world of the global South, the lack of labor absorbing urbanization has produced the material conditions for profound policy dilemmas.

This is a book with significant theoretical underpinnings and is rooted in a unique research base. Agbibo spent months working in the informal bus sector. This highly participatory form of ethnography—he was certainly no mere observer—allows him to generate a visceral sense of how, where, and, ultimately, why informality and “corruption” characterize the operations of this sector. These experiences enable him to generate a clear and, at the same time, nuanced sense of how corrupt acts are the contingent consequences of individuals responding to multiple layers of precarious existence in the city.

The constellation of actors is a fascinating group. These include the conductors of relatively formalized minibus taxis, or *danfos*, drivers of informal motorcycle taxis, or *okadas*, police officers, commuters, and the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW). By working as a *danfo* conductor, Agbiboá gains access to both an inner world of labor and what the urban theorist Manuel Castells once called “collective consumption” in the city—the public goods that constitute the residential and networked built environment of the city. The concerns of passengers on public transit become central to Agbiboá’s challenge to conventional, formalized theories of corruption. As Agbiboá writes, “Inside the tight spaces of the *danfos*, I observed that poor passengers were often more willing to parse their frustrations about government failures and the violent demands for bribes at countless roadblocks manned by policy and/or NURTW” (207).

The book begins with an introductory—and encyclopedic—consideration of the global literature on corruption, corruption in Africa, and the relationship between the concepts of formality and informality. It then proceeds to document the recent history of corruption in Nigeria in particular. The third chapter brings readers into the world of informal transportation, and it is here that the empirical contributions of the work begin to shine through. The politics of informal transportation are relatively understudied compared to other kinds of public goods (like housing or sanitation) in the rapidly urbanizing global South—exactly the parts of the world where most urban residents live. This chapter serves as an excellent introduction for scholars working on transportation to understand fundamental contours of collective transportation in African cities. It further illuminates why informality is so intrinsic to collective transportation in African cities—and indeed, across much of the global South.

In the Lagosian case, the role of the transport workers union, the NURTW, is embedded in the illicit transport and transference of cash. This makes informal transportation central to the construction of illicit relations in the broader economy. As Agbiboá describes in Chapter 5, young urbanites who occupy “motor parks, bus stops, and junctions across Lagos” extort *danfo* operators into paying bribes. These *agberos* have a staying power that has outlasted formal legal attempts to outlaw their presence. In this chapter, Agbiboá draws on his interview and observational data to take readers into the micro-interactions of status that *agberos* deploy to capture and maintain their extortion rackets.

Having introduced the range of actors and examined their day-to-day relations of hierarchy and extraction, Agbiboá then shows how these relations interact with broader processes of legal reform. He focuses on the implementation of the Lagos State Road Traffic Law. This law was designed to stop competition for routes, particularly between *danfo* minibus taxis, which are represented in the NURTW, and *okada* motorcycles. This latter group is perceived as nuisances on the road, who are encroaching on NURTW-controlled routes. The law gave police significant degrees of discretion to deploy force through which to enforce the law. Agbiboá evaluates the effect as “lawfare,” empowering police to deepen illicit relations with the NURTW and generate instability and violence in the public realm. This erupted into international view with the “#EndSARS” protests that spread across a number of Nigerian cities in 2020 in response to deadly acts of police brutality.

The responses of residents that Agbiboá reports underscore the ambivalent outcomes of such an approach. While some residents supported efforts to crack down on the perceived nuisance of the *okada* motorcycles, Agbiboá writes of a market seller who illustrates something closer to Agbiboá’s own conclusion: “These *okada* men are trying to survive on their own. The state needs to provide jobs

for them. You can't just limit their mobility or take away their only means of eating, something they use to feed their family, and you expect them to disappear just like that. They won't" (195).

This interpretation ultimately underpins what Agbiboa argues is a "collective action" approach to understanding corruption. Once corruption becomes a norm anywhere, people in that society will opt for corrupt relations because to not do so is no longer rational at the level of the individual. The example of the Lagos State Road Traffic Law illustrates Agbiboa's broader point about conventional "principal-agent" approaches to corruption. Better enforcement is hardly a solution when the entire political economic structure is oriented towards informality. Enforcement, as Agbiboa shows, can actually serve to deepen the extractive and violent side of informality.

This work speaks to debates across anthropology, sociology, urban studies, and studies of law and society. The book both theorizes and illustrates a deep paradox about informality. It is a realm of necessary survival that plays out in micro-interactions against a macro-backdrop of global, national, and subnational political economies. For the passengers and workers of Lagos' transportation sector, the policy reforms which insist on formal solutions that wish away informal realities are producing deeper contradictions, which are echoed throughout many cities across the rapidly urbanizing Global South. Any sense of rational-legal authority in the production of policy, therefore, will have to rest on—and not wish away or dominate—these informal relations.

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