

Democratic Government Without the People: The Case of Lesotho After 2015 General Elections

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Abstract

The government of Lesotho has under gone many phases since its independence in 1966. Lesotho has had series of problems especially after every election. After 1970 there was a declaration of state of emergency. In 1985, BNP won all the constituencies because they were not contested. Since 1993 the government has been advocating for a democratic government in which people would have a say. Finer (1970) maintains that, democratic government is where people periodically elect persons who are supposed to represent their opinion in a central law making body. It is precisely because democracy, both historically and logically, implies and involves majority rule (Finer, 1970:63). The paper seeks to establish that after the elections of February 2015 in Lesotho the government that is the cabinet; was made up of members of parliament who do not have the majority of people where they were elected, that is, from their constituencies. The paper assesses whether government will be accountable to the nation even if it does not have majority of people behind them. Will the cabinet be accountable to the electorates or to the prime minister who has appointed them to the ministerial positions, even though they do not have the followers or whether the cabinet will be a representative body to the citizens? The findings revealed that the ministers were responsible to the Prime Minister rather than to the people, and as such, that kind of cabinet was undermining the tenets of democracy. It was also revealed that the electoral model of the country should be reviewed because it seemed to have an influence in having such a cabinet and it leads to coalition governments.

Keywords: Accountability, Democracy, Cabinet, Government, Good Governance, Parties, Ministries.

1. Introduction

According to Roskin, et al (2010) democracy is a complex and carefully balanced system that needs thoughtful citizens' limits on power, rule of law and human and civil rights. Lesotho after the 1993 elections which were won by Basotho Congress Party (BCP) claimed to be a democratic government. When one looks at the tenets of democracy such as participation, rule of law, equality, transparency, accountability and representation, the paper wanted to examine whether these can be sustained. It examines whether the country has what it takes to sustain democracy especially after the 2015 elections on issues of representation and accountability. The question remains as, what is the kind of cabinet that the government had after the 2015 elections? The cabinet ministers did not have the majority numbers of people behind them, it was a matter of who were these ministers accountable to? or who were they representing? Was this cabinet not a challenge to democracy which the government is claiming to be. Sargent (2009) suggests that the word democracy comes from two Greek words, "demos", meaning people and "kratos" which means rule. This shows that democracy could mean rule by the people. This paper is arranged in the following manner; introduction, Background of the country that provides Lesotho's experience and journey in democratization elections, conceptual framework that looks into the concepts of democracy, accountability and representation, the cabinet after 2015 elections which will show the ministries that are led by ministers who do not have the majority people behind them that is, who have lost elections in their constituencies, the discussion on how accountability and representation are challenged by this kind of the cabinet and the conclusion which will sum up the arguments and the debates. Some suggestions will be made as a way forward.

2. Background to the Country

Lesotho has had problematic electoral and the political system before independence, After the 1960 council elections which were won by the Basotho Congress Party (BCP) most Basotho people had thought that the BCP will win even the general elections. This was observed by Machobane, in Matlosa (n.d) that, "there was no doubt in the minds of most people that the BCP would lead Lesotho to independence with Ntsu Mokhehle as the first Prime Minister" (1990: 284). But the 1965 elections outcome posted a different situation when the Basotho National Party (BNP) won by 42% leading to 31 seats out of 60 parliamentary seats while BCP had 39.6% leading to 25 parliamentary seats, this suggested a very light and fierce contestation for state power between BCP and BNP (Matlosa, n.d.). The BNP government got into power in 1966, this newly elected government saw the then district councils as a threat and they were abolished by the 1968 Local Government Repeal Act. Four years after independence the country had a state of emergency which led to the country to unrest until the military took over in 1986 to 1993. The country held its first democratic elections in 23 years in 1993 and returned to the civilian rule again. Lesotho has had a history that is not stable, the 1998 post elections was the worst since the

situation had even attracted SADC army to enter the country to solve the political problems, that came as a result of elections where the opposition did not accept the election results. The circumstances led the country into turmoil that; the shops were looted and the city was burned down. As if that was not enough, in 2002 elections, the results led to conflict which was contested in the courts of laws without resort to violence. In 2007 Lesotho had electoral conflict again which led to a rough time where the soldiers kidnapped and killed some civilians. The electoral commotion had its climax when government ministers were abducted by elements of the army resulting in the killing of the then Deputy Prime Minister (Thamae, 2014).

The first coalition government emerged as a result of the elections in 2012, which failed to produce a single party-led majority in the National Assembly. This coalition was made up of All Basotho Convention (ABC), Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) and Basotho National Party (BNP). The coalition government of Lesotho was regarded with high esteem by many and it was envisaged that, the country will be in the right track since it was in the hands of many parties. Unfortunately this government was heading for many problems and challenges such as: having to tackle high unemployment rate particularly among the youth, problems of escalating pandemic of HIV/AIDS and other diseases such as cancer and sugar diabetes, deep seated mistrust among congress and national elements characterized by the Democratic Congress (DC) leadership as “oil and water” (Petlane, 2015:3). DC was the opposition party to then coalition government. The other challenge was public declaration by LCD of its dissatisfaction with the management style of the then Prime Minister, resulting in a situation where the deputy prime minister, who was the leader of LCD opposing the prime minister (whom he was deputizing) over the television on the removal of the army commander. The Prime Minister had also tried to remove, the Minister of Communication and Technology who was a member of LCD and he refused to leave the office. These series of events led to the threat of vote of no confidence in the Prime Minister in the parliament, the results led to the Prime Minister to request the king to prorogue the parliament for nine months. Petlane (2015) maintains that this crowned the government with apparent instability and paralysis. It is clear that, the Lesotho democratic path has been rough and full of conflicts. Thamae (2015) opines that Lesotho leadership should engage in ‘constructive management of political conflicts’. While Matlosa (2008) maintains that consolidation of democracy in Lesotho can happen when Lesotho Constitution is amended to guarantee a multiparty system of democratic government to ensure accountability, responsiveness and transparency. It is high time that Lesotho should work out mechanisms to reduce electoral conflicts which weaken Lesotho’s effort to sustain democratic culture and values.

3. Conceptual Framework

Democratic is “not just about the right to vote in a government-important as that is-it is about a whole set of rights which citizens must be afforded if a government is to be open, accountable and participatory” (Clark, 1991: 16). According to Roskin, et al (2010) representative democracy evolved as the only workable system because is one in which the people do not rule directly but through elected and accountable representatives. In a democracy the policy makers must obtain the support of a majority of votes cast. The citizens have to participate in decision making as a required component of democracy. Sarget, (2009) argues that, democracy is primarily characterized by involvement of citizens in decision making. The citizens play a very important role in democratic government since they should be involved in decision making through their representatives. It is clear that democratic government has to be open to the ruled, so that the ruled can interact with the ruling on a continuous base. Though elections are at the heart of democracy (Heywood, 2007) the citizens are not only regarded as important only for voting purposes, but they have to take part in influencing decision and policy making of government. In a nutshell, democracy means that, people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the people who are to rule them. According to Prah (2008) democracy must have values that are from the country itself because citizens will enjoy active participation in its development. As Heywood (2007) argued that, ‘the people’ may in practice, be taken to mean the majority, in this case democracy comes to mean the strict application of the principle of majority rule. This implies that in matters of contention between sections of public opinion it is the majority opinion that prevails. Finer (1980) maintains that, it is because democracy both historically and logically implies and involves majority rule. Thus, elected leaders who govern in a bad way can be voted out (Roskin, et al 2010). Citizens use the power of their votes to keep in power those politicians that have performed satisfactorily ‘who deliver the goods’.

According to Heywood (2007), accountability is having a duty to explain one’s conduct and being subject to monitoring and evaluation by a high authority and be open to criticism by another. In actual fact to be accountable is to be answerable to one’s actions. Accountability entails a public right of access to information and activities of government. In a democracy, the policy makers obtain the support of a majority or plurality of votes cast. The leaders that are elected are accountable to citizens since they can be voted out if they do not account well to the electorates. Accountability in a democracy means that elected political officials have to be accountable to the people by taking responsibilities of their actions, decisions and use of funds. Political office bearers must make decisions and perform their duties according to the will and wishes of the people not for

themselves (Heywood, 2007). To be an accountable leader you must connect with the people you are responsible for (Ngambi, 2011). Elected officials, when they are accountable to their constituencies it shows consecutiveness and they can be re-elected because they would have responded to the needs and conditions of their citizens. According to Matlosa (2008) there should be a multiparty system of democratic government to ensure accountability, responsiveness and transparency. Democracy is a means for the people to choose their leaders and to hold their leaders accountable for the policies they formulate and how they conduct themselves in office. According to Lumumba-Kasongo (2005) democracy technically means rule by the people, of the people and for the people therefore it also implies the way in which people set up the agencies and rule to govern themselves.

Through democracy, the citizens elect their representatives for the legislature, as such, to voice and protect their general interest. Elected representatives have to represent the opinions and interests of the electors. They have to listen to the people and respond to their needs and suggestions; they have to be behaving as delegates of their constituents. Heywood (2007) opines thus, the term to represent means, in everyday language, to 'portray' or 'make present' as when a picture is said to represent a scene or a person. "As a political principle representation is a relationship through which an individual or group stands for, or acts on behalf of, a larger body of people" (Heywood 2007: 248). It is through this representation that the views of the people are articulated and their interests are secured. Ball and Peters (2005) argue that the individuals' opinions and their interests are represented by someone they elected through geographical demarcated constituencies. According to Roskin, et al (2010:245) a large part of representation is psychological; people need to feel they are represented, when they do not, they resent government in power and the government loses legitimacy. Citizens want to feel that the government is respecting them and involving them in matters of government. Roskin et al (2010) continued to observe that apartheid system cracked in South Africa because the legislature was passing the laws that did not have support from the Black majority. The black majority did not feel represented by the then legislature which was manned by the white minority rule. Pretorius (2008) maintains that, while agreeing that democratic mechanisms need to promote opportunities for citizens to demonstrate which ideas have majority support, it is argued that, such mechanism that is capable is representative democracy because only it is able to establish how citizens feel about particular ideas or interests. Maphunye et al (2014) opines that, public participation in the governance of the country, although it may become mere rhetoric in the same cases, gives legitimacy not only to the incumbent government but also the instruments of power. When electing the candidates the citizens feel empowered for mandating elected members with the task of governing them.

Within this conceptual framework, the government of Lesotho is going to be examined in relation to how the people are represented in the cabinet after the elections of February 2015. It has been observed that the majority of the ministers do not have the majority people from their constituencies; others are nominated to the Senate and are given portfolios without the people behind them. This emphasizes the argument that this cabinet does not represent the majority of the population and their interests as well as their needs are not taken into consideration. As the cabinet has to initiate most of the laws, all financial measures and carries on the day to day administration, it has to consult the citizens regularly. This is not going to be easy for this cabinet to be accountable to the electorates since it does not represent the majority of the people from their constituencies. It looks like this cabinet is going to be accountable to the Prime Minister who has appointed them to ministerial duties. These whole issues possess a challenge to a democratic government which has been claimed ever since 1993 in Lesotho. The ministers are vested with role of policy making and the policies are formulated for the benefit of the people. If the ministers do not have followers in terms of the voters in their constituencies, it will be difficult to respond to the needs of those constituencies. According to Ball and Peters (2005) the individual will use his/her vote to share in the selection of representatives. The cabinet in Lesotho at that time did not have this share because they are not elected by majority. Most conceptions of democracy are based on the principle of government by people, this implies that in effect, people govern themselves (Heywood, 2007). This was not the case in Lesotho after 2015 elections.

4. Government formation in Lesotho after 2015 elections

After the 2015 election there was not party that had the majority to take up the government alone. Therefore, the government was formed on a coalition of seven parties; Democratic Congress (DC) Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP), Basutholand Congress Party (BCP), National Independent Party (NIP), Popular Front for Democracy (PFD) and Lesotho People's Congress (LPC). When one looks at the formation of this coalition government, it is observed that many parties in this government did not win even a single constituency. The seven parties that formed coalition government after the elections did not have the majority of the voters; DC was just bringing them into government because it wanted to govern. The table below will show how the parties have performed when they formed coalition government after 2015 elections:

4.1 Parties forming the government after 2015 elections

Party	Constituency	Proportional seats	Total
1. Democratic Congress (DC)	37	10	47
2. Lesotho Congress for democracy (LCD)	2	10	12
3. Popular Front for Democracy (PFD)	0	2	2
4. National Independent Party (NIP)	0	1	1
5. Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP)	0	1	1
6. Basutholand Congress party (BCP)	0	1	1
7. Lesotho People's congress (LPC)	0	1	1

Source IEC 2015

Five parties in this table showed that the coalition government was formed by the parties that did not win a single constituency and have very minimal proportional seats in parliament. Although the government is formed by many parties they do not have the greater number of citizens behind them. They only have seats that are shared proportionally because of the Mixed Member Proportion Electoral Model used in Lesotho. But there was one party that was not part of government and yet it has the majority of people behind it, thus ABC with 40 constituencies and six proportional representation seats. When taking cognizance of the tenets of democracy such as accountability and representation were undermined inadvertently by the government through this kind of the cabinet. The government seemed to represent a very small proposition of the nation while it claims to be democratic. According to Campbell (2008) democracy is a system of government by which political sovereignty is retained by the people and exercised by the citizens, that means, people have the right to determine who governs them by electing governing officials and hold them accountable for their actions. It can be observed that it will be difficult for the ministers to account to their electorates and their allegiance could be with the Prime Minister because he has appointed them to the ministerial positions. Majoro, (2016) observed that, Lesotho mixed member proportional electoral model while compensating for popular vote performance by each political party, has introduced new distortions that undermined democracy by inadvertently giving parties that have little voter support to hold at ransom those parties that have large following. This situation was obvious when looking at ABC party with so much majority and it was governed by small parties which had formed coalition government. Majoro (2016) argued that in a democracy, the political power of popular parties should not be contested by political minnow simply because of weakness in the architecture of the electoral model. Reforms is thus warranted.

One observation after these elections was that, DC party was elected from the mountain and rural areas not in the lowlands and urban areas. The whole of Qacha's nek had elected DC, in terms of economy and information flow this district was very limited which means the people that have elected here could be according to Mamudani, (1996) the subjects who are ruled by customarily organized tribal authority. They are expecting that the government will come and make roads; bridges; provided electricity and they will accept whatever the government does for them, they do not question anything done by the government. The old people are happy with the old age pension paid by the government; they normally go for elections and come back hoping that the government will one day meet all their demands. In Lesotho Old Age Pension Programme commenced in November 2004 as a means of providing social security for elderly and eliminate poverty in their households Bello, et al (2008). They are paid this pension when they have reached seventy years. Majority of the people who are legible for this pension scheme reside in rural areas, they are not really expecting much from the government. The rural areas are not challenging the government in any way, they lack information and they practice subsistence farming to a minimal extent. Akokpari (1998) argued that, Lesotho's democracy can only be sustained if Lesotho is economically strong.

The opposition party ABC, has been elected by majority of the people from the lowlands and the urban areas. This could be the citizens according to Mamudani (1996) those, who are urban based mainly middle and working class persons who are ruled by civil legislature. Since they are educated and paying tax, they want more from the government. There have many different interest groups who know their rights and who would demand to know what their taxes are doing. They normally make stay ways, strikes and picketing so as to show their demands from government. In a nut shell, these are people who are contributing to the economy of the country through their taxes and are found mostly in the urban areas. The working class in urban areas tends to vote for the opposition in greater numbers. An example could be that, in Berea district all constituencies were won by ABC which is the main opposition party. This district does not have mountain terrain which might bar people from information and the deeds of government.

5. The cabinet members without majority behind them

The cabinet normally is selected by the Prime Minister out of the members of the parliament. This time around, he had to select members from all seven parties that form the coalition government. The problem was that, the majority of the parties that form the government do not have followers. The constituencies are zeros as shown in

the above table. About thirteencabinet members were defeated in their constituencies and three were selected from the Senate and did not contest in any constituency, they were: the Minister for Finance, Minister of Health and Minister of Small Business. One Minister who is the minister of Agriculture and Food Security was selected according to LCD proportional representation. In a cabinet of twenty six ministries, seventeen ministers do not have followers in terms of votes cast in 2015 general elections.

The cabinet members form the political executive of the government. They have to formulate policies for government and oversee the implementation of such policies. The policies would not respond to the needs or aspirations of the nation, because the nation was not represented properly. In democracies, according to Cloete and de Coning (2006) elected representatives receive a mandate from the electorates to shape and give content to public policies. Hence why the argument stands, in Lesotho, as to where will the mandate come from when the representation was like that in the cabinet. The table below shows the members of the cabinet and the numbers of votes they got after the 2015 elections in Lesotho. The parties that have won these constituencies are provided and as well as the number of votes for comparisons.

5.1 Ministers and Deputy Ministers without Followers:

Minister	Ministry	Party	Constituency	Number of votes	Winning Party	Number of Votes
1. Phamotse M.	Education and training	DC	Matlakeng	1300	ABC	2319
2. Mokose R.	Water Affairs	DC	Kolonyama	1995	ABC	3315
3. Thotanyane L.	Mines	LCD	Teyateyaneng	644	ABC	3930
4. Mokhosi T.	Defense	LCD	Khubetsoana	615	ABC	5223
5. Malebo V.	Correctional Services	MFP	Maseru central	17	ABC	3143
6. Setipa J.	Trade and Industries	LCD	Maseru central	279	ABC	3143
7. Rakuoane L.	Home Affairs	PFD	Semena	1267	DC	2891
8. Mahlakeng T.	Labour and Employment	BCP	Likhoele	405	DC	3113
9. Letlotlo M.	Social Development	LPC	Thaba Phechela	68	DC	2981
10. Mathaba K.	Prime Ministers' office	NIP	Malingoaneng	372	DC	3258
11. Sekhamane T.	Foreign Affairs and International Relations	DC	Mokhotlong	2390	ABC	2816
12. Kholumo T.	Deputy Minister in Ministry of Education and Training	PFD	Qalo	1337	ABC	1866
13. Kompi T.	Deputy Minister in Ministry of Health	LCD	Qaqatu	982	DC	2092
14. Molapo M.	Deputy Minister in Ministry of Agriculture and food Security	DC	Abia	1195	ABC	5918

Source IEC 2015

The above table provides the total number of ministers that did not do well in their constituencies in terms of the vote results. The last three, were the deputy ministers, yet they still lack majority behind them. There were three ministers who did not stand for elections and they were appointed into the Senate by the king on the advice of the prime minister “ the king shall acting, in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister, appoint ministers from among the members of the National Assembly or from among the Senators” (The Constitution of Lesotho, Part VIII section 4))and these are the following ministers; minister for Finance Dr Khaketla (DC), the minister for Health (DC), Dr Monyamane and the minister for Small Business Mr. Litsiba(DC), but Mrs M. Mothokho(LCD) the minister for Agriculture and Food Security, is in this position through the proportional representation from LCD party. This list adds to the above in the table because they were not elected by the members of the communities. This kind of cabinet has to formulate policies and oversee their implementation for the nation. Majoro (2016) argues that, proportional representation and Senate seats are increasingly being

used by political parties to reward members that have lost seats or have played significant roles to undermine government, this undermines democracy.

The above table, shows the differences between the winners and those who lost at constituency level. This emphasizes the point that representation within the cabinet was not up to the expectation especially in a democratic government. Leiden(1997) opines that, democracy is characterized by participation of all eligible citizens. One member of Parliament, from Lebakeng constituency, who was under the banner of DC, had the highest number of votes, that is, 6273 out of 7365 votes which means he had above half of all the votes in this constituency, but he was not appointed even to the portfolio of deputy minister. He was actually above the prime minister's votes which was 4 581 in Tsoelike constituency. Majoro (2016) argued that, LPC had 1 951 votes nationally but had the same voice in the National Assembly as a DC member who had average support of 4 650 votes, this practice discounts popular support in support of small parties. Of the thirteen constituencies in the above table one could realize that eight had been won by ABC which was the major opposition party in parliament with forty six seats. Members of ABC in parliament have the same voice as those members of the ruling parties who do not have majority behind them. As for the ministers, they are even better because they are overseeing the functions of different ministries yet they have minority population behind them.

On the basis of this table there were some areas where the ruling party like DC had the majority but for purposes of keeping the coalition government the prime minister had to select members from the other parties, an example could be in the Ministry of Social Development where the minister had about 68 votes and a DC member in that constituency had about 2981 votes, but the latter remained the member of the parliament while the former became the Minister. According to Ball and Peters (2005) representation has two basic concepts thus, sovereignty resides with people and therefore the government is responsible to the people, secondly, that the will of the majority is more important than that of minorities. This kind of cabinet with minorities behind them is weakening the role of the cabinet throughout the government proceedings.

Roskin et al, (2010) maintains that, representative democracy means that people as a body must be able to control the direction of government policy. On the basis of the above table it is obvious that people were not going to direct government policy in any way, since the majority were not represented by the cabinet. But the political executive would formulate all government policies. It may be difficult again for policies formulated under this situation to respond to the needs of the nation. Policy formulation is an interactive process where different groups of people would be involved and consulted, so that, they could advice on the felt needs that would constitute policy formulation. Ismael et al (1997) maintains that the citizens and interest groups are some of the stakeholders that influence policy-making since they receive policy outputs and they can identify policy weakness. With this kind of cabinet policy may not respond to all stakeholders needs, the consultation during policy formulation and policy implementation may not go to the majority of the people. Heywood(2007) maintains that, representation links the government and governed in such a way that the people's views are articulated or their interests are secured.

On the concept of accountability, the cabinet should be accountable to the citizens and they have to be answerable for their actions and functions to the electorates. According to Agere (2000), political accountability is generally associated with electoral mandate, which refers to the mandate that citizens give to politicians who constitute the executive and legislative arms of government. With the minority population behind these ministers, they may not really account for their actions. They cannot even portray any mandate that comes from their constituencies. Ngambi (2011:14) opines that "a leader must at all times actively communicate his/her actions and intentions. Responsibility and accountability from the leader start first; expecting responsibility and accountability from others comes second". But without the people even when leaders communicate most of the people would be left out. When one looks at the situation in Lesotho the ministries such as Health, Finance and agriculture have ministers that are appointed into the Senate and on their way to ministerial posts, they are huge ministries, which have to serve the whole nation at the end, their performance would not really be up to the standard because was not set by the citizens. Bassiouni et al (1998) maintains that, accountability entails right of access to information about the activities of government, the right to petition government and to seek redress through impartial administration. Citizens should have the right to know about governments operations, the situation remains questionable with the kind of the cabinet in Lesotho after 2015 general elections. While Ngambi (2011: 14) continues to observe that, "to be an accountable leader you must connect with the people you are responsible for". The question remains as to whether these ministers would be really accountable to the citizens whom they are not connected with in anyway. Their connection will be with the few under these circumstances. Agere(2000) argues that, political accountability is generally associated with electoral mandate, which refers to the mandate that citizens give to politicians who constitute the executive and legislative arms of government. This shows that the citizens should have some connection with their political leaders and trust them to fulfill their interests.

Democracy is regarded as a system where people are involved. A democratic government is the government by the people for the people. Heywood (2010:73) maintains that, more common form of democratic participation

is the act of voting, which is a central feature of what is usually called representative democracy. Popular vote is thus the center point of democracy in Africa (Amtaika: 2017) In Lesotho after 2015 there have been many challenges to democracy in the sense that the majority voters were not on the side of the ruling parties. The system of mixed member proportion has undermined the features of democracy in favour of the small parties. The people in rural areas are voting every time but they lack enough information either written or over the radios, so after elections they do not push government in any way to demand anything. "If a majority of the people become uneducated, ill informed, subject to gross political manipulation or apathetic an effective government cannot survive" (<http://www.enotes.com/homework>). There is a gap between the people residing in rural areas and those that are staying in urban areas in terms of social mobility and equal opportunities. At this time majority were not represented in the cabinet which is the higher ranking body in government for policy making and implementation. According to Amtaika (2017) democracy thus evolves from the bottom up not the other way round.

6. Conclusion

The paper has assessed the kind of democracy that the country has. It has observed how the tenets of democracy are applied. Representation appears to be very vague through this kind of cabinet that Lesotho had. About seventeen ministries are led by Ministers who were not elected; they do not have majority population behind them. While representation means that elected office bearers were voted into office to represent the large group of people. The prime minister was faced with a conundrum, for purposes of stabilizing coalition government of seven parties, he had to select some members from the coalition party members, yet they could be declared unqualified in terms of the components of democracy and understanding of representation and accountability.

The government was not expected to be accountable to the electorates under these circumstances, the cabinet members may be accountable either to their party through its list or proportional representation they have become members of parliament. They may also be accountable to the prime minister who had selected them into political executive. Hulme and Turner (1997) maintains that, democratization potentially opens up accountability as it creates a variety of avenues through which public service performance can be monitored and political pressure can be applied. If the majority of the people are part of government can be able to push the government to be accountable. Even in authoritarian regimes certain groups or organizations may be permitted to assist in making government more accountable (Hulme and Turner, 1997:123). Political accountability is associated with electoral mandate that citizens give to politicians who constitute the executive. But with the outcome of the executive after 2015 elections in Lesotho the quality of governance may be negatively affected. The citizens use the power of votes to keep in power those politicians that have performed satisfactorily – who 'delivered the goods' – and to reject the poor performers (Agere, 2000:43). Agere continues to maintain that, political accountability is generally associated with electoral mandate, which refers to the mandate that citizens give to politicians who constitute the executive and legislature arms of government.

These two democracy prerequisites which are: representation and accountability are tarnished in Lesotho because representation is minimal and accountability is questionable. Roskin et al (2010) maintains that not every country that calls itself democracy is one and not every country is capable of becoming one. In 1993 Lesotho returned to the democratic rule although it has had problems of post-election conflicts. But it appears that people were taking part only in elections, while later the same people were longer involved in operations of the government. But even if they would be involved with this kind of cabinet majority population would be left out. Though democracy is claimed to be the rule of people or popular sovereignty and popular control this is lacking in Lesotho with this seven party coalition government. The case of Lesotho conforms to the notion that the current leadership of Africa sees democracy as tool to get and stay in power, rather than as a means of empowering the masses (Amtaika 2017). The government at this point was not a representative of the citizens, hence its accountability was questionable. In order for the government to govern effectively it must know what the people want and must be responsive to their needs and demands (Roskin, et al 2010). It is true some countries that call themselves democratic countries may not really be democratic in practice. With many parties that Lesotho has, it has been claiming to be a democratic country but the majority of the people were on the side of the opposition than the government after the 2015 elections.

7. Way forward

- The government should make sure that crucial information reaches all citizens regardless of where they stay. This will enable all citizens to participate in an informed manner in politics. Maphunye (2014) maintains that, civic education campaigns also have an element of knowledge sharing through focused voter, balloting and broader democracy.
- The electorates should be involved and engaged so as to play an active role in their own government. Proper channels should be planned and enough education provided for the electorates to be involved in government operations.

- Democracy is regarded as ‘good thing’ because it involves citizens. It would be better if the cabinet members are selected from those members of parliament who have majority population behind them. So that they can take mandate from their electorates.
- Those that are from the Senate should be members that hold special skills and knowledge for purposes of injecting such knowledge and skills in the operations of government.
- Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral model should be reviewed. Majoro (2016) advocated for that, reforms that should involve review of the MMP because its outcome is at variance with expected democratic norms and need to be prevented.
- The constitution should also be reviewed in order to incorporate issues of coalition government and the role of the prime minister in such government, how other members of the coalition government should contribute to its operations. Matlosa (2008) maintains that, consolidation of democracy can happen when Lesotho Constitution is amended. Hence the need for constitutional reforms.
- Democracy should be maintained by letting people have a say in government operations and have appropriate mechanisms for the people to direct the government policies and plans. This implies that the citizens should be well informed about their importance of participating in political systems of the country.

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Moliehi Motseki-Mokhothu received her BA degree from the National University of Lesotho in Political Science and Public Administration and her MA in Development Administration from the University of Manchester (UK). She is now a lecturer at the National University of Lesotho in the department of Politics and Administrative Studies lecturing in the following subjects; Introduction to Public Administration, Introduction to Political Science, Rural Development, Local Government and the Management of Human Resources.

She is also a part-time lecturer at the Institute of Extra Mural Studies which is the outreach facility of the National University of Lesotho, she lectures in Principles of Management, Operations and Production Management and Human Resources of Management. She has written articles for conference presentations, and a researched monograph as well as a chapter in a book "Socio-Economic Development in Africa Challenges and Dimensions" (Amtaika A., 2017)

She has supervised students' research projects and undertaken research in some topical issues such as food security, local government capacities and their role in rural development processes.

She has worked in the Ministry of Public Service's department, Lesotho Institute of Public Administration and Management (LIPAM), as a senior consultant and a trainer in different government operations.