

CHRISTINA MURRAY
ABBREVIATED CURRICULUM VITAE

Christina Murray a senior member of the Mediation Support Team of the United Nations' Department of Political Affairs, with a focus on constitutions and power sharing. She also served on the Standby Team from March 2014 to February 2016. Until December 2016 she was Professor of Constitutional and Human Rights Law at the University of Cape Town and between March 2016 and February 2017 she was Director of the Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law in London.

She is a South African, educated at the Universities of Stellenbosch and Michigan. The early part of her career was university-based where she combined teaching and research (primarily constitutional law, human rights law, gender and international law) and activism, with a focus on human rights and women's rights and violence against women under apartheid. Since 1992, she has combined academic and practical work on matters relating to constitutionalism, the rule of law, human rights, gender and democratic transitions.

In 1994 she was elected by the South African Constitutional Assembly to serve on the seven member Panel of Experts that advised it. In that capacity she also served on the smaller 'technical refinement team' responsible for the language of the South African constitution. She served on the bodies established to prepare draft constitutions in Kenya in 2009 - 2010 (as a member of the Committee of Experts) and in Fiji in 2012 (as a member of the Constitution Commission). Between 2012 and 2014 she was a member of the group of experts supporting Jamal Benomar's mediation in Yemen and in this capacity spent 6 months working with the Yemen Constitution Drafting Commission.

She has provided advice on constitution making (including to civil society) in a wide range of other countries including Zimbabwe, Iraq, South Sudan, Bolivia, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Libya.

Between 1995 and 2004, she was Director of the Law, Race and Gender Research Unit (LRG) at the University of Cape Town which she co-founded with Kate O'Regan in 1993. LRG's focus was on the South African lower courts and its goal to equip judicial officers to act with fairness and an understanding of the diverse social context of the people that appear before them.

Her work has included academic research, reports for government and other institutions, and 'briefing documents' (including guidance notes, explanations of constitutional ideas, etc) for constitution makers and civil society. Many of these relate to constitutionalism and the rule of law including human rights, international norms, traditional leadership, women and gender, executive power, second chambers, constitutional design and constitution making processes, federalism and multilevel government, and fiscal federalism.

CHRISTINA MURRAY

CURRICULUM VITAE

CURRENT ADDRESS

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NATIONALITY

South African

CURRENT POSITION

2017 Senior member of the Mediation Standby Team in the Mediation Support Unit, United Nations – focus constitutions and power-sharing.

QUALIFICATIONS

BA LLB (Stellenbosch) LL M (Michigan)

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

2016 - 2017 Director, Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law, London.
 2014 – 2016 Senior member of the Mediation Standby Team in the Mediation Support Unit, United Nations
 1994 - 2016 Professor of Constitutional and Human Rights Law, University of Cape Town

‘NON-UNIVERSITY’ INTERNATIONAL/FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC WORK

Long term assignments

March 2017 - Work for MSU on Yemen Track Two constitutional issues; Yemen: devolution in transition for OSE; Guidance on Bills of Rights for UNDP focal point on constitutions (not yet complete) and ad hoc review of documents for UNDP; participation in 1325 Fellowship programme; other small engagements with colleagues in the field.

2014 –Feb 2016 Senior Expert in constitution-making, *Mediation Support Standby Team, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations*

Deployments included:

- (i) Support to the Yemen Constitution Drafting Commission over a period of roughly 6 months (including writing memos, drafting text, reviewing text and on-going conversations with Commission members and UN staff on constitutional options and strategies for moving the process ahead).
- (ii) Support to the IGAD mediation of the South Sudan crisis in Addis Ababa (mainly working with international advisers and providing advice on power-sharing; and drafting sections of a proposal that the mediator wished to present)
- (iii) Support to the constitutional review process in Somalia (presentations to Prime Minister, other Cabinet members, constitution commission and women’s group; memos on issues on request of PM)
- (iv) Participation in meeting with Libyan constitution drafting commission;
- (v) Participation in meeting with Sri Lanka constitutionalists and politicians on proposed revisions to constitution, including rights.

- (vi) Support to UN Good Offices in Cyprus (monitoring process; anticipating needs; discussions with members of both negotiating teams; answering constitutional questions during meetings of negotiating teams);
 - (vii) Participation in a needs assessment for UNDP in Kyiv on constitutional review process;
 - (viii) Training in gender and mediation workshops for senior UN staff;
 - (ix) Presentations to members of the legislature in Bosnia on constitution-making processes and public involvement.
 - (x) Support to constitution focal point especially on constitutionmaker.
- Deskwork included opinions on constitutional issues concerning Ukraine, Thailand, Kyrgyzstan (initially with the Venice Commission), Libya, Guinea Bissau, and Somalia as well as more general issues (term limits, constitution-making processes etc).

March – Dec 2013	Constitutional advisor, <i>Office of the Special Advisor to the UN Secretary General on Yemen</i>
July – Dec 2012	Member of the <i>Constitution Commission of Fiji</i> .
Feb 2009 – Oct 2010	Member of the <i>Committee of Experts</i> established under the Constitution of Kenya Review Act, 2008 to review and rewrite the <i>Constitution of Kenya</i>
1995 - 1996	Member: Panel of seven constitutional experts elected to advise <i>the South African Constitutional Assembly</i> Member: ‘Technical Refinement Team’ of the South African Constitutional Assembly convened to deal with technical drafting issues.

Short International Assignments

Workshops, conferences and policy advice on constitution building in Sudan (Khartoum); Kyrgyzstan, Zimbabwe, Indonesia, the Philippines, Nepal, South Sudan, Bolivia, UK, Sri Lanka, Libya and Iraq inter alia, including:

June 2016	Review of draft Thai constitution for EU
April 2016	Review of Turkmenistan constitutional revisions for UNDP
Jan 2014	UN (Libya) on constitutional design and devolution (consultant)
Jan 2013	International IDEA, Egypt on matters of constitutional design (consultant)
Feb 2013	Conflict Dynamics International, Juba, South Sudan on gender and political accommodation (consultant)
January 2012	Meeting of Libyan politicians and lawyers in Sousse, Tunisia under auspices of Lawyers for Justice in Libya (consultant)
November 2011	Advice to South Sudan government on constitution making process
July 2011	Montpellier, Virginia, USA: organised programme of constitutional talks between members of Zimbabwe Law Society and American constitutional lawyers.
June 2011	For World Bank, Nairobi Office: report on implementation of principles of devolution and fiscal federalism in Kenya
May 2011	Member of International Bar Association Human Rights Institute mission to investigate the state of the rule of law the Implementation of the Global Political Agreement in Zimbabwe (see http://www.ibanet.org/Article/Detail.aspx?ArticleUid=3f3b8aae-d615-4350-8a6c-20b361072315)
Feb – March 2011	Sudan Safety and Access to Justice Programme (Khartoum) to work with Sudan Ministry of Justice on constitutional reform (DFID funded project) (consultant)
May 2012	Consultant and participant in a Constitutional Dialogue and other activities in Tripoli under the auspices of Humanitarian Dialogue
December 2011	Khartoum – meetings with civil society on constitution-making process (USIP)

June 2010	Kariba, Zimbabwe: Expert participant at Zimbabwe Law Society workshop on draft Zimbabwe Constitution (on behalf of the International Bar Association)
May 2010	Pakistan (in Kathmandu, Nepal): Consultant to Forum of Federations in workshop on implementation of 18 th Amendment to Pakistan Constitution
September 2008	Kathmandu, Nepal: Consultant to GTZ on constitutional design and local government, women in constitution making, federalism and public participation in constitution making.
April 2008	Arranged a South African study tour for multi-party group of Sri Lankan women politicians
June & August 2007	Series of workshops on power-sharing in Sri Lanka (Women's perceptions on power-sharing; Power-sharing options for Sri Lanka and the Federal Idea; the Peace Agreement in Aceh: Lessons for Sri Lanka; Elements of power-sharing in the Aceh Peace Settlement)
2003 - 2006	Consultant to International IDEA, Jakarta on developing a programme for supporting the implementation of a regional second chamber in Indonesia
July 2006	Santa Cruz, Bolivia – participant in conference on the constituent assembly and meetings with women's groups
February 2006	NDI in Rumbek, Southern Sudan (providing advice to the Southern Sudan State Constitutional Drafting Committees meeting)
November 2005	Participation in meeting organised by UNAMI in Cyprus to consider the new Constitution of Iraq
May 2004	Constitutional amendment in Kyrgyzstan – consultant to NDI, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan
August 2003	Forum of Federations workshops in the Philippines (Manila - University, House of Representatives and Senate, and Davoa - regional politicians) on 'International Perspectives on the Parliamentary-Federal System of Government'
July 1999	Member of IDASA delegation to London to fulfil the second phase of the SA - UK Comparative Constitutional Reform Project
November 1998	Rapporteur for Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Roundtable on Managing Parliament - Executive Interface in the Commonwealth (Cape Town December 1998) (publication: Governance Structures and the Democratic Process (Commonwealth Secretariat and Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Secretariat)).
April 1994	Member of a 6-person South African delegation, sponsored by the Open Foundation, to visit the Hungarian Constitutional Court in Budapest.

UNIVERSITY POSITIONS

University of Cape Town: from 1988

From July 2008 on unpaid leave

2003 – June 2008 Head of the Department of Public Law

2000 – 2002, 2008 Deputy Dean, Law Faculty

1995 – 2004 Director, Law, Race and Gender Research Unit

1992 – 1994 Member of University of Cape Town Council (representative of Associate Professors)

1994 Personal Chair: Professor of Constitutional and Human Rights Law

Other University and research related positions

2015 - Member of the advisory board for the Global Centre for Pluralism, Ottawa, programme on Accounting for Change in Diverse Societies.

2013, 2014	Faculty for CEU, Budapest, summer school course on Constitution making in Africa, presented to a group of graduate students and practitioners in the field.
July 2013	'African Constitutional Law' course for the 2013 Summer Seminar in Global Constitutional Law, Beijing, China
2011 – 2012	Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow, United States Institute for Peace (USIP), Washington DC
October 2011	Visiting Professor, William and Mary University, Virginia
July 2011	Professor, Duke University Hong Kong Summer School
2008 – 2009	Visiting Fellow, Program in Law and Public Affairs (LAPA), Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
2008 – 2010	Lead researcher 'Enhancing Accountable Government in Africa', an interdisciplinary project with the Universities of Warwick and Dar es Salaam under the British Council DELPHE programme (involving academic and outreach workshops in South Africa and Tanzania and publications)
2007, '10, '12, '14	Senior Fellow, Faculty of Law, University of Melbourne, Australia
August 2004	Residency at Rockefeller Foundation Study and Conference Centre, Bellagio
September 1999	Honorary Visiting Professor, University of Toronto Law Faculty
1999	Visiting Fellow, Institute for Legal Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison
1991	Visiting Fellow, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Visiting Scholar Lauterpacht Centre for International Law
1987	Visiting Scholar, Wolfson College, Cambridge; Visiting Scholar Lauterpacht Centre for International Law
1982 – 1987	Lecturer/Senior lecturer, University of the Witwatersrand

POLICY AND LEGAL ADVICE WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

Legal advice and legislative drafting, and research and training on fiscal federalism, local and provincial government, parliament, traditional leadership, gender and the judiciary, including:

1997	National Council of Provinces Needs Assessment for EU Parliamentary Support Programme
1997 -1998	Member of National Finance Department Technical Working Group concerned with drafting finance laws required by the South African Constitution.
1998 - 2000	Report for Parliament on parliamentary privilege and its compatibility with the Constitution
2000 -	On-going work with the national Treasury on multi-level government, fiscal federalism and the Constitution.
2001 - 2003	Leader of 'Gauteng Legislature Rules Project', drafting the new Rules for the Legislature
2002	Advice to the Office of the Auditor-General and the Audit Commission concerning the constitutionality of proposed new legislation which would restructure the Auditor-General's Office
2005	Adviser to South African parliamentary task team on oversight
2003 & 2006	Member of team advising the Gauteng and Western Cape governments on provincial taxes
2007	Memorandum for the South African national Treasury on State Liability (coordinating project)
2010	Consultant to Office of the President (South Africa) on relations between the provinces and the national government

Legislative drafting and advice including:

Rules for the new second chamber (NCOP), 1996; Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations Act 1997; Division of Revenue Acts 1997 and 1998; Public Finance Management Act 1999; Local Government: Demarcation Act and Local Government: Municipal Structures Act; Constitutional Amendment Act, 2001; Local Government: Municipal Financial Management Bill; Financial Management of Parliament Bill, 2009.

CONFERENCES

Regular participation in conferences and other meetings on the rule of law, constitutionalism, rights, gender and democratic transitions, inter alia.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Books

- *Farlam and Hathaway Contract* 3rd edition (co-authored with G F Lubbe) (Juta: 1988).
- *No Place to Rest: Forced Removals and the Law in South Africa* (ed with C O'Regan) (Oxford University Press SA: 1990).
- *A Charter for Social Justice: A Contribution to the South African Bill of Rights Debate* (with H Corder et al) (University of Cape Town: 1992).
- *Gender and the New South African Legal Order* (ed) (Juta: 1994).
- *Lay Assessors in South Africa's Magistrates' Courts* Issues on Law, Race and Gender 6, Law, Race and Gender Research Unit, University of Cape Town (co-authored with J Seekings) (1998).
- *Building Representative Democracy: South Africa's Legislatures and the Constitution* (co-authored with L Nijzink) (Parliamentary Support Programme: Cape Town 2002).
- *Advancing Women's Rights: The first decade of democracy* (ed with Michelle O'Sullivan) (Juta: 2005).
- *Fostering Constitutionalism in Africa* (ed with Charles Fombad) (Pretoria University Law Press: 2010)
- *South Africa International Encyclopaedia of Laws – Constitution* (with Coel Kirkby) Editor and contributor; 2014 Kluwer Law International; <https://ielaws.com/encyclopaedias/iel-constitutional-law> (pp 1 - 327)

Some chapters in books

- 'Constitutionalising Equality and Diversity for the Nation' in *Between Unity and Diversity: Essays on Nation Building in post-apartheid South Africa* ed G Maharaj (Cape Town: Idasa David Philip, 1999) 283 - 291
- 'NCOP: Stepchild of the Bundesrat' *50 Jahre Herrenchieser Verfassungskonvent 'Zur Struktur des deutschen Federalismus'* (herausgegeben vom Bundesrat 1999) 262 - 278.
- 'Negotiating beyond deadlock: from the Constitutional Assembly to the Court' in *The Post-Apartheid Constitutions: Perspectives on the New South Africa's Basic Law* ed by Penelope Andrews and Stephen Ellmann (Wits University Press 2001) pp 103 - 127.
- 'Building Unity through Transformation: Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in South Africa' in *Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in Fragmented Societies* Eds Richard Bird and Thomas Stauffer, Institut du Fédéralisme (Fribourg) and Helbing & Lichtenhahn (Bâle) 2001 pp 505 - 536.
- 'The constitutional context of intergovernmental relations in South Africa' in *Intergovernmental relations in South Africa: The Challenges of Cooperative Government* ed Norman Levy and Chris Tapscott (IDASA and School of Government UWC) 2001 pp 66 -83.
- 'Designing Parliament for Co-operative Federalism: South Africa's National Council of Provinces' in *Reforming Parliamentary Democracy* eds F Leslie Seidle and David C Doherty (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal & Kingston, 2003) pp 202 - 222.
- 'Quasi-Federalism in South Africa: Democracy, Good Governance, and the Management of Conflict' with Richard Simeon. In Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh, and Will Kymlicka, Eds., *Ethnicity and Democratic Development in Africa*. (Oxford: James Currey, 2004).
- "'No nation can be free when one half of it is enslaved": Equality for Women in South Africa' ed Beverley Baines and Ruth Rubio-Marin *The Gender of Constitutional Jurisprudence* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) 230 – 255 (with Saras Jagwanth).
- 'Equality and Democracy' in Richard Calland and Paul Graham (ed) *Democracy in the time of Mbeki* (2005) 189 – 210 (with Anashri Pillay)
- 'South Africa' in *Legislative, Executive and Judicial Governance in Federal Countries* ed C Saunders and K Le Roy (McGill-Queens University Press 2006) 258 – 288.

- ‘Traditional Leaders’ (with Tom Bennett) in *Constitutional Law of South Africa* eds Woolman & Roux (2006) pp 26-I – 26-67.
- ‘Provincial Executives’ (with Okyereberea Ompofo-Anti) *Constitutional Law of South Africa* eds Woolman & Roux (2007) pp 20-1 – 20-34.
- ‘South Africa’ (with S Nakhjavani) in *International Relations in Federal Countries* ed H Michelmann (McGill-Queens University Press 2009) pp 212 - 239.
- ‘Tagging the Bill, gagging the provinces: The Communal Land Rights Act in Parliament’ (with R Stacey) *Land, Power & Custom: Controversies Generated by South Africa’s Communal Land Rights Act* ed Aninka Claassens and Ben Cousins 2008 pp 72 - 91.
- ‘Local government in South Africa’ in *Cooperation versus Competition: German Federalism in need of Reform – A comparative perspective* eds Ralf Thomas, Raoul Blindenbacher, Ulrich Karpen (Nomos, Baden-Baden 2007) pp 215 – 225.
- ‘Learning to Lose, Learning to Win: Government and Opposition in South Africa’s Transition to Democracy’ (with Richard Simeon and Antoinette Handley) ed J Wong et al *Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose* (Routledge 2008).
- ‘National Executive’ (with Richard Stacey) *Constitutional Law of South Africa* eds Woolman & Roux (2008).
- ‘Recognition without empowerment: Minorities in a Democratic South Africa’ (with R Simeon) in Choudhry, Sujit (ed) *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?* (Oxford University Press 2008) pp 409 – 437 (reprinted from *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 2007)
- ‘Elusive Autonomy in Sub-Saharan Africa’ (with Coel Kirkby) Marc Weller and Katherine Nobbs (eds) *Asymmetrical Autonomy and the Settlement of Ethnic Conflicts* (University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2010) pp 97 – 120.
- ‘South Africa: Promises Unmet, Multilevel Government in South Africa’ (with Richard Simeon) in Rekha Saxena (ed) *Varieties of Federal Governance* (Foundation Books, Cambridge University Press: 2011) p 232
- ‘Systems of government’ (with Denis Baranger) in *Handbook on Constitutional Law* ed Mark Tushnet, Cheryl Saunders and Thomas Fleiner (Routledge 2012)
- ‘The rule of law in the SADC region: 1981 – 2011’ in Lidija R. Basta Fleiner and Tanasije Marinković (eds) *Key Developments in Constitutionalism and Constitutional Law* (The Hague, The Netherlands, Eleven International Publishing 2014) pp 93 - 110
- ‘Form of Government’ in *South Africa International Encyclopaedia of Laws – Constitution*; (ed Christina Murray and Coel Kirkby); 2014 Kluwer Law International; <https://ielaws.com/encyclopaedias/iel-constitutional-law> pp 69 -107.
- ‘Constitution-Making in Anglophone Africa: We the People?’ (with Coel Kirkby) in *Growing Democracy in Africa: Elections, Accountable Governance, and Political Economy* ed Muna Ndulo and Mamoudou Gazibo (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne: 2016) 86 – 113.
- ‘Power-sharing in Kenya: Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea’ (with Nic Cheeseman) in *Power-sharing: Empirical and Normative Challenges* ed Allison McCulloch and John McGarry (Routledge, London: 2017) 36 – 62.
- ‘International agencies, constitution-making and gender’ (with Cindy Wittke) in *Gender and Constitutions* ed Helen Irving (Edward Elgar, Sydney: 2017) 107 – 131.

Selected Articles and Notes

- ‘The Status of the ANC and Swapo in international humanitarian law’ (1983) 100 *South African Law Journal* 402.
- ‘Rape in Marriage - Conjugal Right or Criminal Wrong’ with F Kaganas 1983 *Acta Juridica* 125-143, reprinted in *Family Law* (Juta, 1983).

- ‘The 1977 Geneva Protocols and Conflict in Southern Africa’ (1984) 33 *International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 462-470.
- ‘Women and Nightwork’ (1984) 5 *Industrial Law Journal* 47-60.
- ‘Mozambican Refugees: South Africa's Responsibility’ (1986) 2 *South African Journal on Human Rights* 154.
- ‘Prisoner of War Status for ANC Soldiers?’ (1987) 14 *Journal of Southern African Studies* (Oxford) 140, reprinted in *The International Library of Terrorism* (Dartmouth 1993).
- ‘The Death Penalty in the Cape Provincial Division: 1986-1988’ (1989) 5 *South African Journal on Human Rights* 154 (with J Sloth-Nielsen and J C Tredoux).
- ‘Law Reform and the Family: The New South African Rape-in-Marriage Legislation’ (with F Kaganas) (1991) 18 *Journal of Law and Society* (Oxford) 287-302.
- ‘Law, Women and the Family: The Question of Polygyny in a New South Africa’ (with F Kaganas) 1991 *Acta Juridica* 116, reprinted in *African Customary Law* (Juta, 1991).
- ‘A Bill of Rights for a New South Africa’ (1991) 3 *Revue Africaine de Droit International et Compare* 589.
- ‘The Contest between Culture and Equality in South Africa's Interim Constitution’ (with F Kaganas) (1994) *Journal of Law and Society* (Oxford) 409.
- ‘Interrogating Justice: Research on race and gender bias in South African courts’ (1995) 1 *International Journal of Discrimination and the Law* (Oxford) 29-38.
- ‘One Law for One Nation: South Africa's New Constitution’ (comment) (1997) 8 *Public Law* (Australia) 10 - 14.
- ‘From Paper to Practice: The National Council of Provinces after its first year’ (with R Simeon) (1999) 14 *SA Public Law* 96 - 141.
- ‘South Africa's financial constitution: Towards better delivery?’ (2000) 15 *SA Public Law* 477 - 504 (with R Simeon).
- ‘Provincial Constitutions in South Africa: The (non)Example of the Western Cape’ (2001) *Neue Folge Band 49 Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts* 481 – 512.
- ‘Multi-level Government in South Africa: A Progress Report’ (2001) 31 *Publius: the Journal of Federalism* 65-92 (with R Simeon).
- ‘Ten Years of Transformation: How has gender equality in South Africa fared?’ (2002) 14 *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 255 - 299 (with Saras Jagwanth).
- ‘South Africa's Troubled Royalty: Traditional Leaders after Democracy’ Law and Policy Paper 23 (The Federation Press in association with the Centre for International and Public Law, Faculty of Law, the Australian National University) 2004.
- ‘Brooms Sweeping Oceans? Women's rights in South Africa's first decade of democracy’ 2005 *Acta Juridica* 1 (with Michelle O'Sullivan)
- ‘“Tagging” bills in Parliament: Section 75 or section 76?’ (2006) 123 *South African Law Journal* 232 – 263 (with Richard Simeon)
- ‘The human rights commission et al: What is the role of South Africa's Chapter 9 institutions?’ (2006) 2 *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal* 1-26
- ‘Subnational Constitution-Making in Southern Sudan’ (2006) 37 *Rutgers Law Journal* 1203 – 1234 (with Catherine Maywald) http://www.rutgerslawjournal.com/37_4/Murray.pdf
- ‘Suspension and dissolution of municipal councils under section 139 of the Constitution’ (with Yoni Hoffman Wanderer) 2007 *TSAR* 141 – 14.
- ‘The NCOP and provincial intervention in local government’ (with Yoni Hoffman Wanderer) 2007 *Stellenbosch LR* 7.
- ‘Recognition without empowerment: Minorities in a Democratic South Africa’ (with R Simeon) 2007 *International Journal of Constitutional Law (I.CON)* doi: 10.1093/icon/mom025 <http://icon.oxfordjournals.org/cgi/reprint/mom025?ijkey=KQ6pnEvnN9IIC7a&keytype=ref>
- ‘Reforming Multilevel Government in South Africa’ (with R Simeon) (2010) 43(3) *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 536 – 571.

- Christina Murray and Joachim Wehner ‘How new laws balance budgetary powers’ *Nairobi Law Monthly* January 2012 pp 38 – 43.
- ‘Designing Systems of Multi-Level Government – Two Recent Experiments with Cooperative Government’ (2012) 1 *Anayasa Hukuku Dergisi/Constitutional Law Review* (Turkey) 253 (special issue on constitutional renewal).
- ‘Kenya’s 2010 Constitution’ (2013) 61 *Neue Folge Band Jahrbuch des öffentlichen Rechts* 747 - 788.
- ‘Yemen’s National Dialogue Conference’ *Anayasa Hukuku Dergisi/Constitutional Law Review* (Turkey) 2013.
- ‘National Dialogues in 2013’ (2014) *Constitution Building: A Global Review 2013* (International Idea) pp 11 – 15. Online at: <https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/constitution-building-a-global-review-2013.pdf>.
- ‘Constitutional Design in Africa: Is Mix and Match OK?’ (2016) 15 *Ethnopolitics* pp 528 – 532 DOI: 10.1080/17449057.2016.1144417 published online 26 February 2016.
- *National Dialogue and Constitution-Making*, National Dialogue Handbook Background Paper No. 2. Berlin: Berghof Foundation February 2017. Online at: www.berghof-foundation.org/publications/national-dialogue-handbook

Selected Reports

- *NCOP Needs Assessment* for the NCOP and EU Parliamentary Support Programme assisted by G Lenape and R Raimate (1998)
- *Speeding Transformation - the oversight role of the NCOP* Report for NDI and the South African National Council of Provinces with Don Bezrui, Lisa Ferrell and Julie Hughes (2000)
- *Report on Powers and Privileges of Parliament* for the Speaker of the South African National Assembly with Fred Soltau (1999)
- *Feasibility of Fuel Tax Levy in the Western Cape: Report for the Western Cape Treasury* Chapter on Compliance of a Provincial Fuel Tax with the Constitution with Tracy Gutuza and Karla Saller (June 2003).
- *NCOP Second Term 1999 - 2004: A review* with Yoni Hoffman Wanderer & Karla Saller (2004).
- *Feasibility of Tourism Tax Levy in the Western Cape: Report for the Western Cape Treasury* Chapter on Compliance of a Tax with the Constitution with Johan de Waal (2006).
- *Review of annual reports of State Institutions Supporting Democracy in South Africa* with Donald Maphiri (Afrec), Yoni Hoffman-Wanderer et al (2006)
- *Aspects of State Liability: Memo for the National Treasury* lead researcher with Paul Benjamin, Helen Scott and Stephen Wagener (2007) 150 pp.
- Report on intergovernmental fiscal arrangements for South African Financial and Fiscal Commission and the Western Cape Provincial Government (February 2009)