THE JOURNAL OF

MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME 50 NUMBER 3 SEPTEMBER 2012



RICHARD DUNCOMBE

Mobile-finance in sub-Saharan Africa

DANIEL E. ESSER Aid agencies and local politics in urban Africa

1963-2012

CYNTHIA HOWSON Gender, corruption and illicit networks in Senegal

PETER KRAGELUND
China and the Citizen Economic Empowerment
Commission in Zambia

AMBREENA MANJI Lawyers, politics and public land in Kenya

ELKE ZUERN Memorial politics in Namibia

ROGER SOUTHALL Review article: The stubborn past in South Africa

A QUARTERLY SURVEY OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS & RELATED TOPICS IN CONTEMPORARY AFRICA EDITED BY CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM

THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

EDITORS

Editor: Christopher Clapham, African Studies Centre, 7 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DP, United Kingdom; e-mail: csc34@cam.ac.uk

Associate Editor: Paul Nugent, Centre of African Studies, Chrystal Macmillan Building, 15A George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9CD, UK; e-mail: jmas@cambridge.org

Book Review Editor: Elliott Green, Department of International Development, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, United Kingdom; e-mail: E.D.Green@lse.ac.uk

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Joseph Ayee, University of KwaZulu-Natal CATHERINE BOONE, University of Texas at Austin MICHAEL BRATTON, Michigan State University ROSALEEN DUFFY, University of Manchester JAMES FERGUSON, Stanford University VINCENT FOUCHER, Université de Bordeaux IEFFREY HERBST, Coloate University PETER LEWIS, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC TERRENCE LYONS, George Mason University KENNETH MENKHAUS, Davidson College FRANCIS NYAMNJOH, University of Cape Town WILL RENO, Northwestern University KJETIL TRONVOLL, University of Oslo DENIS M. Tull, German Institute for International Affairs and Security, Berlin NICOLAS VAN DE WALLE, Cornell University JANKEES VAN DONGE, Afrikastudiecentrum Leiden MEGAN VAUGHAN, University of Cambridge

SUBSCRIPTIONS

The Journal of Modern African Studies (ISSN: 0022-278x) is published quarterly by Cambridge University Press, The Edinburgh Building, Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8RU; Journals Fulfillment Department, 100 Brook Hill Drive, West Nyack, New York 10994–2133; 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 50, 2012, is £250 net (US \$438 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) for institutions, £50 (US \$80) for individuals ordering direct from the publishers and certifying that the Journal is for their personal use. Single parts cost £66 (US \$116 in the USA, Canada and Mexico) plus postage. The electronic only price available to institutional subscribers is £225 (US \$388 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 156, 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 10994–2133.

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

Internet Access

This journal is included in the Cambridge Journals Online service which can be found at journals.cambridge.org. For further information on other Press titles access cambridge.org

Copying

This journal is registered with the Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Danvers, MA 01923. Organisations in the USA who are also registered with C.C.C. may therefore copy material (beyond the limits permitted by sections 107 and 108 of US copyright law) subject to payment to C.C.C. of the per copy fee of \$12.00. Code 0022–278x/2012/\$12.00. This consent does not extend to multiple copying for promotional or commercial purposes. ISI Tear Sheet Service, 3501 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104, USA, is authorised to supply single copies of separate articles for private use only. Organisations authorised by the Copyright Licensing Agency may also copy material subject to the usual conditions. For all other use, permission should be sought from Cambridge or the American Branch of Cambridge University Press.

THE JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME 50	SEPTEMBER 2012	NUMBER 3
	EDITORIAL	
EDITORIAL ANNO	DUNCEMENT	367
	ARTICLES	
	SED FRAMEWORK FOR ASSESSING TH MOBILE FINANCE IN SUB-SAHARAN	ΗE
The University of Manc	, Institute for Development Policy and Management, hester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL, l: richard.duncombe@manchester.ac.uk	369
	CHED THE GOVERNMENT'S DAGENCIES AND LOCAL POLITICS CA	
DANIEL E. ESSER, School of International Service, American University, 4400 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20011, United States of America. Email: esser@american.edu		397
	ING AND THE MEN WHO HELP THEM: UPTION AND ILLICIT NETWORKS	:
	epartment of Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences, m, Tacoma, WA 98402-3100, United States of Americ edu	a. 421
PRESENCE AND	ENOUS' OWNERSHIP BACK: CHINES THE CITIZEN ECONOMIC COMMISSION IN ZAMBIA	Е
	Roskilde University, Department of Society and etsvej 1, DK-4000 Roskilde, Denmark.	447
31	ATE: LAWYERS, POLITICS AND N KENYA	11,
Ambreena Manji, Br Nairobi, Kenya. Email:	bi, 467	
	TICS: CHALLENGING THE DOMINAN' TIVE IN NAMIBIA	Т
	aculty, Sarah Lawrence College, 1 Mead Way, United States of America. Email: ezuern@	493

REVIEW ARTICLE

THE STUBBORN PAST: NP QUESTIONS ABOUT ANC RULE ROGER SOUTHALL, Department of Sociology, University of the Witwatersrand, Private Bag 3, PO Box 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa. Email: Roger. Southall@wits.ac.za			
REVIEWS			
African Soccerscapes: how a continent changed the world's game by P. Alegi Richard Vokes, University of Canterbury	535		
Globalization in Africa: recolonization or renaissance? by P. Carmody Ian Taylor, University of St Andrews	536		
Christianity and Public Culture in Africa edited by H. Englund Gregory De Acon, University of Oxford	537		
Season of Rains: Africa in the world by S. Ellis Zach Warner, University of Wisconsin-Madison	538		
Rescuing a Fragile State: Sierra Leone 2000–2008 by L. GBERIE Chris Mahony, University of Oxford	539		
The Lion of Judah in the New World: Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and the shaping of Americans' attitude toward Africa by T. Vestal Seifudein Adem, Binghamton University	541		
The Ju/hoan San of Nyae Nyae and Namibian Independence: development, democracy, and indigenous voices in Southern Africa by M. Biesele and R. K. Hitchcock Chris Low, University of Oxford	543		
A Predictable Tragedy: Robert Mugabe and the collapse of Zimbabwe by D. Compagnon Charles Laurie, University of Oxford	545		
Sexuality and Gender Politics in Mozambique: rethinking gender in Africa by S. Arnfred Julie Soleil Archambault, University of Oxford	546		

546