NIC CHEESEMAN, GABRIELLE LYNCH AND JUSTIN WILLIS
Decentralisation in Kenya: The Governance of Governors

ANJA OSEI
Formal Party Organisation and Informal Relations in African Parties: Evidence From Ghana

JOHAN BROSCHÉ AND KRISTINE HÖGLUND
Crisis of Governance in South Sudan: Electoral Politics and Violence in the World’s Newest Nation

SERGIO FERNANDEZ AND HONGSEOK LEE
The Transformation of the South African Public Service: Exploring the Impact of Racial and Gender Representation on Organisational Effectiveness

MARIO KRÄMER
Neither Despotic Nor Civil: The Legitimacy of Chiefship in its Relationship with the ANC and the State in Kwazulu-Natal (South Africa)

GREGOR DOBLER
The Green, the Grey and the Blue: A Typology of Cross-Border Trade in Africa

A QUARTERLY SURVEY OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS & RELATED TOPICS IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICA
EDITED BY PAUL NUGENT AND LEONARDO A. VILLALÓN

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

EDITORS
Paul Nugent, Centre of African Studies, Chrystal Macmillan Building, 15A George Square, Edinburgh EH9 9CD, UK
Leonardo A. Villalon, Center for African Studies & Dept of Political Science, The University of Florida, PO Box 115560, Gainesville, FL 32611-5560, USA; email: jmas@cambridge.org

Book Review Editor: Elliott Green, Department of International Development, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, UK; email: E.D.Green@lse.ac.uk

Contributing Editors:氖drew, Centre of African Studies, Chrystal Macmillan Building, 15A George Square, Edinburgh EH9 9CD, UK; email: jmas@cambridge.org

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD
Kojo Amanor, University of Ghana
Joseph Aye, MountCrest University College, Ghana
Catherine Boone, London School of Economics
Michael Bruton, Michigan State University
Brenda Chalfin, University of Florida
Rosalynn Duffy, University of Toronto
Pierre Engelsbert, Pomona College
Harry Englund, University of Cambridge
James Ferguson, Stanford University
Vincent Foucher, Université de Bordeaux
Jeffrey Herbst, Gallat University
Peter Lewis, SAS, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC
Terecne Lyons, George Mason University
Kenneth Menkhaus, Davidson College
Lungile Ntsebeza, University of Cape Town
Francis Nyamnjoh, University of Cape Town
Enezee Osadare, University of Kansas
Will Reno, Northwestern University
Kjetil Tronnov, University of Oslo
Denis M. Tull, German Institute for International Affairs and Security, Berlin
Nicolas van de Walle, Cornell University
Janko van Donge, Afrikacentrum Leiden

SUBSCRIPTIONS
The Journal of Modern African Studies (ISSN: 0022-278X) is published quarterly by Cambridge University Press, Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK. Journals Fulfillment Department, 200 Old Bridge Street, West Nyack, New York 10994-2153, and 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia.

The subscription price (which includes postage by air where appropriate, plus electronic access to institutional subscribers) of volume 54: 2016, is £2133 (US $3350) in USA, Canada and Mexico for institutions, £2097 for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the Journal is for their personal use. Single parts cost £72 ($120) in the USA, Canada and Mexico plus postage.
The electronic only price available to institutional subscribers is £295 ($495) in USA, Canada and Mexico.
Four parts form a volume. EU subscribers (outside the UK) who are not registered for VAT should add VAT at their country’s rate. VAT registered subscribers should provide their VAT registration number.
Orders, which must be accompanied by payment, may be placed with a bookseller or subscription agent or sent to the publishers (in the USA, Canada and Mexico to the American Branch). Japanese prices for institutions are available from Kinokuniya Company Ltd, P.O. Box 55, Chitose, Tokyo 136, Japan.

Copies of the Journal for subscribers in the USA, Canada and Mexico are sent by air to New York to arrive with minimum delay. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes in USA, Canada and Mexico to The Journal of Modern African Studies, Cambridge University Press, 100 Brook Hill Drive, West Nyack, New York 10994–2153.

Claims for missing issues will only be considered if made immediately on receipt of the subsequent issue.

Instructions for Contributors

Contributors are responsible for obtaining permission to reproduce any material in which they do not own copyright, to be used in both print and electronic media, and for ensuring that the appropriate acknowledgements are included in their manuscript.
Correspondence by email is greatly preferred, and manuscripts should if possible be submitted in an electronic form for challenging current orthodoxies, are therefore welcome, subject only to the recognition that the purpose of the Journal is to promote understanding, rather than to act as the mouthpiece for polemic.

Contributions are invited from all over the world, and those from scholars and practitioners working in Africa are particularly welcome. Articles should not be longer than 10,000 words, including references and notes. Articles submitted to the Journal should be original contributions and not under consideration for any other publication at the same time. Exceptions to this rule should be clearly indicated at the time of submission. Following publication, authors are entitled to republish their articles elsewhere, in original or amended form, provided that prior publication in The Journal of Modern African Studies is acknowledged.

All correspondence and contributions should be addressed to the Editors.

Submission of an article is taken to imply that it has not previously been published, and has not been submitted for publication elsewhere. If an author is publishing a related article elsewhere, this fact should be stated. Authors of articles published in the journal assign copyright to Cambridge University Press (with certain rights reserved) and will receive a copyright assignment form for signature on acceptance of their paper.

Contributions are responsible for obtaining permission to reproduce any material in which they do not own copyright, to be used in both print and electronic media, and for ensuring that the appropriate acknowledgements are included in their manuscript.

Correspondence by email is greatly preferred, and manuscripts should be submitted as an electronic file (preferably as an email attachment in any format readable on Word 95 – not in Microsoft Vista), directly to the editor.

Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted. Book reviews and occasional review articles are commissioned by the Book Review Editor.

This journal has been printed on FSC-certified paper and cover board. FSC is an independent, non-governmental, not-for-profit organization established to promote the responsible management of the world’s forests. Please see www.fsc.org for information.

© Cambridge University Press 2016

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Journals Fulfillment Department, UPH, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8BS, UK.

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10001–2473, USA
377 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

Ross de Almeida 13, 2804 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

Printed in the United Kingdom by Bell & Bain Ltd.
ARTICLES

DECENTRALISATION IN KENYA: THE GOVERNANCE OF GOVERNORS
Nic Cheeseman, Gabrielle Lynch and Justin Willis

FORMAL PARTY ORGANISATION AND INFORMAL RELATIONS IN AFRICAN PARTIES: EVIDENCE FROM GHANA
Anja Osei

CRISIS OF GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH SUDAN: ELECTORAL POLITICS AND VIOLENCE IN THE WORLD’S NEWEST NATION
Johan Brosché and Kristine Höglund

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC SERVICE: EXPLORING THE IMPACT OF RACIAL AND GENDER REPRESENTATION ON ORGANISATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS
Sergio Fernandez and Hongseok Lee

NEITHER DESPOTIC NOR CIVIL: THE LEGITIMACY OF CHIEFTAINECY IN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ANC AND THE STATE IN KWAZULU-NATAL (SOUTH AFRICA)
Mario Krammer

THE GREEN, THE GREY AND THE BLUE: A TYPOLOGY OF CROSS-BORDER TRADE IN AFRICA
Gregor Dobler

REVIEWS

The Transnationally Partnered University: Insights from Research and Sustainable Development Collaborations in Africa by Peter Koehn and Milton Obamba
Isaac Kamola, Trinity College

New Media and Religious Transformations in Africa, edited by Rosalind J. J. Hackett and Benjamin F. Soares
Nicolette D. Manglos-Weber, Kansas State University

Transition and Justice: Negotiating the Terms of New Beginnings in Africa, edited by Gerhard Anders and Olaf Zenker
Anna Macdonald, London School of Economics
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peacebuilding and Ex-Combatants: Political Reintegration in Liberia</td>
<td>Johanna Söderström, Alexandra Hartman, Yale University</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba Elites and Ethnic Politics in Nigeria: Obafemi Awolowo and</td>
<td>Wale Adebami, Richard Joseph, Northwestern University</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Agency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality and Economic Growth in Rural West Africa: Indigenous</td>
<td>Paul Clough, Steven Pierce, University of Manchester</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accumulation in Hausaland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governing the Nile River Basin: The Search for a New Legal Regime</td>
<td>Mwangi S. Kimenyi, John Mukum Baku, Jeannie Sowers, University of New Hampshire</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict in the Horn of Africa: The Kenya–Somalia Border Problem</td>
<td>Vincent Bakpetu Thompson, Daniel K. Thompson, Emory University</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941–2014</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender, HIV and Risk: Navigating Structural Violence</td>
<td>Emma-Louise Anderson, Sara Yetman, University of Colorado Denver</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Spirit of the Laws in Mozambique</td>
<td>Juan Obarrío, Joseph Hanlon, London School of Economics</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Flawed Freedom: Rethinking South African Liberation</td>
<td>John S. Saul, Lars Buur, Roskilde University</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Limits of Democratic Governance in South Africa</td>
<td>Louis Picard, Thomas Mogale, Robert Mattes, University of Cape Town</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>