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DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

**An Investigation of the citizens' participation in development decision making
in Lesotho between 2012 and 2017**

By

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accordance with the requirement for a Masters of Arts degree in Development
Studies**

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Certification

This is to certify that this dissertation has been read and approved as having met the requirements of the Department of Development Studies, Faculty of Humanities, National University of Lesotho for the award of Master of Arts in Development Studies.

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Declaration on Plagiarism

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother, 'M'e 'Maliphapang Monesa. I hope this will be my tribute for all the sacrifices and suffering that I have seen you go through so that one day I would be the man I am today. I know that no amount of thanks will ever be enough to fully express my gratitude and the love I have for you. God could not have given me a better mother and I can only hope to live a life that is worth all the prices you have had to pay for me to be here.

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ACRONYMS

ABC	All Basotho Convention
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BNP	Basotho National Party
CESS	Centre of Experts for Services and Solutions
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
DC	Democratic Congress
ESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
IAP2	International Association for Public Participation
INDF	Interim National Development Framework
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
MP	Member of Parliament
NSDP I	National Strategic Development Plan I
NSDP II	National Strategic Development Plan II
NRA	National Reforms Authority
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PRS	Poverty Reduction Strategy
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

Abstract

Development is advanced most effectively where the nation-states liberal democratic institutions strengthen voice and accountability so that all the citizens have the capacity to express their demands and to hold elected officials to account. The literature also shows that an active and engaged citizenry can contribute to better development policy outcomes, a renewed faith in the public sector and a stronger sense of community. Communities with higher levels of social capital and citizen participation have higher-performing governments and governments that are more responsive to the public that they serve.

Between 2012 and 2017, Lesotho experienced both the advent of coalition governance and a series of snap elections as a consequence of short-lived governments which were unable to complete their constitutional five year terms. This phenomenon prompted the interest to investigate the citizens' participation in development decision making as one of the pillars of good governance in Lesotho during this period. The objective of this study was to find out whether the coalition governments allowed the citizens' participation and to assess whether the citizens participated in development policy-making during the coalition governance between 2012 and 2017.

The findings of this study have established that coalition governments have had no real positive impact to promote the citizens' participation in development decision making processes in Lesotho. It is also possible that the volatility of these coalitions only worsened the already compromised opportunity for the citizens to have a direct role in determining their own development destiny.

Another objective of this study was to recommend the ways in which the citizens' participation in development decision-making can be enhanced in Lesotho. Therefore, the outcomes of this study may inform the policy makers on the significance of the citizens' participation in decision making for national development and further secure a more stable government and a healthy democracy necessary for good governance. Moreover, the findings of this study may also inform the current national reforms process in Lesotho on legislating the national legal frameworks to promote the citizens' participation in governance. Lastly, the study may contribute to the body of knowledge in highlighting the dynamics in relation to the citizens' participation in development processes during the coalition governments in Lesotho.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The citizens' participation in the development processes of the country is considered a pillar of good governance. In addition, the active participation and engagement of the citizens and civil society groups in policy-making and implementation can greatly improve the accountability and overall good governance (Onichakwe, 2016). According to the World Bank (1992), good governance is central to creating and sustaining an environment which fosters strong and equitable development and it is an essential complement to sound economic policies. Onichakwe (2016) adds that the concept of good governance is examined in the context of a broad vision of development and globalization and that its facts include the efficient functioning of the executive legislature and the judiciary; these are the arms of government. The expectation is that each of these arms should carry out their individual tasks with dedication and integrity and with the active participation of the citizens.

A basic definition of the government and governance, as outlined by Boadway and Shah (2009), is that government is a territorially-based structure which has the constitutional or legislative authority to make authoritative decisions that are binding on the residents and businesses within its boundaries. The concept of governance is as old as the government itself. The terms are derived from French. Their meaning is very close and refers to the acts or the manner of government. However from the mid-16th century to the 19th century the term government has undergone an evolution in meaning. At one point, government meant a system by which something is governed and later it evolved to acquire the meaning of a governing authority. As outlined by Weiss (2000), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines governance as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, the processes and institutions through which the citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences.

Anomaly (2015) posits that it is widely agreed that governments should play the key role in the provision of public goods and the establishment of the rules that make the markets work efficiently. This statement suggests that the governments have the central role as the custodians of the development of a country. Moreover, Carothers and De Gramont (2013) point out that good governance for any country is central to the creation and sustainability of an environment which fosters strong and equitable development, and it is an essential complement to sound economic policies. A synthesis of the preceding statements denotes that for development to thrive in a country, the government has to ensure the practice of good governance.

According to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), good governance has eight major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized; the views of the minorities are taken into account and the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. Participation is the cornerstone of good governance (ESCAP, 2021)

Traditionally, in most democratic states a government is formed through an electoral process where multiple political parties contest for a popular vote. The political party that commands the majority vote consequently forms the government. Sometimes the democratic process of elections is unable to produce an outright winner among the political contenders to form the government. The most common response to the situations where no one political party is able to form the government is that political parties establish coalitions. As Kadima (2006) points out, coalitions are formed for the purpose of achieving enough votes or combining a requisite number of parliamentary seats to form a government.

A coalition government, like any other form of government, maintains the same obligations entrusted to the government by the constitutional and legislative instruments of a country. However, this form of government characteristically renders the organisation of government work more complex. In addition to the task of co-ordinating the views expressed by the various ministries and prompted by their respective responsibilities, there is the need for policy co-ordination between the positions of the various parties represented in government (OECD, 1998). This implies that a coalition government, different from a one-party-led

government, has the dual burden of not only implementing good governance but also of keeping all the members of the coalition satisfied in order to solidify the longevity of the government. This research study seeks to investigate the extent of the citizens' participation in the development decision making of Lesotho from 2012 to 2017, during the coalition governance.

1.2 Background to the Study

According to Kapa and Shale (2014), the post-2012 elections coalition government was purely a product of the fact that the elections had failed to produce a party that had won enough seats in parliament to form a government on its own. The elections had produced a hung parliament. The Democratic Congress (DC) as the outgoing government had won the most parliamentary seats but the seats were not enough for the party to form a government on its own. In addition, the DC failed to convince other smaller parties to coalesce with it to form a government. Consequently the three parties, including the All Basotho Convention (ABC), the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) and the Basotho National party (BNP) were united by a common interest to remove the DC from government and were, thus, able to succeed in forming the first coalition government in Lesotho since independence (Kapa and Shale, 2014).

Hardly two years into the constitutional five years tenure of government, had the ABC, LCD, and BNP coalition government collapsed. Several factors led to the collapse of the coalition. Moseme (2017) reported that one of the major factors for the collapse of the government was that the 2012 coalition was established on the basis of a written agreement which was not legally binding since there was no statute that addressed its provisions. As a result, it was rendered a weak governance instrument that fell short to protect the coalition partners against one another.

The collapse of the 2012 coalition led to fresh elections in early 2015. The results of those snap elections only gave birth to a new coalition. In principle, the tables were only turned because the new coalition of 2015 was made of the political parties, with the exception of LCD, that formed the opposition in the first coalition government. On the other hand, when the new coalition assumed power, the first National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP I) was almost halfway through its lifespan. In terms of development, the new government was only supposed to pick the baton and continue with the implementation of the NSDP.

However, the 2015 coalition also saw the same demise as its predecessor coalition of 2012 because two years into government, the 2015 coalition collapsed on the eve of 2017.

Moseme (2017) concludes that weak institutional arrangements resulted in the weak cohesion within the coalition partners and therefore could not support the longevity of the coalitions. Regardless of the rise and fall of the coalitions in Lesotho between 2012 and 2017, there was a vacuum in terms of the citizens' participation in pursuit of good governance for development in Lesotho. The interest of this study is to examine the extent to which coalition governments portrayed good governance and allowed the citizens' participation in the development processes in the period between 2012 and 2017.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The advent of coalition governments in Lesotho since 2012 and their frequent collapse before the end of their five year legal terms has created an obsession and pre-occupation with power among the political elite. However, this continuous power struggles and the persistent instability of coalition governments have compromised the creation of a conducive environment for the existence of some of the fundamental pillars for good governance, mainly the citizens' participation and development.

1.4 Aim

The aim of this research study is to investigate the extent to which the coalition governments in Lesotho allowed the citizens' participation in development decision making between 2012 and 2017.

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

1. To examine whether coalition governments allowed the citizens' participation between 2012 and 2017
2. To assess whether the citizens participated in development policy-making during coalition governments between 2012 and 2017 or not.
3. To recommend the ways through which the citizens' participation in development decision-making can be enhanced in Lesotho.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The achievement of the national economic and social development renders the citizens' participation in governance a cardinal requirement for every democratic government (Bassiouni, 1998). When the government is unstable, the citizens' participation becomes difficult or impossible. On the other hand, the lack of participation by the citizens compromises the stability of a government (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). The outcome of this study, may inform the policy makers on the significance of the citizens' participation in order to secure a more stable government and a healthy democracy necessary for national development. Moreover, the findings of this study may also inform the current national reform process in Lesotho on enhancing the participation of the citizens in their own development. Furthermore, the study may contribute to the body of knowledge in highlighting the dynamics in relation to the citizens' participation in development processes during the coalition governments in Lesotho.

1.7 Scope of the study

The study focused on the citizen's participation in development processes from 2012 to 2017. It also focused on the members of the national assembly who represent the custodians of the policy and governance and on the regular citizens of Lesotho representing the urban and rural populations in the two constituencies, namely Stadium Area and Thaba Putsoa, in the Maseru district.

1.8 Study Organization

The study comprises of the following six chapters:

Chapter one: Introduction

This chapter introduces the study and outlines the background and statement of the problem which inform the aim of the study. The chapter also outlines the objectives and significance of this research study. At the end the chapter presents the scope of the study and also explains how the thesis has been organised.

Chapter two: Literature Review

This chapter first discusses the literature and outlines the definitions of the key terms and concepts that underpin this research study. These include Coalition Government, Good Governance, Citizen Participation and Development. The chapter also outlines the theoretical model of the citizens' participation that has been adopted to guide the research study. Lastly, the chapter discusses the citizens' participation as the basis for good governance for development.

Chapter three: Methodology

The chapter covers the study population, the sampling techniques, the sample size, the data collection methods and data analysis techniques. It further presents ethical considerations which guided the research study as well as the study limitations.

Chapter four: Data Presentation

This chapter presents the data collected from the field by the researcher. The study sought for the perceptions and experiences of citizens whether coalition governments allowed citizens' participation in the development decision-making.

Chapter Five: Discussions of the Findings

This chapter presents the data analysis and the study findings in relation to the aim and objectives of the research study as well as the reviewed literature.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter provides the conclusion in relation to the aim of the study, based on the findings of the study. It also makes some recommendations according to how the citizen's participation in the development decision making processes can be enhanced for good governance.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter first discusses the literature and outlines the definitions of the key terms and concepts that underpin this research study. They include a coalition government, good governance, citizen participation and development. The chapter also outlines the theoretical model of the citizens' participation that has been adopted to guide the research study. Lastly, the chapter discusses the citizens' participation as the basis for good governance for development.

2.2 Conceptual Framework

This section provides the definition of the key concepts in this study. The following concepts are discussed:

2.2.1 Development

According to Abuiyada (2018), the term **development** has alternative meanings to different people and can be explained in various contexts. For example, the needs for development for a starving population are different from those where there is adequate nutrition. Development has regularly been confused with economic growth as measured only in terms of annual increases in per capita income or gross national product (GDP), regardless of its distribution and the degree of people's participation in effective growth. Seers (1972) asserted that development means the conditions for the realisation of the human personality. Its analysis must therefore consider three linked criteria: where there has been a reduction in poverty, unemployment and inequality.

According to Pearson (1992), development involves qualitative or quantitative improvement or both in the consumption of available resources. He also asserts that development does not refer to one particular perspective on social, political and economic improvement. Instead, it is a hybrid term for a large number of strategies adopted for socioeconomic and environment transformation from the current states to the desired ones.

Furthermore Rapley (2007) argues that development has come a long way in the past six decades. As both an enterprise and a scholarly discipline, development ascended to significance in the period immediately following World War II. The Western world and

especially Europe, a continent that had been shattered by war, confronted the new challenge of rebuilding the countries. The institutions such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (which soon came to be known as the World Bank) that would help to manage this process were created for the task. Alongside them arose a tradition of theorizing about the special challenges facing undeveloped regions and countries and the means by which these challenges could be met in a way that would put these areas on sustainable paths to industrialization. In those days, development was considered largely synonymous with industrialization. Its ultimate goal was fairly clear as to raise the income while simultaneously giving poor people access to the range of goods and services then widespread in developed societies. It was, in summary, about getting richer or more prosperous and prosperity was measured in dollar figures.

2.2.2 Good Governance

Srivastava (2009) perceives Good Governance as being an adjective expression which means certain value-assumptions whereas governance as a process represents a value-free dispensation. Good governance is associated with efficient and effective administration in a democratic framework. It is equivalent to purposive and development oriented administration which is committed to the improvement in the quality of life of the people. It implicitly refers to a high level of organisational effectiveness. It also relates to the capacity of the central power of the political and administrative system to cope with the emerging challenges of the society. It refers to the application of the new values of governance to foster greater efficiency, legitimacy and credibility of the system. Good governance is, therefore, a function of the installation of positive virtues of administration and removal of the vices of dysfunction. It must possess the attributes of an effective, credible and legitimate administrative system-citizen-friendly, value-caring and people-sharing.

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights OHCHR (2019) points out that while there is no international consensus on the definition of good governance, it may include a full respect of human rights, the rule of law, effective participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, transparent and accountable processes and institutions, an efficient and effective public sector, legitimacy, access to knowledge, information and education, political empowerment of people, equity, sustainability attitudes and values that foster responsibility, solidarity and tolerance.

Good governance refers to the necessary political and institutional processes and outcomes to achieve the goals of development. The true test of 'good' governance is the degree to which it delivers on the promise of civil, cultural, economic, political and social human rights. The key question is whether the institutions of governance effectively guarantee the right to health, adequate housing, sufficient food, quality education, fair justice and personal security.

2.2.3 Citizen participation

As with many concepts associated with the governing process, citizen participation also defies precise definition. Citizen participation, according to Callahan (2007), refers to a wide range of activities implemented by different individuals or groups of individuals. The term citizen itself has several different meanings. To some it reflects the individual's legal rights and responsibilities, as defined in the constitutions and statutes that articulate the qualifications, obligations and rights of the citizens. For others, citizenship denotes the broader sociological concept of being a member of a larger community and/or an inhabitant of a particular place. As such, it is inclusive of the members of the society who, by place of birth, are not entitled to the privileges or are bound by the responsibilities legally associated with formal citizenship. Others see citizenship as a virtue, a civil attribute coupled with attitudes and values concerning the nature of political authority, an embodiment of virtue and moral character, an ennobled public motivated by shared concerns for the common good.

Additionally, Creighton (2005) points out that participation creates a new direct link between the public and the decision makers. At its most basic level, citizen participation is a way of ensuring that there is a dialogue between those who make decisions that affect people's lives and the public before decisions are made. From the perspective of the public, citizens' participation increases their influence on the decisions that affect their lives. From the government officials' perspective, citizens' participation provides a means for resolving contentious issues. Citizens' participation is a way of channelling these differences into genuine dialogue among people with different points of view. It is a way of ensuring genuine interaction and a means of reassuring the public that their viewpoints are being taken into consideration.

Citizenship can be viewed as a right, a community or a virtue. As a virtue, citizenship extends beyond the formal relationship with government to the involvement with the community and with voluntary organizations. Its focus is on building and sustaining strong communities and bonds of social connectedness between the members of the community. It also emphasises the development of community values, norms and traditions (Callahan, 2007).

2.2.4 Coalition Government

According to Booyesen (2014), coalition refers to the association of at least two political parties that have established an agreement to work together in Parliament and/or government as a consequence of election outcomes. However, this definition is contextually one side of the coin because it refers to a post-election coalition. On the other hand, there is also a pre-election coalition which is an association formed by political parties to work together even before the elections. Many opposition coalitions are a result of pre-election coalition formations.

Since coalition governments are also party governments. Moury (2010) maintains that this then implies a double delegation from the coalition parties. There is delegation to the ministers who belong to another party and a delegation to the ministers of their own party. Delegation from the party to the minister is more complicated in coalitions because a collection of the coalition parties with diverging preferences must delegate power to an individual minister belonging to a particular party. Such a minister has access to the resources, the expertise, civil servants with technical knowledge as well as a direct relationship with the outside experts that other ministers do not have. Thus the parties in a coalition are constantly confronted with trade-offs and opportunity costs brought about by the party which the minister belongs to and controls certain portfolios.

Strom (1997) further argues that the electoral terms of the majority coalitions are the most disaster-prone of all the governments. This may be because the more partners there are in the coalition, the more explicit compromises its participants may have to make and the more blatant they may have to be in failing to deliver on their promises to the voters. In a majority coalition, no party really enjoys the monopoly to implement its policies or manifesto. The persistent compromises in the coalition mean that no one party has the privilege or opportunity to be outstanding.

The factors that influence the formation of coalitions include the fact that the parties seeking to enter into alliance before or post an election seem likely to be influenced by the desire to promote their individual policies and/or share in the benefits that go with occupying the position of state power. Since the return of multiparty democracy in Africa, a review of most of those countries that have gone through coalition experiences, reveal that the key motivating factor in a coalition formation has been the thirst to control power and, by extension, access to the benefits attached to power holding. Implicitly, rarely has coalition formation in these African countries been influenced by the need to promote or implement policy (Oyugi, 2006).

The experience of coalition governments in Africa since the early 1990s has been more one of instability than stability. A number of factors that are responsible for this situation include politicisation of ethnicity, personality differences, lack of institutions of conflict resolution, absence of the culture of trust in the body politic and the lingering fear of power-sharing. However, these factors have not presented themselves evenly in the countries under review, nor have their impact on coalition politics been felt equally.

Kapa and Shale (2014) observe that in Lesotho, the formation of coalition governments cannot be explained by either ideology, the influence of policy or nation-building. This is because political parties in Lesotho do not have clear ideological differences or orientations and even those claiming to be leftist in the political spectrum are either extremely too small to hope to win power because their formation has not made a noticeable impact on the country's politics. This suggests that the formation of coalitions in Lesotho is influenced by the inability of one party to form a government on its own. It has, thus far, always been only a marriage of convenience between the parties or a means to hold on to state power and the perks that come with it.

Although studies have documented the negative outputs of many coalition formations, especially in Africa, Oyugi (2006) argues that stability or relatively stable coalitions seem to work only in political systems which are more open. The observation is that the stability of a coalition government is directly related to the level of democratisation in society. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that coalitions can and do succeed, depending on the extent to which such a coalition adheres to the principles of good governance.

2.2.5 National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP I)

According to the NSDP I report (2014), the national strategic development plan served as an implementation strategy for the National Vision 2020. It built on the foundation set by the earlier planning documents including the Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) and the Interim National Development Framework (INDF). In order to achieve the National Vision goals and to reduce poverty and achieve sustainable development, the NSDP strategic goals were to pursue high, shared and employment creating economic growth, to develop the key infrastructure, to enhance the skills base, technology adoption and foundation for innovation, improve health, combat HIV and AIDS and reduce vulnerability; Reverse environmental degradation, adapt to climate change, promote peace and democratic governance and build effective institutions.

Since promoting peace, democratic governance and building effective institutions was one of the strategic goals of the NSDP I, this means that the participation of the citizens was enshrined in the implementation of the plan. According to the NSDP I report (2014) it was important to institutionalise wide participation in policy-making and planning and to create the mechanisms to improve the implementation of plans, strengthen public accountability and transparency and create the space for a well-functioning media. Therefore the participation of the citizens was indispensable in development policy-making and implementation of the NSDP I during the coalition governments of 2012 and 2015.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

This research study aimed to investigate the extent to which the coalition governments in Lesotho allowed the participation of the citizens in development decision making processes. In order to accomplish this aim, the study was guided by the model of Sherrey Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation. Callahan (2007) points out that the Sherrey Arnstein's ladder of participation is one of the earliest, best known and most widely cited models of citizen participation, where she equates the level of citizen participation with the steps on a ladder.

Arnstein (1969) Ladder of citizen participation



Source: The Earthbound Report, 2019

According to Arnstein (2019), a typology of eight levels of participation may help in the analysis of the citizens' participation. For illustrative purposes, the eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of the citizens' power in determining the end outcome. The bottom rungs of the ladder are Manipulation and Therapy. These two rungs describe the levels of 'non-participation' that have been designed by some people to substitute for actual participation. Their real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting development programmes but to make it possible for the power holders to preserve the participants. Going up the ladder is Informing and Consultation which are the third and fourth rungs, progress to the levels of 'tokenism' that allow the citizens to hear and to have a voice. When they are accommodated by those in power as the total extent of participation, the citizens may hear and be heard. However, under these conditions they lack the power to make sure that their views are heeded by the powerful. There is no follow-through for participation that is restricted to these levels, hence no assurance of changing the status quo. The fifth rung, Placation, is the higher level tokenism because the ground rules allow the citizens to advise but those in power retain the continued right to decide. Further up the ladder are the levels of citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. Citizens can enter into a Partnership. The sixth rung allows them to negotiate and to engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders. At the

topmost rungs, the delegated power and citizen control, the majority of decision-making seats or full managerial power belongs to the citizens.

Callahan (2007) concludes that the ladder ranges from an active role for citizens in decision making, at the top rung of the ladder, to a passive role or no role at all at the bottom rung. At the bottom of the ladder, the citizens are given to serve on advisory committees that have no power. Therefore, citizens are either manipulated into thinking they have real influence in the decision-making process or they are led to believe that their behaviour is the source of the problem. Citizens assume a consultative role in the middle of the ladder. They are informed of decisions after they have been made; they are invited to attend the meetings and complete surveys that are carefully crafted by public managers. Full citizen governance is realised at the top of the ladder, where the citizens enter into partnership with the public managers and the decision-making authority is delegated to the citizens. The ladder of participation model indicates that public officials rarely relinquish enough control to allow the citizens to share in the decision-making processes of development at the top of the ladder.

2.4 Literature Review

2.4.1 The citizens' participation in Development Policy Making process

According to Norris (2012), development is advanced most effectively under two conditions. Firstly, it is advanced in nation-states where liberal democratic institutions strengthen voice and accountability so that all the citizens have the capacity to express their demands and to hold elected officials to account. Secondly, it is advanced in the nation-states where bureaucratic governance development is strengthened so that the regime authorities have the capacity to implement the policies which include the maintenance of security, raising public revenues and managing the delivery of the public goods and services.

Research also shows that an active and engaged citizenry can contribute to better development policy outcomes, a renewed faith in the public sector and a stronger sense of community. Communities with higher levels of social capital and citizen participation have higher-performing governments and governments that are more responsive to the public that they serve. However, public input in programme and policy decisions is likely to be solicited only after the administrators and elected officials have defined the problem and developed the proposed solutions (Callahan, 2007).

Callahan (2007) maintains that public hearing is one of the most common methods of citizen participation. Public hearings, which are usually required by law, enable the citizens to comment on specific issues or proposals before the governmental entities make decisions. However, despite their widespread use, public hearings are not held in high esteem. The most common critique from the participants, academics and governmental officials is that citizen comments do not influence policy outcomes. Public officials do not listen and usually have their minds made up before the public hearing, even if the citizens may speak their minds. The hearings, in this view, are mere democratic rituals that provide a false sense of legitimacy to legislative outcomes. Even though the citizen input has no impact, the officials can say that they received input from the public and they can give their decisions the respect afforded to democratic processes. Rather than being the means for citizen input, the hearings allow the officials to deflect criticism and proceed with the decisions that they have already made.

Though a lot of the criticism levelled against the public meetings has merit, Adams (2007) argues that it has a role to play as an avenue for citizen participation. The meetings may not be very good at accomplishing their primary goal of giving the citizens the opportunity to directly influence the decisions made by the governing bodies, but they can be used to achieve other ends such as conveying information to the officials and setting the agenda.

2.4.2 The significance of participation in Good governance

The reasons for including the citizens in the decision-making process are many and are well documented in the public administration literature. One reason for including the citizens, as outlined by Callahan (2007), is to determine what the public wants to ascertain its priorities and preferences and ensure that these values play a part in the decision-making process to reduce conflict and build trust. Another reason for including the citizens is to improve the quality of the decisions made by incorporating the local knowledge in the process. This can lead to better outcomes. Another rationale for public participation is that it promotes openness and accountability and, in the process, advances fairness and justice. Citizen participation can ultimately build social capital and cultivate mutual understanding and bonds of trust among the public, decision makers and governing institutions.

Klein et al. (2011) add that for the success of democracy citizen participation is paramount. One cannot talk of a democracy if the decision making process excludes the masses. Therefore it is imperative that the citizens know their roles and duties in a democracy for

meaningful citizen participation in the politics of their country and the success of democracy. Furthermore, the citizens have a task to nurture the institutions and practices that are compatible with the local conditions and conducive to democratic ambitions.

The right of all adults to have a voice in public affairs is the foundation of democracy, both through the associations of civil society and through participation in government. This right should be exercised in conditions of equal citizenship and with respect to the voice of others. When the citizens participate in governance, economic and social development becomes meaningful and establishes deeper roots. Building democratic institutions at the level of the state helps to ensure that the priorities of different social groups are considered in the formulation of development strategies (Beetham, 1998).

If the participation efforts are poorly designed or ill-conceived, then they fail to ascertain the priorities and inclusion of the citizens. While citizen participation is meant to ensure that the citizens have a direct voice in public decisions and to ensure that the government does the right thing, the view that citizen participation is too expensive and too time consuming has caused many agencies to habitually choose to exclude or to minimize participation in the decision-making efforts. For many citizens, the reality of conventional participation efforts rarely meets the promise of democracy and good governance (Callahan, 2007).

Tommasoli (2013) concludes that the effectiveness of institutions and the soundness of democracy politics are acknowledged as the catalysts for development. Democracy creates the enabling environment in which policy choices are subject to the control of free and responsible citizens capable of holding government and state institutions accountable for their implementation.

2.4.3 Coalition government and citizens' participation

The concept of coalitions is not new to the formation of the governments in many parts of the world. For example, India boasts one of the more experienced countries concerning the coalitions. Ruparelia (2015) observes that since the 1970s, India, the world's largest democracy, has been ruled by a series of national coalition governments, challenging the dominance of the Indian National Congress. Moreover, since 1989, India has experienced a number of national coalition governments, arguably the largest in the world, considering the number and diversity of the parties involved. However, the same regime dynamics that influenced the proliferation of state-based parties and national coalition governments after

1989 paradoxically tested their resilience. The diversity of electoral incentives in the regions prohibited sustainable alliances at the centre.

Furthermore, Ruparelia (2015) points out that the high electoral volatility, factional splits and the disproportional effects of first past the post (FPTP) resulted in mistrust among the coalition partners. Structural economic reforms worsened these revolting tendencies through the 1990s to the extent that, despite its relative institutional stability, India's large democratic regime generated great political uncertainty after 1989. The party leaders had to manage an intensely competitive federal party system where marginal electoral swings, tight electoral races and multiparty blocs influenced the balance of power. It became exceedingly difficult to maintain a diverse coalition government in such circumstances, especially an alliance of diverse state-based parties seeking to forge a third front.

In addition Nooruddin (2011) suggests that the negative economic effects of political fragmentation which characterise a coalition can be determined by even a brief review of the suitable serious study in political science. Political instability breeds a potentially chaotic situation, which is anticipated to discourage domestic and international investors away. Moreover, coalition governments are thought to be limited from providing deeper and more business-friendly economic policies. However, for India the opposite appears true since 1991 when a balance-of-payments crisis plus pressure from international lenders such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) led to wide-ranging economic liberalisation. India's successful economic performance, which was long overdue for its deeply poor majority economy has been growing rapidly. In some ways this is difficult to explain. The economic progress in India has occurred against the backdrop of minority and coalition national governments, increasing party fragmentation and higher electoral volatility.

In parliamentary democracies, coalition governments come out as the most consistent pacifiers of volatility. Nooruddin (2011) supports this fact by stating that when governments are forced to accommodate different ideologies in order to achieve a policy consensus, the policy outcomes are more stable and less radical than when they can effect changes unilaterally. This stability improves confidence among the private economic actors who are threatened by policy change and encouraged to commit to longer-term investments which, in a riskier environment, would be reluctant to make any changes. As a result, more stable investments lay the foundation for stable economic growth and long-term economic development. Nooruddin (2011) further argues that no other institutions of democracy

promote such policy stability. Institutions that spread policymaking authority across multiple actors responsible to diverse societal constituencies are the key role-players.

In the case of post-election coalitions, Dorey and Garnett (2016) maintain that just two or three parties may succeed to construct a parliamentary majority and form a coalition. However, they also almost always need to share a basic ideological appeal in the key areas of policy in order to realise a stable and workable government or at least agree upon the shared objectives for government. If just two or three parties can meet these requirements, the result is a higher likelihood of the success to form a sustainable and relatively united coalition government with only a small degree of internal programmatic differences.

As in the case of Britain after the 2010 elections, sometimes in order for a majority party to solidify the grip to power and control of government, it may be beneficial to form a coalition with a smaller party. Mutually, a smaller party may get into this marriage of convenience in order to advance its policy aspirations. This was truly exemplified by the British coalition between the Conservatives (majority party) and the Liberal Democrats (small party). According to Dorey and Garnett (2016), what really facilitated the coalition was the fact that the Conservatives had accommodated the Liberal Democrats policy terms, and the Liberal Democrats to some degree, had also espoused the policies of the Conservatives.

From an African lens, Kadima (2006) argues that scholars in Western Europe have placed an unnecessarily high emphasis on predicting and explaining why some coalitions form but others do not. This is very likely influenced by the fact that in Western Europe coalitions are formed post-elections in the context of proportional representation electoral systems when no party has managed to win the absolute parliamentary majority. Consequently, in the African context the predictive application of the theories offered by the Western European studies tend to be of limited relevance, especially when the elections are clearly won, as it is often the case, by a single party or by a pre-election party coalition with an absolute majority.

In the period following the re-appearance of multiparty politics in Africa in the 1990s, party coalitions were formed for the purpose of securing sufficient votes or combining an adequate number of parliamentary seats to govern. Some coalitions have definitely contributed to the bolstering of the initial steps of some countries towards democracy and peace through power-sharing arrangements. Other coalitions have been perceived as political opportunists interested in short-term gains rather than long-term policy goals. This has resulted in accusations of being unprincipled because their members were ideologically remote.

Nevertheless, in contemporary African politics in both presidential and parliamentary systems, political party coalitions have increasingly formed a significant feature. The necessity to increase the understanding of the formation, survival and effectiveness of diverse coalitions in Africa cannot be overemphasised, as countries ought to learn from their own experience as well as from the relevant experience of other comparable countries (Kadima, 2006).

In showcasing some examples of coalitions in operation on the African soil, Kadima (2006) firstly suggests that Kenya is Africa's model of how opposition parties can succeed to access power through building a vibrant and diverse electoral coalition to replace an entrenched ruling party. Malawi's politics is characterised by the absence of a dominant party and by short-lived party coalitions because the country is ethnically divided. Ethnic divisions have exacerbated the fragmentation of the party system and have obligated the parties to coalesce in order to access or maintain power. The case of Mauritius is unique because, since independence in 1968, the country has never been governed by one single party. It is one of the very few countries on the continent with a long tradition of multiparty government.

In the case of Lesotho, Kapa and Shale (2014) point out that the 2012 elections transformed the country's political system and signified a new dispensation for Lesotho's democratisation, arguably advancing it further on the path of consolidation. The polls produced an unprecedented hung Parliament, rendering the formation of a coalition government inevitable. The resulting coalition government was formed based on the outcome of the popular vote rather than being put together by domestic political elites with assistance from external actors. The unique experience of a democratically elected coalition government and the consequent peaceful alternation of power from one government to another was described as an unusual mystery in both Lesotho and in African politics.

The first instalment of a coalition government in Lesotho in 2012 marked a historical milestone in the trajectory of governance in the country. The constitution of Lesotho makes a provision for the formation of a coalition government in Section 87(2) of the Constitution of Lesotho (1993) which states that:

“The King shall appoint as Prime Minister 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”

Regardless of the above and as Kapa and Shale (2014) outline, prior to 2012 Lesotho had had no history of coalition governments. Therefore when the 2012 coalition government came into power, there was little time for it to consult and to learn from the countries which had had such experience.

The basic premise of the democratic electoral processes is to empower people by giving them a voice to decide on their political leadership. It is an important motivator for people who have long been deprived of this right to organize and advocate for their interests. Political leaders may craft electoral appeals and subsequently implement policy to benefit the poor (Tommasoli, 2013).

2.5 Summary

The actual practice of citizen participation is too complex and difficult for many to wrap their heads and hands around. Meaningful participation is often perceived as inherently problematic because there is confusion about what it looks like in practice and what it is supposed to accomplish. Although there is much speculation on what makes citizen participation successful or unsuccessful, a few definitive statements can be made, advocating the broad involvement of the citizens in all stages of the policy-planning and implementation process. What works in one situation may not work in another. Given the complexity of the topic and the strength of the arguments on both sides of the issue, the inability to advocate for broad participation is not surprising (Callahan, 2007).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses the methodology used in this research study. It presents the research design, the methods that were used to collect the data, the sampling techniques methods used to analyse the collected data as well as the sampling procedure followed during the study. The chapter further presents the study population, the sampling techniques, the sample size, the data collection methods and the data analysis techniques. It also presents ethical considerations which guided the research as well as the study limitations.

3.2 Research Design

Marczyk et al. (2005) argue that although there are endless ways of classifying research designs, they usually fall into one of three general categories: experimental, quasi-experimental and non-experimental designs. Babbie (2014) describes research design as a process for deciding what aspects will be observed, of whom and for what purpose. Thus, a research design involves a set of decisions regarding what topic is to be studied, among what population, with what research methods and for what purpose.

This study followed a non-experimental survey approach with the aim to provide a descriptive analysis on the study findings. Henn et al. (2006) point out that surveys enable descriptive and explanatory generalisations to be made about the population in question by taking a representative sample from a given population and applying a standardised research instrument in the form of a structured questionnaire. A descriptive analysis provides a very basic summary of each variable by showing a proportionate breakdown of the categories for each variable.

Qualitative and quantitative research approaches were employed where the qualitative approach was used to construct statistical tables to present the data and to assess the results in explaining what was observed.

3.3 Types of data

The study depended on both primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected through structured interviews while secondary data was gathered from the existing literature.

3.4 Data collection methods

Primary data was gathered using structured interviews which facilitated a face-to face engagement between the researcher and the respondents. The questions were prepared in English and then translated into Sesotho for the benefit of the respondents who were not conversant with the English language. The interview instrument was divided into two sections. The first section comprised the questions directed to the members of the national assembly while the second section consisted of the questions for randomly selected citizens to get their responses on the citizens' participation during the coalition governments in Lesotho between 2012 and 2017.

The study depended on secondary data in the form of books and other publications on the subject of coalitions and good governance and the citizen participation in Lesotho and globally. These included the studies that have been conducted in Lesotho and internationally.

3.5 Population of the study

The population for this study included the Basotho from the urban and rural communities in the Maseru district. It also included the members of the national assembly.

3.6 Sampling Procedure and Sample size

The study used purposive sampling and stratified random sampling. Six members of the eighth and ninth parliament were selected. In addition, the sample size was limited to one urban and one rural constituencies in the Maseru district. This was done in order to achieve the representation of urban and rural population. The urban constituencies were represented by the Stadium Area constituency while the Thaba Putsoa constituency represented the rural constituencies. A total of 15 respondents per constituency were randomly selected from the villages within each constituency.

3.7 Data Analysis

Denscombe (2010) observes that different kinds of analysis that can be used in social research in order to describe, explain or interpret the data. However, practically, the options tend to gravitate around the notions of quantitative and qualitative research. Similarly, for the

purposes of this study qualitative and quantitative research approaches were used to analyse the data and to explain the findings.

3.8 Ethical considerations

This study took into consideration some appropriate ethical conduct. A consent and briefing document was prepared for the researcher to be granted permission to interview the sample population. Proof of the identification of the researcher was available and produced when necessary. The respondents were reassured by the interviewer that their participation in the study was voluntary, that the information that they provided remained anonymous and that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point and for any reason.

3.9 Field Experience

In preparation for the data collection, the researcher prepared two questionnaires, one for the citizens and the other for the members of parliament. The researcher then set out to collect data from the citizens first. Visits to the pre-determined locations (Stadium Area and Thaba Putsoa constituencies) in urban and rural Maseru were scheduled to allow for the whole day to be dedicated for conducting interviews in each location.

Upon arrival in the Thaba Putsoa constituency, the researcher first visited the area chief of Ha Ramohope in the Likalaneng area. This visit was an ethical consideration by the researcher to observe a common courtesy among the rural Basotho communities where a stranger introduces himself/herself to the community leader to screen and to receive permission to access and interact with the community members without being suspected to be a of any danger or harm to the people. The researcher was introduced as a student and the purpose of visiting the villages of the Likalaneng area was explained as educational. The researcher also informed the chief that the information obtained from the community would remain anonymous and would only be used for the purposes of the study.

The researcher then selected a stratified random sample of the respondents before visiting a few homes to interview the adult community members who were at home. Then another sample of respondents was selected from the business/market area. The last sample consisted of adult community members who were tending animals in the fields. For each respondent the researcher introduced himself and the purpose of the visit. The respondents were informed that their participation in the study was voluntary and the information provided would not be used to benefit or harm them in anyway; it was purely for study purposes. All

the interviews were conducted in Sesotho and a total of 15 respondents participated in the study. Each of them was interviewed alone some time before 09:00 am and 3:00 pm.

The same procedure was followed for data collection in the Stadium Area constituency though with some slight variations. The villages of Thamae, Mohalalitoe and Maseru East were selected as the focus areas. This was done in order to achieve a stratified sample selection representing the citizens from the township, sub suburban, and fully suburban areas. Because of the urban individualistic set up of these communities, the researcher did not have to enter the communities through any chief. Instead the researcher made house calls and randomly interviewed 15 respondents. The interviews were conducted in the morning and much later into the day because the researcher had to accommodate some of the adults who were not at home during the day because of work commitments.

In order to select and interview the members of parliament, the researcher first visited the different political party offices to request to contact the numbers of parliamentarians representing the respective political parties. Only the offices of the political parties in parliament were contacted. In particular, the researcher visited the offices of the political parties that formed the 2012 and the 2015 coalitions. Though the offices did provide contact information of their members of parliament (MPs), being able to reach the MPs and to schedule the interviews proved to be almost impossible. Some parliamentarians ignored the researcher's calls and others did not make real commitments to engage the researcher. Eventually, the researcher resorted to capturing the attention of the members of parliament. While this strategy proved successful to get MPs to commit their time to meet the researcher, some parliamentarians were reluctant to participate in the study as soon as the researcher explained the purpose of the interview. However, after using all the available personal and professional networks the researcher was able to interview 6 MPs over a period of two months. Some of these MPs were not even part of the 2012 and 2015 coalitions even though they provided insightful and relevant feedback.

3.10 Limitations of the study

The study had the following limitations:

- There was limited data to assess the citizens' participation due to lack of adequate systems of governance that promote participation.
- Some members of parliament were reluctant to participate in the study to protect their political expediency while others feared negative self-implication. Although some of the interviewed members of parliament were not in the eighth and ninth parliament, by virtue of their status as members of parliament their responses were still useful.
- Due to the movement and association complexities imposed by Covid-19, some respondents completed a questionnaire instead of being interviewed by the researcher.
- There was also limited data because of the citizens' alienation from the concept of participation.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected from the field by the researcher. The study sought for the perceptions and experiences of citizens whether coalition governments allowed citizens' participation in the development decision-making. Data was collected from the thirty six participants who were selected from the citizens in two constituencies (Thaba Putsoa and Stadium Area). The other six participants were selected from the members of the national assembly (MPs) of Lesotho. The response rate was 95% which is representative and from whom the generalizations on the findings can be made.

A thematic presentation of the findings is adopted. The data collected was grouped into thematic areas and these themes were derived from the objectives of this study. The researcher further developed the sub-themes from the research questions. The collected data was first coded for anonymity and confidentiality in presenting the research findings of the study (Table 1).

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section presents the participants of the study. The second section is the demographic profiles of interviewees. The third section presents the research findings. The last section summarises the chapter.

4.2 Participants of the study

The participants of this study were drawn from the citizens in the two constituencies of Thaba Putsoa and Stadium Area in the Maseru district as well as from the members of parliament. Fifteen participants were selected from the Thaba Putsoa Constituency. Another fifteen were selected from the Stadium Area constituency while six were members of parliament.

The sample represents both the rural and urban perceptions of the citizens in relation to their participation in the development process. A small number of MPs was also interviewed to assess their perceptions as a group of citizens entrusted with the legislative powers to promote the participation of all the citizens in the development process. Table 1 indicates the characteristics of the participants.

Table 1: Characteristics of Participants of the Study

Respondent Code	Sex	Age Range	Employment Status	Level of Education	Constituency
L01	M	36-45	Employed	Secondary	Thaba-Putsoa
L02	M	25-35	Employed	Secondary	Thaba-Putsoa
L03	M	25-35	Self-Employed	High School	Thaba-Putsoa
L04	M	56-65	Unemployed	Primary	Thaba-Putsoa
L05	M	36-45	Employed	Tertiary	Thaba-Putsoa
L06	M	46-55	Unemployed	No Education	Thaba-Putsoa
L07	M	46-55	Employed	Primary	Thaba-Putsoa
L08	M	25-35	Unemployed	Primary	Thaba-Putsoa
L09	M	25-35	Unemployed	Primary	Thaba-Putsoa
L10	F	36-45	Employed	Secondary	Thaba-Putsoa
L11	F	36-45	Employed	Primary	Thaba-Putsoa
L12	F	36-45	Self-Employed	High School	Thaba-Putsoa
L13	F	56-65	Unemployed	Primary	Thaba-Putsoa
L14	F	25-35	Employed	High School	Thaba-Putsoa
L15	F	36-45	Employed	Secondary	Thaba-Putsoa
S01	F	56-65	Employed	High School	Stadium Area
S02	F	46-55	Unemployed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S03	F	25-35	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S04	F	36-45	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S05	F	56-65	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S06	F	56-65	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S07	F	18-24	Unemployed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S08	M	25-35	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S09	M	36-45	Self-Employed	Secondary	Stadium Area
S10	M	25-35	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S11	M	56-65	Self-Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S12	M	25-35	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S13	M	56-65	Unemployed	Secondary	Stadium Area
S14	M	25-35	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
S15	M	25-35	Employed	Tertiary	Stadium Area
MP1	M	46-55	Employed	Tertiary	PR Seat
MP2	M	66+	Employed	Tertiary	Constituency
MP3	F	46-55	Employed	High School	PR Seat
MP4	F	36-45	Employed	Tertiary	PR Seat

MP5 M 36-45 Employed Tertiary Constituency

Source: Field Survey, June 2021

4.3 Demographic characteristics of participants

The participants' characteristics composed of different ages, genders and different educational qualifications. Some of the participants were unemployed, others were employed while others were self-employed (Table 1).

4.3.1 Age of the Participants

The study shows that the ages of the MPs that participated ranged between 36 and over 66. However, the data shows that the MPs whose age ranges between 36 and 45 were the dominant age group among the MPs and three out of six of the interviewed participants were in this age group. Two out of the 6 MPs were aged between 46 and 55 while only 1 MP was aged above 66.

The data further shows that the ages of all the citizens ranged between 18 and 65 while one citizen was aged between 18 and 24. The data also shows that 11 out of 30 citizens were aged between 25 and 35 while eight were aged between 36 and 45. Seven were between 56 and 65 years of age. The last three participants were aged between 46 and 55. The data shows that the highest frequency of the age range of citizens that participated in the study was between 25 and 35.

4.3.2 Gender of Participants

The results show that two out of the three MPs were females. Furthermore, the two MPs aged between 46 and 55 were male while the highest age of above 66 was represented by a male. This indicates that from this group of the MPs, the females were the most dominant group.

The data also shows that in the Thaba Putsoa constituency the citizens who participated in the study included nine males and six females. In Stadium Area constituency there were eight males and seven females. In both rural (Thaba Putsoa) and urban (Stadium Area) constituencies there were more males than females. In addition, the data revealed that the older the age the more the females became represented with higher numbers than males. In the age range between 36 and 45, there were five females out of eight citizens while in the range between 56 and 65 there were four females out of seven citizens. Women were more

concentrated in the age range between 36 and 65 while men were more concentrated in the age range between 25 and 45.

4.3.3 Participants' level of education

The data show that, with the exception of only one citizen, all the thirty five participants had attained some level of education ranging from primary to tertiary level. The data also show that the participants resembled the urban and rural divide in terms of their education level. Among the citizens there were 13 out of 30 participants who had obtained tertiary education and 12 of these participants came from the Stadium Area constituency. The data show that out of the 13 tertiary level citizens, six were female and seven were males, indicating that gender was not the key determinant for the highest level of education. However, the participants aged 25 to 35 constituted the majority among those that had attained tertiary level education.

The results further show that five out of six MPs had attained tertiary level education. Only one MP had obtained up to high school level education. According to the data, neither age nor gender had any relationship to the level of education attained by the MPs.

4.3.4 Employment status of participants

The data for this study show that 24 out of 36 participants were employed. Among the employed there were equal numbers of males and females, consisting of 12 participants for each gender. However, the unemployed were more in the rural area than in the urban area. There were eight out of 30 citizens that were unemployed. Five of them were from the Thaba Putsoa constituency which is in the rural part of Lesotho. The males dominated the self-employment status. About four participants were self-employed and three of them were males.

4.4 Research Findings

4.4.1 Perceptions on the prevalence of the Citizens' participation

The data from the field shows that participation of the citizens was determined by the presence of democracy which, in turn, influenced their participation in the general elections that enabled them to take part in Lesotho's development policy making process during the coalition government of 2012 to 2017. Their participation was in the form of representative

democracy where, as a result of the elections, they chose their representatives in parliament by voting for the members of parliament (MPs).

4.4.1.1 Democracy and Citizens' participation

The findings of this research study are that voting in the country's general elections was one mechanism of democracy that allowed citizens' participation. During the coalition governments from 2012 to 2017, both the active card holding political party members and other citizens who were registered as voters participated in the elections. Out of 30 citizens interviewed, 15 indicated that they had been active and voting members of political parties. In the 2012 elections, 20 out of 30 citizens voted and in 2015, 21 of 30 citizens voted (Table 2). The results from the data show the responsiveness of citizens towards multi party affiliation enabled them to vote.

The voter turnout outcome shows that during the two elections periods, 2012 and 2015 the citizens maintained the same response towards electing the two coalition governments even though the life span of each of them was far shorter than the constitutional period of five years. The data reflects the willingness among the citizens to participate in the elections irrespective of how close to each other the election periods were. The research data further revealed that as a result of the free participation of the citizens, the elections outcomes led to the formation of the 2012 and 2015 coalition governments.

Table 2: Participation of citizens in elections

Citizens' Responses	Do you know that it is legally binding for Lesotho citizens who are 18 and older to register as voters?	Are you a registered voter?	Are you an active card holding member of a political party	Did you vote in the following national assembly elections	
				2012	2015
Yes	28	27	15	20	21
No	2	3	15	10	9
TOTAL	30	30	30	30	30

Source: Field Survey, June 2021

The MPs also affirmed the establishment of the 2012 coalition government as a reflection of the citizens' participation. MP5 also confirmed:

“There was public consensus for the parties in parliament to strategically form the government and to ensure the exclusion of the former prime minister’s party (DC) because the citizens felt that he had overstayed in power.”

(Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021)

On the other hand, there was an opposing view where some citizens refuted the assertion that the establishment of the 2012 coalition government was a result of the citizens’ participation. They argued that the 2012 coalition government was formed by the political leaders out of their own discretion, without the consultation of the citizens. L15 argued,

“If it were the decision of the people, the 2012 coalition wouldn’t have collapsed. The electorate did not approve the coalition”

(Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021).

S2 also added that

“The 2012 coalition was not the decision of the people because it was not formed by the two (ABC & DC) parties that won the most constituencies.”

Another view from S6 was,

“The coalition was not the decision of the people because it was formed by some parties that had no popular vote and it left out the DC party that won the most seats (48) in parliament”

S14 supported this argument,

“The coalition government was just formed out of the pursuance of certain political scores at that time, without regard of the elections results outcome.”

(Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021)

Some MPs however refuted the perception that the formation of the 2012 coalition government was a reflection of the participation of the citizens. MP2 indicated,

“The true participation of the citizens would have been reflected if DC and ABC had formed the government with 47 and 26 seats respectively. The

coalition was formed through extremely bad propaganda popularised for opportunism.”

(Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021)

MP3 also argued

“The formation of the coalition government was a marriage of convenience not necessarily a reflection of people’s participation and their will.

MP6 also supported this by saying

“The coalition relationship was not informed by the people directly but rather by party leaders who did not take into account the numbers as reflected from the elections but rather their comfort to work with each other.”

(Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021)

4.4.1.2 Perceptions on the participation of the citizens through representation

The study further found that the citizens’ participation in development decisions making processes was through representation. They perceived their representation as being through the elected MPs, the political parties and the civil society organizations.

According to Table 3, the citizens from both Stadium Area and Thaba Putsoa constituencies equally referred to the political parties as representing the citizens in government. However, the majority of the citizens (six out of 15 participants) from the Stadium Area constituency mentioned that the civil society organisations represent the citizens in government. Nine out of 15 of the participants from the Thaba Putsoa constituency mostly perceived their representation through the individual representation. The data further show that almost all the MPs (4 out of 6) viewed political parties as the best representation for the citizens in development decision-making of the country. A small number of politicians (2 out of 5) suggested civil society organisations as better representatives of citizens than political parties.

Table 3: Citizens’ perceptions on representative participation

Citizens' Responses	The participants’ perception of their best representatives to the government			Total
	Myself	Political party	Civil Society Organisations	
Stadium Area	5	4	6	15
Thaba-Putsoa	9	5	1	15
Total	14	9	7	30

MPs' Responses		4	2	6
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Source: Field Survey, June 2021

4.4.1.3 Mechanisms for the Citizens' participation in development decision-making

The data in Table 4 reflects that public gatherings were the means through which the citizens from the two constituencies made decisions regarding their development. Table 4 shows the responses of the citizens regarding their participation in public gatherings during 2012 to 2017. According to the data, four out of 30 of citizens claimed to have attended public gatherings hosted by the MPs as the government representatives in their constituencies. About seven of them claimed to have attended one public gathering while the majority (19) of them claimed to have never attended any public gathering led by MPs. The findings show consistency of feedback in all the options irrespective of the location of the constituency.

Furthermore, the data shows that the MPs did not host public gatherings in their constituencies during the period 2012 to 2017. Even though three MPs out of six claimed to have held public gatherings in their constituencies during the 2012 to 2017 period, the data suggests that the citizens did not know about such gatherings and did not attend them.

Table 4: the Citizens' participation in public gatherings hosted by MPs

Citizens' Responses	Between 2012 and 2017, did you or anyone you know attend a public gathering hosted by the Member of Parliament in your constituency?			Total
	Once	Many times	Not at all	
Stadium Area	3	2	10	15
Thaba-Putsoa	4	2	9	15
Total	7	4	19	30
The MPs' holding of the public gatherings between 2012 and 2017				
MPs' Responses		3	3	6

Source: Field Survey, June 2021

4.4.2 The participation of the Citizens in the implementation of NSDP I

One of the objectives of this study was to assess whether the citizens participated in development policy-making during the coalition governments from 2012 to 2017. The study sought the views of the citizens on whether they participated in the decision making and implementation of the National Strategic Plan I (NSDP I). The 2012 and 2015 coalitions coincided with the implementation of the National Strategic Plan I (NSDP I) which was designed and scheduled to be implemented from 2012/13 to 2016/17.

4.4.2.1 The citizens' familiarity with the existence of NSDP 1

The research data show that the majority (23 out of 30) of the citizens were not familiar with the NSDP I. Out of 30 respondents, seven were familiar with the NSDP I. The study finds that among the citizens who were familiar with the NSDP I, the majority were the citizens from the urban constituency (Stadium Area) while among those who said they were not familiar with the NSDP I. The majority of them came from the rural constituency (Thaba Putsoa) (Table 5).

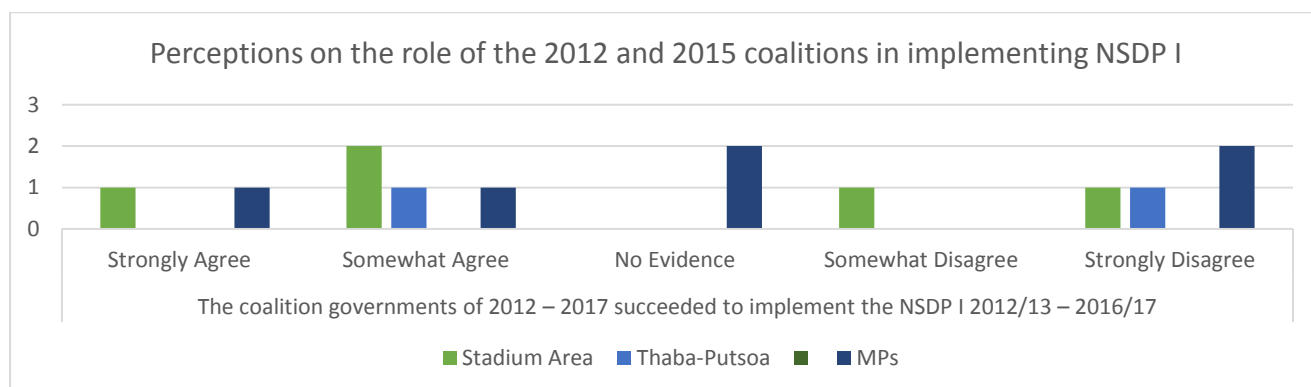
Table 5: The Citizens' Knowledge of the NSDP I

Responses	Familiarity with the Lesotho National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP I) 2012/13 – 2016/17		Total
	Yes	No	
Stadium Area	5	10	15
Thaba-Putsoa	2	13	15
Total	7	23	30

Source: Field Survey, June 2021

The citizens who were familiar with the NSDP I and the MPs had varied opinions on the success of the coalitions in implementing the NSDP I, as illustrated in Figure 1. The data reflects that the two most outstanding opinions somewhat agree and strongly disagree. The citizens seem to agree more while MPs tend to disagree with the statement that the coalition governments of 2012 and 2015 succeeded in implementing the NSDP I.

Figure 1



Source: Field Survey, June 2021

The study went further to probe for the explanations among the MPs on their opinions. Their responses were diverse. MP1 and MP2 explained,

“The coalition governments have failed to realign the NSDP I with vision 2020”

and that,

“... instability does not allow for development. The high turnover of services personnel also caused governance problems and loss of institutional memory.” Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021.

MP3 agreed with the statement that coalition governments succeeded in implementing NSDP 1, explaining that it was allocated insufficient time. According to MP3 the NSDP It would have been implemented successfully if it were allocated an implementation period of 10 years. Additionally, MP5 strongly agreed with the statement and cited some of the areas where the NSDP I made a significant change. These areas include free primary education, improvement in controlling maternal mortality rate and the fight against HIV/AIDS and TB.

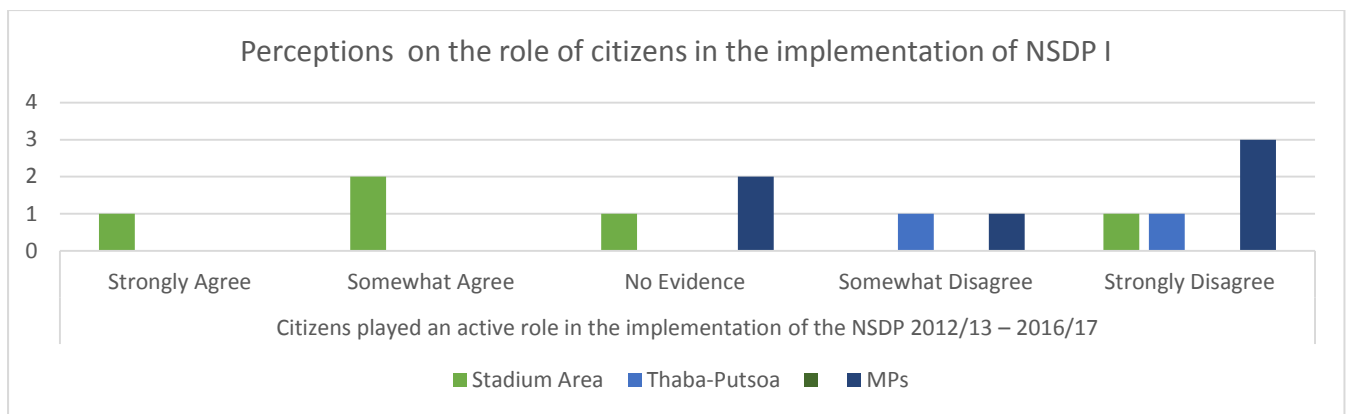
On the contrary, MP4 argued that there is no evidence that the coalition governments of 2012 and 2015 succeeded in implementing the NSDP I. According to MP4

“The implementation processes were not very well coordinated so projects were not successful. Government ministries did not conduct feasibility studies (Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021).”

4.4.2.2 Citizens’ perceptions on NSDP 1 Implementation

Figure 2 shows the responses on the citizens and MPs’ perceptions on the role that citizens played in the implementation of NSDP I. The data show that only urban citizens affirmed active participation of the citizens in the implementation of NSDP I. On the other hand, rural citizens and MPs somewhat and strongly disagreed that the citizens participated. However, e the majority of the MPs, represented by 4 out 6, strongly disagreed with the perception that citizens played an active role in the implementation of the NSDP I.

Figure 2



Source: Field Survey, June 2021

The participants of the study were further asked to provide the reasons for their opinions. The MPs who somewhat and strongly disagreed that the citizens played an active role in implementing the NSDP I provided various reasons for their opinions. MP1 pointed out that there were no active measures taken by the coalition governments to create the platforms for citizens' engagement. MP2 added,

“There was no private sector engagement. The NGO community unfortunately also was inactive as it is a servant of those who finance them. The media was also not helpful but sensational only to sell their papers and airtime” (Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021).

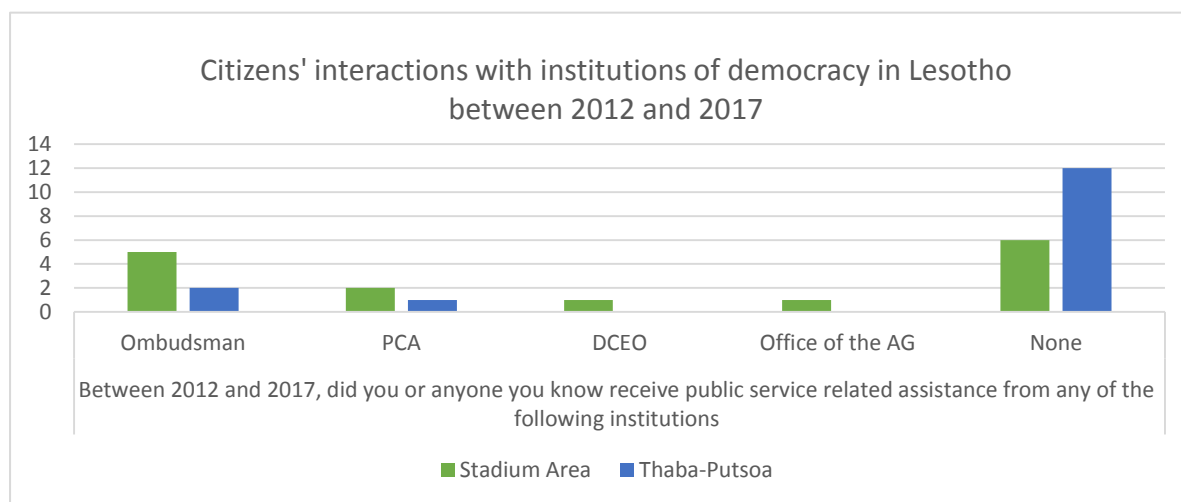
MP3 argued that if the citizens were involved they would see the bad side of the MPs, which means it was deliberate that the citizens did not participate for the benefit of the MPs. MP4, further maintained that there is no evidence that the citizens played an active role and explained,

“Citizens didn't even know about the NSDP I. Though not all, even some MPs did not know about NSDPI, including some of those who were members of economic cluster committees who only came to know about the NSDPI due to their parliamentary roles. Ministries did not conduct citizen consultations when implementing development projects.” (Personal interview, Field survey, June 2021)

4.4.3 Obstacles to the citizens' participation in development decision making

The study finds that there were bottlenecks to the citizens’ participation. One of these was the paralysis of oversight structures of democracy/institutions for good governance and promotion of development during the 2012 and 2015 coalition governments. Figure 3 shows the feedback from the citizens regarding their experiences with the institutions of democracy. The data show that the citizens claim not to have received assistance from these institutions of democracy.

Figure 3



Source: Field Survey, June 2021

The data shows that all the MPs strongly disagreed that the key oversight institutions such as the ombudsman and the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO) function as the pillars of good governance and democracy in Lesotho. The MPs were asked to provide the reasons for their opinions. One cross cutting reason that they alluded to is that these oversight institutions lack independence and have been politically captured. However, there are other explanations provided by the MPs regarding the functionality of these structures. MP1 stated,

“The oversight institutions have been politicised and captured by politicians. They are staffed by officers who are rewarded for their political allegiance.”

” MP2 added,

“The ombudsman is the only authentic and acceptable institution. It is poorly staffed and resourced unfortunately. The DCEO is a creation by the west to catch African leaders. It will never work in Africa as it has not been established in the western world” (personal interview, Field survey, June 2021).

Furthermore, MP6 observed that these institutions lacked the resources to be efficient to effectively promote the citizens' participation. The funds allocated to them were not enough. They were also not independent from the executive, particularly the DCEO, which normally acts on the senior officials only when they were no longer in power. MP4 also shared the same sentiment with MP1.

4.5 Summary

The study shows that participation of citizens was determined by the presence of democracy. Their participation was in the form of the representative democracy where they chose their representatives by voting for the members of parliament (MPs). The study also sought the views of the citizens whether they participated in the decision making and implementation of the National Strategic Plan I (NSDP I). The data reflects that due to lack of knowledge regarding NSDP I, the citizens did not adequately participate in its implementation. Lastly, the data also reveals that the citizens' participation was also dwarfed by the unresponsiveness of the institutions of democracy during the 2012 and 2015 coalition governments.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSIONS OF THE FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and the study findings and discusses them in relation to the aim and objectives of the research study as well as the reviewed literature. The aim of this research study was to investigate the extent to which the coalition governments in Lesotho have affected the citizens' participation in development decision-making between 2012 and 2017. The chapter is divided into two sections and a chapter summary. The first section discusses the research findings on whether the coalition governments between 2012 and 2017 allowed the citizens' participation. The second section will discuss the findings of the study in assessing whether the citizens participated in the development policy-making and implementation during the coalition governments.

5.2 The Citizens' participation during the coalition governments between 2012 and 2017

5.2.1 Democracy and Citizens' participation

The findings of this research indicated that voting in the country's general elections was one pillar of democracy that facilitated the citizens' participation. During the coalition governments from 2012 to 2017, both the active card holding political party members and citizens who were registered as the voters participated in the elections. This means that irrespective of their active alliance or not to a particular political party, the citizens generally participated in exercising their democratic right to elect their government of choice into power. The findings align with Tommasoli (2013) who outlines that democracy creates the enabling the environment in which the policy choices are subject to the control of free and responsible citizens, capable of holding the government and state institutions accountable for

their implementation. This means that the effectiveness of the institutions and the soundness of democracy politics are acknowledged as the catalysts for development.

The study finds that the formation of a coalition government casts a different light on the elections outcome. As observed by Kapa and Shale (2014), the 2012 elections transformed the county's political system and signified a new dispensation for Lesotho's democratisation, arguably advancing it further on the path of consolidation. The resultant coalition government was formed based on the outcome of the popular vote, rather than being put together by domestic political elites with assistance from the external actors. The unique experience of a democratically elected coalition government was described as an unusual mystery in Lesotho. When the citizens were probed to shed more light on their perceived participation particularly in the formation of the 2012 coalition government, they had a few opposing views.

For some of the citizens and MPs, the formation of the 2012 coalition government was a reflection of the will of the people. Amongst some of their reasons was that the coalition government was formed by political parties that had a collective majority to form the government. In their view, if it were not for the participation of the citizens in casting their vote, the formation of the coalition government would not have been possible. Some of the strongly held perceptions were that the previous government prior to the formation of the coalition had overstayed in government yet there was very little or nothing to show in terms of national development. The general feeling at the time was that of optimism, where the citizens felt that the new coalition government represented a turning leaf for development. The elections provided an avenue for the citizens to participate in good governance.

On the other hand, the study finds that some of the citizens and MPs, especially a larger number of those who participated in the study, held the perception that the formation of the 2012 coalition government was not a true reflection of the participation of the electorate. The most prominently cited reason was that the true will of the people would have been reflected if ABC and DC formed the coalition government since they were the two parties that were voted for by the electorate. However, since DC, with its 48 seats, was left out of the coalition formation, the end was that the coalition of 2012 was formed out of spite and also in order to settle some political scores. This view suggests that as soon as the MPs were voted into parliament, then the citizens no longer had any voice regarding the formation of the coalition government.

Even though the study finds opposing views among the citizens and MPs, on the establishment of the 2012 coalition, all the views are consistent with the assertion of Kadima (2006) that in Africa party coalitions have been formed for the purpose of securing sufficient votes or combining an adequate number of parliamentary seats to govern. This is particularly true in the case of Lesotho because whether it would have been ABC and DC or as it happened with ABC, LCD and the BNP, the general motive above all was to secure a combination of a sufficient number of seats in parliament to form government.

5.2.2 Perceptions on the participation of the citizens through representation

The study further finds that the citizens perceived their participation in development decision making processes through representation. They saw their representation as being through the elected MPs, political parties and civil society organizations. As Creighton (2005) argues, there is no such thing as a one-size-fits-all citizens' participation even though there are people who think there is. In the end, one may arrive at a different solution from someone else addressing the same issues, but they will have a clear rationale for why they are doing what they have decided to do. With the participation of the citizens and through representation, there is a choice of representativeness even if the development issue to be addressed is the same.

According to the findings, the view that the political parties represent the citizens in development policy decisions in government seems to have limited support among the citizens in both the urban and rural areas. This could largely be due to the view of the citizens that once the individuals are elected into parliament as MPs, they cease to represent the interests of the people who voted for them in the first place and pursue their own ambitions. However, the irony in the study findings is that the majority of the MPs hold the view that the citizens are best represented to participate in the development processes by political parties. This is however not surprising because the individuals are elected to become MPs with the expectation that they will represent the citizens from their respective constituencies.

The study also finds that most citizens in the urban areas perceive their participation in development processes as coming through the civil society organisations. On the other hand, the majority of the citizens in the rural areas prefer an individual self-representation form of

participation rather than to rely on any entity. This phenomenon further amplifies the fact that the citizens do not have confidence in the political representatives as the best form of participation for the citizens. Even though some citizens trust civil society organisations as the ideal representatives, recent studies have also painted a gloomy picture of civil society organizations in Lesotho. According to Mochoboroane (2020), Lesotho civil society has failed to be the mouth piece of the powerless and the voiceless but have rather fuelled inter-group conflicts among the coalition partners over the years. Consequently, they have left the opportunity for the coalition governments to act in any way they may want to, without anyone holding them to account.

The study findings are that both the citizens and the MPs share the same perceptions that the coalition governments do not have citizen engagement strategies. Instead of real representation of the citizens, those in power only go to the citizens to inform them about development decisions. The MPs also use government decisions to score political points in their constituencies where pro government MPs promote government decisions which the opposition MPs shoot down. Each side highlight why the government decisions are either for the benefit or the detriment of the citizens, depending on MP is pro or against the government in parliament. One of the prominent perceptions is that the government institutions do not consult the citizens. The perception of the citizens is that they are consulted on already decided development projects. This was the case even during the 2012 and 2015 coalition governments.

5.2.3 Mechanisms for the Citizens participation in development decision-making

The study set out to determine what mechanisms were put in place by the coalition governments in order to facilitate the citizens' participation in development decision making processes. The study finds that the citizens participate through the public gatherings, where the MPs consult with the citizens in their respective constituencies on development policy decisions. This form of consultative method is also highlighted by Callahan (2007) who observes that the public gatherings are some of the most common methods of citizen participation and that they are usually required by law to enable the citizens to comment on specific issues or proposals before the governmental entities make decisions.

The study shows that during the 2012 and 2015 coalition governments, the MPs hosted very few public gatherings and that very few citizens attended such gatherings. The majority of the citizens claimed not to have attended the public gatherings hosted by the MPs in their constituencies. They claim that they did not attend the gatherings because they had never heard about them. Since some of the MPS who participated in the study also confessed not to have held even a single public gathering, it may be assumed that the citizens did not participate in the gatherings because there were not any.

Furthermore, the study shows that even the limited number of public gatherings that were reported did not have much impact on what they were meant to achieve. Another significant number of the citizens claimed that they never heard about any public gatherings. This suggests that public consultations through the public gatherings were not adequately publicised.

5.3 Citizens' participation in development policy-making and implementation

Assessing whether citizens participated in development policy-making during the coalition governments from 2012 -2017 was one of the main objectives of this study. The NSDP I, which was the national instrument meant to guide development policy and implementation, became the ideal yardstick to assess the participation of the citizens in the development processes. The initiation and lifespan of the NSDP I coincided perfectly with the first and second coalition governments of 2012 and 2015. The extent of the citizens' involvement with the NSDP I would, possibly, assist in the investigation of the citizens' participation in good governance for development in Lesotho between 2012 and 2017.

The study was intended to outline some of the strategies that the coalition governments of 2012 and 2015 used in order to engage citizens in the development policy decisions and implementation of NSDP I. The MPs who participated in the study were also particularly asked further to give their opinions if such strategies were a success. A general feedback on the NSDP I was that the citizens hardly had any hand in its implementation. Some MPs observed that the coalition governments did not use any strategies to engage the citizens.

The general opinion of the MPs was that the coalition governments used the "top down approach of development where projects are imposed on citizens." This approach proved to be unsuccessful as has always been the case with other government projects. The citizens are

always alienated from the development projects in their own communities hence their ownership of such development projects is virtually impossible. The general consensus was that the NSDP I was also not an exception to the top down approach of government.

The findings of the study are further available in the report on the review of the NSDP I. According to the CESS Institute (2016), the greatest weakness of the NSDP I was the lack of involvement and engagement of the stakeholders. Many of them felt excluded or were not even aware of it. A few citizens fully comprehended the process but were not aware of how it should be implemented. Some ministries mentioned that they were not engaged in the development plan implementation or its review. They indicated that there was no approval, commitment or political will to implement the plan. They also said that there was no serious engagement of the private sector and the citizens.

The NSDP 2 Report (2018) outlines that during the implementation of NSDP I, many of NSDP strategic interventions had not been fully put into practice. The NSDP's uneven and untimely implementation was the effect of political uncertainty caused by a series of successive and increasingly fragile coalition governments who appeared unable to fully commit to the vigorous pursuit of development results.

5.3.1 Participation of the Citizens in the implementation of NSDP I

The study findings suggest that only the urban citizens affirmed their active participation in the implementation of NSDP I. The rural citizens and MPs deny that the citizens participated. Their perception is that the citizens did not play any active role in the implementation of the NSDP I. This view was very consistent with other studies and reports such as ... on the participation of the citizens in the implementation of NSDP I.

The majority of MPs who participated in the study argued that there were no active measures taken by the coalition governments of 2012 and 2015 to create any platforms for the citizens' engagement. Civil society organizations were also inactive due to the lack of resources and their tendency to operate according to the terms of their donor partners.

5.3.2 The obstacles to the citizens' Participation in development

The study finds some obstacles to the citizens' participation. There was a paralysis of the oversight structures of democracy/ institutions for good governance and promotion of

development during the 2012 and 2015 coalition governments. In a democratic dispensation, the institutions for good governance serve as feedback channels for the government in order to elevate the voice of the people, to hold those in power accountable to the public and to promote public participation. Actively responsive institutions also help to highlight socio-economic development gaps and indirectly provide the channels for the citizens to make inputs into the national development agenda.

The study findings are that the key oversight institutions such as the ombudsman and the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO), which were meant to function as the pillars of good governance and democracy in Lesotho, lack independence and have been politically captured. Other views also went as far as questioning the legitimacy and functionality of these institutions. The DCEO was perceived, by one MP, as a creation by the west to trap the African leaders and as a result it will never succeed in Africa because it does not exist in the western world. Another observation was that these institutions lack the resources to be efficient to effectively promote the citizens' participation, because they are underfunded and dependent on the executive.

5.4 Theoretical application on Research Findings

The study findings generally paint a picture that suggests minimal participation of the citizens in development processes during the coalition governments between 2012 and 2017. Although the citizens seem to exercise their democratic right through multi-party elections, their action is only a social rubber stamp to legitimise the formation of the coalition governments. The findings of the study are that as soon as the political parties were in power, the citizens no longer felt part of the decision making process regarding how and who formed the government among the elected parties. This opinion was evidenced by a widespread lamentation among the citizens that the coalition of the people would have included the ABC and DC because these were the parties with the majority of the popular votes.

The study establishes that the coalition governments did not consult with citizens on the national development initiatives. This is proven by the public ignorance of a national development instrument such as the NSDP I, which was meant to guide the 5 year development processes between 2012 and 2017. The lack of public participation in the

implementation of the NSDP I is another proof that the leaders of the 2012 to 2017 coalition governments were only concerned with the participation of citizens in the elections.

The experience of the citizens in Lesotho regarding their participation in good governance for development can best be described through the 1969 Sherrey Arnstein's ladder of participation model. According to Arnstein (2019), a typology of eight levels of participation may help in the analysis of the citizens' participation. The eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of the citizens' power in determining the end outcome. The bottom rungs of the ladder are Manipulation and Therapy and they describe the levels of 'non-participation' that have been designed by some to substitute for the actual participation. The real objective is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting development programmes but to make it possible for the power holders to preserve the participants. Therefore, citizens are either manipulated into thinking that they have real influence in the decision-making process or that their behaviour is the source of the problem.

The coalition governments of 2012 and 2015 used elections to manipulate the citizens into believing that they have real influence. The voter turnout of 2012 and 2015 elections are proof that the people believed that they were agents of real change. However, the results of this study proof that the citizens were only used to legally legitimize power holders through a vote but the citizens did not have any real voice or any substantial channels of participation in governance beyond their vote.

5.5 Summary

The findings of this study have established that the coalition governments have had no real positive impact on the promotion of the citizens' participation in development decision making processes in Lesotho. It is also possible that the volatility of these coalitions only worsened the already compromised opportunity of the citizens to have a direct role in determining their own development destiny. The documented implementation shortcomings and citizens' exclusion of the NSDP I cement a strong testimony against the inabilities of the coalition governments of 2012 to 2017 in delivering good governance in Lesotho.

Furthermore, it can be deduced from the findings of the study that during the coalition governance between 2012 and 2017, both the citizens and the public officials were

preoccupied with the formation and management of the different coalitions. The public officials on the one hand seem to have struggled to manage the different coalition formations and maintain the long-term stability of the government. On the other hand, the citizens also seem to have been thrown off by the formation of the coalition where they could not point out exactly how they were responsible or participated in the formation of the diverse coalitions. Under these circumstances, the participation of the citizens in development processes was relegated to the very bottom of the agenda of the government. This is substantiated by the very poor implementation of the NSDP I as a yardstick for development between 2012 and 2017.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this research study was to investigate the extent to which the coalition governments in Lesotho have affected the citizens' participation in development decision making between 2012 and 2017. This chapter provides the conclusions of the study. The chapter further makes some recommendations on how the citizen's participation in the development decision making processes can be enhanced in Lesotho for good governance. Lastly, the chapter outlines some areas of further research.

6.2 Conclusions

Lesotho's early democratically elected governments exercised a classical top down approach to governance, giving the citizens little to no voice at all in issues of good governance. History suggests that the participation of the citizens in governance in Lesotho has always been a feature of national democratic excellence. From as far back as independence and the first democratically elected government in Lesotho, the tendency of those in power to make unilateral decisions on national issues was not perceived as malpractice. This means that the citizens' participation was symbolised through the ballot only at the elections time (Macartney, 1973). Implicitly, the development initiatives were the concern of public officials.

Towards the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries, the shackles of limited citizen participation in governance had worn off considerably. Credit for this major development can be easily attributed to the international influences such as the 1990 African Charter for Popular Participation in Development. The Charter stated:

We believe strongly that popular participation is, in essence, the empowerment of the people to effectively involve themselves in creating the structures and in designing policies and programmes that serve the interests of all as well as to effectively contribute to the development process and share equitably in its benefits (OAU, 1990).

The instalment of the first coalition government of 2012 in Lesotho marked a historical milestone in the democratic trajectory of the kingdom. From the development lens, there

were high expectations that the new government would break the legacy of the developmental lag which was perceived to have characterised the previous governing regimes. This is also primarily why this study took an interest to investigate the participation of the citizens in good governance for development in Lesotho between 2012 and 2017. This period represented the first five years of coalition governance and it was a period of the implementation of NSDP I.

The study findings are that there seems to have been no real change or improvement in the experiences of the citizens' participation in good governance. The coalition governments have not proven to be different from the regimes that preceded them. The only real participation of the citizens in governance is still through the elections. Beyond the elections, the citizens do not seem to have any role in the everyday affairs of governance and development. The study shows that beyond the ballot, the MPs hardly ever interact with the citizens. Where they do, it is only for citizens to act as the social rubber stamps to legitimize the actions and positions of the MPs. Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation model explains accurately the experiences of the citizens in Lesotho where they seem to be manipulated only into 'non-participation' that has been designed by some to substitute for actual participation. The real objective of the MPs is not to enable people to participate in planning or conducting development programmes (Arnstein, 2019).

The MPs who participated in the study also expressed the opinion that the citizens are normally engaged to participate in settling political scores more than meaningful engagement in development processes. One MP explained that MPs in government usually go back to consult with their constituencies in the bit to seek support for the policies that are already decided by public officials. Similarly, the MPs from the opposition in parliament will go back to their constituencies to mobilise support against the policies that they object to as the opposition. This suggests that public officials only use the citizens for their own expediency and not as partners in the national issues of development and progress.

The legacy of 'non participation' in Lesotho seems to have persisted and to be reinforced for many decades, since independence. The very constitution of the country during the 1970s was drafted and presented to the citizens by the public officials who had not made any room for public consultation and participation. In an interview, the then prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, made a statement that the constitution would be presented to the people

just to inform them (Associated Press, February 1970). The culture of presenting the development decisions to the citizens, instead of a collaborative process that allows them to shape their own development aspirations was exhibited by the coalition governments between 2012 and 2017. This observation is proved by the perceptions of the majority of the citizens who participated in this study. They maintain that the formation of the coalitions was not a real reflection of the citizens' electoral participation in voting for government. The citizens argue that the formation of the coalition governments was a reflection of the political ambitions and interests of those in power and not a choice of the people.

Some of the MPs who participated in this study also affirmed that development projects and initiatives are often drafted by public officials and only presented to the citizens. This approach to development by the Lesotho coalition governments is contrary to the observation that development is advanced most effectively under the conditions where the democratic institutions strengthen voice and accountability so that all the citizens have the capacity to express their demands and to hold elected officials to account (Norris, 2012). The public officials seem to have faithfully maintained a legacy as old as the independence of Lesotho. Even in the ushering of a coalition form of governance, the practice of 'non-participation' of the citizens remained in force.

In addition, the review report of the implementation of the NSDP I highlights the impact of the short-lived coalition governments. It is silent about the participation of the citizens in the implementation of NSDP I. It only states that half way through the design and the implementation of the NSDP I, there was a change in government, a split of the planning and budgeting organization accompanied by new elections that led to a new government. Successive governments of unstable multiparty coalitions commanded small majorities in Parliament and were vulnerable to possible party defections. This, in combination with the emerging politicization of the senior civil service management, resulted in less demanding and less effective management of the NSDP implementation, short of what was required. The NSDP itself introduced several institutional structural changes under its programme, adding instability and some confusion (CESS Institute, 2016).

The review report of the implementation of the NSDP I further indicate that the coalition governments between 2012 and 2017 were more focused on the maintenance of state power than the implementation of an instrument such as the NSDP I envisaged to drive the national

development. It is observed that having a national instrument that was intended to guide the development process did not make any difference for the coalition governments between 2012 and 2017. The NSDP I became a subject of interest for these coalition governments only because the plan was scheduled for the implementation between 2012 and 2017. However, as the report suggests, the coalition governments failed to create a conducive environment to enable the effective implementation of the NSDP I. This failure implicitly included the failure of the coalition governments to enable the participation of the citizens in the development processes between 2012 and 2017.

The study concludes that the participation of the citizens in governance was further crippled by the politicisation of the institutions of democracy that are supposed to act as the channels for the citizens to hold public officials accountable. The participants in the study unanimously agreed that the institutions of democracy such as the DCEO are held hostage by the political elite. This suggests that an ordinary citizen cannot fully succeed where public officials are found to be guilty of malpractice of any form. This also further suggests that even for the national development projects, the citizens are unable to meaningfully participate through a call for accountability from the public officials.

A recent study by Mochoboroane (2020) also revealed that another weakness of the coalition governments has been the intra-party and inter-party conflicts of the coalition partners. In 2012, the coalition partners, the LCD and the ABC were engaged in an inter-group conflict where the leader of the ABC was accused of unilaterally taking decisions that affected the other coalition partners without due consultation. This political conflict created unfavourable conditions for Lesotho's socio-economic development. The political conflicts of the coalitions also highlighted the ill preparedness of the political leaders in managing a coalition government. For a long time the government was only formed by one political party. Therefore, grappling with coalition management among the political leaders further marginalised the citizens in participating in governance.

Moreover, the socio-economic development costs that resulted from the political conflicts that were very evident within the coalition governments between 2012 and 2017 were also a consequence of the lack or non-participation of the citizens in governance. The political actors in these coalition governments proved that the only participation that citizens the

citizens experience is the one that takes place at the ballot box at every election cycle. The formations and collapses of these coalition governments were solely dependent on the cooperation or conflicts that existed between the political parties in parliament and on the conflicts within a single political party that commanded the majority within the coalition. In the end it could be argued that the coalitions were driven by the personalities of political party leaders and not by the citizens' participation through popular vote. That is why ABC and DC failed to coalesce in 2012 yet they were both the two most voted for parties and together they could form government without the assistance of other political parties.

Another study by Buti (2018) concludes that no coalition type of government in Lesotho has been effective yet. This is primarily because the lack of legal frameworks that regulate and determine the threshold for the number of political parties that can contest for the elections predisposes the country to a situation whereby everyone stands a chance of getting into power. The result is a bulging cabinet and extremely high wage bill. As a result the coalition governments in Lesotho have thus far been unable to allocate sufficient resources for socio-economic development. The volatility of these coalitions has led to political instability and insecurity that have created an environment that is hostile to investment and development.

Though popularised as a reflection of polarization among Basotho, the election results, both in 2012 and in 2015, led to the consequent formation of the coalition governments in Lesotho and was a clear indication of the real participation of the participants through a representative democracy. However, research reveals that the coalition governments of 2012 and 2015 failed to promote the participation of the citizens in the development processes. Based on the research findings of this study, the study concludes that these coalitions only further exacerbated the already unfavourable state of the citizens' participation in good governance in Lesotho.

6.3 Recommendations

The era of coalition governments has, among others, exposed lack of the citizens' participation for good governance and development and fuels the waning public trust in the government. These phenomena eminently call for redress. Therefore, in the communities where anti-government sentiments run high, as is the case in Lesotho today, Irvin and Stansbury (2004) assert that winning the hearts of the citizens by meeting with them regularly and ultimately gaining their trust and friendship may be the only way that decision makers can promote new policies.

Lesotho is currently implementing the national reforms meant to address some of the national ills of the past. Because this study has found that one of the challenges of the country is the citizens' participation in good governance for development, the reforms present an opportunity for the nation to implement institutional reforms that may safeguard participation and ensure public ownership in the development processes.

In order to entrench the value of citizen participation, particularly in the development processes, the study recommends that the government of Lesotho should espouse the Spectrum of Public Participation as developed by the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2). The IAP2's Spectrum of Public Participation was designed to assist with the selection of the level of participation that defines the citizens' role in any public participation process, that is used internationally and that is found in public participation plans around the world.

The proponents of the spectrum of public participation as depicted in figure 4 point out that participation is premised on the belief that those who are affected by a decision have the right to be involved in the decision-making process.

Figure 4 The IAP2’s Spectrum of Public Participation

		INCREASING IMPACT ON THE DECISION				
		INFORM	CONSULT	INVOLVE	COLLABORATE	EMPOWER
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION GOAL	To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problem, alternatives, opportunities and/or solutions.	To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decisions.	To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public concerns and aspirations are consistently understood and considered.	To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.	To place final decision making in the hands of the public.	
PROMISE TO THE PUBLIC	We will keep you informed.	We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and aspirations, and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and aspirations are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will look to you for advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advice and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible.	We will implement what you decide.	

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Source: <https://www.iap2.org/page/pillars?&hhsearchterms=%22spectrum%22>, August, 2021

This means that participation includes the promise that the contribution of the public may influence the decisions, promote sustainable decisions by recognizing and communicating the needs and interests of all the participants, including the decision makers, seek out and facilitate the involvement of those potentially affected by or interested in a decision, seek input from the participants in designing how they participate, provide participants with the information that they need to participate in a meaningful way and communicate to the participants how their input affected the decision

(https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.iap2.org/resource/resmgr/Communications/A3_P2_Pillars_brochure.pdf, August 2021).

Furthermore, an elaboration on the spectrum of public participation has been provided by expounding on the four main categories for public participation. According to Creighton (2005), the four categories, as explained below, include Public Information and Public Relations, Procedural Public Participation, Consultation and Collaborative Problem Solving, and Getting Agreement and Consensus Building.

Public Information and Public Relations

The public information programmes are essentially one-way communication to the public. Although public participation is not constituted only by public information it remains an essential component of an effective public participation programme. People are unable to participate unless they receive complete and objective information on which to base their assessment.

Procedural Public Participation

Two mechanisms for improved participation include public hearings at which the citizens can comment on the proposed actions and increased access to information through the issuing of reports or the establishment of information repositories in the locations where the citizens have access to all the relevant studies and documents. These mechanisms serve an important function in the absence of other kinds of public participation because they force a certain degree of openness and create a legal record on which decisions can be based.

Consultation and Collaborative Problem Solving

Government institutions will have considerably greater success working collaboratively with the public to find a solution that may enjoy the broad support of the citizens. This approach does not always result in agreements. Sometimes all that is accomplished is that the positions are clarified through interaction and everybody understands the reasoning behind the decision. Sometimes sufficient agreement is built that the government institution is able to proceed with enough legitimacy that there is tacit acceptance even by those who do not

support the action. The public influence may help to determine how the problem is defined, the range of alternatives that can be considered, the evaluation criteria that are to be applied and the process by which the decision is made, even if there is no agreement on the final result.

Getting Agreement and Consensus Building

Consensus building is a process of seeking unanimous agreement and it involves a good-faith effort to meet the interests of all the stakeholders. A consensus is reached when everyone agrees that they can live with whatever is proposed after every effort has been made to meet the interests of all the stakeholders. If these preconditions are not met, the agreement-seeking approach can create the expectations that, if unfulfilled, may sour the relationship with citizens further.

Villoro (1998) observes that in Africa, community life maintains traditional values of individual service to the community. In many cases, collective forms of participation exist in decision-making and in the forms of direct control by the community over their leaders. It is still possible for the African countries, Lesotho included, to preserve and strengthen the forms of community life in support of real democracy instead of blindly modernizing in accordance with the western models. The establishment of the Moshoeshoe institute of peace and leadership by the National University of Lesotho is already a step in the right direction and for Basotho to re-engineer Moshoeshoe's traditional democracy. This study recommends that the public officials, including the National Reforms Authority (NRA) pay closer attention to and adopt the home grown forms of democracy and governance. The last five decades of employing a western form of governance have proven futile for good governance and the citizens' participation in the development processes in Lesotho.

6.4 Areas of further research

This study was focused on investigating the extent of the citizens' participation in development processes during the coalition governments of 2012 to 2017. It finds that these coalitions not only failed to promote the citizens' participation but may have also worsened the status of good governance in Lesotho. Some studies suggest that a dispensation of a coalition government is not an automatic spell of doom for national progress and development. For example, Oyugi (2006) points out that coalitions have proven to be

successful only in political systems which are more open, thereby suggesting that there is a direct relationship between the stability of coalition government and the level of democratisation in society. It is therefore the recommendation of this study that further research is necessary to investigate the extent of the democratization of Lesotho in order to establish the gaps that prohibit the success of the coalitions in promoting good governance and development.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule for Citizens' Participation

Section A: Demographic Profile

1. Location:

.....

2. Community Council:

.....

3. Sex:

Male [] Female []

4. Age:

18-24 [] 25-35 [] 36-45 [] 46-55 [] 56-65 [] 66+ []

5. Employment Status:

Employed [] Self-Employed [] Unemployed []

6. Level of Education:

No Education [] Primary [] Secondary [] High School [] Tertiary []

Section B: Citizen's Participation

7. Lesotho is a democratic country?

Agree [] Disagree []

8. Under a democratic rule, elections enable citizens to participate in governance.

Agree [] Disagree []

9. Are you an active card holding member of a political party”

Yes [] No []

10. Are you a registered voter?

Yes [] No []

If No proceed to question 12

11. Did you vote in the following national assembly elections:

2012

2015

Yes []

No []

Yes []

No []

12. Do you know that it is legally binding for Lesotho citizens who are 18 and older to register as voters?

Yes [] No []

13. Between **2012** and **2017**, did you or anyone you know attend a public gathering hosted by the Member of Parliament in your constituency?

Yes Once []

Yes Many times []

No []

14. For development policy decisions, who do you regard as your best representative to the government as a citizen?

Myself []

Political party []

Civil Society Organisations []

15. Do you agree that the formation of the Lesotho’s first coalition government of **2012** was a reflection of the will of the people?

Yes [] No []

If No, Please explain:

.....
.....

.....
.....

16. Did Lesotho's first coalition government of **2012** collapse before the end of its five year term because it was the decision of the people?

Yes [] No []

If No, Please Explain:

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.....
.....
.....

17. Besides the number of political parties that formed government, was there a difference between the **2015** and **2012** coalition governments?

Yes [] No []

If yes, Please Explain:

.....
.....
.....
.....

18. Between **2012** and **2017**, did you or anyone you know, once or many times receive or complain about bad service from a government institution?

Yes Once [] Yes Many times [] No []

19. Between **2012** and **2017**, did you or anyone you know receive public service related assistance from any of the following institutions (Select all applicable):

[] Ombudsman

[] Police Complaints Authority (PCA)

[] Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO)

[] Office of the Auditor General

[] None of the above

20. Compared to previous regimes, how would you rate the coalition governments of **2012** to **2017** in opening more doors for the citizens to participate in the development policy decisions?

Best [] Better [] No difference [] Worse [] Worst []

21. Are you familiar with the Lesotho National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP)

2012/13 – 2016/17?

Yes [] No []

If No, Proceed to 24

22. The coalition governments of **2012 – 2017** succeeded to implement the NSDP 2012/13 – 2016/17.

Strongly Agree []

Somewhat Agree []

No Evidence []

Somewhat Disagree []

Strongly Disagree []

23. The citizens played an active role in the implementation of the NSDP 2012/13 – 2016/17.

Strongly Agree []

Somewhat Agree []

No Evidence []

Somewhat Disagree []

Strongly Disagree []

24. Are you aware and familiar with the rights and responsibilities of the citizens as stated in the constitution of Lesotho?

Yes [] No []

-Thank you for your participation and assistance-

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule for Coalition Government MPs

Section A: Demographic Profile

1. Member of Parliament Credentials

Constituency [] PR Seat []

2. Sex:

Male [] Female []

3. Age:

18-24 [] 25-35 [] 36-45 [] 46-55 [] 56-65 [] 66+ []

4. Level of Education:

No Education [] Primary [] Secondary [] High School [] Tertiary []

Section B: Citizen's Participation

5. Lesotho is a democratic country?

Agree [] Disagree []

6. Under a democratic rule, elections enable citizens to participate in governance.

Agree [] Disagree []

7. Were you a member of the national assembly in the following parliaments?

8th Parliament

Yes [] No []

If No skip 8

9th Parliament

Yes [] No []

If No skip 9

8. In the 8th Parliament what were your credentials as MP.

Constituency [] PR Seat []

9. In the 9th Parliament what were your credentials as MP

Constituency [] PR Seat []

10. Do you know that it is legally binding for Lesotho citizens who are 18 and older to register as voters?

Yes [] No []

11. All government policy decisions should involve the Participation of citizens?

Agree [] Disagree []

12. For development policy decisions, who do you regard as the best representative to the government for citizens?

Individuals [] Political parties [] Civil Society Organisations []

13. Between **2012** and **2017**, did you host public gatherings as the Member of Parliament in your constituency?

Yes Once [] Yes Many times [] No []

14. Do you agree that the formation of the Lesotho's first coalition government of **2012** was a reflection of the will of the people?

Yes [] No []

If No, Please explain:

.....
.....
.....
.....

15. Did Lesotho's first coalition government of **2012** collapse before the end of its five year term because it was the decision of the people?

Yes [] No []

If No, Please Explain:

.....
.....

.....
.....
.....
.....

16. Besides the number of political parties that formed government, was there a difference between the **2015** and **2012** coalition governments?

Yes [] No []

If yes, Please Explain:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

17. Compared to previous regimes, how would you rate the coalition governments of **2012** to **2017** in opening more doors for the citizens to participate in the development policy decisions?

Best [] Better [] No difference [] Worse [] Worst []

18. The coalition governments of **2012 – 2017** succeeded to implement the NSDP 2012/13 – 2016/17.

Strongly Agree []

Somewhat Agree []

No Evidence []

Somewhat Disagree []

Strongly Disagree []

Please support your answer

.....
.....
.....
.....

.....
.....

19. The citizens played an active role in the implementation of the NSDP 2012/13 – 2016/17.

Strongly Agree []

Somewhat Agree []

No Evidence []

Somewhat Disagree []

Strongly Disagree []

Please support your answer

.....
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.....

20. Key oversight institutions like the ombudsman and Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO) function as pillars of good governance and democracy in Lesotho.

Strongly Agree []

Somewhat Agree []

No Evidence []

Somewhat Disagree []

Strongly Disagree []

Please support your answer

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.....

21. What strategies did the coalition governments of 2012 and 2015 used to engage citizens in national development policy decisions?

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22. Were the strategies mentioned above a success?

Yes [] No []

Please elaborate

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.....
.....
.....

23. Basotho are aware and familiar with the rights and responsibilities of the citizens as stated in the constitution of Lesotho?

Yes [] No []

-Thank you for your participation and assistance-