Reviews

Identity, Citizenship, and Political Conflict in Africa by EDMOND J. KELLER
Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014. Pp. 208. £15·99 (pbk)

After half a century of post-independence nation-building, subnational ethnic and communal identities persist across Africa. Modernisation theory's assumption that tribalism and religious affiliation would be replaced by loyalty to the nation-state did not hold up. Indeed, national citizenship identities often coexist with communal identities in contemporary Africa. In his provocative synthetic book, Keller explores these two simultaneous conceptions of citizenship and the implications for political conflict on the continent.

Using a comparative historical perspective, Keller employs process tracing to analyse how citizenship rights are developed and politicised in Nigeria, Ethiopia, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Rwanda. Keller draws on theories of the concept of citizenship in order to develop an analytical framework. The framework highlights the historical political context, the nature of civil society, and the ways that political elites mobilise supporters to make claims of citizenship rights, with particular regard to indigenous rights to land, electoral competition, ethnic composition of national government, and perceptions of unequal distribution of public goods. Keller applies this framework in five empirical chapters summarising the relevant political history of the country cases.

The broad argument of the book is that history, institutions and social structures shape the environment in which political leaders make choices about democracy and development. These choices matter for subsequent mobilisation around identity and citizenship issues and for whether such mobilisation will be violent or non-violent. For example, Keller begins the chapter on Cote d'Ivoire by highlighting how substantial southward migration during the colonial period is linked to contemporary citizenship conflicts. After independence, President Houphouët-Boigny did not institutionalise procedures to establish citizenship because he relied on support from the country's migrant population to retain political power. After the economic crisis of the 1980s and Houphouët-Boigny's death, demands for land rights and the increasing competitiveness of multiparty politics led to heightened mobilisation around citizenship. Ivoirian political leaders and ethnic entrepreneurs promoted strict policies based on exclusionary definitions of citizenship. These exclusionary policies subsequently led to two civil wars as the political opposition fought for the institutionalisation of procedures that would allow those without identity documents to claim their citizen rights.

The strength of the book is that it forces us to investigate what is meant by 'citizenship' in particular historical and political contexts in Africa. As Keller shows, the accountability and political will of a country's executive remains crucial in reducing the potential for citizenship conflicts. Future work could use

Keller's framework to analyse cases where executive leadership may have prevented the outbreak of violent conflict. Such a study would complement Keller's work and aid in the identification of processes that mitigate contention when the potential for violent conflict exists.

This book would certainly be useful in graduate seminars on African politics, African history or ethnic politics. It is written in a clear, straightforward style that also makes it appropriate for use in advanced undergraduate classes. Keller also offers insights for policymakers and development practitioners who continue to grapple with the real-world consequences of citizenship conflicts. The development of conceptualisations of nationalism that recognise and tolerate different identities within the nation state remains a pertinent policy concern in Africa and beyond.

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Urban Poverty and Party Populism in African Democracies by DANIELLE RESNICK
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pp. 336. £65·00 (hbk)

One undeniable feature of the growing economies in sub-Saharan Africa is urbanisation. Cities grow faster here than in any other region in the world, and this will have profound effects on politics in Africa. This is one reason behind this recent study, *Urban Poverty and Party Populism in African Democracies,* by Danielle Resnick. The author aims towards a better understanding of the political dynamics within the growing, mostly poor, urban population in emerging democratic states in Africa. The main cases are Senegal and Zambia, with a brief additional outlook on Kenya, Botswana and South Africa. The particular focus in this study is why and when the urban poor vote for opposition parties; what kind of strategies they use: clientelist, personalist or programmatic. All three have a role, the author claims, within a fourth strategy: the populist. This is defined as a mode of mobilisation that involves an anti-elitist discourse, a policy message oriented around social inclusion, and a charismatic leader who professes an affinity with the underclass.

Another reason for the study is to better understand how opposition parties can be successful in elections, thus contributing to the consolidation of democracy in the region. Resnick makes use of elite interviews in Ghana and Zambia and surveys of urban poor voters in marketplaces in Lusaka and Dacca. The latter part of the study reveals that ethnic voting played a part in the successful elections by the opposition in Zambia, combined with the populist strategy highlighted by the author. Similar populist strategies were not employed by the opposition in Senegal, where the incumbent succeeded.

The book reveals that populist tendencies are not only used by the political opposition, but that, in the two main cases, Senegal and Zambia, only those candidates that used a populist strategy were successful. Resnick also shows that effective candidates reached out beyond the urban centres to the more populated rural areas with a clientilist or ethnically aligned strategy. With organisational membership being low, those candidates that tried to build on