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Elections as Drivers of Political Instability in Africa: A Case Study of Lesotho

By

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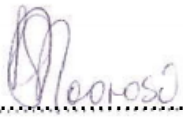
**Dissertation Submitted as a Requirement for the Award of a
Masters of Social Science Degree in Political Science at University
of Fort Hare**

SUPERVISOR: DR VALERY FERIM

2019

DECLARATION

I, 'Mantsoaki Moorosi do hereby declare that the content of this dissertation is my own original work and has not been previously submitted to any other University for the award of a Degree, either in part or in its entirety. I also declare that I am fully aware of the University's policy on research ethics.

Signature.......... Date:12 April 2019



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DEDICATION

In memory of my mother 'Matsiu Limpho Moorosi (1951-2016)

Who gave me the best weapon in life – EDUCATION



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I give thanks to the All Mighty God for giving me strength to do this work. I also want to thank my family who have supported me. My gratitude goes to my supervisor Doctor Valery Ferim whose patience and support went a long way. You gave guidance with humility and patience at all times. To my editor Mr. Nchafatso Sello who made this work presentable and academic, thank you.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD	- Alliance for Democrats
ABC	- All Basotho Convention
AU	- African Union
BNP	-Basotho National Party
DC	- Democratic Congress
FPTP	- First-Past-The-Post
GDP	- Gross Domestic Product
HDI	- Human Development Index
IEC	- Independent Electoral Commission
IPA	- Interim Political Authority
LCD	- Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LDF	- Lesotho Defence Force
LCS	- Lesotho Correctional Service
LMPS	- Lesotho Mounted Police Service
LFY	- Lesotho Youth Forum
MDG	- Millennium Development Goals
MMP	- Mixed Member Proportional
MP	- Member of Parliament
NEC	- National Executive Committee
NSS	- National Security Services
OPDS	- Organ on Politics, Defence and Security
PM	- Prime Minister
PR	- Proportional Representation
SADC	- Southern African Development Community
UN	- United Nations



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ABSTRACT

The study sets out to investigate elections as drivers to political instability in Africa, using Lesotho as a case study from 2012 to 2017. It employs primary and secondary sources of data. The period is of interest for two reasons. Firstly, the continuing instability post three successive free and fair elections, and secondly, the advent of Coalition Governments. The structure adheres to two theoretical frameworks namely, a) Huntington's two turn-over test and, b) Karl's Fallacy of Electoralism. In order to investigate how elections could or could not be drivers to political instability, the researcher looked at the different forms of political instability in Lesotho. These include attempted coup d'état, assassinations and violation of territorial sovereignty. The later form being peculiar to the period under study as the other forms had occurred at some stage through the political history of this country. It further asserts uncertainty of hung Parliament and politicised institutions as attributes to the recurrence of political instability. It concludes that Lesotho is a deviant case from the two turn over test. The scope of the study supports the fallacy of electoralism. Several recommendations have been presented. These include that Government of Lesotho should amend the Constitution on the functions and powers of the King, Politicians should implement the promises they made to the electorates during campaigns, and regulate or abolish floor crossing in Parliament amongst others.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Elections are an important aspect in any democratic dispensation. In contemporary societies elections are used as a means to select individuals responsible for government apparatus. Misfit (2008) is of the opinion that the founding pillars of any democratic political system, whether considered fragile or established, undoubtedly remain elections. Therefore, they can simply be taken as the most critical and visible means through which all citizens can peacefully choose or remove their leaders. According to Kapa (2013:6), “elections are the main institutions providing citizens with a chance, and indeed, which accord them the right, to participate in the selection of their representatives in modern democracies”. Free and fair national elections provide harmony to leadership and electorates. Elections require the existence of a multiparty system so that citizens make informed political decisions by voting for the competing candidates fielded by respective political parties.

The International Day of Peace was established by a U.N. resolution in 1982, and is marked every year on September 21. It is an annual global event which aims to focus the world efforts towards conflict resolution and peace building. This day is however more relevant to the continent of Africa where most conflicts have taken place. Africa has had a fair share of political instability, especially post elections. Electoral conflict as defined by Agbehonou (2014:14), is any dissatisfaction of those who have vested interest in an election outcome (incumbent or coalition government, opposition political parties, candidates and their supporters, and other external actors). Such outcome may

include political violence, which takes several forms such as armed revolution, civil strife, institutionalized military repression, intimidation and periodic arrest, and assassination of political leaders and their supporters. These outcomes are forms of political instabilities mostly driven by elections or rather elections related.

The end of military rule, conflicts and violence through elections in African countries in the 1990's, provided optimism among those who advocate for democratic Africa. Lesotho went for democratic elections in 1993, whilst Guinea-Bissau held hers in 1994 but conflicts and violence recurred post-elections in both countries. Kuhn (2010:3) says "elections are not at all synonymous with successful democratization and the successful exit of a peacekeeping mission. They are merely a first step in a long and difficult process. Indeed, they may even provoke more instability and trigger a return to war and destruction, as it happened, most tragically, in Angola and later in Liberia". These conflicts have been characterized by varying degrees of intensity and frequency across the Continent. Some of these conflicts led to political instability, a latent concept very difficult to define directly. Chawdhury (2016:2) asserts that "the instability of government, a weak political culture and inefficiency of political parties causes a politically unstable state." Political assassinations, coups d'état and government unrest are indicators of political instability. Free, fair and regular elections are generally considered as a gateway to political stability.

However, in the case of Lesotho, free, fair and transparent elections between 2012 and 2017 have been succeeded by political instability. The first post-independence elections

were held in 1970 and were declared null and void by the then Ruling Party. The Constitution was suspended and the country became a One Party State for the successive 16 years until the 1986 military coup. The Military Dictatorship ruled for the subsequent 7 years until 1993 when Lesotho reverted back to Constitutional Monarchy following First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) electoral model elections. Matlosa and Sello (2005:14) are of the opinion that the 2002 elections delivered a desirable outcome for Lesotho given that most election-related conflicts between 1993 and 1998 were related to the FPTP. Lesotho had a rather stable era post 2002 election. Subsequent elections thereafter, 2008 and 2012 were held every five years as per the Constitution (Letsie, 2012). In 2015, the country went into snap elections triggered by the instability of the Government (Banerjee, 2017).

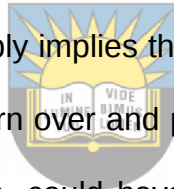


1.2 Rationale of the research study

Every country in the world conducts elections as a prerequisite to form a democratic government. The researcher became curious as to why Lesotho experienced instability after each of its three national elections in question, other than the fact that the last two were indeed irregular, both having been held within a five-year Constitutional term. The rationale for the research was to determine elections related forms of political instability in the period 2012-2017 and why it kept recurring. Secondly, it serves as a requirement for the award of a Master of Arts Degree in Political Science offered by the University of Fort Hare.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Lindberg and Moehler (2007) are of the view that free, fair and transparent elections are a guarantor of political stability. They argue that peaceful elections, peaceful turnover of power, opposition approval, free and fair elections and political stability are certainly correlated. Successive reports from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in Lesotho show that the 2012, 2015 and 2017 elections were free, fair and transparent. They were also characterised by a peaceful handover of power. In spite of these, all three elections were followed by different forms of political instability. The case of Lesotho therefore, appears to deviate from reviewed literature which states that free and fair elections are a guarantor of political stability. This possibly deviant case is worthy of investigation as it probably implies that there might be no correlation between free and fair elections, peaceful turn over and political stability. Hind side, it is plausible that the irregularity of the last two, could have been worthy of investigation as to the extent this might lead to instability.



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The problem statement can therefore be captured in the following research questions:

- What were the different forms of elections driven political instability in Lesotho between 2012 and 2017?
- What accounted for the recurrence of post-elections political instability in Lesotho between 2012 and 2017?

1.4 Research Aim and Objectives

The main aim of the study is to investigate elections as drivers of political instability in

Lesotho from 2012 to 2017. This aim will be guided by the following objectives:

- To examine the different forms of post-elections political instability in Lesotho from 2012- 2017.
- To investigate the reasons for the recurrence of post-elections political instability in Lesotho between 2012- 2017 in spite of peaceful elections.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The purpose of the case study is to generate an understanding and knowledge of elections as a concept that may (or may not) lead to political (in) stability. The study is strategic and timely to policy makers as it navigates the relationship between conflict and elections in Lesotho politics. It contributes to literature regarding elections, electoral models and political instability in Africa looking at elections as drivers of the ever recurring political instability on the continent. For scholars, it becomes additional authority to which reference could be made. It adds value to the existing debate on why African countries experience post-elections conflict. It is significant in that it taps into the forms of political stability which may lead to further investigations on a larger scale, including whether the irregularity element also plays a part. It adds value to the body of knowledge in the field of Political Science and International Relations. It is geared towards providing a comprehensive assessment of the role played by elections in managing and maintaining stability in the Continent, Lesotho in particular.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study is limited to elections-related political instability in Lesotho from 2012 to 2017.

1.7 Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter one: Introduction. The background to the study, the problem statement, research questions, the aim, significance of the study and organizations of the chapters.

Chapter two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework. This chapter examines literature with specific reference to elections and political (in) stability. Huntington's two turn over test is also examined in the theoretical framework.

Chapter three: Research Methodology: This chapter focuses on qualitative research design (sample, methods of data collection, methods of data analysis and ethical considerations).

Chapter four: The Different Forms of Political Instability in Lesotho from 2012-2017. The chapter explores forms of political instability in Lesotho for the period 2012-2017

Chapter five: The Recurrence of Political Instability in Lesotho from 2012-2017. This chapter focuses on the reasons for, and causes of the recurrence of political instability in Lesotho after post the three elections

Chapter six: Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter comprises literature review and theoretical framework for the purpose of presenting related studies by other scholars on the subject matter. For the researcher, it affords avoidance of duplication of already researched work, thus opening window for adding value to already existing body of knowledge. Hart (1998) asserts that the purpose of research is to contribute to the understanding of the world which cannot be done without sharing the findings. Therefore, literature review is a selection of available writings on the topic, both (published and unpublished), which contain information, ideas, data and evidence written from a certain standpoint.

Theoretical framework on the other hand, provides theories and assumptions that have been used to support the study by identifying variables to the problem statement. Thus, the research can either support or question an existing theory. Grant and Osanloo (2014:12) state that “theoretical framework is the foundation from which all knowledge is constructed (metaphorically and literally) for a research study. It serves as the structure and support for the rationale of the study, the problem statement, the purpose, the significance, and the research questions.” The study questions the assumptions of the two turn over test theory while supporting fallacy of electoralism theory.

2.1 The overview of political instability and elections in Africa

The study looks at political instability through elections paying special interest on its causes and recurrence, particularly in Africa. According to the Electoral Integrity Project (EIP) (2012), “estimates suggest that one in five contemporary elections worldwide

involve violence (with at least one civilian fatality), and many also trigger post-election protests". Contemporary regimes in Africa have taken a number of forms since independence, inclusive of one-party state, personal dictatorships, and military regimes. The coming of the new regimes post- independence brought about political instability. Not only were Military coups a norm, but they also remained as the only mechanism that guaranteed regime change. However, in the 1990s, many African countries previously under autocratic rule experienced what Huntington (1993) calls the "Third Wave of Democratization." Political liberalization was initiated in those countries. Political oppositions began to emerge, and multiparty systems that were previously forbidden after the decolonization were once again re-established.

The end of Cold War over two decades ago signifies two important developments in world history. It first marked the end of nuclear proliferation and the arms race between the two major powers, the United States of America (USA) and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The second development, proceeding from the first is the spread of democracy in most countries in Africa and Eastern Europe. The 1990s were particularly impressive for Africa as many authoritarian regimes accepted constitutional law. The spread of democracy and popular participation across different regions of Africa gained momentum. A new democratic wave thus began to spread across Africa. Consequently, multiparty politics led to several elections in different countries (Atuobi and Aniekwe, 2016: 26). Countries across the globe have adopted democracy as a way of governance. Democracy which is government for the people by the people is the way to go for development and stability in a country. To attain democracy a country goes for elections.

Commitments and protocols have been signed by African states to facilitate strengthening democratic dispensation. This notion has been concretized by the adoption of a political culture encompassing the holding of regular multiparty elections. In fact, to give meaning to the above argument, during its 2002 Inaugural Summit, the AU adopted a Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa. Complementary to the Democracy Declaration, the AU commits Member States to the following: Democratic elections are the basis of authority of any Representative Government; Regular elections constitute a key element of the democratization process and therefore are essential ingredients for good governance, the rule of law, and the maintenance and promotion of peace, security, stability and development; The holding of democratic elections is an important dimension in conflict prevention, management and resolution; Democratic elections should be conducted: freely and fairly; under democratic Constitutions and in compliance with supportive legal instruments; under a system of separation of powers that ensures in particular, the independence of the Judiciary; at regular intervals, as provided in national constitutions; and by impartial, all-inclusive, competent and accountable electoral institutions staffed by well-trained personnel and equipped with adequate logistics.

2.2. Conceptualisation of Elections

Elections are the first stage of public involvement in the process of ratifying the governance element of a peace process. Through elections the state gets consent of the people through voting for the government of their choice. Reynolds (2009) says

without national elections, there can be no democratization or a chance of an enduring self-sustaining peace process. Through elections a promising government is elected which may implement limited abuse of power, less corruption and ensure rule of law. Political stability can be achieved in such environment. Drumond (2015:4) states that “elections that experience a high incidence of violence can suffer low voter turnout and lower registration of candidates, which directly impact the inclusiveness and representativeness of the polls and, consequently, the legitimacy of the democratic government.”

Gyekye-Jandoh (2014:185) says elections, particularly free and fair elections, are a “key criterion of the democratic system, alongside the freedom and independence of the media and protection of civil rights and liberties.” Democratic political leaders who form governments are put in power through elections. Democracy promotes social equality, fairness and even distribution of resources among citizens. Political stability can thus be attained when democratic rule exists. In light of development and peace, countries vow for elections as a mode to achieve political stability even though some countries experience election related instabilities. Thus there is a relationship between elections and political instability.

Electoral systems are crucial in determining how the political system must function within a particular country. Electoral models are frameworks which different States adopt to hold elections. Agbehonou (2014:6) says “apart from electoral violence and political instability, another critical intervening variable that needs to be looked at when

studying post-election conflict are the types of electoral systems”. There are different electoral models and their application also differs from country to country but the basis of the model remains the same.

According to Agbehonou, (2014:6). “Apart from electoral violence and political instability, another critical intervening variable that needs to be looked at when studying post-elections conflict is the types of electoral systems. Electoral systems are crucial in determining how the political system must function within a particular country. There are different electoral systems: First- Past-The-Post/Majoritarian systems (FPTP), second- Proportional Representation (PR) systems, third Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) and fourth- other systems (Reynolds, Reilly, and Ellis, 2008). Electoral systems as asserted by (Farrell,2011): single-member plurality (SMP); majority electoral system, which includes the two round systems and the alternative vote; the list systems of proportional representation; mixed member systems; and the single transferable vote. With the FPTP the results are based on the party that has majority votes. Thus the party with the highest number of votes becomes the Government. It differs from PR and MMP as the two have a quota which contesting parties have to achieve in order to form Government. The allocation of seats in Parliament differs with the model used.

In line with the above quote, post 1998 elections Lesotho experienced instability which resulted in the burning down of a number of business buildings. It was following this instability that October 1999 the Government established an Interim Political Authority (IPA). In 2002 IPA introduced a new electoral model, Mixed Member Proportional

(MMP) making Lesotho the first country in Africa to use MMP electoral model. Mixed systems are often used in emerging democracies combining some elements of both the majoritarian and proportional systems. In these systems, the PR element plays an important role in compensating a potential disproportionality that emerges as a result of using the majoritarian systems.

Agbehonou (2014), talks of an electoral system as a facilitator to political stability and argues that the PR is the most appropriate to bring about democracy in pluralist societies such as there are in many African countries. The prevention of post-election conflicts across the Continent is also dependent on a thorough understanding of, a strict compliance with, and enforcement of electoral rules by all political actors. Most African countries used the FPTP Electoral System but have since been changing to other models. The issue of whether or not FPTP does represent views of the minority groups within respective societies has been a subject of contested debate. To ensure the representativeness of their population groups, countries using PR systems reserve seats for women minorities, including racial, ethnic and religious groups. Others use Constituencies and number of votes per political party under PR system. A common practice in PR system is that a minimum threshold is established to allow smaller parties some representation.

Reynolds (2009:79) asserts that electoral systems promote democracy and stability. His argument is based on the following six principles:

- i. The system is perceived to be fair (usually because all major interests are

represented in Parliament);

- ii. It avoids anomalies in the results which could lead to illegitimacy;
- iii. Space is created for cross-cutting multi-ethnic parties;
- iv. Women and minorities are given fair access to representation;
- v. That internal party democratization is promoted; and
- vi. The connection between a voter and her representative is maintained in the interest of accountability.

Matlosa (2003:16) looks at elections through the electoral system. He argues, “Their critical importance notwithstanding, the most important value of elections and their outcome lies in the electoral system adopted by each country. While elections basically refer to a process of selecting local and national leaders on a periodic basis defined in a national constitution, an electoral system refers to the method of selecting these leaders and translating votes into parliamentary seats.” He is supported by Agbehonou (2014:58), who argues that the choice of electoral systems, dictates whether the alliance or coalition formation strategy is the appropriate course of action. Some electoral systems work well in countries with a small number of political parties while other systems give incentives to a large number of political parties. In addition to PR systems that are the most appropriate to bring about democracy in pluralist societies such as many countries in Africa, the prevention of post-election conflicts across the continent is also dependent on a thorough understanding of and a strict compliance with and enforcement of electoral rules by all political actors.

Electoral model is just a tool to conduct elections; the key element therefore lies on the elections and their results. Lindberg and Moehler (2007: 3) are of the view that “in theory, elections are legitimating devices because they provide citizens with fair procedures for selecting leaders. In practice, however, elections typically have uneven effects and winners tend to be happier than losers with political outcomes (leaders and policies) and institutions.” The lack of tolerance or refusal of elections results by the losers’ cause political instability. Those who lost elections become in conflict with the government rather than be constructive opposition to it. According to Kuhne (2010) “Elections have become a major factor in the stabilization and democratization of emerging democracies and post-conflict countries”. Elections in those countries are a tightrope walk between war and peace, stability and instability.



Moehler (2005) is of the opinion that election results strongly influence access to jobs and resources in Africa, similarly current elections can equally affect access to political power in the future. Furthermore, the misappropriation of funds among the states can also be considered as one of the reasons for political instability and social unrest. Most financial resources which could have been used to develop these countries are constantly being misappropriated to purchase military arsenals. A country undergoing financial economic crisis such as Zimbabwe does not need ammunitions. Hence, disgruntled citizens who do not see the need for investment in military equipment instead of job creation, go on rampage calling for regime change in their respective countries.

It can equally be argued that if during their campaign rallies, politicians make wide-ranging promises that they subsequently fail to fulfil during their reign, that can lead to disgruntlements and dissatisfactions. Furthermore, they sometimes have a tendency of never wanting to step down to let new people to take their place. In such cases, it becomes much easier for the Opposition to lobby the disgruntled electorate to support them in their efforts to destabilize Governments.

2.3 Elections as Drivers of Political Stability

According to Tusalem (2015) political stability is measured as the likelihood that the current regime will not be overthrown or destabilised by the use of force through unconstitutional or violent means. This is inclusive of the use of domestic violence and internal terrorism. According to Ndulo and Lulo (2010) assert elections are an intrinsic component of the dispensation of democracy and six elements are to be considered to achieve political stability. The right of all voters to participate in the electoral process without hindrance; freedom to campaign for all political parties; secrecy of the ballot; reasonable speed in the counting of ballots; accountability and openness of the electoral process to the competing parties; and an acceptable electoral law. Therefore, where all six have been conducted political stability could prevail. This is supported by International Peace Institute (IPI) (2011) which asserts elections are not inherently a source of violence. However, they can exacerbate political, ethnic, regional, and religious tensions and spill over into violence, especially if they are not conducted within an appropriate institutional framework.

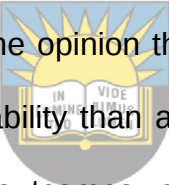
Elections provide people an opportunity to select government that can enable political stability. Bjornlund (2004) notes four contributing factors of elections to political stability. There are spill-over effects to improve respect for other rights, regime change and possibly further democratization, government accountability, lastly, effective and stable governance. The political and civil rights repression by the state can facilitate an increase in riots, protests, and civil disturbances aimed against autocracies. The mandate of governments to promote political, social and economic growth is vested in elected representatives. Politically stable countries are prone to economic growth. The concept of elections in political sphere provides open choices and freedom for all in governments that distribute state resources. It is not the elections that drive countries to political instability, rather it's the poor conduct of such elections that lead to destabilization. Free and fair elections, together with appropriate electoral model, stimulate stability.



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Gyekye-Jandoh (2014) proposes two ways in which political stability in Africa can be attained through elections. First, the establishment of Election Courts, to tackle election malpractices and disputes. These Courts would promptly deal with pre- and post-election disputes, which in turn would minimize for such to escalate to political instability in the country. The Courts would also relieve the normal courts of caseloads relating to elections. The second one talks to the capacitation and independence of the Electoral Commissions. Electoral Commissioners of the various African countries should meet from time to time to exchange ideas and experiences, and thereby gain knowledge on how to run free and fair elections in their respective countries. These commissions

could then enhance the process of organizing free and fair elections in Africa, and thereby enhance the democratic transitions as well. An independent commission with adequate resources has higher chances to combat post-election conflicts through the use of minimal influence from the politicians. The 2006 Afrobarometer surveys by Moehler (2005) disclose that in Africa, improving the quality of elections is a primary concern of foreign and domestic policy-makers. Donors, advisors, and activists are directing significant resources and attention towards making electoral procedures free, fair, and transparent. One of the primary goals of electoral reform is to increase the legitimacy of nascent democratic institutions.



Cox and Weingast (2017) are of the opinion that elections bring noticeable advantage for economic growth and accountability than autocratic government. Economic growth and political stability are both outcomes of a single coordinated game whose participants are the democratically elected political leader and an array of potential investors. More often dictatorial government discourages investors. In the era, of capitalism it's fundamental for any country to attract investors for growth. Africa was left with no manufacturing advances post the departure of the former colonial masters. On the contrary, the continent was left to depend on others, particularly their ex-colonisers. Consequently, Africa cannot provide its citizens with good job opportunities. Even the few opportunities that are available are often occupied by members of the Ruling Parties. This, in essence, creates competition among political parties for access to jobs and contributes to political tension as well as increase the likelihood of violence.

Ongáyo (2008:8) talks of economic marginalization. He argues that power sharing is a formula for the most expedient response in post-electoral violence situations; however, it falls short of addressing the very factors that underpinned the post-election violence, namely, decades of political and economic marginalization. Africa's richest people are those in power or their relatives. Through elections, people get to be in control of state resources which they use to fraudulently enrich themselves, and in turn create economic marginalization within the population. The marginalized retaliate against corrupt activities committed by those in power, thus colluding with the Opposition in the latter's efforts to destabilize Government.



Local elites use elections as a front for pursuing feuds and rivalries rather than encompassing everyone. It is important for State Apparatus to include the different groups such as youth, women and ethnic clusters within their societies during elections. Owuor (2011:8) says "women continue to be marginalized and underrepresented in elective and other leadership positions in Africa". This underrepresentation in important sectors of society, has militated against their empowerment and denied them a critical voice in the development discourse of their countries. The phenomenon of gender inequality during election campaigns has prompted those marginalized to cause conflicts. It is important therefore, to include all sections within the society and allow them to make their choices.

Strauss and Taylor (2009) add on to say particular features of election-related violence point to the relevance and potential of initiatives that combine social inclusion, crowd

sourced election monitoring, and mobilization of youth and women. They conceptualize inclusion of women in what they call Women's Situation Room (WSR). This room is defined as "a women-led non-partisan political process, aiming to promote peaceful and transparent elections, prevent electoral violence, and increase democratic participation" (2009:7). Therefore, there are good reasons to believe that the WSR is one of the promising strategies to provide early warning and ensure peace and stability during elections. Concurrently, they forge social cohesion and increase women's political participation. Drumond (2015) argues that the importance of advancing gender-sensitive analysis in electoral contexts goes far beyond a narrow approach of inclusivity and participation. Rather, it can provide a promising tool for understanding and responding to the differentially gendered impacts of electoral violence, and advancing mechanisms for conflict prevention and resolution.



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2.4 Elections as Drivers of Political Instability

Political instability is a complicated phenomenon that has different measures to it. Jong-A-Pin (2008), says political instability can be defined in terms of changes in or challenges to the political system. One way of bringing change in the political system, is through elections. Cox and Weingast (2017) define elections as a process that brings democratic governments with different policies. Tusalem (2005) asserts that democracies are prone to political instability primarily because they invite political pluralism. In other words, the large presence of interest groups and the mobilization of independent associations, can likely weaken the state from carrying out its capacity to govern effectively. Political stability plays an important role in keeping society integrated

by maintaining legitimacy within the state. It is a prerequisite for the economic development, social integration, and supremacy of law in a state. The stability of political system has direct effects on the processes of Nation and State Building. Ibrahim and Cheri (2013) talk of weak institutions of the state, flawed legislative system and constant struggle for political power as features of political instability.

The instability is caused by one or more political conflicts, one of which is post-election conflict. Agbehonou (2014:14) says post-election conflict is simply defined as any dissatisfaction of those who have vested interests in an election outcome (incumbent or coalition government, opposition political parties, candidates and their supporters, and other external actors) over the outcome of the election. Such outcome may include political violence, which takes several forms including armed revolution, civil strife, institutionalized military repression, intimidation and periodic arrest, as well as assassination of political leaders and their supporters. In the long-run the state is characterized by poverty, wars, infrastructure erosion, coups, ethno-religious conflict, corruption, unemployment and diseases.

Scholars including Straus and Taylor, look at political instability through electoral violence (sometimes referred to as electoral conflict) lens. They define it as “physical violence and coercive intimidation directly tied to an impending electoral contest or an announced electoral result” (2012:19). Such violence also includes the use of threats of physical harm by at least a stakeholder that has vested interests in elections and electoral outcomes. Birch and Muchlinski (2017:4) harmonize that definition by saying electoral violence is “coercive force, directed towards electoral actors and/or objects

that occurs in the context of electoral competition”. Such acts of violence do have different levels to them.

Banks (2005) provides a comprehensive list of political instability indicators and their definitions:

Table1. List of political instability indicators and their definitions

Indicators	Definitions
Assassinations	Any politically motivated murder or attempted murder of a high government official or politician;
Cabinet changes	the number of times in a year that a new Premier is named and/or 50% of Cabinet Posts are occupied by new Ministers
Coup d'état	the number of extraconstitutional or forced changes in the top government elite and/or its effective control of the nation's power structure in a given year;
Major government crisis	any rapidly developing situation that threatens to bring the downfall of the current regime, excluding situations of revolt aimed at such overthrow;
Number of elections	The number of elections held for the Lower House of a National Legislature in a given year;
Purges	The number of systematic repressions (or eliminations) by jailing or execution of political opposition within the rank of the regime or the opposition;

Revolutions Any illegal or forced change in the top governmental elite, any attempt at such a change, any successful or unsuccessful armed rebellion whose aim is independence from Central Government.

(source: Banks 2005)

In conjunction with above indicators Straus and Taylor (2009: 21), identify four levels of electoral violence: 1) reported violence throughout the entire electoral process, ranging from pre- to post-election; 2) violent harassment (police or security forces breaking up rallies, party supporters brawling in the streets, confiscation of opposition newspapers, candidate disqualifications, and limited short-term arrests of political opponents); 3) violent repression, which includes high-level assassinations and targeted murder, continuous high-level arrests of party leaders, long-term violent intimidation and torture; and 4) violent campaign with generalized violence including widespread physical attacks and massive killings. In all four levels the safety and security gets compromised. The violent actions can be articulated by the politicians or civilians inclusive of the security forces.

Abubakar (2012) unpacks the relationship between elections and political stability. He says the process of elections ensures that government derives its legitimacy from the people. The elected government is accountable to people and where accountability exists, stability follows. According to him election is a driver to political stability. What has been challenging in Africa is the struggle to ensure free and fair elections. The

ethno- religious diversity of Nigeria according to Abubakar is the cause of political instability. Flawed elections rather stimulate disputes amongst the electorates which fuels the instability of their country. This argument is supported by Birch and Muchlinski (2017) who argue that while the vast majority of countries around the world currently utilize elections as a means of transferring political power and providing legitimacy to ruling incumbents, violence continues to occur during many electoral contests. Electoral violence can have considerable implications for both security and democracy; it can even culminate into revolutions leading to regime changes, as it happened in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011 and 2012 respectively. In this study electoral violence is understood as violence that takes place during the entire electoral cycle, inclusive of pre-, electoral, and post-electoral periods.



Tusalem (2015) argues that Nation-States that had high levels of multi-party democracy experienced large-scale instability in terms of political violence, strikes, rallies and protests. Furthermore, where emerging democracies did not have party systems that are institutionalized, extremist groups take advantage of the weakness of the political system and bring about political mayhem in the streets, weakening the legitimacy of elected governments.

The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, was adopted by the African Union (AU) in 2007. Article 17 of this Charter talks to the Member States about elections and how they should be conducted. This article stipulates that State Parties shall:

1. Establish and strengthen independent and impartial National Electoral Bodies responsible for the management of elections.
2. Establish and strengthen national mechanisms that redress election related disputes in a timely manner.
3. Ensure fair and equitable access by contesting parties and candidates to state controlled media during elections.
4. Ensure that there is a binding code of conduct governing legally recognized political stakeholders, government and other political actors prior, during and after elections. The code shall include a commitment by political stakeholders to accept the results of the election or challenge them through exclusively legal channels.



International Peace Institute (2011) discusses three ways in which electoral violence could be put under control to enhance democracy:

- a) National early-warning mechanisms, which should be integrated into election cycles so that opportunities to deal with violence are available before it spins out of control;
- b) Well-trained and competent security forces that respect the public's civil and political rights that do not discriminate based on ethnicity, race, religion, or gender, which can prevent tensions from degenerating into violence;
- c) A credible and timely complaints process, which enables citizens who feel that their rights have been violated to report their concerns and, if appropriate, have them acted upon.

Mensah (2016) says elections serve as a medium for testing a country's democratic processes and how solid its democracy has become. Although, elections are almost assured on regular basis that does not take away the equally important need to focus on elements that can ensure sustainable democracy. (Gyekye-Jandoh, 2014:187) argues that "elections in Africa in the 21st century, from all indications, seem to have a resilience that is here to stay. Even countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, that have been autocratic or in turmoil, view elections as the threshold to cross in order to legitimize their governments, embark on different policies, and prevent public unrest." As indicated, the interests exhibited by development partners and the international community on elections, most ruling elites have reduced elections in Africa to a mere formality. This is held not as a means to democratic consolidation, but as a reassurance to the Donors and international Partners that the country is democratic. The 2005 Afrobarometer surveys by Moehler (2005) disclose elections may be deemed free and fair by experts, but not by citizens, and vice versa. In addition, where elections are perceived as free and fair, they may not confer legitimacy on government institutions.

Agbehonou (2014:7) asserts "since the adoption of multiparty systems in some African countries in the 1990s, most elections have been marred by violence and/or boycotts by political opponents". They question not only the fairness and the transparency of such elections, but also the validity of the electoral systems. This is supported by Strauss and Taylor (2009) who argue that there is a correlation between the election margin victory and electoral violence. They argue that a smaller margin increases the chances of post-

election conflict, which in turn destabilizes the country. The electoral results do not clearly indicate that vote closeness per se is correlated with high levels of electoral violence, but high electoral violence cases happen if there was less margin of victory. In particular, looking at cases where the opposition boycotts the election and where election returns are said to be fraudulent. Bekoe (2012) reveals that in countries where elections have been violent, people tend to have a less favourable opinion of elections as a means to represent the true voice of the people in government than in countries where elections have been relatively peaceful or with no major incidence.

Staniland (2014) noted that elections have become standard practice in most of the world and voting is aggressively promoted by the international community, demanded by popular movements, and heralded as a sign of legitimacy by elected governments. Yet the rise of electoral politics does not necessarily bring with it peace or stability. Rather, in the quest to win elections, governments and non-state allies manipulate and control results within an electoral system. The state's security forces and members of the ruling party threaten opposition candidates, their supporters, and other perceived adversaries with violence. The violence in Ethiopia against protesters in 2005 is a clear example, as is the intimidation of the opposition by state security forces in Zimbabwe.

Some scholars look at the different types of governments brought about as a result of electoral systems. One such scholar is Tusalem (2015) who compares Parliamentary and Presidential Systems. He asserts that the parliamentary are more politically stable over time compared to the presidential systems. Due to their nature, parliamentary

systems allow for multi-parties in national governance, which can defuse ethnic or religious tensions. They also have Heads of Government that can simply be removed by a single vote of no-confidence and not have Executives that need to serve fixed terms. Hence, such systems are less likely to experience coup d'états and military adventurism. On the other hand, because presidential systems are more fragmented and broken organizationally, they are more prone to bureaucratic gridlock. This is an opposite of parliamentary system which has high prospects of initiating much needed economic reforms without a protracted stalemate between divided branches. Lastly, parliamentary systems are likely to avoid political instability because they are more likely to enhance higher levels of economic, human and social development. An example is the Republic of South Africa which has best of both. South Africa has a mixed parliamentary republican system. President Jacob Zuma was removed through vote of no confidence in 2017, a characteristic mostly associated with parliamentary system.



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2.5 Elections and recurrence of political instability

African countries had their own systems of governance until the introduction of European system of democracy. Since the introduction of elections and political systems, there have been conflicts in African countries after election. Reno (2011: 209-200) says "The advent of democratic competitive elections has catalysed parochial rebel violence in some countries, as competition for office weakens old mechanisms of control and causes politicians to rely more on armed groups to entrench their

authoritarian electoral regimes and to protect ethnically defined communities behind the multiparty façade.”

Kuhne (2010:4) put the following questions;

- i. “Do elections really make sense in Africa and other developing regions?
- ii. Or are they the expression of an ill-advised tendency to impose Western concepts of democracy on these countries?
- iii. Should they therefore be abandoned in favour of traditional, more popular ways of choosing leaders and modes of rule, whatever they may be?”

These questions sum up the studies that have been conducted to understand the failure of elections in attaining political stability post independent Africa.



The introduction of a political system which includes elections and democracy was meant to be a solution to conflicts among African government structures. Reynolds (2009) asserts the election system is the key driver of power sharing or majoritarian constructs of governance. He notes that flawed elections do feed a vicious cycle of instability. The socio-political chaos's those have existed for decades after African elections have been associated with flawed elections. Post elections conflicts pose so much threat to firmness of African governments which becomes the opposite of the anticipated stability. Birch and Muchlinski (2017) are of the opinions that because in many cases elections are the shortest route to political power, strong incentives exist for multiple actors to seize power through force. Opposition parties and incumbents are

perhaps the most obvious perpetrators and targets of electoral violence, and these actors have been the objects of a great deal of study.

Africa has been a hub for political instability, especially after independence from the Colonial Masters. Causes of conflicts differ from one region to another and from one country to the other. The issue of political instability in Africa is also directly related to the migration and development question. This argument has been advanced by (Mohamoud, 2005:20) who argues “the life threatening political and economic conditions in Africa contribute enormously to the massive exodus of both highly qualified and lowly educated populations in Africa”. Therefore, the able bodied citizen flees their countries leaving turmoil in governments. Without personnel with technical knowhow on political systems, institutional systems and conflict management, African countries turn to violence. As a result, politicization of government institution such as the army materializes. Brain drain has been a common problem in the continent, even though the remittances from the Diaspora do contribute to respective countries’ development.

Adejumobi (2000:66) says “African elections are, in simple terms, window-dressing rituals with no real political meaning other than the stuffing of the ballot boxes behind closed doors. They are just administrative formalities which have become standard signs of good conduct adopted by African governments to Western states and international institutions on which they are financially and politically dependent.” Elections are being conducted as mandated by the Constitution of a country and expected by the international organizations. Free and fair elections are a base for

political stability as people elect their desired government but this has not been the case in Africa. Rather elections have become a custom to attain Aid from the Donor Countries. This is supported by Owuor (2011:3) who says Democracy assistance has produced a mixed bag of results. For instance, where the donor countries and or agencies have been cognizant of factors such as regime types, political and electoral systems in the recipient countries in providing assistance, there have been positive results. Yet, where the contributing countries and agencies have been oblivious of these factors and adopting a one size fits all approach, the results of their intervention have added little or no value to the democratization process.



According to Misfit (2008:6) the feedback on elections by International Observers mislead the electorate. It is usually tempting for international observers to declare most elections free and fair, simply because to do otherwise would be predictably destabilizing, and because it would be costly and politically near-impossible to redo elections from scratch. He further suggests that international observers may not be entirely familiar with the unique history, socio-cultural outlook, demographic diversity, local languages, communication infrastructure, resource distribution, institutional development, prevailing political conditions and urgent security concerns of the state in which the particular elections are being held.

Agbehonou (2014:33) argues on the bases of identity conflict. He says in the context of elections; identity conflict occurs during the voter registration process when within a country some citizens are denied their voting rights. Where people are treated as

second-class citizens or illegal immigrants, with such status, they may be unable to clearly establish their national identities or citizenships, and therefore, will not be able to register to vote. Denying any citizen or groups of citizens their basic civil rights does nothing but incite them to resort to violence. Wolff (2006) says identity conflict occurs even beyond the voter registration process given that it is often one of the main sources of post-election conflict. He talks of gerrymandering technique, whereby boundaries of Electoral Districts are drawn to unfairly increase the dominant party's winning chances. The technique in countries of homogenous ethnicity or same size constituency has a lesser chance of success. But in those mixed races and tribes with varying boundaries the quota will favour the designer which would likely ignite electoral violence from the other group(s) especially where the electoral model used is FPTP.



Ong'ayo (2008:4) asserts that political violence is a result of poor leadership. According to him, "The African political instability and other related problems are basically a consequence of its leadership problem. The issue of political instability in Africa is also directly related to the migration and development question. The life threatening political and economic conditions in Africa contributes enormously to the massive exodus of both highly qualified and lowly educated population in Africa." There was no transition of power from the colonial leaders and new leadership. Most of those leaders such as Zimbabwean, Nigerian and Congolese, to name a few, are still stuck in the war zone mentality and have not moved to peaceful ways of winning elections. He is further supported by Ibrahim and Cheri (2013:62) who says "The African political instability and other related crisis is a consequence of its leadership problem. Internally most the

African countries are governed in ways that have been regarded as far from modern western state systems upon which they are modelled.”

In the same spirit, Arriola (2009) talks of African leadership and patronage. The relationship between the leader and his allies is based on the benefits through patronage. The Continent political instability is conventionally attributed to the manner in which leaders sustain themselves in power. Leaders across the region hold onto office by purchasing support through the distribution of state resources. Some conflicts over their allocation are thought to degenerate into a struggle over control of the state. Violence erupts either because some elites crave for a larger share of the spoils controlled by the Leader or because those outside (his/her) patronage-based coalition want access to resources to which they have been denied. Favouritism and nepotism are commonly used to allocate positions within high ranks of African Governments. Cabinet Ministers and Chief Executive Officers of government institutions are appointed on political affiliations. Those who don't get the positions tend to form factions within their political parties, especially within the ruling party, making the foundation of such government weak. Unlike in the developed countries in Europe and USA there are more than two political parties which contest during elections. Each political leader has his followers who support the party in exchange for a position when such a party gets into power.

Africa has observed pre and post electoral violence with far reaching consequences. United Nations Development Program (UNDP) provides an elaborative view point of electoral violence as:

“Any acts or threats of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process, or that arise in the context of electoral competition. When perpetrated to affect an electoral process, violence may be employed to influence the process of elections — such as efforts to delay, disrupt or derail a poll — or to influence the outcomes: the determination of winners in competitive races for political office, or securing the approval or disapproval of referendum questions.” (UNDP, 2011)



Soon after the announcement of results in 2007 general elections, Kenya degenerated into violence of unprecedented proportions that claimed 1300 lives, over 600,000 displacements and destruction of property of unknown value. Since 2000, elections in Zimbabwe have been marred by serious violence targeting the rural communities that has led to disenfranchisement of many voters. In Nigeria, violence broke as President Goodluck Jonathan was announced the winner of the elections (Owuor, 2011). Since the early 1990s, 24 Presidents in Sub-Saharan Africa initiated discussions in attempts to stay in office for more than two terms when confronted with term limits. In 12 of these cases the Presidents succeeded. In three of those (Malawi, Nigeria, and Zambia) they failed. At the same time nine leaders have adhered to constitutional term limits without a protracted challenge. In the next few years, Presidents in Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Liberia, the Republic of Congo, and Sierra Leone will face

constitutional term limits. Political developments in these countries suggest that only Liberia and Sierra Leone plan to step down at the end of their second terms (Opalo, 2015).

According to Tusalem (2015:13), “countries that are not economically developed are chronically politically unstable.” In the political realm, corruption destabilizes democracy and good governance by undermining formal processes which aim to deliver services to the people who elected it. Within the legislative bodies it reduces accountability and distorts representation in policy making. Bribery is used to facilitate the passing of an Act or Policy rather than the use of advocacy and masses’ needs. In the Judiciary it compromises the rule of law. Misfit (2008) says more recently, because of the growing uncertainty about electoral results, ruling parties have attempted to perpetuate their control over the Judiciary and increase the likelihood of Judicial decisions that favour their self-interests, further undermining the institution’s effectiveness as well as legitimacy in the eyes of many citizens. Officers of the law jeopardize the integrity of this arm of government while in public administration it promotes unequal distribution of services.

Political corruption is the illegitimate use of legislative powers by government officials for private gain. According to Ibrahim and Cheri (2013: 64) “The existence of widespread corruption, especially in the societies beset by mass poverty and very high levels of unemployment, has a deeply corrosive effect on trust in government. It also contributes to crime and political disorder.” It destroys the institutional capacity of government as

procedures are disregarded, resources are siphoned off, and public offices are bought and sold. The rich become richer as they build relations with the politicians through funding their campaigns in return for favours. Consequently, the poor become poorer, creating animalistic characters of survival of the fittest. State resources are shared among the elites through what in South Africa is referred to as 'tenderpreneurship'.

The Continent has a higher probability of political conflict in comparison with other continents as a result of economic deterioration rather than ethnic diversity or colonial legacies. Two out of fifty-four countries in Africa are classified as developing, while the rest are underdeveloped. Arriola (2009:1342) says "post-elections political instability in Africa has been recurring due to widespread poverty, stagnating growth, and uneven distribution of primary resources". Weaker economy is an encouragement to the repeat of violence. It widens the gap between the haves and have-nots, and plays into the sentiment that in order to obtain personal security and well-being, it has to be every man and woman for themselves – and that violence gets attention.

The raw materials and state funds are enjoyed by the elites which in turn prompt violence in the quest to attain capital and power among those outside. Winning elections has proved to be a vehicle to wealth as those in government have access to state resources. As Kew (2006) has rightly observed, the scarcity of basic resources, institutional capacity as well as professional skills in functional areas of expertise had weakened the ability of the various organizations to sustain the struggle and campaign against bad governmental policies. Consequently, neo-patrimonial power relationships

flourished with its attendant undemocratic political culture. The neopatrimonialism had stifled the political system of the essential virtues of accountability and effective representation. Without accountability to state resources people retaliate against their governments often creating riots or political conflicts.

Weakness of political institutions is another factor to the recurrence of the region's volatility. Political stability depends not only on the strength or weakness of political institutions, but also on its political leaders' understanding of power and how to access it. For much of the time since independence, leaders have surrounded themselves with security institutions creating a system where overthrowing the Chief Executive has been the central means for achieving control of government. Tusalem (2015) argues that poorer countries are likely to experience a large mass base of the population experiencing relative deprivation vis-à-vis a minority in the population that own most or have a greater share of a country's wealth. Moreover, the deprivation in turn manifests itself through large scale violence which affects the State's ability to govern and reign in political order. This occurs regardless of whether a conflict resulted from a power grab by factions within a regime or by regional elites seeking greater autonomy from the centre. African leaders buy off rivals and reward their followers with positions within government. Those who are left-out, fight back, causing the whole Government Machinery to collapse. This leads to a vicious cycle of new leadership with new Officers every other time there is change in institutions leadership or government as a whole.

The recurrence of political instability is a result of weak civil society in African countries. According to Fagbadebo (2007), in the absence of support from civil society, the effective power of government is eroded. Patron - Client relationships take a prime role over the formal aspects of politics, such as the rule of law, well-functioning political parties, and a credible electoral system. In order to break the cycle and ensure good governance, accountability and transparency must be guaranteed. They could be a solution for ending the brazen abuse of powers and privileges by public officials and stimulate a psychological reorientation towards meaningful development. A genuine monitoring of government policies and programs could lead to the detection of corrupt practices. The significance is the possibility of alternating the perception of civilians about their elected government as it becomes the instrument of the elites to acquire and retain power at the expense of the people. In the long run, non-elites could come to the realization that the ruling elites owe their positions to the mandate of their constituents for the purpose of good governance. Thus the state could be seen as the servant of the public, rather than the preserve of the elites.

Scholars including (Tusalem 2015, Muchlinski 2017) assert environmental degradation and lack of basic needs like good roads, potable water and health services create tension amongst the citizenry. Availability and accessibility of services facilitate the smooth running of government machinery which in turn creates harmony among the electorates. The overlaps between governance and instability have indicators to it. Firstly, inadequate public sector productivity which adversely affects the poor and deepens impoverishment consequently, exacerbates social frustration. Given social

class' disproportional dependence on public sector services, fuelled by a lack of means to source alternatives for state provided water, security, education citizenry fabric gets disgruntled. In the same vein, while the state may be credited for providing monthly welfare payments to the neediest, it is this segment of society that bears the majority of the costs in the form of inefficient and poor public services. People are tired of requesting Government attention. Consequently, they turn to riots as a means to attract it.

In addition to infrastructure and service problem, is lack of employment. The unemployment rate increases poverty of the masses, resulting in vulnerability of the foundation of societal structure. Okafor (2017:226) says "youth unemployment has been identified as one of the main causes of instability in the West African countries, as it makes the costs of rebellion very cheap." African states rely on government institutions for employment as the private sector is small and mostly owned by the international community. Okafor (2017) says the countries in West Africa suffer from high youth unemployment, and have very few possible income generating activities. Youth are, therefore, easily influenced through the promises of monetary gains and physical power to join rebel, militant and armed groups. Those who have been engaged during their early years in such crowds, rather than in education, are easily influenced to fall into crime and violence.

The political parties of any country are supposed to remain dedicated to working for the social, political and economic development of their countries. Their steps and political

activities are designed to achieve the needs of their followers for the betterment of condition of the country and the people; however, things like these do not always happen in the desired way. When the political parties of a country take very hostile positions towards each other, then political instability grows. Factions among parties and coalitions have created a continuing struggle amongst the political elites. Members opt out of parties or coalitions which Jong-A-Pin (2008) says several feasible scenarios occur due to such moves. One scenario would be formation of a new party by the fractions and the other could be joining the opposition, both could destabilize the government, which may lead to snap election. In any case, change in Parliament and Cabinet affects the people on the ground.



South Africa is one of the youngest democracies by far yet fractions within the ruling party have caused the Country two recalls of Presidents (Thabo Mbeki 2009 and Jacob Zuma 2018). According to Banks (2005), the number of cabinet reshuffles within a given year in a country is an indicator of political instability. Since assuming the Presidency in 2009, President Zuma reshuffled his Cabinet eight times (excluding the mandatory new cabinet when his second term started) before being ousted by his successor in 2018. The most peculiar being the seventh, which saw appointment of David van Rooyen as Minister of Finance, causing an outcry both within and outside the country. Inevitably, a hastily change was made with the (re)appointment of Pravin Gordhan after four days (Mail and Guardian 13 December 2015).

The reappearance of African states on political instability cadre relies heavily on its historical background. The mentality of struggle to achieve political control is a long bequest of African elites. Violence has been a legacy or extension of a trail to power in post-colonized places such as Africa. Post-independence leaders took control of their different countries through struggles from the colonial masters. Where incumbents in particular, took power through a coup or military victory, electoral violence is likely to occur. According to Straus and Taylor (2009:22-23) “political elites will use violence in elections if violence has been one way that they have obtained or protected power in the past.” The legacy occurs also in countries that have history of boycotting elections.



African countries, in particular the east, west and north, are characterized by heterogeneity of ethnic groups. According to Birch and Muchlinski (2017) ethnic groups may rally behind certain candidates, creating conditions favourable to outbreaks of inter-ethnic conflict during election periods. In such cases, incumbents may attempt to instigate diversionary conflict targeted at various ethnic or religious groups, to shore up their base of support. Politicians may also manipulate ethnic and religious cleavages to mobilize bases of support. They promise certain ethnic groups favourable redistributive policies, including redistribution of pastoral land, which can influence these actors to engage in conflict with other ethnic groups to gain a greater share of resources. According to Ladan-Baki (2014) enforced legitimacy cannot, especially in an ethnically-differentiated society, stimulate national development. Rather, the society continuously moves in a vicious circle of instability that proceeds in a ceaseless tide threatening its existence.

Elections, especially in newly fragmented democratized states, have also been found to encourage groups to engage in conflict, especially if such groups perceive they will be better off under a new regime than the status quo. The phenomenon of floor crossing in Parliament comes to life or political migration for those who are not Members of Parliament (MPs). Matlosa and Shale (2006) pronounce the following sequence: Democracy requires democrats as its agents. If Leaders are democrats, they are bound to embrace democratic ethos. If leaders are not democratic they are not likely to run parties in a democratic manner. If parties are not run democratically, they are bound to experience unending in-fighting and conflicts which may not be managed constructively resulting in fragmentation and splits.



2.6 Theoretical Framework

Burchill, et al (2001) asserts that there is no single theory that is widely thought to provide the basis for understanding a phenomenon. In line with the above postulate, the study is based on two theories, namely the Two-Turnover Test by Huntington and Fallacy of Electoralism by Karl.

First it seeks to test the validity of Huntington's (1991) two- turnover test. The main assumption of this framework is that democracy is consolidated where there is political turnover. The transfer of power between two leaders relates to the two turnover test theory. It maintains that democracy is consolidated if the party or group that takes power in the initial election at the time of transition, loses a subsequent election and

turns over power to those elections winners, and if those election winners then peacefully turn over power to the winners of a later election. Ghana is a clear example of the Theory. Mensah (2016) says President Kufour first took the oath of office as President of Ghana in 2001 and for a second tenure in office after his re-election in December 2004. Consequently, by the end of the year 2008, Ghana had had two governments in power from different political parties. For this reason, Ghana has passed the notion of the two turnover test propounded by Huntington.

The second theory that has been adopted for the study is the theory of Electoralism by Karl (1988). It asserts that merely holding elections will channel political action into peaceful contests among elites and accord public legitimacy to the winners is a fallacy. Furthermore, it contests the definition that democracy equates to regular, fairly conducted and honestly counted elections. Some even consider the mere fact of elections---even ones from which specific parties or candidates are excluded, or in which substantial portions of the population cannot freely participate--as a sufficient condition for the existence of democracy. Schmitter and Karl (1991) assert that the theory assumes citizens can seek to influence public policy through a wide variety of other intermediaries inclusive of interest groups, social movements, locality groupings and clientelistic arrangements.

Lesotho has conducted elections in 2012, 2015 and 2017. The 2012 elections saw the incumbent of the last three terms losing to the challenger. Post all these elections, the incumbent leader had always transferred power in a peaceful manner to the challenger.

The turnover occurred in 2012, 2015 and 2017 respectively. Thus, in between the years, Lesotho has had three governments from different political party coalitions. However, conflicts still persisted, indicating that the country seems to be a deviant case from the two-turn over test. Elections alone cannot be a measure to stability and attainment of democracy. Lesotho case has characteristics of the fallacy of electoralism. Intermediaries can influence the stability of a country post elections.



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CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the research method used to gather data and analyse as well as the methodology employed in the study. The empirical study and findings were guided by the research questions, looking at elections as driver of political instabilities faced by Africa, especially the Kingdom of Lesotho. The Researcher made use of the qualitative approach based on a real life situation. It helped to demonstrate a deeper understanding of an undesirable recurrence of political instability post free and fair elections. The Researcher is responsible for obtaining accurate information and ensuring the participants' ethical treatment. The choice of this approach is based on three points articulated by Maharaj (2018). Firstly, its product is richly descriptive. Secondly, the Researcher becomes an integral part of the research process. Lastly, the issue is not one of minimizing the influence of the research, but of knowing how the Researcher was involved in data collection and analysis in order to assess better the information provided.

The study was feasible in terms of the Researcher's familiarity with the culture and traditions of Basotho. Furthermore, knowledge of language and Lesotho Government System created easy communication during interviews. Trochim (2001:26) emphasizes several practical considerations when conducting the feasibility of a study, and identifies two key aspects: "First you have to think of how long the research will take to accomplish; second, you have to consider important ethical constraints... whether you can acquire cooperation needed to take the project". Access to the required literature and participants was added advantage.

Furthermore, the Researcher had pre-interviews to pre-test the applicability of the data collection method. Appointments were made to ensure that what is proposed can actually be accomplished within the limits of the evaluation timeframe and resources. Such included informants and respondents' availability for interviews.

3.1 Research design

According to Creswell (2009), there are three types of research designs namely: quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. Research design is a systematic procedure followed in a research form data collection, analysis and finally the actual write-up. Qualitative research design was used, which Babbie and Mouton (2001:27) describe as a study of human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves. By using this approach, it was possible to gather respondents' views in addition to the documentation reviewed. Moreover, Neuman (1997) says the approach specifically looks at variables in their natural settings and the researcher going into the actual setting to collect data. The role of the researcher in qualitative research is to attempt to access the thoughts and feelings of study participants. Informants were visited in their different offices, which eased access to information during the actual interview. The setup also provided unrestricted setting in terms of time and comfortable environment for the informants as they did not have to leave work space during office hours. Chapanyi (2015) sums up the approach as thus:

“A qualitative research approach helps to bring out the dynamic evidences by developing discussions, gathering and getting people to speak in their own words

how they understand a particular idea; the procedure and result of data gathering derived from documents, inclusive of journals, newspapers, articles, artefacts, internet sources, theses and even quality data in order to be able to guarantee a worthy and understandable assessment of the study as well as give much room for explanation.”

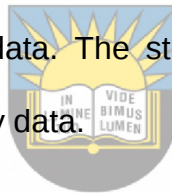
Qualitative work requires reflection on the part of researchers, both before and during the research process, as a way of providing context and understanding for readers (Sutton and Austin, 2015). In line with the above notion, the study provided background information on Lesotho politics to acclimatise the reader on prior events to the period being discussed. Furthermore, taking the readers through the process of the research up to the write-up that includes the limitations and how those were approached. Therefore, qualitative approach was critical in this study as it guided the researcher to conduct interviews using interview guide, conduct Focus Groups (FGs) and analyse documents. Henceforth, it was also critical that themes were developed from the data collected.

One form of qualitative research design is case study design which this study has adopted. A case study design was used to gather information. Rakotsoane and Rakotsoane (2007) define a case study as an in-depth study of a single organization, institution, programme or event which serves as the case being investigated. It was suitable for this study and advantageous as it developed analytical and problem solving

skills and allowed for application of new knowledge and skills. Furthermore, it allowed the researcher to get the feelings and thoughts of the respondents in terms of the political instability and elections in Lesotho.

3.2 Methods of Data collection

Creswell (2009) asserts that the qualitative methods include observation, in-depth individual interviews, biographical methods such as life histories, narratives and analysis of documents and texts. Sutton and Austin (2015) point out that data collection is the core of any research as it provides answers to the research problem. They add on to say data collection methods of using FGs and one-to-one interviews process involves generation of large amounts of data. The study adopted both interviews and focus group discussion as part of primary data.



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3.2.1. Primary Source of Data *Together in Excellence*

The Researcher conducted face-to-face interviews with various professionals, informants and respondents from related disciplines as stated in the sample. According to Opdenakker (2006) face-to-face interviews give the interviewer a lot of extra information that can be added to the verbal answers of the interviewee on a question, such as body language. Also, in these interviews tape recorders were used as they have advantage of accuracy than note taking. Random and Referral system of identifying participants complemented one another throughout the collection process. It is important to note that interviews are most widely employed method in social sciences because the researcher gets information through well-placed and organized individuals

in relevant institutions and the society. Furthermore, the researcher used the Patton view point on how to conduct interviews. Patton (2002:381) suggest that “When the interviewee has said something that seems particularly important or insightful, it may be necessary to say, “I’m afraid I need to stop you at this point so that I can get exactly what you said...”.

During the interviews, the researcher had to stop the participants and informants either to repeat or clarify what they had said. In some cases, the interviewer would prompt the respondents in Sesotho to ease communication and explicitness. She exercised active listening to capture information during the interviews and ease immediately reaction. The interviewing process was therefore a fulfilling encounter for the researcher, as the participants were amenable to share their personal experiences. The initial method chosen was a one-on-one interview with each of the participants. However, in order to reach the initial target, other means of interviewing on account of the modified sample such includes telephonic and electronic mail were adopted. The electronic mail method was used for participants where arrangement for a personal interview on account of their work commitments failed. The aim and objectives were shared, clarified and agreed on with the participants telephonically before the interview guide was emailed. Sarantakos (2005:170) states that the “...approach is [for] researchers to attach the questionnaire [in the case of this study an interview schedule] to an e-mail...with an invitation to participate”. Also, attached to the email was the ethical clearance from the University ethics committee. The participants did email back their answers. However, the researcher concedes that the method was not highly effective in comparison with

one-on-one and telephonic interviewing as some answers were not accurately dealt with. Nonetheless, it did provide richness to the data by bringing different perspectives.

During interviews the researcher took notes. According to Sutton and Austin (2015) field notes allow the researcher to maintain and comment upon impressions, environmental contexts, behaviours, and nonverbal cues that may not be adequately be captured through the audio-recording; they are typically handwritten in a small notebook at the same time the interview takes place. Moreover, they provide important context to the interpretation of audio-taped data and can help as reminder regarding situational factors that may be important during data analysis. It was discovered that note taking provides legitimacy and interaction to the interviewee as they regard note taking as professional. The use of tape recorders in Lesotho is associated with media personnel. Note taking also provided affluence of data as coding happened during interviews. The interviewer connected the key points on the note pad which is a difficult venture to accomplish in a tape recorder.

A Focus Group (FG) then followed to fill the gaps that appeared during the interview. The Researcher used FG to get the views of other groups within the society. Lesotho is a homogeneous country limiting the diversity of views based on culture and tribes.

3.2.2 Secondary Data Collection

The study attained secondary data sources from published materials, inclusive of books, journals, newspapers, articles, theses and reports. Data was collected from

existing documentation on the subject matter which includes Constitution, Acts, and internet sources. Verbal discussions were also taken into consideration in order to obtain a complete understanding of the research problem. This data was used to substantiate responses from the interviews and focus group discussion. It provided information from those who had done research on the similar or related study.

3.3 Sample

A sample is a representative of the targeted population. According to Strydom (2005), a sample is taken from a population in order to make a generalization of the population as a whole. It should not be too small so as to give limited information nor too large to enable adequate analysis. Patton (2002:244) says “there are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry ... [It] depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the enquiry, what’s at stake, what will be useful... and what can be done with available time and resources.” In line with this quote, data collection was not restricted to those mentioned above. Political analysts and ex-members of Parliament were approached to provide more information. Particular care was taken with the sample size to ensure it related it to the case study at hand. ‘Nyane (2016) says there is a triangular relationship between the Electorate, the Parliament and the resultant Government. The principle of elections applies with equal measure on the workings of most countries, Lesotho included. Government in Lesotho (GoL) is based on the broader will of the electorate expressed through the doctrine of representation in Parliament. So, in essence, no government can legally form if it’s in contravention of this fundamental theoretical postulation.

Alluding to the above, the Researcher selected respondents and informants based on their relationship with the topic, bearing in mind the theoretical frameworks. The sample included Lesotho's academics from the National University of Lesotho (NUL), Parliamentarians (MPs), officials from the Electoral Commission (IEC) and members of the security institutions inclusive of the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF), Lesotho Mounted Police Service (LMPS), Lesotho Correctional Services (LCS) and the National Security Service (NSS). The total number of both informants and responded came to twelve. The sample criterion was based on participants who have a role in political climate of the country such includes:

- Conducting elections,
- Running for elections,
- Having effect on stability through safety and security
- Conducting research on elections and political stability,



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3.3.1 Sampling technique

Purposive sampling was adopted for this research. Strydom and Venter (2002:207) refer to purposive sampling as one: "Based entirely on the judgment of the researcher, in that a sample is composed of elements that contain the most characteristics, representative or typical attributes of the population." The researcher decides, for instance that views are representative to the objectives of the study at hand. Moreover, Naidoo (2007) asserts purposive sampling targets individuals with distinct and important perceptions about the topic and the issue being investigated. Using the two explanations above the employed technique

was selected for this study because it allowed for the selection of people who have roles to play in the qualitative case study. The advantage of this case study research is that it allows purposive sampling technique.

Purposive sampling technique is used where the researcher wants to select the participants within a given set of population. Peersman (2014) is of the opinion that purposive sampling “study information-rich cases from a given population to make analytical inferences about the population. Units are selected based on one or more predetermined characteristics and the sample size can be as small as one.”

In conjunction with purposive sampling the study used expert sampling to collect data. Expert sampling is the selection of people with demonstrated or known expertise in the area of interest to you to become the basis of data collection (Kumar, 2011). In line with the above view, the Researcher used judgment in extending the sample to the ex-members of Parliament who had direct involvement in different political conflict management strategies employed by Government. The difference between Purposive Sampling and Expert Sampling is that in the case of the former it is entirely your judgement as to the ability of the respondents to contribute to the study (Kumar, 2011). You may now indicate the number of people interviewed, why and who they were.

3.3 Methods of Data Analysis

The study used qualitative data analysis method which Welmar and Kruger (1992) assert that it is an ongoing, fluid and cyclical process. It happens throughout the data collection stage of a research project and carries over to the data entry and analysis

stages. The study analysed the data from the interviews, focus groups and documents which were collected. All interviews were transcribed and content analysed thematically based on the objectives of the study. The interviews aimed to respond to the research problem statement. During the analysis some quotes were attributed with consent of such sources while keeping in mind the research questions and aim.

Mohajan (2018) says data analysis is actually a dynamic process weaving together recognition of emerging themes, identification of key ideas or units of meaning and material acquired from the literature. Thematic analysis to identify different forms of political instability in Lesotho was done through coding. This refers to the identification of topics, issues, similarities, and differences that are revealed through the participants' narratives and interpreted by the researcher (Sutton and Austin, 2015). This process enables the researcher to begin to understand the world from each participant's perspective. It also facilitated themes applied during the write-up as some recurrences intertwined leading to the researcher to cluster them accordingly.

3.4 Ethical Considerations

Du Plooy (1997) points out that a research project should conform to the moral, ethical and legal standards of scientific enquiry. It is therefore crucial that, from the outset, participants are fully informed, so as to understand and know what to expect. The researcher did consider ethical aspects throughout the process of dealing with the participants to ensure that honesty, fairness, respect, privacy and openness are exercised at all times. According to Granheim and Lundman (2004:109), "research

findings should be [as] trustworthy as possible and every research study must be evaluated in relation to the procedures used to generate findings”. The presentation and discussion of the findings were done within consideration of ethical research and good conducts avoiding bad practices including as plagiarism.

3.4.1 Credibility

According to Polit and Hungler (1999) as cited in Granheim and Lundman (2004:109), “credibility deals with the focus of the research and refers to confidence in how well data and processes of analysis address the intended focus”. The credibility of this research exists in the fact that the identified research problem was addressed. Relevant literature related to the topic was collected and reviewed to support the research findings and sources were acknowledged. Data collected by means of interviews and focus group related directly to the research questions. Data analysis was carried out by identifying relevant themes and sub-themes.

3.4.2 Validity

Validity according to Golafshani (2003) refers to the appropriateness, truthfulness and usefulness of inferences made from the data. The data was analysed as it is without any moderation or personal believes of the researcher. Quotes were used to give the exact words as poised by respondents and /or informants. Some responses which were made in Sesotho were translated.

3.4.3 Confirmability

The concept of confirmability relates to the degree to which the outcomes of a research could be confirmed. Shenton (2004:72) states: “beliefs underpinning decisions made and methods adopted should be acknowledged within the research report [and] the reasons for favoring one approach...” Some changes were made to achieve the desired objectives. The guiding research questions however, did not change. The confirmability which is the extent to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher’s bias, motivation, or interest (Sutton and Austin (2015)), was adhered to. During interviews, causes of political instability were shared by informants and respondents. Hence, the inclusion of the causes to the different analyzed forms of political instability in Lesotho for the period 2012-2017.



3.4.4 Informed Consent

According to Masete (2011), informed consent implies that subjects are made adequately aware of the type and purpose of information a researcher wants from them, how they are expected to participate and how directly or indirectly they might be affected. Given the fact that information was obtained from both primary and secondary sources, the researcher ensured informants that no harm could come to them by obtaining informed consent from all and keeping their identities anonymous if it was so desired, as the identity of the interviewees has to be protected. Names and identity of the interviewees have been kept confidential and no other person has the information except the interviewer herself. According to Strydom (2005) confidentiality exists where there is no link to a particular person when one looks through a research study.

There was consciousness regarding the nature of study conducted. Consent was attained from Management of the different institutions to release documentation used as some of them were of paramount importance to the Country. The research acknowledged the sensitivity involved and the repercussion that it would bring if misinterpreted. Strydom (2005) argues that “emphasis must be placed on accurate and complete information so that subjects will fully comprehend their investigation about possible participation”. Everything possible was done to ensure that participants understood in advance what the entire study entailed. This was done so as they could decide whether or not to continue with the interview. The participants all signed the consent form to confirm their agreement to participate. All sources from secondary information were properly referenced so as to guard against plagiarism.



3.5 Limitations of the Study

The research focused on elections which restricted other drivers for political instability. These drivers include cultural diversity and level of political tolerance amongst others. One such possible driver was the extent to which unfulfilled campaign promises have impact on the stability of governance. During the data collection some documents were inaccessible from government controlled offices especially NSS offices. This hindered substantiation of secondary data to some contributions made by respondents. Lack of supporting material requires a great deal of endurance to validate and make conclusions where time is limited. Some information that could have been of key importance to the study had to be omitted during the write-up as some documents had not been accessed. Some of the participants that had been approached could not be

found and interview guide was emailed to them. In some cases, where feedback was received, the challenge was that the data was weak and further questions could not be probed by the interviewer.

This being a sensitive research topic, participants were rather sceptical of the whole political environment and the responses were not straight forward. Information that related to cases of mutiny and assassinations was difficult to access as the informants were perceived as a threat to National Security. Dealing with security institutions, especially the LDF limited the findings on the participants or institutions that were suspected of causing instability. Other cases could not to be referred to as they were still pending in Courts. The time frame for data collection that was initially played got to be extended due accessibility of Parliamentarians.



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Different measures were adopted to mitigate the limitations. During the interview, the Researcher found out that respondents were uncomfortable to be addressed by their names even after being told that in the write up contributions would be non-attributable. All were addressed as Mr. or Ms. Molapo since it's a common surname in Lesotho. For those who did not want to be seen in public places being interviewed, they were conducted in their offices or homes. In order to meet Parliamentarians who travel to mountainous areas during adjournment, their interviews were done while they were in session and could be accessed in the city.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN LESOTHO FROM 2012-2017

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion and analysis of findings based on literature review, interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) conducted with respondents, informants and political youth leaders. A comprehensive analysis of the findings including verbatim quotes, was adopted and sought to establish the extent to which elections are drivers of the different forms of political instability in Lesotho during the period.

The Kingdom of Lesotho, like many other African countries, has not enjoyed peace since independence. This is because almost all elections in the tiny country have been contested for one reason or the other leading to conflict and often violence eventually. The most disputed that led to loss of lives were the 1970 and 1998 elections (Chapanyi, 2015). According to the Economist Intelligence Unit's 2011 Democracy Index (EIU), Lesotho is among flawed democracies. EIU overall democracy score which ranges from 10 to 1, is based on indicators of democracy. These include electoral process and pluralism, functioning of government, political participation, political culture and civil liberties (EIU, 2011). With the above background, the study sought to establish the causes of political instability.

4.2 Forms of Political Instability

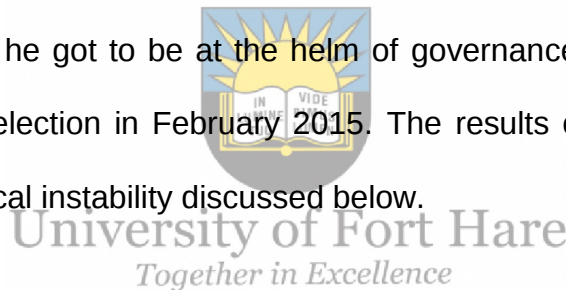
In order to establish the different forms of Lesotho's election related political instability in the period 2012-2017, the researcher clustered them into themes and sub-themes. They include assassinations, attempted coup d'état, violation of territorial sovereignty, government crisis and Cabinet changes. In the analysis, political conflict and violence have been used interchangeably.

4.2.1 Attempted Coup D'état

Lesotho has had successful and failed coups since independence. The 2012 Coalition Government was formed by parties as a result of elections that failed to produce any one single majority party win. A coup is an act by the military or civilians to change government undemocratically. On the morning of August 31, 2014 members of LDF forcefully seized ammunitions from the LMPS Headquarters in Maseru and attacked the State House. The PM fled the country and made a statement that there had been an attempted coup in Lesotho. Banerjee (2017) asserts that the disarming of the police and the jamming of communications media indicated a coup. There is no evidence that the alleged coup was directly motivated by elections, rather by it was due to the aftermath, or as a result of those elections. The usual trend is that the personality and profile of those who get elected into, and by virtue of being part of the government machinery post-election, become prime instigators. According to informants, after being questioned on suspension of corruption by the Directorate of Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO) in 2013, Mothejoa Metsing used the Military to topple the PM. In his position as both the Deputy PM and Leader of a Party in the Coalition responsible for the Military, he

had leverage to do as he wished to influence the Army. Some respondents argued that the 2014 attempted coup was motivated by him as a cover. This was substantiated by the Ex- Commander Tlali Kamoli when he declared in front of `Phumaphi Commission that he had no interest in taking over Government.

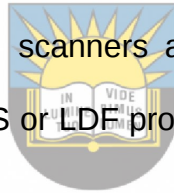
The attempted coup allegedly as motivated by DPM, adheres to Kieh's Rent-Seeking Theory. It argues that individuals engage in instability actions such as demonstrations, riots, coups and civil wars based on self-interests. The theory emphasises what the respondent's shared as the source of the attempted coup. Therefore, the attempt was motivated by an individual who wanted to protect his own interest. Election results gave Metsing leverage as he got to be at the helm of governance. Secondly, the attempted coup led to a snap election in February 2015. The results of attempted coup brought another form of political instability discussed below.



4.2.2 Violation of territorial sovereignty

Post the attempted coup, the PM fled to South Africa. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Countries assigned a Mediator to Lesotho (then South Africa's Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa). A report named Maseru Facilitation Declaration (2014) was drafted as a result of the deliberations between the Mediator and Government. One of the recommendations made was that SADC should provide military security for Thabane as the Head of Government, including other Party Leaders in the Coalition. This led to his return to Lesotho under a SADC Protection Force. Respondents said Maseru became tense in the presence of SADC troops as they

restricted free movement. According to informants, all key institutions and personnel were under SADC military protection. This included the State House, Parliament and Cabinet Premises. Weisfelder (2015) notes that Thabane returned to Lesotho guarded by a substantial contingent of South African police. This type of protection, together with other SADC security contingents, would protect him and 'Maseribane, the BNP Leader, until after the 2015 Election. Security for the 2015 election process was provided by 475 foreign police from the DRC, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Swaziland, who were deployed during the week prior to the election. The LDF remained in its barracks while SADC police and election observers monitored every aspect of the electoral process. Parliament reopened on 17 October with unprecedented security provided by South African police armoured vehicles, scanners and sniffer dogs. The King opened the Parliament without the usual LMPS or LDF processions, an uncommon phenomenon in the history of Lesotho.



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Prior to 2012, the country did experience post electoral violence and instability, which includes SADC military interventions. The difference that came about during this period under study was for the SADC military to guard the Head of Government. Basotho went for the 2015 elections under troubled conditions. Nonetheless, the elections were declared as free and fair by the IEC. This act belittled the local security institution while posing discomfort for the citizens. The sovereignty and integrity of the State came under the auspices of an External Force. The citizens became disgruntled and lived under fear as they lost trust in their own defence force.

4.2.3 Assassinations Post Elections

Banks (2005) defines assassination as any politically motivated murder or attempted murder of a high ranking government official or politician. He further argues that it is an indicator of political instability. There have been several successful and attempted assassinations in Lesotho. The period from 2012-2017 marked an era of assassinations in the Mountain Kingdom. The disappearance of Constable Mokalekale Khetheng on 25 March 2016 created an unsettling situation within the police force and Basotho at large. According to informants Constable Khetheng disappeared days before he was to give evidence in Court on a case relating to the then Minister of Defence. His corpse was found on 17th August 2017 in a mass grave at Lepereng Graveyard in the precincts of the Capital City. This finding prompted more people to come forth to report about family members that were assassinated.



The Government shared that some of those who were assassinated were thrown in the Mohale Dam. According to a statement made on 30th November 2017 in Parliament by Minister of Police, three corpses linked to LDF killings were retrieved from the Dam.

In June 2015, the LDF Commander Mahao was ambushed and assassinated by rogue elements of LDF who had been following him for some time en route from his Mokema Farm. "This was further supported by Professor Mahao, the brother to the Commander during the commemoration of what would have been 50th birthday of his brother. Mahao said his younger brother had told the family about this plot to assassinate him. He reminded the attendants that on 30th August 2014, the day after his brother was inaugurated as Commander, an attempt to assassinate him failed as he went hiding in

the outside toilet of his house”. The assassination of the Commander made Basotho feel disgruntled regarding their peace and security. The people lived under fear and mistrust about the Military. The sovereignty of the State was exposed as several institutions, including as Parliament, State House and the Prime Minister himself together with his entourage, had to be safeguarded by SADC.

A Commission of Enquiry was launched to investigate the death of Mahao. In his evidence, one Bulane Sechele, a formerly low ranking officer who had been hurriedly promoted twice within 15 months, told the Commission how they laughed off the Government Gazette removing Lt-Gen Kamoli as Commander. This was the same Gazette that was concurrently appointing Lt-Gen Mahao as his successor. He also testified that they did not regard Prime Minister Thabane as legitimate. Finally, he testified that the police had not, and could not, be allowed to interrogate or arrest suspected soldiers. Sejanamane (2017) shares, “This tells you that unless the decisions by SADC for those like Sechele who have been identified as suspects in several crimes, are suspended while their cases are being investigated and brought to the courts, there can never be stability in Lesotho. Stability cannot be attained as long as impunity by the State and its Agents is allowed to continue.” In a statement made by Minister of Defence Sentle Lebona, it was the same Sechele who killed Commander Mots’omots’o on Tuesday 3 September 2017. Colonel Sechele and Brigadier Hashatsi had come to confront the Commander about the three army members that were being interrogated by police as suspects of killing two persons who had packed near Lieutenant Kamoli’s house on May 2014. This was shared in the FG discussion.

Sejanamane summarizes the series of events as thus:

“The consequences could have been foreseen. The government had been paralysed from January 2014 to the 2015 elections. Two parallel structures of rule had emerged, those which were under Dr Thabane’s command. Secondly, those commanded by his Deputy, Mothetjoa Metsing in collaboration with the former Premier Pakalitha Mosisili. The latter was to publicly thank the Military for helping him get to power. At a Pass Out Parade of the recruits into LDF shortly after taking over as Prime Minister, he disclosed that he would not have been in office, were it not for the help of the military (*“Hoja e ne e se ka lona, nka be ke se mona”*). The return to office of Dr Mosisili as Prime Minister and the reinstatement of Lt-Gen Kamoli as Commander of the LDF, led to more convulsions in both the military and the political scene where several soldiers were detained, tortured, and some exiled. (Lesotho Times May 26, 2017).

4.2.4 Demonstrations and Elections

In the case where the source of instability relating to elections might emanate from the electorate and citizens, is where election promises are not met. They may show their dissatisfaction against the elected government through strikes and demonstrations. Demonstrations are a peaceful approach by the citizens towards government to show their grievances. In some cases, such demonstrations turn into riots and ultimately destabilise the country. Elections on the other hand, are a peaceful manner in which citizens chose government which promises to address their grievances. According to

informants and respondents, post elections, there had been an increase in demonstrations, petitions and strikes by workers of different sectors. These come as a result of unfulfilled promises made during election campaigns and continuing economic challenges after elections. Ndulo and Lulo (2010) affirm that the major challenge that countries continue to face after Election Day is economic recovery. This is testimony to the fact that regardless of how successfully Lesotho's election might have been conducted, post-election peace and stability are likely to be a hard sell under such conditions. That is, as long as the electorate do not see either fulfilment of campaign promises, or an improvement in their economic conditions, conditions for conflict remain ripe and instability will surely follow. In plain terms, there can be no enduring democracy in the midst of abject poverty.



Respondents also argued that social problems inclusive of health, education and service delivery cause instability. Chapanyi (2015: 70) says "The problem in Lesotho is not how elections are conducted or the model in place. It is rather how problems are addressed at the domestic level, and also how the Government delivers services to the people." One of them cited high levels of HIV/AIDS infections which has led to a society that has lost identity and trust on the Government. The electorate roll in the three elections has been decreasing. Socially, the disease has led to the death of thousands of people and discrimination leading to a society that is disgruntled. The psychological trauma experienced by many children and adults when their parents, family members and friends die under drastic conditions, has created mistrust toward government. Service delivery at Health Centres is poor especially in Government Hospitals. The

majority of the population lives in the rural areas where accessibility to Health Centres has challenges due to long distances that patients are forced to travel to access them.

The education system also does not adhere to the evolving needs of the work environment. According to the informants, what is offered by the University does not prepare graduates to find jobs. On the other hand, the Government does not have the capacity to employ disgruntled Grandparents and the Youth. High unemployment rates, coupled with poor service delivery, have a destabilising effect due to strikes and petitions. This argument is supported by Tsikoane et al (2007) who maintains that the Country has shortfalls in respect to improved service delivery, media freedom, women and minorities' empowerment, state-civil society relations, improved transparency and adherence to accountability. All of these constitute indicators of democratic consolidation. In May 2017, the students at the National University went on a strike that took over a month without attending classes.

4.2.5 Dysfunctional Coalition Government

Lesotho experienced a new phenomenon of coalition government post 2012 elections. The 2015 and 2017 elections followed the same pattern in the formation of government. The 2012 elections resulted in a coalition of three parties, while the 2015 in seven, while the 2017 resulted in four. According to Nyane (2016) Coalition Government Model has its origins in Germany where it has two important elements. First it has an overhang and a threshold Parliament. The overhang allows a few seats above what would be

regarded as the total number of seats in a country to accommodate left-over seats when the allocations are made. That means there are no fixed numbers of seats. The Lesotho system has no overhang similar to New Zealand where the country took the system from. It's coalition arrangement was entered into as there was no party that attained minimum threshold to form government. This was a different case from that of the neighbouring countries' (South Africa and Zimbabwe) coalitions. The South African coalition is mandated by its Constitution. Zimbabwe coalition was an arrangement to get stability between the two main parties.

Coalition brought too many caucuses for Parliamentarians to follow, with each party within the Coalition having its own. There is also the Coalition Caucus. One Parliamentarian said "we are not sure which Caucus to follow when the parties have a different view from that of the coalition. This created conflict and mistrust within parties which prompted the formation of AD in 2017". Alliance for Democrats (AD) was formed by members of Parliament from Democratic Congress (DC) which was the largest party in the 2015-2017 Coalition Government of six which cobbled together to form a majority. While coming together met the short-term needs of a minimal winning coalition, it opened a hole for smaller parties to essentially blackmail larger parties for greater concessions or risk a change of Government. Thus, while promoting multiparty competition intended to create stability in one aspect, in terms of governability it became a hindrance. The smaller parties used their votes to lure for favors from DC.

The respondents argued that the coming of a new phenomenon which was not even prepared for, brought challenges to those who had to implement it. The Coalition Agreements that were signed by various parties post the three elections had loop-holes. This left the Government open for tricky circumstances. The main one being who was in control of the Government as all members of the Coalition wanted power.

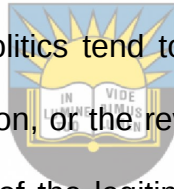
For instance, it became blurred as to who controlled government machinery between the Prime Minister and Coalition Members. Secondly, objectives of the two documents, the Coalition Agreement and Government Policy, had not been aligned. So the issue of which one to implement between the two, remained unclear. This led to the fall of the two previous Governments of 2012-2015 and 2015-2017.

In the former Government, Metsing claimed that his Boss, the then Prime Minister, made decisions without consulting him in his capacity as Deputy Prime. This brought tension between them, and ultimately led to the Government's downfall. According to informants, Metsing lobbied MPs to table a Vote of No Confidence against the Thabane, a move that never made it to the Floor. It was further alleged that he then motivated his assassination, which led to the latter fleeing the Country. The Ministerial positions in the 2015-2017 Government were shared among all the seven Coalition Parties, a thing that made it possible for respective members to push their own political agenda. Consequently, this created complexity regarding accountability and control by the PM. One informant posited that any government of seven such as this one, was bound to be suicidal due to its very own nature.

4.2.6 Factionalism

Factionalism as a concept does not necessarily constitute a form of election driven political instability. However, in Lesotho this has become the case. There has been a tendency in Lesotho where just before elections a new party is formed from a faction of the ruling party. Basedau and Kollner (2005) are of the opinion that factionalism can affect the stability and institutionalization of political parties, and can impact on their efficiency and legitimacy including that of the political system as a whole. In the period 2012-2017 there have been three government terms, all of which became so as a result of political instability caused by factions' post elections. One of the main factors to this uncertain trend of affairs is factionalism within Parties. Among the forms mentioned by respondents, factionalism within the parties, especially the Executive, was pronounced often. In 2011, some members of the ruling party crossed the floor to form a new one in preparation for the upcoming 2012 election. Before the 2015 and 2017 elections respectively, two were formed by members of the then leading party in the Coalition. A common denominator in all fractions, are the Leaders of the newly formed Parties in that they were Ministers in the previous Governments. It was shown that unemployment, domination of political power and easy access of state resources by the ruling elite has prompted an era of 'tenderpreneurs' involving those who get government tenders through political patronage. Those who don't get tenders or other benefits, leave the Ruling Party in revenge. There are politicians in the last three elections that represented three different parties. The outcome of those fractions is one of the measures used by disgruntled Basotho people to demonstrate their feelings as illustrated by change of membership within parties.

A follow up question was posed by the Researcher as to what causes the fractions. The respondents said most politicians use elections to achieve their selfish motives. Elections are considered a good tool to garner support from citizens'. According to them politicians don't leave original parties in good faith of developing the Country. "Often it's in retaliation if they don't get Executive Powers". Others had a different opinion, they argued that fractions are caused by the leaders who are corrupt and do not adhere to the party agreements. Those who oppose such acts then form their new party in line with the original propositions. The trend of these fractions has shown membership of new parties in Parliament increasing while numbers of the original parties from which they defected decline. Lesotho politics tend to reward defectors and make victims of defections to be the main opposition, or the reverse, creating a legitimacy crisis for the State. The persistent questioning of the legitimacy of the government fuels the hatred and rivalry, and prevents stability.



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4.2.7 Floor Crossing

Some respondents argue that floor crossing is the main source of political conflict in the already fragile Parliament. Since 2012 Parliament has been formed out of minimal number to the constitutional sixty-one MPs out of one hundred and twenty. Floor crossing from the ruling Coalition, puts the existence of Parliament at risk. Floor crossing has been a common practice within different Parliamentary terms, leading to party breakaways and instability within the Mountain Kingdom's Parliament. This situation has recurrently generated legitimacy crisis for the Government and fractions

within political parties. Before 2012 elections, a fraction from LCD, the Democratic Congress (DC) was formed. Pre 2017 elections, another fraction from DC crossed the floor and formed Alliance for Democrats (AD). One respondent said whenever a Parliamentarian crosses to another Party without consulting the Electorate from their Constituency, that move dismantles the foundations of representative democracy. Another respondent said “our leaders are political prostitutes; they keep crossing the floor with aspirations of being nominated to the Executive powers, and forgetting how they got there in the first place.” One informant from Parliament puts the whole issue differently. He says floor crossing alone does not cause instability. Rather, its floor crossing in a hung Parliament that does. The advent of hung Parliaments since 2012 created floor crossing which threatens the existence of coalition governments.



4.2.8 Merits and demerits of politicians versus their personalities

Lesotho's political system is silent about the educational background of either politicians or their financial status. Her national elections are a process which has been enforced in the Constitution, in particular, section 20 which gives the right to every citizen of the Mountain Kingdom to participate in government. This is done by taking part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives, as well as to vote or to stand for elections. According to the National Assembly Act 2011 any Mosotho can stand for election as long as he or she can speak and write in English. The clause does not have a benchmark on educational background. This has caused the country to be led by people who cannot comprehend the needs of the electorate nor their mandate. This was voiced by respondents on the causes of instability in Lesotho.

One informant said some Parliamentarians cannot participate during debate because of illiteracy. The other talks of the intolerance of political leaders. The conflict between Metsing and Thabane as to who should be the Leader, led to reshuffling of Cabinet within two years, creating instability which subsequently brought their government to its knees. Thabane was the Prime Minister and Metsing his Deputy.

In the same view, one political analyst posited that the biggest problem was brought by the Leaders of the two main parties. “In 2012 two leaders of the larger parties could not agree to form a coalition government on the bases that both wanted to be in control”. According to him, if the two large parties had agreed to form government, there would have been less pressure from the opposition. Instead the opposition was formed by people who had much more experience, especially parliamentary procedures. Furthermore, the Government was faced with not only experienced but also large opposition which made it to be fragile from its formation. Progress was slow or non-existent as its policies were not supported by the majority in Parliament. One analyst noted that this occurred post 2012, 2015 and now post 2017. The post 2015 was even worse hence the Prime Minister was ousted through vote of no confidence. Also, in 2015, six small parties in the seven- party coalition, which demanded recognition through ministerial positions and other higher positions, were difficult for the leading party to manage. An informant concurred saying “I can’t manage four children in my own house, how could Mosisili manage seven parties” the coalition governments were formed with smaller parties. Which then reflected the hostile relationship between

leaders of the large parties who on important national matters. According to him, what seemed to be important to them was power not unity of the Nation.

The IEC reports of 2012, 2015 and 2017 pronounced those elections as free and fair. Unlike in previous elections, no queries were launched on their conduct, and even the results were accepted by all Parties. This was affirmed by peaceful transition of power. A clear indicator to the two-turn over test theory. Some African countries including Burundi, faced conflicts and civil wars as a result of Leaders refusing to relinquish power. Moreover, some of the respondents argue that political instability in Lesotho is neither rooted in the Mixed Member Proposition (MMP) electoral model adopted from 2002, nor it's the Electoral Commission. Rather, Lesotho politicians who did not want to relinquish power and lose access to State resources for their personal interests are the main cause. Such leaders use elections to pursue their own undemocratic agendas. Lesotho has different causes to its unrest as illustrated in this chapter, which then triggered an interest to examine Huntington Theory of two-turn over test. The Research found out that Lesotho is a deviant case to the assumption of the theory, which states that political stability is, achieved post peaceful handover.

Decalo (1992) said in a number of African countries, participants pointed out that the national liberation movement had evolved into a party that either legally or effectively monopolized power, often under the banner of preserving independence from foreign interference. Access to power was through the party organization and its rule was enforced through ideological persuasion or coercion. Moreover, the governing party

became the instrument of elite groups that held onto power at all costs, unwilling to tolerate dissent. This thought progressed in Lesotho politics as some opposition members, especially the leadership, had been in government since the advent of democratic rule in 1993. Consequentially, the country became unruly. The leader of opposition for the period 2012-2015 had been the Prime Minister of Lesotho since 1998. As a strategy to come back to power he and his Allies formed a Movement of Congress Parties. They claimed that the new government was part of Nationalist Movement which had run the country under dictatorship from 1970 to 1986. The strategy worked in his favour as a member of the coalition defected and joined the Congress Movement. Formation of Congress Movement opened old hatches that were buried. For those who were literate, they left the movement as it did advocate for progress to join the opposition. In addition, the nationalist and congress ideologies do not work anymore in this era of so many parties, Sejanamane (2017) was of the opinion that the ex-premier used his experience by creating riots to destabilize the Parliament. That he lobbied some members within the coalition to join his party in exchange for executive powers.

4.3 Summary of the chapter

In line with the above analysis, this research has disclosed that Lesotho's political instability in the period 2012-2017, has different forms. The study discussed coup d'état, dysfunctional government, assassinations, factionalism among forms of political instability that occurred in this period. The factionalism and coup d'état as forms of political instability were not new in Lesotho politics. The period introduced dysfunctional coalition government of which the first two lasted two, not five years'

period as provided for in the Constitution. Moreover, the premier being under foreign protection and loss of citizens trust on their own military forces. Leaving the State House and other key institution such as Parliament in the hands of foreign troops.

The ability of Leaders to relinquish power peacefully from one Prime Minister to another cannot be questioned, it happened in all the three elections. The peaceful handover of power is not unique in Africa as illustrated in the literature. What becomes of interest is how Lesotho finds herself under political instability post the handover which seemingly, now puts Huntington theories to a test. It should be noted that the 2012 peaceful handover did become historical. The study concludes that the assumptions of the theory may still hold in Lesotho if other causes of political stability are addressed. The findings of the study on the different forms opened a new window to then examine why instability recurred from 2012-2017. This window has been dealt with in the next chapter.



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CHAPTER FIVE: THE RECURRENCE OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN LESOTHO FROM 2012-2017

5.1 Introduction

Lesotho continues to have political instability even after several attempts to combat it, including elections. The 2017 Ibrahim Index of Africa Governance (IIAG) says there has been a faster decline in the overall governance in the last five years. Consequently, Africa's average governance improvement has slowed down. Lesotho registered +0.02 IIAG 2007-2012, 2012-2017 registered -0.05 on the index for safety and rule of law, making her number 8 out of the 54 countries of Africa (IIAG, 2017).

This chapter answers the second research question which investigates the reasons for the recurrence of post-elections political instability in Lesotho between 2012- 2017 in spite of peaceful elections. The analysis has been divided into sub-themes, including; Lesotho political background, politicised institutions, uncertainty of hung parliament and proliferation of political parties. The data analysis as discussed in chapter three includes quotes from respondents and informants, while focus group discussions fill the gaps. Secondary data supports the findings to provide a more informed study.

5.2 Reasons for the recurrence of political instability in Lesotho after elections

5.2.1 Political background

The respondents were asked to give their own opinions on the reasons for the recurrence of instability for the period 2012 to 2017. They indicated that political instability in Lesotho lies in its historical background. Since the advent of independence

and election, the Mountain Kingdom has never been stable. That is in contrast with what Letsie (2013:67) asserts about elections “because they are an integral feature of liberal democracies, elections are considered a panacea for conflict and instability. In Lesotho, however, ever since the pre-independence election in 1965, elections have triggered numerous conflicts”.

The study affirms the period from 2012-2017 is a continuation of what was already developing within the political system. This was corroborated in the focus group of youth leaders. From as far back as 1965, there have always been two main factions within the political sphere, the congress movement and the nationalists. These two are the founding pillars of the subsequent parties which still possess allegiance to them. Since the resumption of democratic rule in 1993, elections have been won by the congress movement. Old wounds opened between the two movements when a fraction from the Congress Movement formed alliance with the Nationalist to form the 2012 coalition government. One would have gathered the post 2012 elections the end of the conflict between the two movements what remains being difference of ideologies. But that was not the case rather it divided the population further.

5.2.2 Constitutional Ambiguity

Another view came to those who argued that the recurrence is on the ambiguity of the constitutional clause for the Prime Minister's (PM) appointment. Lesotho is led by a Constitutional Monarch who is King as the Head of State, and PM as Head of Government. Section 87(2) of the Constitution of Lesotho says the King shall appoint as PM, the member of the National Assembly who appears to the Council of State to be

the leader of the political party or coalition of political parties that will command the support of a majority of the members of the National Assembly. The 2012 elections which were declared by Lesotho Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and Observer Missions deployed to be free and fair resulted in a hung Parliament comprising ABC and LCD ousting the long reigning PM and Leader of DC. For the first time the country had a hung Parliament of 61 seats from the total of 120, which then did not, command majority support of members of the National Assembly. The law is silent where no one or coalition of parties did not command majority. Prior to 2012 the clause did not pose any problem to political climate (Letsie 2012, Weisfelder 2015). The PM must at all material times command the confidence of the National Assembly, irrespective of whether the election produces a clear majority for one party or a hung Parliament.



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The above is different in the case of Swaziland where the King, as supreme leader, appoints the Prime Minister (clause 67 of the Constitution of Swaziland). In the latter case, the Constitution does not provide whether the individual should command majority in the Lower House. One informant said being at the helm without enough support creates undesired decisions. Moreover, lack of support of MPs restricts the PM from putting his foot down even when he doesn't agree with them. The determination of who shall become the PM is ambiguous and creates unnecessary doubt that could degenerate into conflict. Investiture vote is therefore necessary to eliminate uncertainty

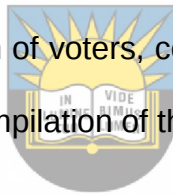
in the process of formation of government, also making the electorate indirectly elect the PM.

5.2.3 Proliferation of political parties

This study established that there is a gap between control for registration of political parties and the actual conduct of elections. As of June 2017 there were 30 registered political parties (IEC, 2017) for a population of two million. While Political parties in Lesotho are registered and regulated under Societies Act 1966, elections are regulated under 2011 National Assembly Electoral Act (NAEA, 2011) and conduct by IEC. This shows none of these entities have control of political parties wholesomely. The advent of the new electoral model has enticed individuals to register parties as a way to get proportional seats in Parliament. The foundation in the formation of parties is weak thus creating a discontented citizenry on the election results which form the government. The foregoing is further substantiated by Chapanyil (2015) who argues that many political parties in Lesotho have been formed, not because of political ideology, but for selfish personal reasons such as the quest for positions of leadership control of party resources and other benefits. One respondent argued that “Lesotho’s political parties are as many as village societies, the five hundred signatures which the IEC stipulates as minimum submission number in order to stand for elections is too small. One can have a party by just rallying people from his village.”

5.2.4 The 2011 National Assembly Electoral Act

The study revealed that the conduct of 2012, 2015 and 2017 elections had several challenges which led to political instability. The informant from IEC discussed two of those challenges. Firstly, the time frame given by the Government to conduct the elections. For the 2012 elections, the challenge relates to the NAEA, 2011 which the Commission had to implement. According to the informant the commission did not have enough time to educate the different stake holders on the new act. Stake holders include political parties, civil societies and the IEC officials. Sufficient time was needed to acclimatize even the electorate. The 2015 and 2017 were snap election which did not give the Commission adequate time to prepare for. The time was not enough for the process beginning with registration of voters, course of the campaign; the poll itself, the counting of the ballots, and the compilation of the results.



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According to some informants, the electoral model adopted since independence played a role in the instability of the country. They do not only consider the FPTP model as a problem enhancing political instability in Lesotho, but rather, the politicians who have been using this model as a shield to achieve their selfish interests. They argued that since independence in 1965 until now, there has been recurring political instability, though the electoral model has been replaced by the MMP model. They noted that the problem in Lesotho lies not with the electoral model, but with mistrust in political leadership, and lack of political will to resolve differences amicably.

According to Likoti (2009) political parties did not actually play by the MMP rules since they submitted one list instead of two as the PR principle articulates. Section 49 B (1)

National Assembly Election (No.1) (Amendment) Act, 2001 Section 49 B, (1) that deals with the procedure for submitting lists of candidates for election under proportional representation states:

- (1) A political party intending to contest an election may nominate candidates for election by proportional representation in terms of section 57 (c) (ii) of the Constitution and submit a list of those candidates for election to the Director of Elections in the prescribed manner before the date stated in the election.

Since the clause did not stipulate the number of lists to be submitted the model became open for manipulation, a major challenge that was not anticipated by the system. The 2008-2012 Parliament did not reflect the principle of proportional representation but rather majoritarian representation. This is wrong because the establishment of MMP was intended to produce proportionality in Parliament.



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The enactment of NAEA brought different results to the effect of government control on elections. Through the Act, the Commission involved civil society organization, to educate both the politicians and the electorates resulting in none of the parties getting majority votes. In addition, the IEC established an advocacy mechanism both at the national and local levels, to educate people on how the model works. It organized workshops on conflict management made up of all political leaders encouraging them to voice out differences. Moreover, share ideas on how to build on what has been done and to accommodate all challenges in order to ensure the vision of free and fair elections is met. The IEC has been promoting the principles of inclusive democracy going beyond the electoral strategy. Some informants argue that the era of coalition

government or hung parliament could have been something that occurred before the 2012 election. Affording the institution in 2011, independence through NAEA minimized biasness in the use of the model. This was shared by an informant who voiced “2012 elections were the first time we used MMP the previous times we used a different model and this has made people to fight as they don’t understand what is going on.”

In line with the above view, the institution still faces challenges. The informants suggested that there are too many political parties in the country whose registration poses a major problem. This is not mandated under the jurisdiction of the IEC, but under Ministry of Law and Constitutional affairs through the 1966 Societies Act. New political parties crop up just before elections, and the law does not have restrictive clause regarding the number. The IEC not being in control of the registration and its requirements renders its work poor, especially the database. Moreover, the quota of 500 people provided for in the Act, is too small given the population of Lesotho now. For, instance from 2012-2017 there are five new parties that have registered bringing the number to 24 (Lesotho law office 2017).

5.2.5 Politicized institutions

Through elections citizens may or may not change government. The election results can thus change the status quo within a country in socio-economic, political and other spheres. The scope under study saw three different elections that resulted in three different coalition governments. The informants from the security institutions were of the opinion that the change of government leadership pronounced government politicization

of the institutions. They argued that the institution seemed silent as they were under the same government. The coming of ABC government through elections exposed the leadership of the previous LCD/DC led government in the poor management of the security forces. An informant said “as long as governments bring their people to us as Commanders, and we have a civilian as Principal Secretary, conflicts will keep coming.” Those members who supported the previous government began to jeopardize the coming government creating a division with the institution. Mistrust began to come out amongst the members especially the leadership which latter filtered to the lower ranks and the institutions themselves. An informant said “ntja e tsokela ea e fepang”, meaning people work for those who feed them.

The commanders of the four institutions are political appointees who serve the interests of their masters. The security institutions and the public service have been polarized with politics. Lesotho Chief accounting officers or Principal Secretaries of the different ministries are not permanent and changes with government. The change also occurs with commanders of the security institutions. The appointment of the LDF commander by the ABC government in 2014 was done too early before the government could understand the underlying issues within the institution. This was evidenced the uprising of fractions with the institution. The other party supported the new commander while some had allegiance to the ex-commander.

Furthermore, the change of the leadership within the public service and the security institutions promotes poor service delivered by the organs which may perpetuate conflicts. For instance, the Office of the Attorney General (AG) is answerable to the Principal Secretary of Ministry of Law and Constitutional Affairs, which restricts it to

work to its potential. In other democratic systems, the AG's Office is a government parastatal that reports directly to Parliament. The instability keeps recurring as institutions autonomy has been cut -off by the government as shared by informants. This is supported by clause 98:1 of Lesotho's Constitution which states that this office shall be under Public Service.

Another institution that came out was the Independent Electoral Commission. The instability continues after the handover because politicians do not understand IEC mandate. This was avowed by Letsie (2012) who maintained the IEC is doing its job correctly and is only used as a scapegoat by those who want to pursue their own undemocratic agendas. Respondents in favour of the IEC indicated that it is unfair to label it as being biased as it has been working with all parties involved at each stage of elections. In its reports for 2012, 2015 and 2017 elections SADC has ascribed the IEC for being transparent and fair in managing elections in the country. Furthermore, the IEC has been credited as successful because, during elections, it brought in and employed qualified people to ensure free and fair elections. The counting of ballots and allocation of seats by the Commission is done in the presence of party representatives. Consequentially, the same people after losing to form government blame IEC conduct and suggest elections were fraudulent. This creates confusion amongst the electorate which later escalates to instability.

5.2.6 Uncertainty of a Hung Parliament

The existence of Hung parliament creates a fragile government. Curtin et al (2018) assets hung parliament tends to portray personalities and the impact of the electoral system. In June 2014, Mothetjoa Metsing, DPM and LCD Leader broke away from the Coalition to form an alliance with the DC, which had become the largest opposition party in Parliament in order to oppose Prime Minister Thabane and Leader of ABC. The defection was propelled by differences between the two Leaders and had nothing to do with the actual government mandate. The PM insisted that his rule over the country was hanging in the balance. Thabane, then prorogued Parliament in order to prevent his political foes from unseating him through normal democratic processes. These actions resulted in riots and street protests. Consequently, some civilians were wounded, most businesses run by women in the streets of Maseru came to a standstill; people were unwillingly displaced from their homes; property was damaged economic crisis deepened and increased. Thanks to the efforts of the South African Military and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Mediator Ramaphosa, stability was restored in the country (ENCA news, 2014) tend to include the personality factor, the impact of the electoral system.

5.2.7 Failure to address the root causes

Respondents were of the opinion that SADC perpetuates Lesotho's political instability. They argued Lesotho should stop running to SADC to solve its own dirty work. The general perception is that the root causes of violence are not known to SADC. Lesotho has been Member State of SADCC in 1980 which later become SADC in 1992. One of

the main aims of SADC, among others, is promotion of defence, security and cooperation in the area of politics and peace. SADC has been playing an increasingly important role in the area of peace, security and stability in the region. According to the respondents and informants the main role player from 2012 to 2017 even before has been South Africa through SADC in intervening in Lesotho's political instability. SADC through its political arm, nominated Cyril Ramaphosa, the then vice President to the Republic of South Africa, to mediate the political conflict in the Kingdom. After deliberations between him, the government and the opposition, a recommendation was reached by SADC for Lesotho to go for snap elections in 2015. One informant said that recommendation was the catalyst for what came after. "SADC addressed the problem not the source which only escalated the issues that actually caused conflict". The free and fair elections of 2012 evidenced that election is not the driver to political instability. The fallacy of electoralism comes to play as it argues holding of elections is not a guarantor to political stability. The underlying factors such as fractions and poverty may cause instability. The concept of elections being drivers to political instability become scape-goat since the other factors appear post-election when all wants a share of resources

Respondents were asked why Lesotho experiences instability after peaceful hand over of government. They argued that hand-over of the government that happen after elections have not necessarily been peaceful, but rather a show for the international world. According to an informant the transition happens between the two leaders as mandated by the United States and other international partners. "The hype occurred in

2016 when United States threatened to withdraw AGOA (African Growth and Opportunity Act). It became important for leaders to show some level of stability as a prerequisite to AGOA agreement.” He further noted Lesotho has about 20,000 factory worker who benefit from AGOA. The underlying tension between the two Parties continues post the handover. The leadership of the opposition plans how to topple the new government even before the inauguration of the successor. This is evidenced by supporter’s hostility amongst each other during and after the ceremony.

According to one member from the FG, South African sponsored Lesotho Highlands Water Project has a role to play in the instability of Lesotho. He argues that South Africa, under the auspices of SADC, has been facilitator to the Lesotho political instability. “They are not interested in us; all they need is our water from Lesotho Highlands Water Project”. He was supported by other members who are also members of Lesotho Youth Forum (LYF). LYF submitted a petition about construction of Polihali Dam to the Parliament (Senate order book 2014). The aim of the petition was to urge the government to review the agreement before signing the new phase.

5.2.8 Weak Government Institutions

Ineffective Security Force

Lesotho’s political instability has been characterised by a weak police service pre and post-election processes. Ndulo and Lulo (2010) assert the need for a functioning and effective police service in a post-conflict country. The presence and role of local police forces can impact not only the general security situation, but also the conduct of the

election itself. Among other functions, police are needed to guard ballot boxes, guard election materials and maintain order and security at public meetings, campaign events and polling stations.

Poverty and Food Security

Some respondents suggested that there is a relationship between political stability and the economy. They argue that economic problems that face the country promote political instability. Also, because of the instability in the country, there is a high rate of unemployment, increase in transport and rapid decline of investors and capital flight which has negatively affected the country in all domains. According to Chawdhury (2016:5) “The biggest impact of political conflicts is the loss of human lives, injuries and long-term sufferings incurred by the families; however, estimating such impact in monetary terms is nearly impossible.”



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Apart from the above irreplaceable losses, political instabilities have significant negative aftermaths on the economy by increasing the price of necessary consumption goods.” According to United Nation 2016 report on food security, by February 2016 Lesotho’s staple food price had increased by 230% compared to the year 2009/2010. Furthermore, there is an increase in starvation because during conflict, economic activities do not function properly, leading to divisions and conflicts within the population.

There has been massive destruction of valuable properties during the riots made by different sectors. These sectors include students in the Higher Learning Institutions.

Shutting down schools due to delayed government bursaries, High Schools teachers going on strike for weeks demanding salary increase, staff in the public hospitals went on a go-slow for lack of equipment and long hours. Other respondents pointed out that there has been an increase in security at the top and a decrease at the lower level, hence a huge gap in the security sector. As a result of the continuous instability in Lesotho, the country is no longer known as a peaceful kingdom because of the presence of too many protests in the country. The climax of these unrests came in May 2018 when factory workers blocked the streets of Maseru, destroying properties demanding salary increase. What began as a peaceful march to the Prime Minister's office to submit a petition tuned into a strike? Respondents are of the opinion that marches and strikes that have been staged in the period 2012-2017 were politically motivated. Others oppose that argument by saying people's petition the government was because it did not deliver services.



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Corruption, Nepotism and Party Patronage

Okafor (2017:211-212) suggests that “Poor corruption control, particularly in countries affected by poverty, inequality and unemployment, erodes the trust in government, and significantly contributes to the violence, instability and unrest.” Through elections a promising government is elected which may implement limited abuse of power, less corruption and ensure rule of law. One respondent suggested, *“ha o batla ho ja, o tsejoe pusong”*. Literal translation: *‘for one to benefit he or she has to have connections to those in Government, or in order to benefit from government, you have to be*

connected'. This was uttered as a response to the question of what causes poor economy leading to political instability. Chapanyi (2015) suggests that greed and grievances were among other factors fuelling dispute in Lesotho. This is based on the fact that due to the prevailing and weak economic environment in Lesotho, the only means of survival is to belong to the ruling party or government as most elites and politicians who are in influential positions do not want to step down, hence posing a challenge to government. In the same view, youth leaders from the focus groups said they joined politics because they didn't have jobs, and being active in rallies opens a chance for one to have a stake in government tenders. In order to understand how the system works, the Researcher then had a one to one contact with one leader. He explained that "I was a secretary to one Deputy Minister and he used my name to get tenders and other jobs in the ministry. The biggest job we did was catering for Kings Birthday from there I was given a scholarship to China."



When The ABC led coalition attained government in 2012, it faced a challenge in relation to Missions' Attachés. Firstly, they recalled those who were in the Missions and a lot of money was spent on compensation for their contracts which were terminated before expiry. This affected government finances as some plans were forfeited. Terminations also happened in the case of Principal Secretaries. Lesotho uses Principal and not Permanent Secretaries as Chief Accounting Officers of the different Ministries. Secondly, tension brewed within the three parties that formed the coalition as each member of the coalition wanted to have their supporters as attaché's. According to the informant from Parliament, allocation of Attachés to Embassies was not agreed upon in

the Coalition Agreement, and when it arose, there was no agreed structure to provide guidance. The same problem persisted post 2015 now among the seven coalition members. The recalling of the previous government personnel was done and the seven members wanted a share for their party patronage. Prior to 2017, the then government renewed contracts and fielded more personnel to the Embassies, some as late as a month before elections, which made it even more expensive for the incoming government. Some were not recalled. In all the three governments, the rationale for recalling personnel was based on party allegiance and patronage. This system has created so much division amongst the citizens as the merits such as education seem to be ignored when nominating those who represent the country outside.



Some respondents had a different view. They pointed out that the Lesotho Government has elites that cause the conflicts to persist. Two factors were mentioned. Firstly, they argued that the Government is not interested in resolving the conflict it created. They argued that politicians have no interest in a stable country as that would make them financially underprivileged. "Currently, what drives political agenda has been digging the dirt of the opposition than the development of the country" this was voiced at the focus group discussion. Secondly, political elites never wanted to resolve the conflict in the country as they only wanted power for their selfish interests. This second factor relates to the first one. Respondents suggested that all what the Government has been doing is propaganda through certain radio stations and newspapers. These claim that all is well and measures have been taken to ensure peace in the country. They made reference to

the Public Accounts Committee in Parliament which has produced reports about corruption by high ranking officials but no action has been effected.

5.3 Summary of the chapter

The chapter shows no direct role played by elections to the ever recurring political instability. Factors including political background, politicised institutions, uncertainty of hung parliament, unfulfilled campaign promises and proliferation of political parties came through. The fallacy of electoralism does talk to Lesotho as holding of elections has not achieved the desired political stability. Rather stability can be influenced by a wide variety of other intermediaries, exclusive of elections. What became prominent is that elections created a conducive environment for the different factors in play. Elections changed the status quo which made the Basotho to be aware of some activities which had already been prevailing. Furthermore, the advent of a new phenomenon as a result of elections including Hung Parliaments, links elections to political stability.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary of the findings

The aim of the study was to investigate elections as a driver to political instability in Lesotho. The period 2012-2017 revealed different forms of political instability in Lesotho driven or influenced by elections. Some of those forms have been recurring within the given scope.

The study found out that some forms of political instability includes assassinations, attempted coup d'état, violation of sovereignty and cabinet changes. Amongst those assassinations and cabinet changes recurred in the different governments. For instance,

In the period under study 2012-2017 two Commanders of the LDF were assassinated. The public becomes alert to the goings on of the sacred institution which has been the pillar for Lesotho security. Killings, tortures and imprisonment of members of the defence force created instability within communities. The findings revealed that the whole idea of democratic government and independence of security institutions from the political arenas began to be questioned amongst civilians. The expensive military interventions in the form of the unwarranted loss of lives to suppress conflicts amongst politicians are too costly. More importantly to the civilians who put trust on the government they elected.

The findings of the study reveal that despite efforts made by SADC and other entities to ensure peace and stability in Lesotho, the root cause has not been established. There are still signs that conflict may escalate in the country. The legal frameworks that speak to elections and government formation have to be revisited. The literature reveals that Ghana has passed the two-test theory. Moreover, New Zealand and other countries have succeeded in their coalition governments that are of the same structure as that of Lesotho. Meaning, with the right legal apparatus the country could still achieve peace and stability. The current MMP electoral system of single vote neither encourages easy comprehension of how votes translate into seats nor does it encourage stable ruling Coalitions.



In response to the second research question, under the present system, powers and functions of some institutions have been misused to answer the needs of politicians. Government institutions and authorities such as IEC have been tainted with political interventions. Lesotho is a Constitutional Monarchy with two houses of Parliament, Senate and National Assembly, constituting the Upper and Lower Houses respectively. The power bestowed on the King through the Constitution in relation to political instability is limited. The King is constitutionally prohibited to be involved in politics, which makes him a neutral party that cannot assist or be involved in resolving disputes. In cases where the King might question election legitimacy, he unfortunately does not have power to intervene. Ironically however, politicians themselves abuse their powers to demand of the King to act on their respective individual aspirations without

consideration of the nation at large. In 2015, the King was advised to prorogue Parliament when then the DPM threatened a vote of no confidence on the PM. In 2017 when the then PM lost a vote of no confidence, he advised the king to dissolve Parliament and call for Snap election.

As a result of the three elections Lesotho Government became fragile on its formation. No party had majority in the National Assembly. A Hung Parliament of coalition of parties took over Government post-election. The new phenomenon of coalition governments formed out of the situation which created disagreement amongst different leaders within one government. The recurring conflicts between led to fractions in the entire Government.



6.2 Conclusion

This research sought to investigate election as a driver to political stability using Lesotho as a case study from 2012-2017. The time becomes of interest to the researcher as there have been three elections within that period. In all three there was peaceful handover of power to the incumbent. Peaceful transfers of power in Lesotho may be easier in the absence of significant ethnic, religious, and ideological differences among the contesting parties. However, the 2012, 2015 and 2017 elections were followed by simmering conflicts that prompted the SADC to intervene. This justifies democracy equates to regular, fairly conducted and honestly counted elections are a fallacy as asserted by theory of electoralism.

To conclude, elections can either drive political instability or promote stability. The conduct of three elections in the period 2012-2017 showed no disputes. The results

were accepted by different parties and Coalition Agreements were adhered to reach the quota in the formation of government. This showed a good sign of political maturity and stability when respective competing parties joined hands to form a Joint Government. However, the three governments all had hung parliaments. A hung parliament in nature is fragile as it is almost on a breakdown. In Lesotho case, the government become flimsy due to the nature of its coalition composition.

Data analysis is based on two frameworks. The First one uses peaceful handover as a measure of democracy. This framework not only considers peaceful handover to be a prerequisite for democracy, it also regards acceptance of election results by all stakeholders as a step towards democratic consolidation. On this basis the research argues that Lesotho's 2012, 2015 and 2017 elections were a positive step on the country's path to consolidating democracy. However, it failed the two-test theory by Huntington. The Second one argues that elections are not the only key component to democratic consolidation, neither is the peaceful hand over. The theory of electoralism brings other ways in which citizens can apply in the quest for political stability. The conclusion is that Lesotho in the period 2012-2017, showed affiliation to this theory.

The research has shown how respective countries have characteristics that might not be common to contemporary societies in relation to political instability, which were revealed in the period 2012 to 2017. The Mountain Kingdom, like many other countries in Africa, has been plagued by conflicts post elections, which at times have been very violent. The period under study rather brought different forms of political excluding

elections. Prior to 2012 the common cause to the ever recurring political instability was mostly as a result of the losing party's refusal to accept defeat. They appealed saying elections were rigged, or that they were not transparent. The electoral model was changed post 1998 election due to electoral dispute, but mainly due to violent crisis that followed. The outcomes of 2012, 2015 and 2017 elections were accepted by all parties involved.

6.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations made based on the findings of the study are for policy and decision-makers in Lesotho, other African governments facing political instability, academia as well as political activists and Civil Society Organizations.



- 1) Lesotho has to take advantage of the ongoing Reform Process to thoroughly review and amend all relevant Sections and Clauses of the Constitution so as to ensure that whatever shortfalls and anomalies that might exist there in, are dealt with. In particular, the issue of floor-crossing in Parliament has to be regularised and dealt with so as fractions of parties are minimised while creating tolerance by members.
- 2) Lesotho politicians have to have tolerance and be capacitated on elections results such as hung parliament and coalition governments.
- 3) The roles, functions and Powers of the King need to be carefully reviewed to answer the Nation's aspirations, such as providing, if necessary, necessary mediation during election driven political instability and general instability at large.

- 4) In order to control the number of political parties and their regulation, the government needs to enact respective separate laws for registration of political parties, as well as develop a clear friendly NGO/Civil Society Policy to bring the 1966 Societies Act in sync with the twenty first Century registry of Civil Society Organisation and Charitable Organisations today.
- 5) Whilst maintaining a given doctrine of Civilian Control of the Military by placing the ultimate responsibility for the Country's decision-making in the hands of the civilian political leadership, Security institutions need to be independent from political involvement. Each institution should render its services despite political affiliation. Furthermore, the government has to find sustainable remedies to the polarized institutions and promote effectiveness within them.
- 6) Lesotho should adopt Permanent Secretaries to the ministries to get rid of officers who are nominated on party patronage.
- 7) The office of Auditor General has to be moved from the directives of Principal Secretary to the Ministry of Finance, to the Parliament for it to be effective and efficient. Directorate of Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO) and Public Accounts Committee in Parliament powers and functions to be reviewed to allow them to act effectively. In order to reduce the high rates of corruption accountability mechanism have to be put in place. It is recommended that the two sectors liaise with Judiciary to combat exploitation of public funds.
- 8) Finally, Lesotho should address its internal problems before opting for elections as a solution.

- 9) Politicians should implement the promises they made during elections campaigns to the electorates.



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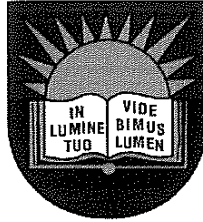
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ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
REC-270710-028-RA Level 01

Certificate Reference Number: FER041SMOO01

Project title: **Elections as drivers to political instability in Africa: A case study of Lesotho.**

Nature of Project Masters in Political Science

Principal Researcher: Mantsoaki Moorosi

Supervisor: Dr V Ferim

Co-supervisor: N/A

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby give ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). Should any other instruments be used, these require separate authorization. The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this certificate, using the reference number indicated above.

Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document;
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research.

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.



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Special conditions: Research that includes children as per the official regulations of the act must take the following into account:

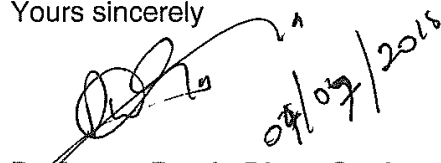
Note: The UREC is aware of the provisions of s71 of the National Health Act 61 of 2003 and that matters pertaining to obtaining the Minister's consent are under discussion and remain unresolved. Nonetheless, as was decided at a meeting between the National Health Research Ethics Committee and stakeholders on 6 June 2013, university ethics committees may continue to grant ethical clearance for research involving children without the Minister's consent, provided that the prescripts of the previous rules have been met. This certificate is granted in terms of this agreement.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance Certificate if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected;
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented;
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require;
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to.
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.
- In addition to the need to comply with the highest level of ethical conduct principle investigators must report back annually as an evaluation and monitoring mechanism on the progress being made by the research. Such a report must be sent to the Dean of Research's office.

The Ethics Committee wished you well in your research.

Yours sincerely



09/07/2018

Professor Pumla Dineo Gqola
Dean of Research

27 June 2018

APPENDIX 2: Informed consent letter



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Ethics Research Confidentiality and Informed Consent Form

Our University of Fort Hare / Department is asking people from your community / sample / group to answer some questions, which we hope will benefit your community and possibly the country at large.



I, MANTSOAKI MOOROSI am conducting research on **Elections as drivers to political instability in Africa: A case study of Lesotho**. I am carrying out this research as a partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Social Science [Political Studies].

Please understand that you are not being forced to take part in this study and the choice whether to participate or not is yours alone. However, we would really appreciate it if you do share your thoughts with us. If you choose not take part in answering these questions, you will not be affected in any way. If you agree to participate, you may stop me at any time and tell me that you don't want to go on with the interview. If you do this there will also be no penalties and you will NOT be prejudiced in ANY way. Confidentiality will be observed professionally.

I will not be recording your name anywhere on the questionnaire and no one will be able to link you to the answers you give. Only the researchers will have access to the

unlinked information. The information will remain confidential and there will be no “come-backs” from the answers you give.

The interview will last around (50) minutes (*this is to be tested through a pilot*). I will be asking you a questions and ask that you are as open and honest as possible in answering these questions. Some questions may be of a personal and/or sensitive nature. I will be asking some questions that you may not have thought about before, and which also involve thinking about the past or the future. I know that you cannot be absolutely certain about the answers to these questions but we ask that you try to think about these questions. When it comes to answering questions there are no right and wrong answers. When I ask questions about the future I am not interested in what you think the best thing would be to do, but what you think would actually happen.

If possible, I would like to come back to this area once I have completed our study to inform you and your community of what the results are and discuss our findings and proposals around the research and what this means for people in this area.



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INFORMED CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

.....

Signature of participant

Date.....

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

.....

Signature of participant



Date.....

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Appendix: 3

Interview guide

Elections as drivers to political instability in Africa: A case study of Lesotho

1. There has been instability post 2012, 2015 and 2017 elections, what caused those instabilities, please elaborate?
2. Post 2012, 2015 and 2017 elections, what forms of political instabilities have you observed?
3. In all the three post-election the incumbent peacefully handed over the power to the successor, yet that is followed by conflicts. In your opinion, does peaceful handover leads to political stability?
4. What accounts for the recurrence of post-elections political instability in Lesotho?
5. Are there parties or institutions that played part in this recurrence, if yes, which ones and how?
6. Were there any mechanisms employed by the government to combat the conflicts?
7. In conclusion, are there remedies that could be used to achieve stability in Lesotho?



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