

COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES OF AFRICA STYLE DEMOCRACY

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Dissertation in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MASTER'S DEGREE (GOVERNANCE AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION)



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April 2020

DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis, AFRICA STYLE DEMOCRACY, hereby submitted for the qualification of Masters at the University of the Free State, is my own independent work and that I have not previously submitted the same work for a qualification at/in another university/faculty.

I hereby cede copyright to the University of the Free State.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to the Almighty God for the strength he provided during hard times when I felt that I could give up.

To my wife Malethea, it was not easy to deal with the financial crises I went through in preparation for this study.

Thanks to my three kids Thakane, Realeboha and Lethea Thaela who used to give me courage while things were not easy on my side.

To Doctor Edward Nko who cheered me while I was struggling to make the ends meet your effort is highly appreciated.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my brother Ntita Thaela and my late mother Mantita Thaela.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ABC	All Basotho Convention
ACDEG	African Charter of Democracy, Elections and Governance
AD	Alliance of Democrats
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AHRLA	Association of Human Rights Legal Aid
AIPP	Access to Information and Private Property
ALF	Africa Leadership Forum
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
BCP	Basotho Congress for Democracy
BDP	Botswana Democratic Party
BNP	Basotho National Party
BSA	Broadcasting Services Act
CAT	Convention Against Torture
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CGAB	Crises Group Africa Briefing
CIO	Central Intelligence Officers
DCEO	Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences
DPP	Director of Public Prosecutions
FPTP	First Past The Post
ICCPR	International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
ICERD	International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

ICESCR	International Convention on Economic, social And Cultural Rights
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
LCA	Lesotho Communications Authority
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy LCHR Law Centre for Human Rights
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change MMP Mixed Member Proportion
NDP	National Democratic Party
PCA	Police Complaints Authority
POSA	Public Order and Secret Act
RCL	Reformed Congress of Lesotho
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
SACJF	South African Chief Justice Forum
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific
ZANU PF	Zimbabwean African National Union Patriotic Front
ZBA	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Act
ZEC	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission

ABSTRACT

Africa is a continent that has for some time since independence progressed towards the new style of leadership. This leadership is inherited from the western style of leadership and as a result the continent democratised. Democracy in Africa has been researched in terms of the trends that took place since then. Issues that contribute to this democracy have been identified. They have been dealt with, but the continent seems not to be transforming, instead we see democracy back sliding in Africa. The study contributes towards the understanding of the African style of democracy, which maybe has to be accepted as one of its own kind that has some elements that have unique features from those of the original school of thought.

The research investigates the perspectives of Africa style democracy in 5 African countries in comparison with the Swiss democracy. The research problem was premised on the characteristics of the democracy in this continent. Methodology of this study was a qualitative one using the secondary data that has been collected from various sources such as the catalogues, newspapers, books, journals and reports with the aim of investigating the characteristics of the democracy in Africa. The tenets of democracy being free, fair and regular elections, respect for human rights, freedom of media and checks on government, were used to find characteristics of the style of democracy.

The study explored several theories including governance theory, cultural theory, participatory democracy, representative democracy, transformational leadership, great man theory, separation of powers theory, dictatorship theory and direct democracy. It is the conclusion in this study that Africa style democracy is characterised by disrespect for human rights, oppression of freedom of expression, elections manipulation and the supremacy of the executive.

The findings of the research reject the “blanket” approach that democracy has to be the same throughout the global village; democracy has to be described and explained the way in which the citizens perceive it. The study concludes that democracy in Africa has got its own characteristics that are unique, comprising of authoritarian characteristics and the western democracy characters. The study therefore associates Africa type of democracy this type of democracy as a “mule type of democracy” and as a result it has to be accepted as it is.

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

African tribes predate 400 years ago with a multiple of races and culture. The African continent during 1870s and 1900 was invaded by the European imperialism and as a result was colonised. The colonisation process imposed the principles and style of governance and political transformation besides which the Africans had adopted and believed in (Sarsar & Adegunle, 2012: xxxi). Democracy became the type of governance that was recommended for these colonies. Thomas Jefferson once said, “democracy is nothing more than mob rule, where 51 percent of the people may take away the rights of the other 49”. Can democracy be explained in terms of the vision of Jefferson or it is the darling governance of its own kind that has to be adopted globally? It is proclaimed that one of the essential elements of democracy is elections where people elect those who will govern them. Trends among African states suggest that these nations are characterised by post-election violence where in most cases the losing parties contest the election outcome. If people chose, why is the outcome not accepted? These trends saw a rise following the independence of Africa during the decolonisation period through the principle of transformation and democratisation (Salehyan & Linebarger, 2013: 4-5).

The post-cold war era war in 1989 saw a remarkable progress in democratisation as calculated by the US based Freedom House, for only 17 out of 50 countries were categorised as ‘free’ or ‘partly free’ in 1988 (Cilliers, 2016: 1).

1.2 DEMOCRACY: GLOBAL PHENOMENON

Democracy is one of the old concepts in the field of political science and one of the most contested concepts globally. Democracy came into existence around 508 BC where the tyranny substituted by the government of Solon and the tyranny was toppled by the Spartan aid and the clash between the two led to the exile of one (the Alkmeonids). In trying to take control of the government by the other group (headed by Isagoras), the masses gathered and took control. Gaeta (2004: 471) also indicated that democracy in Athens was the result of Cleisthenes, the leader of Alkmeonids who created the

constitution and divided land into districts and territories (McCannon, 2012: 6-7).

Authors came with various definitions of this concept. Some associate democracy with development. Some also claim that democracy precedes development while others argue that development precedes democratisation. The literal meaning of democracy, according to Alexander and Welzel (2011: 271), is “government by the people”. People elect the leaders to represent them in parliament where the assumption is that they are going to be the voice of the electors. The Schumpeterian minimalist definition of democracy is “a system in which rulers are selected by competitive elections”. The minimal definition emphasises the need for contested elections and participation (Przeworski, Stokes & Manin, 1999: 12).

It however has to be noted that it does not take into consideration the critical elements of democracy such as transparency, secrecy, the rule of law to name a few, for elections can be contested, but no participation and vice versa (Boese, 2018: 3). However, this definition falls in the trap of fallacy of electoralism (Schmitter & Karl, 1991: 78).

1.3 DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS AND REVERSE WAVES

Democracy became fashionable in the early 19th Century with the Huntingtonian first wave of democratisation and later around 1920s where about 29 countries democratised up to 1926. It was followed by the reverse waves where countries went back to authoritarian regimes and this is associated with the coming into power of Mussolini and the number of democracies, reduced from 29 to 12 in 1942 (Okolikj: 2016: 2). The end of the Second World War and the decolonisation processes brought the second wave of democratisation where we saw 36 countries once again democratising. Most of African countries democratised, thus transiting from colonialism to liberalism and that was the first wave of democratisation in Africa. The wave began in 1974 and was on its peak in 1980s and 1990s (Welzel & Inglehart, 2008:7-12). According to Southall (2003: 2), democratisation in Africa during decolonisation in this wave, relied heavily on the approaches and ideas borrowed from the political science of the Americans. This is because during colonialism the political science studies were prohibited. The African politics was then characterised by corruption, maladministration and poor governance (Mugambiwa, Tirivangasi & Yingyi, 2015: 387). This was also followed by the reverse wave where the number of democracies reduced from 36 to 30 between 1962 and 1975

respectively. Thursday, 25 April 1974, marked the beginning of the third wave of democratisation with the carnation revolution of Portugal whereby at least 30 countries transited to democracy in 1990 and was associated with the Catholic doctrine (Gates, Hegre, Jones & Strand, 2003). Gunitsky, (2018: 269) considers the Arab spring of 2011/12 as the latest wave of democratisation where Arab countries like Yemen, Egypt, Libya and Tunisia transited from authoritarian regimes.

1.4 DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION

Having transited from authoritarian regime to democracy, there has to be ways in which democracy has to be sustained for the purposes of stability. Democracy theorists termed this process: democratic consolidation. Democratic consolidation is the process meant to secure democracy with the purpose of avoiding authoritarian regime regression and extending the autonomy of democratic institutions. This is achieved by rooting democratic values into the society, and getting rid of the authoritarian elements. There also has to be mechanisms of reforming the judiciary, stabilisation of economy, as well as popular supremacy over the military. The democratic breakdown can be avoided by holding regular free, fair and competitive elections (Schedler, 1998: 1). Africa has suffered a blow in consolidating democracy since its attainment of independence. Africa had the kind of leadership that was considered transformative. There was a smooth transition from colonial rule to independence. However, post-independence this leadership grew a tendency of overstaying in power and prohibiting the democratic processes, which put them in power and thus failed to consolidate democracy. Then we experienced democratic regressions, which attracted the interest of the military and police, hence we experienced military coups in Africa (Cilliers, 2016: 2).

Resource abundance has been discovered as another factor that inhibits the continent to consolidate democracy. Most of the countries that have resources in abundance were autocratic regimes reign, thus the subsequent struggle to consolidate democracy. These included countries such as Libya, Gabon, Nigeria, Cameroon and Algeria. The cause of this is the state's inability to distribute resources accordingly and as a result, the democratically elected government is affected (Jenson & Wantchekon, 2004: 816).

Democratic consolidation is also done with the purpose of avoiding what is termed the political decay, which is associated with the absence of stability in a democracy and the

reign of political disorder. The state building process precedes accountability and the rule of law. Fukuyama indicates that state building process come prior democratisation and US is the only exception in this regard. The Sub Saharan states are the good examples where democratisation is weak as a result of weak states (Fukuyama, 2014: 46).

According to Mattes (2007: 2-3), political institutions promote democratic consolidation by ensuring transparency, accountability and economic growth (Fukuyama, 2005; Grindle, 2000; Huntington, 1968; Lijphart, 1991).

1.5 MEASURING DEMOCRACY

Various scholars have developed a number of measurers for democracy quality. The focus has been on the regimes that are classified as democracies. Democracy barometer is one of these quality measures, which is based on three values, namely: freedom, equality and control. Freedom according to them presupposes protection of people's rights and adherence to the rule of law (Bühlmann, Merkel, Müller, Giebler & Wessels, 2012: 2-4). The Rule of Law, according to Haggard and Tiede (2011: 5), emanates from the time of the Hobbesian state of nature, which was characterised by threats of personal properties and security. This also involves the freedom of oppression by government or individuals, freedom from obtaining legal representation, freedom of ownership of property. People's freedom and liberties and democracy proceed in tandem. Equality according to them means that people should be treated equally by the political system without being discriminated. Control is another variable and it is about holding the leaders accountable and it can be either horizontal or vertical where the horizontal control is the arrangement of autonomous institutions that play checks and balances role by holding the elected representatives accountable. The vertical control is seen by holding of free, fair and transparent elections. (Buhlmann, Merkel, Muller & Wessels, 2012). Fuchs and Roller (2018: 22) also recognise the importance of the democracy barometer, which uses people's confidence in the legal system. The quality of democracy is considered high, according to these scholars when the nine functions being: individual liberties, Rule of Law, competition, transparency, participation, representation, public sphere, mutual constraints and government capability, are fulfilled. In a situation where these functions are low, the quality of democracy is low

(Bühlmann et al., 2012: 1-6).

Others use polities to measure a democracy conceptual scheme, which collected data under polity IV, directed by Ted Robert Gurr. The polity index according to Boese (2018: 7) uses the data collected from polity IV researchers. The polity IV uses a 10 point scale or index that range from -10 to +10. Countries on -10 points are referred to as strongly autocratic while those at +10 are referred to as democratic. The recent one which is relevant to the contemporary politics is polity IV project, which analyses the political behaviour of people and how regimes behave towards implementation of democracy.

Democracy is also measured differently in various regime types. Some scholars, such as Przeworski and Lipset advocate for the dichotomous measure and their argument is that there should be a measure that distinguishes democracy from non- democracy. This is because other scholars, such as Bollen and Jackman advocate for the graded measure and they argue that democracy is a continuous process and cannot therefore be measured in dichotomies (Collier & Adcock, 1999: 546).

1.6 PILLARS OF DEMOCRACY

The pillars of democracy are sometimes referred to as tenets or principles of democracy. They are principles that differentiate democratic government from other types of government. Klein, Kiranda and Bafaki (2011: 4-6) identify 14 principles being the rule of law, which requires that people obey the laws of the state and that the law be applied equally and fairly to all citizens. Multiparty system is another principle, which means that there has to be many parties that contest for elections with the aim of attaining political power. Neutrality of state institutions is another principle whereby the state institutions, such as the security institutions are apolitical and neutral. Observation of human rights is the tenet that observes the human rights by government where the government is obliged to protect the rights of the individuals and their property. Separation of powers is also a requirement for democracy where the three arms of government are independent, such that one does not influence another. The other pillar is the culture of accepting the results. People have to accept the outcome of free and fair elections and those defeated accept the outcome and vacate the office. The Bill of Rights is the pillar of democracy that is used as the control measure of citizens' rights and freedom from those in power, it also has to do with checks and balances, which prohibit that

government officials abuse their powers. Stiftung also sees economic freedom as one pillar which protects people from being bought by the leaders, especially those in power, to vote for them.

Regular free and fair election is the tenet which gives the citizens opportunity to change the government. Welzel and Inglehart (2008: 126) also identify regular competitive elections as the main element of effective democracy where the masses determine the public policy. According to him, democracy does not end at the voting process, for it goes far beyond voting. This was also supported by Ali, Dalaram and Dauda (2018: 43) who claims that free and fair elections involves surrendering of the rights by the voters to the elected representatives to represent them. The voting has to be done in a free and fair manner where people vote without being forced to vote for certain candidates. The fairness of elections involves the giving of equal platforms to the representatives to campaign freely without intimidation; access to the media must be available to all parties and individuals contesting for elections. Also the elections have to be held regularly and the most common term for holding elections is five years. This has to be practiced also within the political parties as suggested. Mollah (2016: 2) brought another component of the credibility of elections. The elections have to be free, fair and credible. Credibility is seen when the rules, regulations and laws governing the electoral process are adhered to by all the parties contesting for elections. The parties have to contest elections without any fear. There shouldn't be any fear and domination of any party by the other to elect their own candidates. The allowance of press, media and the observers, both national and international, in the election stations, is another element of free, fair and credible elections.

Equality is the principle of democracy that gives people impartiality before the law and that people be treated in the same way without considering their race, ethnicity or religion. Political tolerance is another tenet where the rulers respect the interest of the minority groups. Accountability, which is the principle that requires the public officials to answer for their actions, is also important in the democracy dispensation. It normally goes along with another principle of transparency, which is about doing things openly to allow the citizens to know and discuss them. The principle of citizen participation is also a pre-requisite in democratisation, for it allows the people to be part and parcel of what is happening in their communities and government.

1.7 THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

Cheeseman (2015: 1) says that, “since the re-introduction of multiparty elections in the early 1990s, the cause of African democracy has suffered a major setback in almost every round of elections”.

Africa generally does not have a satisfactory record of democratisation. This has been caused by both internal and external factors. History, economy, ethnic divisions and party systems have all contributed in modelling the Africa we see today (Sarsar & Adekunle, 2012: xxix). In Rwanda the colonisers compromised the majority by prioritising the minority Tutsis over the majority Hutus. This caused the war between the two major ethnic groups, which escalated into ethnic cleansing in 1994, which claimed over half a million civilian lives, mostly Tutsis and moderate Hutus (Straus, 2013: 1). In South Sudan in 2013, the leadership squabbles and antagonism plunged this state into a civil war and Salva Kiir was toppled by the military coup. In Nigeria Boko Haram accused government of failing to fight corruption, poor infrastructure, and poor service delivery among others, by the government. In Somalia the Al-shabaab has also caused terror claiming the marginalisation and discrimination of Muslims by governments. The Central African Republic (CAR) situation was caused by the Muslim group known as Seleka rebel group, which staged the coup also claiming poor governance and marginalisation of the Muslim society among others (De Villiers, 2015: 7).

These instabilities leave the continent with a high level of poverty and very poor quality of governance. The inequality gap widens between the poor and the rich, which are in most cases the politicians who are richer than the states. Corruption is in the order of the day as politicians loot the state resources. The process of good governance and political transformation becomes the victim of these activities and consolidation of democracy is also affected.

1.7.1 Problem statement and research question

1.7.1.1 *Checks on the government*

Africa as a continent deemed to be one impoverished with civil wars, poverty, inequality, poor governance, corruption, ethnic cleansing, religious and natural resource conflict, among others. The continent has adopted the democratic system that has seen African

leaders establish totalitarian regimes, irrespective of following the proclaimed democratic protocols of elections. The problem is that after elections they reject the outcomes every time, making them hold on to power. With these situations they hold on to power and establish authoritarian regimes, which are very corrupt and they do so by holding on to the resources. This is against the very principle of democracy as the proponents have espoused it. Over the past years, there has been violence, which was the result of elections in Zimbabwe 2018, Kenya, Togo (Timmer, 2012: 10). The most recent cases are Zimbabwe 2018 and Nigeria 2019. These wars block the whole idea of good governance and political transformation.

Meanwhile Africa has also adopted the democracy principles and conventions. The problem arises with the whole application and practice of democracy.

One peculiar problem emanates with the lack of conceptual application on the perceived definition and application of democracy in Africa. We see Africa practicing its own style of democracy unique to its own characteristics, including protracted wars, post electoral conflicts among others as said earlier, which is the very fundamental basis through which democratisation needs to be achieved. Therefore, the process of consolidation of democracy in Africa becomes problematic, which poses the questions: how are we then going to have leverage on applying democracy in the style of African perspective and how are we going to bring back the protocols of democracy to the ones which were proposed by the authors of the definition.

For a long time, Africa has been stuck between democracy and authoritarianism. Every time after the elections in Africa, the opposition cries foul claiming the rigging of elections and the voting fraud is becoming viral across the continent. With these instabilities we see every day poor governance, skyrocketing corruption, poor leadership and declining economic development; therefore the protracted conflicts. In the light of the above variables, this necessitates investigating the key features that make Africa style democracy unique from other democracies and the role it plays in the instabilities and poor governance and political transformation or the misapplication of the concept of democracy by political leadership, which is the actual problem for Africa.

Inspired by article 3 and 4 respectively, African Union (AU), who advocates for good governance, rule of law, respect for human rights and popular participation, Africa through AU adopted African Charter of Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG)

(Jena, 2017: 13). Recently we saw the recurring trends of military coups where the military engineers the mass protests against the democratically elected governments. They claim that the governments fail to deliver for the nations. Corruption is a major foul that is claimed by those who mobilise the mass protests. As all this happens, the military takes over the government for some time till the next democratic elections. The Zimbabwean and the Sudanese coups are good examples where this occurred in 2017 and 2019 respectively. Could this be a democratic regression or a means to democratic consolidation or be referred to as military compelled transition or military-assisted transition, as named by the Crises Group Africa Briefing (CGAB)? This could also translate to Africa style of democracy or a back slide to totalitarianism regime. As all these happen the practice amasses the public support and international community and AU are mute despite the existence of article 23 of the CGBA. The article calls for the sanctions in case of an unconstitutional change of Government. This further affects the principles of good governance and political transformation.

This state of democracy in this continent is very controversial, such that it has the elements of a hybrid consisting of democracy and authoritarianism.¹ Should Africa design the kind of democracy that suits this continent or it should adhere to the global standard of democracy? Can these instabilities shy away the investors or bring them as speculated, so that some take advantage of them and invest more cheaply? Some people see democracy in Africa as a dangerous experiment while others believe that there is a promising sign that soon Africa will be liberalised according to the western conceptualisation of democracy.

African leaders extend their stay in power by using the resources to cause the conflict so that they maintain the principle of “sit-tight syndrome”.² Cilliers (2016: 4) affirms that Africa had the longest serving presidents in the world: Teodoro Obiang of Guinea who ruled for 32 years, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe 35 years, Paul Biya of Cameroon 32 years, Museveni of Uganda 29 years. With all these the research aims to establish the characteristics of Africa style democracy that is different from the original definition of the proponents. These prolonged presidencies became problematic because they are the key source of conflicts and under development and lead to political crises. Africa

¹ Africa Briefing Crises Group is the Non-Profit Organisation that seeks to prevent, analyse and resolve political conflicts in Africa.

² Sit tight syndrome is the tendency by African heads of states to extend their stay in power by suppressing the opposition.

established several conventions, protocols, accords, and declarations, ranging from ACDGE, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), African Governance Architecture (AGA), Pan African Parliament also known as African Parliament, and Africa Leadership Forum (ALF), in trying to deal with issues of good governance. Despite all these mechanisms, Africa remains the most unstable continent due to poor governance and poor political leadership. As a result the process of good governance and political transformation is affected directly.

1.7.1.2 Research Questions

Du Plooy-Cilliers, Davis and Bezuidenhout (2014: 2) define research as “the process of asking questions and finding answers”.

On the basis of the discussions above, the research question to be asked is:

- Does Africa style democracy meet the standard expectation of democracy as anticipated by the democracy institutions or it should be understood as one of its kind that has to be accepted as it is?

Sub questions to this are:

- Is the post electoral violence in Africa the result of the type of democracy practiced in Africa?
- Why is it that democracy has a different practice, understanding, contestation, and interpretation unique to Africa over the original thinking and practice?
- Is democracy good for the development of Africa?

1.7.2 Aim and objectives of the study

1.7.2.1 Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to determine and discuss the characteristics of democracy in Africa, in comparison with the original school of thought and practice and comparison with democracy in other continents in relation to good governance and political transformation. The study also seeks to understand the uniqueness of the African democracy, which will also help bring the betterment of results for betterment of good governance and political transformation.

1.7.2.2 Objectives of the study

Research was carried out in order to:

- Investigate how the practice of democracy impacts on good governance and political transformation;
- explore how African leadership view democracy;
- determine the patterns of democracy in Africa;
- explore challenges of democracy in Africa; and
- determine the role played by African leaders in consolidating democracy.

1.8 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Democracy in Africa has been generally investigated, but not much transformation is visible. The theories were used and much focus placed on the style of democracy in Africa, applying theories of democracy and theories of leadership.

1.9 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

The research assumes that democracy in Botswana and Rwanda is much better than democracy in all other countries that have been used as a sample in Africa. Also the study assumes that democracy in Switzerland is much more advanced than African democracy.

1.10 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The findings of the study can benefit the society generally, taking into consideration the fact that the world is misgoverned by the politicians who at times ignore the good practices that occur in other parts of the globe. Africa as a continent is the victim of poor governance as a result of the style of democracy practiced in this region. The findings might inspire the African leaders to practice good governance after picking up on some important aspects on this study that can help strengthen good governance and democracy in their respective countries. The formulation of policies needs to be informed; the study could help to inform the government officials on policy choices. The study also contributes the knowledge of democracy in Africa. In 2009, The World Bank

Group and International Monetary Fund indicated that “Africa is not poor but unfortunately Africa lacks good managers”.

1.11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

“Secondary data cannot be evaluated without the knowledge of the methodology” (Johnston, 2017: 623). It is therefore categorically imperative to discuss the method that will be used to collect the information for this study.

Kothari (2004: 8) says “research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically”.

The nature of the research being qualitative denotes that data will be collected using qualitative methods of data collection to be qualitatively analysed. The qualitative approach is explanatory, the question of “why” and “how” are answered in this approach and this means it is investigative by nature. Qualitative research is non-numerical in nature; it explains peoples’ relationships, meanings and experiences. In qualitative research we begin with the assumptions, and data is collected in its natural setting. The researcher is the key instrument in collection of data, and various sources are used. They are inductive in nature (Creswell, Hanson, Clark Plano & Morales, 2007: 37-38). This methodology is used because of the problem that exists and has to be explored. As a result the qualitative methodology will be used to explore the governance problem that exists in Africa, which might be due to the kind of democracy that is practiced in this continent.

The deductive approach, which uses the observation and experiences starting from the broader perspective using general statements and allows conclusion, was therefore used (Walliman, 2011: 17-18). Democracy was explained from the general perspective and then reduced down to the African perspective where it was made to be understood independently.

The interpretivist tradition was used. This according to Goodsell (2013: 8-10), is the understanding of things as they are done by the actors to explore the reality and culture of the society. It involves analysing relationships between knowledge and the human behaviour, and democratic participation by participants is observed.

Secondary data was used to collect the information required. This is the data which has been previously collected for other purposes and published (Boiejie & Hox, 2005: 594-595). Kothari (2004: 111) also describes that the secondary data is utilised by the researcher, taking it from various sources such as books, journals, government publications, magazines, newspapers, scholarly reports and the researcher has to test its reliability, suitability and adequacy before using it. This method is associated with cost reduction and it is more efficient according to Johnston (2017: 624).

The secondary data was therefore used to collect information about democracy, its challenges in the African continent and the kind of leadership that exist in this poor continent. This information is available in the books, journals, newspapers, as well as websites. Various pillars of democracy were used to measure the availability and the degree of democracy in Africa and Switzerland.

The challenge with the use of secondary data however, is that one may not know how it was collected for the researcher did not participate, and as a result may lack reliability. This might be due to the low turnout of the response or that there was a misunderstanding of questioners or the method used was wrong (Johnston, 2017: 625).

Based on the aims of this study, the study addressed the contribution of culture and leadership on the governance issues. The factors that contribute to this style of democracy was also looked at.

The method of data collection used in this study was desk research, which is synonymous with secondary data collection. Information was collected from journals, scholarly articles, internet, as well as books. This method is less costly as one only requires time and computers to read the sources. The concept of democracy was unpacked using these above-mentioned sources and the information collected was later used.

The research made use of qualitative data analysis, which makes sense as information is taken and the explanation or interpretation is offered. Information can be obtained from interviews, surveys, videos, and documents. The qualitative data analysis includes the organisation of data, identification and organisation of ideas and concepts, ensuring of reliability and validity of data in the analysis of data and finding of the explanations of findings (O'Connor & Gibson, 2003: 65).

The information that has been collected from books, journals and internet about democracy, political leadership and any other information that is likely to be relevant to the research, was used.

The layout of the proposed study is follows.

Chapter 1: Orientation and background of the study

This chapter provided the general overview of the study and its background. Research problems and questions were also addressed in this chapter. Layout of the study was also displayed in this chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature review in relation to democracy and leadership

This chapter discussed various scholarly theories and concepts on democracy, governance, transformation and leadership, focusing specifically on the style of democracy in Africa. The theories enabled us to find out how people perceive democracy in Africa.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Chapter 3 dealt with the methods and approach that has been used to collect the data. This was enabled us to examine the validity and reliability of the tools used when making the findings.

Chapter 4: Research findings

This chapter gave the current situation of democracy in various parts of Africa and was compared with the type of democracy in Europe, specifically Switzerland. Various tenets of democracy were presented in this chapter to determine the style of democracy and leadership in Africa.

Chapter 5: Data interpretation and Analysis

This chapter dealt with the interpretation of the findings from chapter 4 through different themes and theories. The inputs from the findings and observation by the researcher were also done.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

In this chapter, the conclusions derived from the findings of the identified pillars of democracy, namely: free, fair and regular elections, freedom of media or expression,

respect for human rights and checks on government. All the chapters are summarised and recommendation for future are put forward.

1.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an overview of the study, problem statement, aims and objectives of the study, research methodology, research questions, layout and the significance of the study. Democracy as a global phenomenon was also discussed in this chapter for Africa is not an exception in this matter. Democratic transitions and the reverse waves was also a subject of discussion in this chapter. The chapter also briefly discussed the democratic consolidation and the measurements. The chapter finally discussed the African experience of democracy.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND CONCEPTUALISATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this chapter is to discuss scholarly and pertinent literature around and unpack the literature written by various authors on democracy and governance. Classical theories of democracy, such as direct or plebiscitary democracy and representative will be discussed in this chapter, as well as the contemporary theories of democracy among the Participatory Democracy. Also the study will cover literature on the dictatorship and leadership theory. This is based on the fact that democracy presupposes good leadership and regime, as corroborated by Okoroafor (2010: 174). As said earlier, democracy was imposed by the colonisers as means of governance and political transformation, theories and concepts of governance and transformation, which will also be discussed in this chapter, as well as the concepts of democracy.

2.2 DEFINITION AND DISCUSSION OF CONCEPTS

In social sciences research, it is a customary before engaging in any investigation to explain certain concepts and theories to avoid misinterpretation and ambiguity. Various scholars' and authors' views are analysed and interpreted and it is not always that the consensus will be reached. The major concepts, including democracy, leadership, good governance and political transformation will be defined and discussed in this chapter to avoid the possible misinterpretation of these concepts.

2.2.1 Conceptualising democracy

Democracy is one of the most contested concepts in the modern world and is defined differently by various scholars, depending on the type of measure that is used. Some authors draw dichotomies to suit their explanation of democracy, such that anything that does not match with their characteristics is undemocratic and that which matches is democratic. They make their argument based on Huntingtonian argument that the political world must be categorised into democratic and non- democratic. As a result any

abstract can be seen as the best and ideal type (Cunningham, 2002: 4). It is therefore, categorically imperative to conceptualise this concept of democracy. Politicians justify their actions and political decisions in the name of democracy, especially when they want to maintain their stay in power. For the purpose of this study, we will use the Dahlian conception of democracy, which identified the presence of elected officials, free and fair elections, inclusive suffrage, the right to run the office, freedom of expression, alternative information and associational autonomy to determine the style of democracy in Africa.

2.2.2 Conceptualising leadership

Leadership is described by Fairholm (2002: 12), as the ability to display values such as the capability to internalise and legitimise group values, teach and communicate effectively these values, in order to achieve the objectives of the organisation. The group members must share the same values, and be understood by all the members, not only the heads. Klingborg (2006: 280) says a good and effective leader has the capacity to share his vision with the followers, has teamwork features, is a good listener and has a high delivery capacity. The good leader is a problem solver. The bad ineffective leader possesses the inverse characteristics. Various scholars came up with several theories of leadership namely: trait theory, transformational theory, transactional theory, behavioural theory, contingency theory, great man theory, as well as dictatorship theory. Leadership can have two connotations being good and bad leadership. The study examines the leadership on both sides to describe the style of leadership in the continent of Africa and compare them with the style of leadership in Europe.

2.2.3 Conceptualising good governance

Good governance has multifaceted definitions and has been defined differently by various institutions. United Nations equates good and democratic governance and describes it as the one having transparent institutions where key activities, such elections and various ministries have the elements of transparency and are accountable and free of corruption. Pluralism, rule of law, equity, accountability among others, characterise good governance. United Nations Development Programmes (UNDP), World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), European Bank for Reconstruction and

Development (EBRD), Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), and other multilateral organisations, such as International Monetary Fund (IMF), Organisation for Economic Corporation and Development (OECD), all have defined good governance along the same sentiments. They all emphasised accountability, transparency and corruption-free governance. African Development Bank emphasised the exercising of power in the manner that encourages good international relations among others (Gisselquist, 2012: 6-8). For the purpose of this study, good governance is the one that has the characteristics, defined by the above mentioned institutions, that is free from corruption, transparent, accountable and that practices the rule of law. The administration that possesses these characters is considered to be administering good governance. Good governance is seen as a prerequisite for African development and democracy, hence The World Bank (1989: 60-61) declared the crises of good governance in Africa.

2.2.4 Conceptualising political transformation

Marcia and Sheila (2005: 1-3) describe transformation as “the creation and change of a whole new form, function or structure”. To transform is to create something new that has never existed before and could not be predicted from the past. Transformation is a ‘change’ in mind-set. It is based on learning a system of profound knowledge and taking actions based on leading with knowledge and courage”. According to them change occurs in two ways: at personal level and organisational level and it has to first occur at personal level. Personal transformation occurs when an individual understands the system of the profound knowledge well and such a person understands the environment around him. The person interacts well with others and will make informed decisions. Transforming an organisation needs a courageous person who is dedicated to perform the duties and is about bringing new ideas into the organisation. Transforming the organisation needs passion, dedication and implementation of policies, systems, structures and procedures.

According to Cloete (2013: 3), political transformation is a complete type of change that requires the major change in the society. It is the fundamental change of the structural appearance. Change can be of various natures. It can be economic, social, and political or be socio-economic. The study will therefore focus on the political transformation as the pattern of change in African politics.

2.3 LINK BETWEEN THEORIES OF GOVERNANCE AND THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

Theorists have identified the relationship between democracy and good governance. They argue that democracy is the basis for good governance and that democracy and good governance are synonyms. Good governance has been explained in terms of the absence of corruption, unaccountability, and the rule of law, which in other words in their presence means that democratisation exists. Courts of law have taken the upper hand in terms of controlling the executive branch, which has for a long time being influential over other arms of government. This is corroborated by Fukuyama (2013: 3) who indicate that the rule of law has constrained the executive and that is closely linked with democracy. There is a strong link between democracy and theories of good governance. IMF declares good governance as the one with the following essential elements of democracy: observation of the Rule of Law, accountability, tackles corruption, and an efficient public sector. "Democracy is the philosophical foundation of good governance and they are therefore synonymous" (Idada & Uhunwuangho, 2012 in Ekundayo, 2017: 54-58).

Keping, (2018: 5-7) identifies good governance as having essentials that are similar to that of the IMF and adds the responsiveness and legitimacy as two other elements. Good governance, according to Keping, is successful when the citizens participate efficiently in political processes and policymaking. All these would be best in the presence of democracy, hence democracy and good governance form a very good combination. Good governance is practicable in the friendly democratic environment. The theory of good governance is therefore seen in its practicability in modern democracy. Good governance is associated with democracy, human rights, rule of law and institutional development. United Nations measures good governance with the degree at which institutions are democratic and transparent. These institutions include the houses of the parliament and various government ministries. Good governance promotes democracy through the practice of free, fair and regular periodic elections. As seen that democracy is about transparency, accountability, effectiveness, rule of law, regular free and fair elections among others, several institutions have also contributed to the subject of democracy and good governance. European Commission, Inter-America Development

Bank (IADB), European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), Asian Development Bank (ADB), African Development Bank (ADB), United Nations (UN), World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and many other, equate good governance with democratisation and as a result they play an advocacy role for democracy and good governance (Gisselquist, 2012: 5-6).

2.4 GOVERNANCE THEORY (THEORY 1)

The theory denotes the collective decision-making by those given powers to run the institution. The theory, according to Chhotray and Stoker (2008: 3), has the four elements. The first is the rules, which can either be formal or informal, but the theory is targeting formal and the informal rules that govern the society. The second is collective, which in element the decision taken by a group of people and the decisions made by the group are binding and are imposed to other people who are obliged to comply and accept the decision. The decisions made by the African leaders to overstay in power and hold on to the resources, cause ethnic divisions as it is taken to be the collective decision of the government or of that specific country, hence the sanctions in most cases do not target specifically the leaders, but the entire nation. Decision-making is the third element of the theory. Deciding issues collectively requires rules about who can decide what and how and the decision makers are to be made accountable. The last element of governance, according to Chhotray and Stoker (2008: 24), is that no formal control system dictates what has to transpire within the organisation. The monocratic governing has no place in government for governance involves many and is about collective governing. In the democratic dispensation majority rules, the leader is obliged to follow the decision reached by the majority of the cabinet members. The theory of governance is therefore aiming at giving advice on governance related issues. Governance can either be good or bad.

2.4.1 Good governance

Good governance, according to Keping (2018: 5), is the process of measuring public interest and has many elements, including legitimacy, which denotes the voluntary obedience and recognition of the authority by the society and the higher the level of

legitimacy, the higher the level of good governance. Transparency is another element of good governance. It is about publicising the political information, such that people have access to the state information on the policies that are related to people's interests, such as public expenditure, policy decisions, and legislature activities through various media institutions. Accountability as another element, requires that people be held accountable for their actions. Administrators and administrative bodies are obliged to fulfil their mandate in an appropriate manner and it requires the application of law and ethics. Rule of Law is the element of governance, which mandates the supremacy of law over the political administration. It advocates for the observation of equality of all before the courts of law, as means of regularly observing the behaviour of the human person. Responsiveness is the element of good governance, which is about responding to the public needs and demands without causing delays and should give advice to the public about the policies to be formulated. The responsive government indicates the high level of good governance. Effectiveness is about doing things properly, services reaching people in time and the minimisation of costs is a necessity in good governance. Ineffective administration does not have a place in good governance. Good governance indicators change with time. In 2006, the common good governance indicators were political stability and absence of violence. The most common indicators currently include voice and accountability, which entails the participation of people in voting in the government freely and having freedom of media. Political stability and absence of violence is another factor and it is about the possibility of whether the government will be stable or will be overthrown by the coup d' etat. Government effectiveness is also another regulator and it is the capacity of the incumbents to formulate and implement good policies that favour the society. Rule of Law is also recognised as another indicator and it is about the supremacy of the law over political interests. Control of corruption is another factor of good governance. Corruption is visible when the public officials use public resources for their private gain and it includes the state capture. Public officials do their duties not based on the good faith but to please those that benefit them (Yeboah-Assamoah et al., 2018: 2).

The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (UNESCAP), similar to Keping, sees good governance as having the 8 major characteristics being: participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, equity and inclusiveness, accountability, consensus orientated and efficiency and effectiveness. Consensus

orientated according to them, is the consolidation of various interests within the society, whether cultural or social, in order to achieve the developmental goals. Participation is about the equal contribution of men and women in governance issues and it involves freedom of association and freedom of expression.

In a democratic dispensation all the above are expected to reign for the purposes of good governance and political transformation. Hence, Asaduzzaman and Virtanen (2016: 6) equate good, efficient and effective governance with democracy. However, this is not the case in Africa. The rule of law applies to the low class of people who cannot afford legal representation and those who cannot afford to pay bribery to either police or in courts.

Although many authors agree on the elements of good governance as stated above, they do not take into consideration the most integral part of development, which is the economic aspect for democratisation for it is associated with development. China as the autocratic state is the world's second largest economy, although it does not practice basic democratic elements, such as free and fair elections (Mills, Obasanjo, Herbst & Biti, 2019: 3-5).

The theory also fails to address the issue of a collective decision by the autocratic leaders who dictate decisions in the cabinet. In most cases, when one challenges the decision of the leader in Africa, such people are taken to be rebellious and as a result one distances himself from such a decision.

2.4.2 Bad/poor Governance

The concept of bad/poor governance is very common and is defined differently by various governance authors. Moore (2001: 386) says poor governance is the absence of the rule of law, poor administration of governance institutions, lack of transparency and accountability. The World Bank Report (2005) has also indicated that poor governance and poorly administered institutions affect the performance of Africa.

Bad governance, according to Yiew, Habibullah, Law and Azman-Saini, (2016: 37- 44), is problematic for economic growth and it is associated with the failure of the development. The economy eventually collapses. People's welfare is affected in a state where bad governance reign, there is corruption, maladministration, and service delivery

is very poor. Money allocated for critical services, such as public health does not reach its destination, for it is used by the corrupt officials for their own benefit. In bad governance politicisation of the security agencies is visible. Large sectors of the society are marginalised and people ultimately resort to violence and they join rebel groups. Poverty and unemployment are push factors to these acts. Politicians take advantage of the hostile ethnic groups. There is a high level of recurrence of civil wars in such states. As all these occur, good governance and transformation are affected inversely. The application of this theory is seen as a possible means of transforming Africa into a better world. Africa has been trying to use this approach of democratisation since independence; however, it looks to be malfunctioning. Maybe the Chinese approach of governance and other Asian tigers' approach could be the best approach for Africa.

Oseghae (1999: 5 in Essien, 2012: 25-31) associates democratisation with “the transformation of the state and political society”. Democratisation is also associated with the movement from the unaccountable government to the more accountable one and the existence of more autonomous political and civil society institutions. As a result democratisation is seen as a remedy for African multifarious problems. The political and civil society status of Africa is the residue of the lack of democratic governance. The presence of bad governance in Africa is the result of the absence of democracy.

Africa seems to lack the democratic institutions: in cases where they do exist they are mostly not fully independent for they are controlled by the incumbents who use them to pursue their goals. This too affects the whole process of governance and political transformation. Bad governance as a result affects the idea of democratisation. This gives Africa the kind of democracy that we see.

It can however be argued that the term is subjective, because the voters may not see the bad we see in the governance of their states. The re-election of the political parties that practice bad governance, says the electors do not see what other people see.

The World Bank in 1989 discovered that poor governance in Africa was the residue of lack of democratisation. As a result good governance and democratisation became the agenda of the donor countries. Democratisation was exported to the third world countries through donations (World Bank, 1989: 60-61).

2.5 CULTURAL THEORY (THEORY 2)

Cultural theory, being the set of beliefs norms and values of a certain group of people are rooted in all the organisations' practices and cannot be changed overnight; it has to be changed gradually. It is said that the appointment of the new managers can be the signal of the change of the organisational culture. These practices are absorbed through trainings, inductions and appraisal processes. The change in these practices normally meets resistance and this means there has to be control systems that are put in place, but they have to be sensitive to the organisational cultures (Collier & Agyei-Ampomah, 2006: 36). Szeman and Kaposy (2010: 1) and Edgar and Sedgwick (2005: 3) associate cultural theory with the means to which human behaviour, societies, politics and economy and many other social aspects are shaped. The kind of democracy in Africa in some cases is shaped by cultural beliefs. In some societies in Africa such as Lesotho, parties that are led by women do not have many seats in the parliament and until now there has only been one party that is led by a woman and it only has one seat. The culture of not believing that women can make change in politics is deeply rooted in African cultures.

Grendstad, Selle, and Thompson (2003: 14-15) assert that cultural theory is applicable in various levels, being policy analysis level, policy design level, household level and that the theory has been an integral part of political science and it deals with issues on international relations, voting behaviour, conflict management, party organisation and democratisation. The emphasis is that cultural theory is critical in the process of democratisation. Africans have a tendency of solving conflicts by resorting to violence instead of talks. We have seen many peace-keeping missions in this continent as a result of the political conflict, which in most cases result in the killings of innocent people. This culture seems to be rooted in African politics. Most of the states in Africa are polarised by politicians who cannot sit down to solve political conflicts. This affects the whole process of governance and political transformation and as a result democracy is affected. Most of the governments in Africa were created by the anti-colonialist's liberation movements, which were later transformed into the political parties. They took control of the government and became dominant and during the transition from colonialism to independence they had gained legitimacy. They transitioned with these liberation cultures and they have been unstable in governments. It can be argued that our political parties in Africa were founded on the culture of being a liberation movement.

After the attainment of liberation they had no new agenda of development. Those movements were seen before independence became the burdens of the new Africa. We saw political leaders holding on to power and resources. They changed the constitutions to maintain their stay and giving them unlimited terms in presidencies. This culture became viral in Africa, such that Africa even today is known by the longest serving presidents and prime ministers. The voting culture of the Africans for a long time has been parochial where the voters would vote for the parties, especially those that liberated their states without digging deep into such parties' manifestos or their ideology. This gave the leaders more chance to overstay in power. However, it seems the Africans began to have a participant culture where they became involved in political issues that affect them. They have started scrutinising the policies and manifestos of their parties.

2.6 THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

Robert Dahl observed that there are several theories of democracy. The literature classifies these theories into two categories, namely: classical and contemporary theories. Conte (2001: 3-4) categorises participatory democracy, pluralist democracy, performance democracy, and protective democracy under contemporary theories. They both talk about the rule by the majority though they differ in their approach. The study will first unpack the classical theories of democracy, namely: direct and representative democracy. Also one contemporary theory democracy, which is participatory democracy is discussed.

2.6.1 Direct or plebiscitary democracy (Theory 3)

Direct democracy is one of the classical theories of democracy coined by people like Jean Jacques Rousseau. The theory advocates for the allowance of the people, and institutions to vote directly through various instruments, such as a referendum, a recall and the initiative. It gives people an opportunity to be directly involved in issues that would otherwise exclude them from the decision-making. Direct democracy can be initiated in two ways as Kersting says. It can be initiated by the public (citizen initiative) and it can also be initiated by the one of the two arms of government, being executive or legislature. The decisions could be final and they were used at national level during

the decolonisation process.

These are bottom up mechanisms that allow citizens to take part as a veto player in a political game. They allow the blocking of policies, rejecting or modifying them. The reason is to reduce the concentration of power in the hands of the few to avoid what is termed “the tyranny of the minority”. In countries like US and Switzerland they are the basis for the foundation of these states. It is also critical in US for political parties for rejection of the policies they do not like. In Switzerland the introduction of direct democracy played an integral role of promoting the horizontal accountability to curb corruption. In US it is also seen as an alternative when checks and balances are not properly working (Welp & Rey, 2015: 73). US and Switzerland, according to Linder (2007: 2), use direct democracy as a means of participating regularly in political decisions

People may want to change the policies and or constitutional amendments and may be adopted without passing through the legislature. It is endorsed by a certain number of signatures on the petition. Although it advocates for the direct participation of the masses in policy-making, it can however, be manipulated and bypassed by the politicians to pursue their interests. Bulmer (2017: 6-8) gives the three instruments of direct democracy, being an initiative, referendum and a recall. Referendum according to Bulmer is when people are involved in direct voting on issues that are referred to them by governments. The duty of the masses is to ratify or repeal decisions proposed by such an institution by means of accepting or rejecting it. Referendum is a process that has to go through various steps including the passing of the bill in the parliament to authorise it. It also has to go through the Electoral Commission for question testing and it also needs a campaign period in UK. The referendum has to be administered by the laws of the state, for example, in UK it is administered by the Political Parties, Elections and Referendum Act of 2000 (Seargent et al., 2018: 4). Although representing the view of the majority, the referendum can at times bring sour results for the country and it has to be considered by the leaders. It can also be very stressful for the government. The EU referendum gave the UK government a tough time and to the extent that the Prime Minister had to resign acknowledging the failure to implement the Brexit referendum.

Citizen initiative is another instrument of direct democracy. It comes when people want to change the policy and constitutional amendments and may be adopted without

passing through legislature. It is endorsed by a certain number of signatures on a petition (Bulmer, 2017: 6). Initiatives, according to Durso *et al.* (2018 in de Ciutadania, Transparència, Descentralització, Alarcón Pérez, García Espín, Welp & Font Fábregas, 2018: 30), are commonly used in Europe and are more frequent than demonstrations and have been adopted by public institutions as a mechanism for allowing public participation in decision making. The outcomes of the initiative can be binding or advisory. The legislative initiatives are proactive in nature. That is they deal with the matter that is not in the government's plan. The abrogative and recall initiatives are reactive in nature. They reject the government's or an institution's decisions. Citizens demand a vote on the issue that has been decided by the government. Initiatives are very costly in terms of time, resources and they need enough time for the campaigns to encourage participation and collection of the signatures. However, with the introduction of the e-government initiatives, there is less load for the government for the collection of the information for citizens and as a result the burden of time consumption becomes less.³ The government's accountability as such is increased (Belanger & Carter, 2004: 1).

A recall according to Bulmer is another instrument of direct democracy. People sign the petition of the office of the official. It also requires a certain number of signatures to be endorsed. This also helps in direct participation of people in issues that affect them. It is also said that it helps people to take responsibility of public goods and promotes participation. A recall is seen as a good democratic move for officials, who would be forced not to act on duties assigned to them after the legal requirements for their recall have been completed, as a means of avoiding a legal suit. As such it is seen as a means of promotion of accountability. This could also be seen as a means of strengthening democracy during times of crises. A recall has been occurring since the nineties in assemblies of Colombia 1991, Peru 1993, Ecuador 1998 and 2008 and Venezuela 1999, Bolivia 2009 (Welp & Rey, 2015: 72).

The theory seems to be very good for it advocates for the rule of the majority over the few, which is what democracy presupposes. The theory as said helps to strengthen accountability, which could be the best approach for African democracy. Africa is meddling in the pool of corruption committed by the leaders and the public officials. This

³ E-government is the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in government service delivery in making government payments, communication, communication between government and the citizens.

is because of the weakness of the accountability measures and the weakness of the accountability institutions. Therefore, the implementation of direct democracy could be the remedy for African democracy. However, the theory presupposes that all people are rational. At times this could lead to the elimination of the important people in the government, as a result of the propaganda that has been made against such an individual. The theory can work best in countries that have high literacy rates. This means this could lead to a calamity in Africa. The theory can be applicable in countries where the political culture is more participant. Direct democracy as a bottom up model needs very strong grass roots. Kirsteng asserts that the use of a referendum is a way of vesting power into the citizens and are mostly regarded as the mother of direct democracy. Serdult (2007: 1) argues that Switzerland is a semi-direct democracy, because most of the bills are initiated by the parliament without being discussed by the parliament.

This inclusivity of people has been successfully used in Eastern Europe in support of EU membership. Referendums were used in Africa during the decolonisation process in the 1960s and 1980s respectively and it is said that it is the way of strengthening accountability. It can however be the way to making government accountable to some extent, however the problem in Africa seem to be lying more with the personality than the application and the use of democracy, especially which involves the citizens. South Africa still has strong accountability institutions embedded in Chapter 9 of the Constitution, but the level of corruption is high. This is an indication that one can have strong accountability instruments at disposal, but they are always manoeuvred by the politicians, especially the incumbents. The use of direct democracy tools has been encouraged by both NEPAD (2003) and the African Charter (AU, 2007). Some countries including Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola and Tanzania have the provision of referendums in their constitutions, but they have never used them. South Africa used the referendums during the apartheid era and never tried it post-apartheid. There have been a number of referendums in countries such as Rwanda, Sudan, Uganda, and Djibouti. Also the constitutions of countries like South Africa, Namibia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and Uganda give provision for the use of referendums. Most of the referendums in East and West Africa deal with the constitutional amendments. There is a legal provision for referendums in the constitutions of countries such as Lesotho, DRC, Tanzania, Zambia, Eritrea, Rwanda, Sudan and Somalia (IDEA 2004). Mandatory referendums have been

used extensively in Botswana and Madagascar (IDEA 2008). In Djibouti it may be made without the approval of the legislature (Kersting, 2009: 1-3).

2.6.2 Representative or liberal democracy (Theory 4)

This is the theory that was pioneered by authors such as John Stuart Mill, James Madison and John Locke. The theory is founded on the election of the official to represent the people. Most of the Western-style democracies follow this type of democracy. This is also the duplicate of Africa style democracy. The theory, according to Landemore (2017: 4), is associated with the emergence of the French and American Revolution in the 18th Century. It is defined as “regime centred on the elections of elites who act as trustees of and make decisions on behalf of the larger population”. The core feature of this theory is the delegation of powers and decision making to the minority that is the tyranny of the minority. People delegate their powers to the group of the few elites to take decisions for them. Landemore (2017: 12) articulated core principles of representative democracy as periodic elections, trial by discussions, freedom of opinion and independence of representatives. Among them periodic elections is the main and mostly associated with democracy.

Concerning the issue of representation, different authors prefer various systems of governance. Some prefer proportional representation others first past the post, while others prefer the presidential system, and others an inter-election where electors have power to remove the elected officials before the end of their parliamentary tenure (Twomey, 2011: 6).

The theory, according to Igbokwe-Ibeto (2015: 5), is premised on the influence of John Locke who concentrated on the relationship between the state and the individuals. The state is the sole protector of human life, property and their liberties. Democracy is therefore described as the strengthening and expansion of democratic institutions. Representative democracy therefore requires citizenship participation. It is the responsibility of the adult citizens to cast their votes in both local and national level elections. People who qualify should be given the opportunity to run the public offices and participate in the affairs of their country. People voice out their opinion by voting for their political parties. Patriotic citizens will not support the corrupt government.

Education to citizens is a prerequisite for representative democracy to function well. Educated citizens participate intelligently in politics. It is the duty of democracy institutions to mould leaders that are responsible and trustworthy. People should act voluntarily without fear in politics. The monopoly to use force is vested in the state through its institutions. It is however, in a democratic dispensation, the duty of the state to prefer dialogue and negotiations to solve issues.

According to Manin (1997: 8-9), representation is associated with elections, at times the combination of both elections and the monarchy. Representative governments rule through the few elected individuals, not what Manin refers to as “assembly of citizens”. The justification of this kind of representation is that modern states, due to their sizes and population, do not allow citizens to assemble to deliberate the decision, for they are much bigger than the city states of Antiquity. As a result the state functions and activities are run by the few individuals purported to be representing all the citizens. As a result of this inefficiency, it becomes hard to establish the pure representative system. Various states have established different electoral systems in trying to solve the issue of representation. Lesotho since re-democratisation in 1993, adopted the system of First Past the Post (FPTP) until 2002 when it adopted the new system of Mixed Member Proportion (MMP), which is the mixture of the FPT and the MMP. It was the first African country to test this electoral model and was recognised as a critical democratic achievement (Elklit, 2002: 1). This was done with the purpose of trying to come up with a fair representative system. However, to concretise the point made by Manin that there is no pure representation; some people in Lesotho have started advocating for the use of the complete Proportional Representation electoral method.

The theory emphasises the availability of the election process where people elect those who are going to represent them. Africa adopted this style of democracy as introduced to them by the western countries. In Lesotho, South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana, and many African countries, besides Lesotho where recently due to the existence of coalition governments, went to elections before five years. This theory suits well in the realities of Africa. There are flaws in this system of democracy for it does not suit the continent. The problem is that when the colonisers introduced this system, they did not take into consideration the already existing system that was more direct and representative. In Lesotho they modified the system when they introduced the paramount chief and that concentrated power in the hands of the paramount chief. Before the introduction, the

Basotho system was very representative and direct and the issues were discussed at the chief's place where people would gather and make the decisions collectively. The introduction of the representative democracy was furthering the rule of the tyranny of the minority. Even in the current setting the system is such that the minority are elected to represent the majority in the parliament. Therefore this system is flawed as it does not reflect the will of the majority.

In Botswana, the system works properly, because it was not modified. The Batswana chiefs still have the powers they had before the introduction of this style of democracy, hence called the democratic darling of Africa.

2.6.3 Participatory Democracy (Theory 5)

Aragones and Sánchez (2009: 1) define participatory as the combination of both representative and direct style of democracy. The role of citizens is to deliberate the policies and the duty of the government is to implement. The combination is determined by the voluntary attendance of the policy agenda meeting and the presence of the legislator to take charge of the implementation process. The understanding is that the two parties have their preferences and interest on the policies' decisions. The citizens use the policy achievement as the scale to measure the performance of the legislator when it is time for re-election. Re-election is used as the reward for the performing legislator and the non-performers are punished by elections. This model encourages a high degree of accountability and as a result enhances democracy (Aragones & Sanchez, 2009: 4). In a nutshell, participatory democracy is about the participation of citizens in the affairs and policy making decisions that affect them. It can be at national level, at provincial level and at local level in the case of South Africa. Theorists believe that participation of people has the positive effects of the quality of democracy. Can this be true in the society that is not knowledgeable, can it lead to the formulation of poor policies that are not carefully considered? Can Africans really participate in deliberations made with the type of leaders that are power hungry and avaricious? African politics does not allow this kind of interaction by political leaders, especially where they are engaged by the educated people. The empirical evidence is seen at USA where there is a high level of citizenry and cohesive education and this is not far from the UK system.

Britain introduced the citizenship education in its curriculum as a means of encouraging participation and in USA it is taught in Social Studies. South Africa, Mexico and Japan also have it in the subjects they offer. It is argued that though citizenship participation is very critical, the citizens of the developing world do not have much power in influencing the decisions for they are influenced by powerful international organisations such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund (McCowan, 2011: 17). African countries are the victims of the international organisations; they determine how African governments should run and exportation of democracy is their agenda. African countries are bound to obey these organisations, because they do not have the capacity to run their economies without the help of the first world countries. This further perpetuates the dependency. Lesotho as an example gets budget support from international organisations, such as the European Union. As a result, the inputs of the citizens are of no importance. This alone cuts out one essential element of participatory democracy and it becomes therefore inapplicable in Africa. The style of democracy cannot be effective in countries that are experiencing wars; such as Nigeria where citizens spend more time in wars than participating in development issues, such as the formulation of policies. It therefore makes participation impossible in some parts of Africa.

Michels and De Graaf (2010: 479-480) argue that though participatory democracy advocate for the inclusion of masses in policy and decision-making, people do not take part. Only those that are active in their political parties do, they also participate in elections. Theorists of participatory democracy also believe that the deliberation process in policy-making is an integral part where discussions and solutions to problems are made. With these, people's interests are articulated.

The model, though looking good, needs citizens that are very participant in policy issues. The legislators could take advantage of the masses that do not attend the meeting and make decisions with the few people that might be their followers.

Adegboye (2013: 244) identifies participatory democracy as having five variants. Direct democracy according to him, is where citizens make collective decisions themselves than be made by their representatives and it is termed the "pure democracy". Grassroots democracy is another variant and here the decisions accrue from the lowest ranks of the organisation and at the community level. Another variant is the deliberative democracy, which in other terms is called the discussion democracy. It has both the factors of direct

and representative democracy. E-participation is the other variant, which is the Information Communication and Technology (ICT) participation of citizens in service delivery and policymaking. It is said that the political participation of citizens is broadened by the use of cyber space.

It enhances the communication of people in various parts of the world or country, even to communicate easily with their representatives.

Consensus democracy is recognised by Adegboye as another variant of participatory democracy where the collective decisions are made in the process of policymaking. Here the minority groups take part in discussions and their contribution is therefore recognised.

Piper and Von Lieries (2015: 316) recognise the importance of the governance and participatory institutions as a way of strengthening participatory democracy. South African constitution 1996 encourages citizens to participate in decision-making. Section 195(e) states that, "...people's needs must be reported to, and the public must be encouraged to participate in policy making". As a means of enhancing participation, South Africa, through various platforms and media, encouraged the issue of participation in various sectors of the society and that they have to be at local level than at national or provincial levels. State officials, scholars, activists and civil society actors become part of the agenda of participation. Different structures of participation, including representations of school boards, hospital boards, as well as community policy forums were established. All these were done to promote participation of people in the affairs affecting them.

Fung and Wright (2001 in Piper and Von Lieries, 2015: 317) argues the importance of participation by (that successful institutions of participatory democracy have the following features; (1) orientation of people to issues affecting them, (2) the direct participation of people which emanates from the grass roots, (3) the deliberation of issues that are based on the principle of equality. It is further said that the institutions need a political support for them to run properly. Political will "from above" is cited as the critical part of mobilising citizens.

2.7 THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

Leadership plays a critical role in determining the kind of governance in their respective states. Chiamogu (2017: 2) emphasised that governance and political leadership proceed in tandem. Leaders that have vision and are committed and dedicated have the capacity to bring good governance. Poor leadership on the other hand is a disaster to the masses of such states. Africa has been swimming in the pool of wars as the result of decisions taken by the political leadership. It therefore says that there is a positive correlation between good governance and political leadership. Adegboye (2013: 247) acknowledges that the style of democracy we see in Africa is the result of both internal and external factors and argues that poor governance is the residue of bad style of political leadership.

The leader possesses exceptional skills, he has the capacity to influence followers to achieve the set objectives and the followers too influence the leader; it is a two way street process. The leader is a visionary. A good leader uses the combination of stick and carrot to influence the followers. A good leader is the team leader who guides his team to achieve the desired goals and not for individualistic interests, but for the whole team.

Various scholars coined several theories of leadership and among them are behavioural theory, situational theory, contingency theory, great man theory, transactional theory (Lewin, Lippitt & White, 1939; Likert, 1967; Schmidt, 1973). Nawaz and Khan (2016: 1-4) identified six theories of leadership, namely: transactional theory, style and behaviour theory, transformative theory, process leadership theory, contingency theory, trait theory and great man theory.

All these theories could be applicable in addressing the style of leadership in the contemporary African governance situation. The study however focuses on the great man theory of leadership and transformational theory of leadership.

2.8 GREAT MAN THEORY OF LEADERSHIP (THEORY 6)

Great man theory of leadership is the theory of 1940s and is credited to Thomas Carlyle; he refers to the leader as someone who has unique hereditary qualities that capture the masses. The great leader, according to Nawaz and Khan (2016: 21), has a good history

of legacy that made him to become great. The great leader possesses special characteristics such as courage, aggressiveness, judgement, intuition, and persuasion. Such leaders have great inspiration that assists them to achieve great heights. Leaders according to this theory, are God's gift and have a certain level of divinity, therefore it is in a person's genes. A leader accomplishes the desired goals against all odds and the traits he possesses are responsible for ascending him to the throne of leadership. Other traits associated with this leader include, intelligence, skills, creativity and competency among others.

The theory associates leadership with inheritance and myths. It is believed that great leaders are born and not made. The theory is associated with the male quality. Great leaders can make a nation great. Woods (1913 in Madanchian et al., 2016: 199) argue that for the maintenance of the supply of great leaders, the birth rate among the high-ranking officials be maintained.

The theory was coined during the days of the wars where the military was male dominated or was commanded by the males only. As a result, it is masculine bias. It sidelines the women in the positions of leadership, yet it is known that there are women who have the capacity to lead men, especially in the current arrangement of the global village where technology is dominant. Also, the theory does not take into consideration the credentials that one possesses, which play a critical role in personal and character development. The great man theory though could still be applicable in the current setting, as it has to be combined with the modern education. It is therefore applicable in practicable in Africa. The African politics are characterised by this theory, hence the leaders overstay in power, misusing the theory that no one is greater or can be greater than them and as a result they become despots.

2.9 THEORIES OF TRANSFORMATION

Transformation is described as the essential change. People at some point become tired of the existing situation while others would be willing to maintain the status quo. For transformation to occur, not only the human aspect has to be changed.

Transformation, according to Dasko and Sheinberg (2005: 247), occurs at both personal and organisational level. The transformed person experiences new environment and

realities of life. The understanding of the transformed person will help him or her apply the principles for the continuity of the organisation. A theory of transformation presupposes a structural change from old to new and it provides how transformation should occur.

Institutions are also critical in transformation. The Huntington view of transformation is the development of political institutions. For him the institutions to acquire value for change have to be adaptable, complex, autonomous, united and coherent. African underdevelopment has been associated with the weakness of the institutions, while theorists and scholars believe that institutionalisation could be the way to the resolution of Africa's transformation.

Change can happen at various levels in a specific period; it can be slow, moderate or fast. It can also occur with the same or different effects. According to Human (1998: 163-169), these changes are called the modes of change. These modes are transformation, revolution, evolution, adaptation and development. Transformation is the mode of change that involves the main strategies. It takes a much longer time than revolution. It gets rid of the old system, but gradually without affecting the service delivery. Finally, the old out dated system will be replaced with the new one logically.

The transformation or change is a complex phenomenon. It can take the society to different directions. It can be progressive or retrogressive, that is it can carry the society forward or backward. Progressive change is the movement or change from the status quo to the new arrangement, while retrogressive on the other hand means the return to the system or policy that has been used previously. It is therefore categorically imperative before making a change to see if it takes the society back or forward. Being retrogressive does not necessarily mean that the society is not developing, but it has to be a change for the best and for the interest of the society. It is also important to determine the impact to the society that will come as the result of the said change. Is it going to change the fundamental institutions that built such a society? Is it not going to disrupt the society norms and values? It is also vital to look at the speed at which the change occurs. The more people become impatient with the status quo, the more people want change. It is however important to indicate that people may be impatient with the status quo and demand the imminent change without taking into consideration the consequences of that change. The overthrow of Gaddafi is the living example of the sour

consequences of change. This is evident for the economy of Libya, post Gaddafi' is on its knees, and Zimbabwe post Mugabe is becoming worse. Also the method at which the change occurs is crucial, change can occur legally or illegally, smoothly or unsmooth, peacefully or violently. Violence is normally used by the extremist to make a change.

Every group of people react to a political change in different ways. Some groups are radical. This means that transformation can be done radically. When people are tired with the existing status quo, they resort to an imminent change and this means they resort to revolution. Some become liberal and this means they also need a change and need to reform the system, and when they are not violent, they normally resort to the legal means, unlike the radicals. Moderates need a change, but agree that there is need for an improvement of the system. Conservative is a change needed in the system, but through policy initiatives and it has to be very slow. Reactionary change is the change that advocates for the retrogressive change and it favours policies that return the society to the precious system (Baradat, 1997: 29).

Africa with the present economic and political situation needs a change. The change needed has to be done considering various factors, such as the modes of change and the political ideologies also have to be taken into consideration to determine those that will work concurrently with our political systems. At the same time it might be important to go for radical economic and political transformation. It is however important to be calculative to avoid the Zimbabwe errors where the economy is on its knees. This needs a very clear and precise kind of leadership, which will take into consideration the needs of the masses of their respective countries. It is a fact that Africa is not fully independent and the consequences will be felt if the change is not done cautiously.

2.9.1 Transformational theory of leadership (Theory 7)

The theory stresses that the transformative leader has the ability to inspire the citizens to do well in skills development. The leader is able to influence the followers to achieve more than they could and is able to set visionary goals for the organisation (Ghadi et al., 2013 in Alqatawenh, 2018:19).

Transformational leadership according to Burns (1978 in Gomes, 2014:14), is the presence of emancipating a change to the followers, such that they are able to meet the

organisational goals. The objectives of the leader are achieved by indulging them to the followers. This is a mutual corporation between the followers and the leader through motivating each other. Bass (1998 in Gomes, 2014:15) attests that transformational leaders are able to achieve their goals due to the availability of one or more of the following components explained below.

Charismatic leadership is when the leader has the capacity to influence the followers such that he or she becomes their role model. The leader has extra ordinary features that are admired by his or her followers. These are achieved through adherence to the principles and ethical and moral standards. The leader is able to transform people from the status quo to the future long term and desired goals. The leader is able to explore the horizons that have not been explored before in the environment around him or her.

Inspirational motivation is another component where the leader instils the teamwork and spirit among the followers. It is a two way process where the two parties engage each other to achieve the organisational goals.

The leader must also have the intellectual stimulation as the component of a transformational leadership. Promotion of innovation and creativity is the prime goal of such a leader. The leader does not wash the dirty linen of his followers in public.

Transformational leaders also have the individualised consideration. The leader mentors each member to achieve the desired goals of the organisation. He or she creates a conducive environment for the followers to learn. He emphasises the two- way communication process between the leader and the followers. The good transformative leader has the listening skill. Rank and Hutchisons (2000 in Middleton, Harvey & Esak, 2015: 155) came up with the five essential elements of a transformational leadership being: pro action, values, ethics, empowerment and communication. Transformational leadership is about the leader's capacity to develop individuals to a fullest potential. Motivation of followers is also critical and the followers have to bring the organisational goals before their own interests (Middleton et al., 2015: 155).

It is, however argued that transformational leadership construct does not exist and if it does, it cannot be attributed to political leaders who mobilise the masses, and gain popularity to pursue their own goals. It is further argued that the leader can be good at one point, but fails to transform the system. Transformational leaders focus on individual's relationships. They are able to share their vision with the subordinates, share

risks with them, inspire them and explore the horizons with them. They support their followers in achieving the development goals. The needs of the subordinates are taken care of by the transformational leader. There is a positive correlation between this theory and the Afro-communal theory of leadership, which stresses the relationship between the leader and the followers for it advocates that the leader helps the followers achieve their desired goals. The Afro-communal theory emphasises that “A king is a king through his people” and this is a clear indication of a good leadership that consults its people in decision-making. This also says that a leader is aware that without the followers he is not a leader, therefore he needs people to lead (Metz, 2018: 41).

It cannot just be ignored that African leaders played a critical role during the transition from colonisation to independence. It is a known fact that they mobilised masses to topple the colonisers for independence of Africa. As a result, self-governance in Africa can be attributed to such leaders, such as Robert Mugabe, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, Felix Houphouet Boigny. These leaders were then seen as transformative and charismatic. According to Kets de Vries, Sexton & Ellen (2016: 1-2), African leaders played a vital and historical part in African politics. The decolonisation process in Africa became important in the demonstration of best and worst leaders. The worst was characterised by the destructive leaders who personalised power and took advantage of the instabilities and could not focus on issues that affect their communities. Inversely, the best transformative leaders became the ambassadors of their communities and did well for the development of their communities.

Transformational leadership is about sharing of visions, respect, trust and values between the masses and the leader. The theory presupposes that the decisions must come from the collective decision between the two sides, being the leader and the led, where the leader has the capacity of transforming the world and is seen as the superman and woman (Nwadike, 2011: 5).

Jahan (2000: 1) defines the transformative leader as “a person who can guide, direct and influence others to bring about a fundamental change, a change not only of the external world, but also of internal processes”. Transformative leaders according to Jahan, can be found at the community level, national level and global level. They can also be found at various sectors, such as the society, politics and economy. They are identified by the following qualities at institutional level: they are participatory, egalitarian,

responsive, accountable, corruption free, transparent, consensus orientated and empowering. It therefore follows that transformational leaders are democratic if we may try to be dichotomous.

Transformational leaders fit well into the higher level of the Maslow's hierarchy of needs. For one to be the transformative leader, he or she must have a high level of authenticity, have a high level of self-esteem and self-actualisation, must be a problem solver, as well as have high level of morality and spontaneity (Covey, 2007: 7).

Transformational leaders appeal to the masses and are goal orientated. They have the capability to coordinate their followers and encourage them to develop. The followers copy good actions from the leaders for they are seen as presenting the future of their states. They also have the capacity to challenge the status quo. They are able to come up with amicable solutions that help their countries. Transformational leaders are focused and have long term interests of their states, opposed to the destructive leaders who focus on selfish short term interests and immediate gratification. Mandela is cited as the type of transformational leader who is admired by all as opposed to Robert Mugabe who is cited as the destructive leader (Kets de Vries et al., 2016: 12-13). It can be argued that the two leaders cited above have been compared in the manner that gives the other advantage over another. The environment at which the two people operated is completely different. Nelson Mandela spent most of his life in prison while Mugabe fought the British until Zimbabwe got independence. It is therefore worth giving credit to Mugabe who was then seen as the transformational leader. However, it is also important to draw the borderline of the time when Mugabe lost credibility and the state of being the transformational leader. In essence one could start as the transformational leader and later lose that status. It then follows that the charisma is also temporary to individuals, depending on the environment and circumstances.

Based on this theory, we can conclude that, transformational leadership is about the accountability between the leader and the subjects, the commitment on both sides of the leader and the led; the capacity to transform the organisation by the leader and the ability to accomplish the organisational goals by both parties. Transformational leadership is also about the vigilance of the leader and the passion of the leader to maximise the achievement of the organisational goals. This is still a challenge in many African states. The leaders have manipulated democracy to suit their own interest. They rig elections,

they politicise the security and other institutions of accountability, in the name of representing the interests of the majority. It is therefore worth saying Africa is having a leadership crises. We need the transformative leadership. The ascendance of John Magufulle to the presidency in Tanzania has been hailed by many people as the beginning of currently having transformative leaders in Africa.

The kind of leadership we have in Africa has a negative impact on governance and democracy. This was corroborated by Nkechi and Ikechukwu (2014: 69) who attest that good governance is the result of effective and functional leadership. The attainment of organisational goals would not be easily achieved if not coordinated very well by the leadership. The literature shows that leadership in Africa, when it comes to resource allocation, are most of the time egocentric and allocate more resources to themselves and less to the followers. They give priority to themselves and this is the dominant culture in African politics. Some leaders display a self- sacrifice role and these are the transformational leaders according to Kuada (2010: 18).

2.9.2 Dictatorship theory (Theory 8)

Dictatorship is the type of rule that is associated with oppression and rule with intimidations by the person who monopolises political power. The term dictatorship has also been used in democracy to describe a situation where the executive arm of government becomes mightier than the arm of legislature (Baehr, 2004: 162).

Guriev and Treisman (2015: 1-2) assert that modern dictators do not survive solely because of the use of stick. They hold on to power by manoeuvring the systems of democracy to convince people that they are relevant and competent to rule and they use propaganda. This causes realisation by the masses that these leaders are incompetent to rule, because the masses overthrow them through the revolution process. This is the opposite of the old style of dictatorship where the authoritarian leaders, such as Hitler, Pol pot, Mao and Stalin relied heavily on ethnic cleansing, mass terrors or at times the use of violence to plant fear in the opponents. Modern dictators use the new system of dictatorship; they can deploy the paramilitaries for example to kill the unarmed protesters. They can deploy the paramilitaries as their strategy to terrorise the unarmed protesters, and they rig elections to maintain their stay in power. They bribe private media instead of abolishing it. They buy popularity from the masses by selling the

western propaganda in order to legitimise their stay in power. The opponents are eliminated by being labelled criminals, fake charges are launched against them and they are encouraged to emigrate. They manipulate the masses to support them for their own selfish targets and self-enrichment.

Geddes (1999: 121 in Liden, 2014: 53-54) introduced the three types of dictatorships, being: personalist, military and single party. There can also be a combination of some of them. Personalists are found in countries where power is concentrated in the hands of the individual. In military dictatorships, power is in the hands of a group of military officers who run the affairs of the state. The single party is where one dominant party dominates the political system.

Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland (2010 in Liden, 2014:55) developed a typology different from that of Geddes and came up with the variants of dictatorship, namely: monarch, military and civilian where monarchy is based on the succession and inheritance of political power, which is concentrated in the hands of a royal family. Military dictatorship according to them is where power is in the hands of the military junta, but Cheibub et al. (2000 in Liden, 2014: 55) used a different approach, that the political power could be in the hands of the former or current member of the security force. Cheibub et al. (2010 in Liden, 2014: 55) describe the civilian dictatorship as any form of dictatorship that does not fall within the monarch and the military.

The theory seems to be applicable in most of the African states. We see a new form of dictatorship that come in the name of democracy. African leaders manipulate the masses in the name of democracy. Elections are such that they favour the ruling regime. Opposition is suppressed and at times members of the opposition parties are threatened and jailed for demanding the transparent election process.

2.9.3 The theory of the separation of powers (Theory 9)

The theory emanates from the thinking of Montesquieu, that the government is divided into the three branches. The central argument of the theory is that the three arms or branches of government, namely: legislature, executive and judiciary exist in separation and that the fusion of them into one or two organs is harmful to the society and individuals. It is therefore essential for effectiveness and efficiency of the government

and people's liberties. This was done with the good intention of limiting man who naturally wants to dominate and oppress other human persons. Also it was done with the purpose of limiting the fusion where one branch has to do the duties of the other. It is argued that the theory was developed differently in Britain, in America and the European continent. It however ended up as the universal theory, though applied differently. In America for example, it is argued that the father of the US constitution James Madison did indicate that there is no way in which the three arms of government can exist independently. Madison was looking at the fact that in American context, the legislature makes laws and the president would check it as the head of government by vetoing the bills that have been passed by the legislature and that would prevent them from being enacted. At the same time, the legislature and the Senate would use two thirds majority to overturn the vetoing of the president. The Supreme Court checks the decision of the parliament by declaring the legislation unconstitutional. Then the court is checked by the virtue of its members being appointed by the president and the Senate. The members of the court also subjected to impeachment by the Congress for bribery, treason and other crimes they are suspected to have committed. In France the SOPs was adopted following the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and in this arrangement the SOPs meant the distribution of the functions. Checks and balances do not exist as is the case in the American arrangement. The supremacy was vested in the National Assembly as the body that enact laws. The executive had powers to administer the government, but subjected to the legislature. As for the judiciary, the SOPs meant the independence of the court members and the court themselves. However, today the SOPs in France as a unitary state, the government is accountable to the parliament. The president also has the powers to dissolve the government (Omejec, 2015: 2-5).

Despite the contents of the theory, it is evident that the government is a single entity and as such, the three branches of government cannot be completely separated for the government to function well and properly, there has to be interdependence between these branches. There is a very slim difference between the Legislature and the Executive. The government draws the ministers from the legislature and this means the ministers are both members of the executive and the legislature. The separation of powers is the foundation of democracy. The theory of SOPs is the cornerstone of democracy. The parliament represents people and is vested with powers of

accountability of the public money through its structures, such as the Public Accounts Committee, and the public budget is made by the parliament; it enacts the laws for the citizens. These are the major duties of the parliament. Accountability is a tenet of democracy therefore; the separation of powers plays a critical role in democratisation. Cartbia (2018: 1) says that "...the fundamental principles of separation of powers and judicial independence are considered central tenets of all liberal democracies, everywhere and in every time. And rightly so".

2.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter captured the literature on the theories of democracy, both contemporary and the classical. It also captured theories of leadership. The theory helps to identify the type of leaders that are suitable for the continent, while the theory dictatorship assists us to see the leaders that do not follow the democratic principles to avoid the misuse of dictatorial tendencies. Discussions on the style of democracy assisted in identifying the style of democracy that could be suitable for Africa, and among them is the direct democracy, which takes mandate from the masses. The chapter also discussed the theory of the separation of powers, which is the foundation of democracy. It provides the process of the principle of Checks and Balances.

Governance theories were also discussed in this chapter where governance was categorised as either good or bad. Good governance is associated with development and democratisation and bad governance is associated with poor administration and underdevelopment. Transformational theories and dictatorship theories were also discussed in this chapter to also assist in identifying the change that is needed in the continent for the developmental purposes.

The gaps that have been identified in the exploration of these theories, especially in the application of representative democracy, in that Africa failed the application of the implementation of representative democracy. The colonisers, when they implemented this model, did not take into consideration the already existing structures in the societies that encouraged unity and progression. Africa style of democracy seems to be one of its kind that lacks some elements, such as presentation that accommodates the masses. Therefore, the gaps are visible in the studies that have been conducted and as a result this study attempts to fill these gaps.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Qualitative research is social action that has to do with the interpretation and understanding of the individual's social reality. Qualitative research is interested in people's experiences and is rooted in anthropological, historical, sociological and philosophical studies. It aims at understanding and exploring the phenomena. The qualitative researcher does not use statistical or numerical calculations. The researcher himself collects data and analyses it. It may include interviews, observations and document analysis, among others (Langos, 2014: 7-8). Kothari (2004: 8) says "research methodology is a way to systematically solve the research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically". Qualitative research's main concern is to understand the human behaviour and it uses the interpretive approach. It also involves the analysis of texts (Jackson, Drummond & Camara, 2007: 20).

Qualitative research according to Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault (2016: 7-10), is concerned with the daily activities of people; it also develops concepts and theories. In qualitative study, the researcher commences the study with a vague formulated research question; the study begins and one catches up as the research is carried out. The research operates within the context of theoretical framework. It studies people in current and previous settings. It also gives allowance to stay around the empirical and scientific world. The accuracy of data is not overlooked in a qualitative study.

This chapter therefore presented the tools and methods used to conduct this research and it is divided into a number of sub-topics, including, qualitative methodology, research approach, data collection, secondary data, data analysis, validity and reliability, relevance and justification and limitations of the study that were the guidelines of the research.

3.2 QUALITATIVE DATA

The entire study used qualitative data. The information was collected from various parts of Africa, using the four elements of democracy. Also the information was collected from another country in Europe, being Switzerland.

3.3 RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN

The thesis was approached as a comparative study. Khakpour (2012: 20) says that a comparative study is made when the topic involves studying of individuals, organisations, teams, regions, two or more countries to identify the similarities and differences. Comparative research occurs in both qualitative and quantitative research and it involves the comparison of social entities. Comparative paradigm is a new method of qualitative study; it is meant to give a deeper understanding of the social reality. One must have a clear understanding of cultures, traditions, institutional arrangements, and language and lifestyle patterns, in order to carry out the analysis. The entities could be based on geographical or political lines. The underlying factor for comparison is to look for variance. In search for variance, we may discover the differences and reveal the uniqueness of a certain entity. The selection is done deliberately and is driven by the theory.

Comparative research is defined as the connection among various macro level units. These units may include regions, sub regions, national and sub-national divisions. Cultural, social and language aspects are also critical elements in comparative study. Comparative research attempts to find conclusions beyond single cases. The similarities and differences of the cases are explained. The aspects that are closely linked are looked at also. Comparison theories are tested across diverse settings. It also prohibits generalisation by scholars, based on their own understanding of the phenomenon. It also permits the testing of theory on a broader perspective. The similarities of democracies in various parts of Africa and in Europe (Switzerland) were looked at, assessing the similarities and the differences, based on the four elements of democracy (Esser & Vliegthart, 2017: 2).

3.4 SAMPLING

In qualitative research, small samples are used, unlike in quantitative research, which uses large samples. In this study, the researcher selected five countries in Africa namely, Lesotho and Botswana in the Southern Region, Zimbabwe in the central region, Rwanda also in the central region and Egypt in the northern region. The researcher used specifically Rwanda and Botswana among other countries, because they are regarded as the best democracies in the continent. Egypt has been used as part of the study, because of the recent democracy activities that were unveiled recently. Lesotho has also been under SADC scrutiny on issues of instability recently and that triggered the interest of the researcher to find out the style of democracy in this country. Switzerland has been named as one of the best democracies globally. The researcher therefore, found it imperative to use it as the centre of comparison to the study, in order to determine the tenets that make it a good democracy.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION

The nature of the research being qualitative, this denotes that data was collected using qualitative methods of data collection and was qualitatively analysed. The qualitative approach is explanatory, the question of “why” and “how” are answered in this approach and this means it is investigative by nature. Qualitative research is non-numerical in nature; it explains people’s relationships, meanings and experiences. In qualitative research we begin with the assumptions, and data is collected on its natural setting. The researcher is the key instrument in collection of data, and various sources are used. As such the inductive reasoning was used in this qualitative approach (Creswell et al., 2007: 37-38). This methodology is used because of the problem that exists and has to be explored. As a result, the qualitative methodology was used to explore the governance problem that exists in Africa, which might be due to the kind of democracy that is practiced in this continent.

The deductive approach, which uses the observation and experiences starting from the broader perspective, using general statements and allows conclusion, was therefore used (Walliman, 2011: 17-18). Democracy was explained from the general perspective, and was then reduced down to the African perspective where it was made to be understood independently.

The interpretivist tradition was also used. This, according to Goodsell (2013: 8-10), is the understanding of things as they are done by the actors to explore the reality and culture of the society. It involves analysing relationships between knowledge and the human behaviour, and democratic participation by participants is observed.

3.6 SECONDARY DATA AND DOCUMENTATION

“Secondary data cannot be evaluated without the knowledge of the methodology” (Johnston, 2017: 623). It is therefore categorically imperative to discuss the method that was used to collect the information for this study.

Secondary data or document review was used to collect the information required. This is the data which has been previously collected for other purposes and published (Boiejie & Hox, 2005: 594-595). Kothari (2004: 111) also describes secondary data as the one that is readily available and has been previously collected by someone else for other purposes. The data might be published or unpublished. The published data is available in various sources such as books, journals, government publications, magazines, newspapers, scholarly reports, foreign state reports, local government papers, historical documents and many other sources. Unpublished data is acquired in a form of letters, biography and autobiography. Masters and PHD dissertations are also used as secondary data. When using the secondary data, one has to take into consideration and make thorough scrutiny on the reliability, suitability and adequacy. This method is associated with cost reduction and it is more efficient. The secondary data was therefore used to collect information about democracy, its challenges in the African continent and the kind of leadership that exist in this poor continent and then compared with the style of democracy that is practiced in Switzerland, as one of the countries that are identified as the most democratic in the world.

The challenge with the use of secondary data however, is that one may not know how it was collected, for the researcher did not participate, and as a result may lack reliability. This might be due to the low turnout of the response or that there was misunderstanding of questioners or the method used was wrong (Johnston, 2017: 624-625).

Based on the aims of this study, the study addressed the contribution of culture and leadership on the governance issues. The factors that contribute to this style of

democracy were also looked at.

The method of data collection used in this study was desk research, which is synonym with secondary data collection. Information was collected from the journals, scholarly articles, internet, books, country and reports. This method is less costly for one requires time and a computer to read the sources. The concept of democracy was unpacked using these above mentioned sources and the information collected later and analysed.

This study therefore used document analysis to explore the behaviour of the Africans in democratisation.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

The research was analysed using comparative qualitative analysis, which makes sense from information, which is taken and the explanation or interpretation is offered. This information can be collected from interviews, surveys, videos and documents. The qualitative data analysis includes the organisation of data, identification and organisation of ideas and concepts, ensuring of reliability and validity of data in the analysis of data and findings of the explanations (O'Connor & Gibson, 2003: 65).

Comparative analysis occurs in situations where data has been collected in two or more cases. It may be a comparison of countries, cities, families, organisations and institutions. The element of a unit is inconsiderable here. This kind of analysis focuses on both similarities and differences (Pickvance, 2015: 11-12).

Silverman (2016: 12) asserts that in qualitative research there is no special format for the analysis. It is all about how one expresses and presents the analysis.

The researcher therefore used the data collected from the two groups being a group of African countries and compared with the style of democracy in Switzerland. The similarities between these two groups and the differences were looked at to define the style of democracy in Africa benchmarking with the Swiss democracy.

3.8 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

The two concepts play a critical role in a research, for they determine the quality of the study. They can also help the scientists to accept trustworthiness and credibility of the findings. This is very critical in qualitative research where the research is at risk of subjectivity, which could cloud the interpretation. Validity refers to the degree to which the concept under the study measured, is accurately assessed using the accepted scientific methods. The findings have to be documented, be recorded accordingly where necessary, avoid biasness and political motivations. It is about the accuracy and finding correct findings. It is about the accuracy of the findings. In a nutshell, the findings of the research have to match the objectives of the study. The validity of the research was addressed at the literature review stage by going through literature thoroughly before engaging in data collection. This enabled the researcher to set the measurement using the four pillars of democracy as a measure of Africa style democracy in comparison with the Swiss democracy. This also helped to address issues of ambiguity, complexity and vagueness. As such, the theoretical validity was achieved. Reliability is about obtaining the same results if the research would be repeated. It is about stability of the results. The terms are used by the researchers to maintain the quality, consistency and accuracy between methodology, data collection and the problem. It is also about properly recording the findings by the researcher and that if the researcher is to use the same methods to study the same identity, the results yielded would be the same. Several types of validities were identified and coined by various scholars (Dellinger & Leech, 2007; Maxwell, 1992). Among these theories are descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, validity generalisation and valuation validity. Those that are important in qualitative study are interpretive and theoretical validities. Others prefer to use trustworthiness instead of validity (Noble & Smith, 2015: 1).

The data collection stage validity was addressed by comparing the four similar pillars throughout all the countries that were taken as samples of the study. At the analysis and interpretation stage, the researcher used the interpretive method of analysis without being influenced by any background or political inclination to address the issue of validity.

3.9 CONCLUSION

The chapter presented the methodology that was used to collect the information for the entire study using the qualitative methods. The chapter also presented the approach and designs of the study, which is the comparative method. Sampling of the study was also discussed where the rationale behind choosing the countries where the study was carried out, was indicated. Methods of data analysis were also discussed in this chapter. Data collection methods were also briefly discussed in this chapter. The chapter again discussed the methods of data analysis, being comparative qualitative analysis and finally the chapter discussed the validity and reliability of the study, which are the measures that are used to measure how scientific the study was.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the summary of the data collected from various parts of Africa, namely Lesotho, Botswana, Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Egypt. The findings of the style of democracy practiced in Europe, to be specific Switzerland, will also be presented. Data will be collected from the secondary data obtained from various sources, which will be used to describe the style of democracy in Africa in comparison with the Swiss democracy. Two of Robert Dahl's measures, namely free, fair and regular elections and freedom of expression or media will be used to measure democracy in the above-mentioned countries. Also the measure that has been used by the International Democrat and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), being respect for human rights and checks on government will be used to measure and describe Africa style democracy.

4.2 FREE, FAIR AND REGULAR ELECTIONS

Skaaning (2018: 14) refers to free and fair elections as the clean elections, which are characterised by freedom from bias, flaws and irregularities during the voter registration and campaign processes, as well as where people participate freely without being intimidated. The counting process should also be free from fraudulent activities. This denotes that there has to be transparency on the processes that occur prior, during and post elections. The complaints that arise throughout these stages have to be attended to by the election officials. The body that administers the elections also has to be credible to administer credible elections.

4.3 FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Media integrity and freedom of expression are often used synonymously. This is one of the most cherished principles of democracy, especially in the liberal democracies. It is associated with the freedom of speech, which is about the protection of individuals' rights from the state. It should however be noted that this freedom has a limitation for

the purposes of protecting the rights of others and it differs from constitution to constitution of each state (Harel, 2011: 2). Equality and Human Rights Commission expresses freedom of expression as the fundamental right that applies to every individual and it entails the free expression of ideas and opinions of individuals without interference by the from the state. It is the major pillar of democracy for it protects individuals' rights to participate, debate and exchange ideas freely. It is essential in politics for it gives people opportunity to participate in policymaking. "Freedom of assembly and freedom of expression are prerequisites to free and fair elections" (Human Rights Watch, 2010: 6).

4.4 RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights are the basic standards that give a human person dignity, without them a person is not dignified and they are inherent to all human beings, irrespective of nationality, sex, language, ethnic group, colour race, and religion. They were adopted by UN Assembly through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as a response to the barbaric acts of the Second World War in 1948. There are 27 Human Rights and 25 are explained by the UDHR (UN, 1948), while 2 of the 27 are described by the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (DGICCP) and the Declaration on the Right to Development (DRD). The UDHR (UN, 1948) categorises human rights into (1) Civil and political rights known as Fundamental rights and are guaranteed by the constitution and are between the state and its citizens, (2). Economic, social and cultural rights and (3) Solidarity rights, which is the right to development and right to self-determination (Kamruzzaman & Das, 2017: 6-7). Countries are expected to respect and observe these rights and Africa is not an exception in this aspect. As a matter of strengthening the respect for these rights, countries have signed other Human Rights Treaties (HRTs). These include the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT). They also established the institutions that deal with issues of human rights at

national level. The study therefore concentrates on the respect of these rights.

4.5 CHECKS ON GOVERNMENT

The three arms of government, namely judiciary, executive and legislature have to keep checking one another. This was done with the purpose of enhancing what is termed the separation of powers (SOPs) and for the purposes of checks and balances. Each branch, according to the theory, has to be independent and free from influence by another and exercise its powers freely. This helps to enhance democratic accountability and good governance further and it limits the power abuse and corrupt activities. The legislature and the executive are loaded with politicians picked from various political arenas. The exception is the judiciary for its members are not supposed to be elected politically, but are hired on merits and qualification with the aim of avoiding the abuse of one over others (Mojapelo, 2013: 8). The appointment and removal of them in each branch is vested in the constitution of state but drawn from the theory.

Political power according to Beetham (1999: 155, 163-165 in Skaaning, 2018: 16) needs to be checked and scrutinised regularly and continuously. The ineffectiveness of others could lead to the misuse of power and poor policy decisions. The checking of government institutions by others (horizontal accountability) is therefore crucial where the institutions established by the government, hold the same government accountable. Checking of government by other non-governmental institutions (vertical accountability) is critical is also critical.

The checks on government was therefore be used to measure democracy in the above-mentioned countries, looking at the existence of the separation of powers to determine the characteristics of democracy in Africa comparatively with Switzerland. Judicial independence, effective parliament and media integrity are some of the sub attributes that determine the checks on government. The stronger the separation of powers, the deeper the democracy, hence regarded to as the cornerstone of any democratic system (Skaaning, 2018: 16-17). It however, has to be noted that there is a slim line in the separation of powers between the legislature and the executive, four members are drawn from these two branches. The study therefore looks at the separation of powers in the above-mentioned countries to determine the characteristics of democracy.

It should however, be noted that since this is a comparative study, data will be presented from the two scenarios being African scenario while the second scenario will be the European scenario (case study of Switzerland). Data will be presented under sub sections in each scenario as follows:

Section A - Researcher's findings on the use and application of the four elements of democracy in Africa.

Section B - Researcher's findings on the use and application of the four elements of democracy in Europe: case study of Switzerland.

4.6 SECTION A

This section presents findings of the style of democracy practiced in the African continent.

4.6.1 The state of democracy in Lesotho

The Mountain Kingdom of Lesotho is one of the few land locked countries in the world. The country obtained independence from Britain on the 4th October 1966. The country held its first national elections on the 27th January 1965. The Basotho National Party (BNP) won with a slim majority. The opposition parties claimed the rigging of elections. The following year 4th October 1966, the country got independence from Britain. The following elections were held in 27th January 1970. The elections however were called off by the incumbent Leabua Jonathan who claimed threats during these elections as the reason. It is argued that indeed there were instabilities at some constituencies. It is also argued that when Leabua realised that he was to lose to the Basotho Congress Party (BCP), he declared the state of emergency and ruled without elections for 23 years, until he was toppled by the army on the 20th January 1986. The army took over the government until the new democratic elections, which were held in 27th March 1993. The elections were won by the BCP with 74.7 percent and the BNP claimed that the elections were rigged and that led to the political instabilities. The opposition petitioned the King and he dissolved the BCP government, which was later restored after the intervention of South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe. The next elections were held in

23rd May 1998, following the split of the BCP and formation of Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD). The LCD won the elections and the opposition again claimed the rigging of elections. Since 1998, there have been elections, which are always contested by the opposition as not being free and fair (Letsie, 2009: 11-17).

The Constitution of Lesotho, Chapter I states that Lesotho shall be a sovereign democratic kingdom. Chapter II gives the provision for the protection of human rights and freedoms.

4.6.2 Respect for human rights

The Mountain Kingdom, like many other African countries, has ratified several treaties on Human Rights. They include ICERD, ICESCR, CEDAW, CAT and CRC. Despite the ratification of these vital treaties, the country still experiences the ill treatment of people. According to Nolasco (2014: 50), the country has several human rights issues, such as women and children abuse, human trafficking and HIV stigmatisation. Cases of rape and abductions are often not reported, especially in the rural areas.

Torture and extrajudicial execution are very visible in Lesotho done by the institutions that are vested with powers to protect the citizens, especially the police. These are some of the issues that characterise the human rights violations in Lesotho. In 2015, more than 50 soldiers were arrested by the Lesotho Defence Force, charged with mutiny and suppression. On the 25th June 2015, the former army commander was killed and the commission's report indicated that maximum force was used when his arrest was effected. It was reported that these detained soldiers were subjected to torture and degrading punishments. People still suffer tortures and police brutality where they are forced to make confessions and point out exhibits by use of force. It should however be stated that this is done, despite being prohibited by section 8 of the Lesotho constitution. The Police Complaints Authority, which is the Watchdog for the police has reported several cases of tortures and deaths that occurred in police custody. In 2018 Minister Mampho Mokhele, the then minister of police, confessed that police use force to extract confessions from the suspects. She was quoted saying that,

“...we as the police are often forced to use violence to get information out of people because at times we would sure that the suspect committed the crime but due to lack of tangible evidence we have to use force”. (Lesotho Times, 2019).

This issue of police brutality triggered SADC to intervene and demand an explanation on the human rights situation in the Mountain Kingdom. The table below shows the number of people that have suffered brutality while in police custody.

Table 4.1: Statistics of police brutality (2012-2016)

Nature of cases	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Murder	3	-	2	-	1
Death in custody	1	-	-	-	1
Assault GBH	-	4	3	2	3
Sexual assault	-	1	-	-	-
Assault	3	1	2	5	1
Total	7	6	7	7	6

Source: Police Complaints Authority Statistics

It is suspected that over 40 people have died at the hands of the police from 2017 and one Mosotho man, the former secretary of Lesotho People’s Congress, Mr Ramatsella, wrote to the International Criminal Court to investigate these brutalities. Opposition parties blame the Prime Minister, Thomas Thabane, who openly said police should brutalise the crime suspects (The Post, 5 April 2019).

The Afro Barometer (2019) also indicates that 66% of Basotho do not have trust in the police. They claim torture and abuse while in police custody. The Basotho consider torture that is done at school as relevant, as they say it is a measure of discipline to the children and therefore seen as a necessary evil in Lesotho (Afro Barometer, 2018: 3). As a move towards human rights protection, in Lesotho the sixth amendment to the constitution act, 2011 gives provision for the establishment of a human rights commission. It however has to be noted that it exists in writing, but has not be established as a structure and this compromises the violations of human rights.

4.6.3 Free, fair and regular elections

Elections in Lesotho are embedded in section 20 of The Constitution, which gives

citizens the right to vote and stand for elections under the party of their choice. Since re-democratisation in 1993, the country has held several elections, to the extent that both internal and international observers have claimed successful, peaceful and credible elections by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). The country adopted the MMP model, abandoning the FPTP model and since transition there have been peaceful elections. The 2012 elections were taken as free and fair and were taken to be representing the will of the Basotho (Beale, 2013: 1).

Despite the challenge of having to go to elections before the 5 years term as required by the law, Lesotho, since the 2012 coalition government, has held elections twice in 2015 and 2017 respectively. There are also signs that even the current four-party governments might not take its five-year term. It should however be noted that these elections have been declared free and fair.

The 2017 elections were also declared free, fair, transparent and peaceful by African Union Observers Mission (AUOM). Several aspects were taken into consideration when this decision was reached, namely, security environment, pooling day observation, advance voting, women participation, media environment, election campaign and funding. Electoral and legal country has been doing well in holding free, fair and transparent elections, even though the state media is used by the incumbents in not allowing the opposition to address the nation. This alone removes the element of transparency, although the elections have been declared free, fair and transparent by the observers, both national and international. Since re-democratisation in 1993, the country had been ruled by the former Basotho Congress Party (BCP) leader, Dr Ntsu Mokhehle. Dr Mokhehle formed the party in the parliament called Lesotho Congress for Democracy. Mokhehle resigned from the party and left Pakalitha Mosisili who ruled the country from 1998 to 2012 and again from 2012 to 2015. The 2017 elections were won by the All Basotho Convention (ABC), which could not form the government alone and had to form a coalition with the Alliance of Democrats (AD), Basotho National Party (BNP) and Reformed Congress of Lesotho (RCL). The 80-year old Dr Motsoahae Thabane is the prime minister deputised by the leader of AD, Dr Monyane Moleleki. The elections as said were declared free and fair by the observers.

4.6.4 Freedom of expression

Freedom of expression has been covered in section 14 of the Lesotho Constitution, which guarantees the citizens the right to express their opinions, freedom to communicate, freedom to receive and share information without any hindrance. Lesotho signed the IPCR in 1992, which advocates for the respect of civil and political rights, which include the freedom of speech (Nolasco: 2014: 53). The Afro Barometer 2018 indicates that 74% of Basotho enjoy the freedom of expression and are free to join any organisation of their choice. The Human Rights Report 2018 indicates that the freedom of media has deteriorated in Lesotho for it is marked by journalist intimidations and some radio stations were cut off from air by the government. It was also noted that in Lesotho, though covered by the constitution, the reality is that it has deteriorated because the journalists are threatened by death and politicians meddle with the work of journalist (Human Rights Report, 2018: 7). There is no independent body that oversees of the media (Bhila et al., 2019: 81). Media in Lesotho is still under the control of the Lesotho Communication Authority (LCA), which is a government institution and it favours the game of the incumbent government. Politicians co-opt private media journalists and they get kick- backs when the party becomes the government, and they also get lucrative work and tenders. The Lesotho Times editor, Mr Mutungamiri and senior reporter, Mr Lekhetho Ntsukunyane, were arrested in 2014 and charged with defamation by the government (Lesotho Times, 2014). In 2016, Mr Mutungamiri was also shot in his home in Maseru for the publications he made in the newspaper by the army personnel who have been on trial, charged with the attempted murder. The State media, which covers almost all the corners of the country, is used by the incumbents and the opposition parties are banned from using the state media. This has been the case since re-democratisation in Lesotho. Opposition have no choice but to use the private media, which is sometimes threatened by the Lesotho Communications Authority (LCA), which controls all the media in Lesotho. The Lesotho Television covers only the government and private news, not the opposition. Journalists in Lesotho have been attacked and harassed. On the 23rd June the Lesotho Times reporter, Keiso Mohloboli, was interrogated at police headquarters after publishing the article that alleges that the then commander of Lesotho Defence Force, Tlali Kamoli, is to receive an exit package of R50 million. The following day, Keiso together with Lloyd Mutangamiri, the newspaper editor, were arrested and interrogated by the police. On the 5th of July, Mutangamiri and one

Basildon Peta, who was the publisher, were interrogated by police and Basildon was charged. Lloyd was also charged for defamation after he reported the corruption done by police. On the 9th of July Lloyd was shot in his driveway (Amnesty International Report, 2016/17: 232).

4.6.5 Checks on the government

Lesotho has adopted the Westminster style of governance, which provides for the existence of the three arms of government, namely Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. Chapter VI of the Lesotho constitution gives provision for the establishment of the legislature and is referred to as the parliament in a bicameral system of the lower house (National Assembly) and the upper house (Senate).

Section 118(1) gives provision of the existence of the judiciary, which is vested with independent powers to administer justice, free from interference, while Chapter VII of the same constitution establishes the Executive branch of government made up of members from the two houses of the parliament.

According to Freedom House Southern Africa, the separation of powers in Lesotho is under threat. The judiciary in Lesotho has three main challenges namely resource constraints, corruption perception, and weak independence. Lack of funding which comes from the Ministry of Justice has undermined the independence and autonomy of the judiciary. The other weakness is related to the appointment of the Chief Justice and the President of the Court of Appeal which is done by Prime Minister though in writing says it is done by the King with the advice of the Prime Minister who is a politician. Politicisation of the judiciary has occurred severely since 2007 especially with the cases concerning party disputes. Corruption is very high in the judiciary in Lesotho (Ellett, 2012: 4-5).

In Lesotho, the cabinet is in charge of the appointment of both the Chief justice and the President of the Appeal Court. Section 120 (1) says,

“The Chief Justice shall be appointed by the King acting in accordance with the advice of the Prime Minister”, while section 124 (1) says

“...the president shall be appointed by the King on the advice of the Prime Minister”.

The amendment to the constitution Act 1996 Section 146 (4) reads.

“...the power of appointing persons to the Court- Martial Appeal Court shall vest in the Prime Minister acting in consultation with the Chief Justice”.

In 2008, after the appointment of Justice Ramodibeli as the President of the Appeal Court, the Office of the Attorney General was requested to give the legal opinion regarding the protocol of the two offices and this marked the beginning of the leadership crises in the courts of law administration. The attorney General indicated that it was upon the decision of the executive to decide the protocol. The law society disagreed, lamenting that this would be the breach of the SOPs and made it clear that the highest office is that of the Court of Appeal. In 2009 the Cabinet directed that the Court of Appeal is superior to that of the Chief Justice. This led to the then Chief Justice Lehohla to request intervention from the South African Chief Justice Forum (SACJF) and it requested the Lesotho government to reverse its decision, which the government refused. The war tension between the two offices reached its peak in 2012 at the king's birthday in Molepolole in 2012 where the motor vehicles of the president of the Court of Appeal and that of the Chief Justice wanted to leave immediately after that of the king, as per the protocol, and they caused public attention. This was the result of the Cabinet intrusion in Judiciary. The 2013 Court of Appeal session was cancelled as a result of the misunderstanding between the two offices (International Commission of Jurists Report, 2013: 37-39)

The executive has sufficient powers over several institutions and that directly affects other branches. The appointment of the Director of the Directorate on Corruption on Economic Offences (DCEO) is done by the Prime Minister for the period not less than five years. Funding of the DCEO is also from the government. It has delegated its powers to the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP). This means for the case to be prosecuted, it has to be authorised by the DPP who is also appointed by the politicians (OSISA, 2017: 116).

4.7 THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN BOTSWANA

Botswana is one of the countries that have shown continuity in terms of democracy since independence in 1996. The country however, is characterised by low civic participation,

weak opposition, and a weak civil society. The country has been ruled by the same party (Botswana Democratic Party) BDP for the last 11 terms in consecutive free, fair and regular elections. Botswana's democracy is embedded in Chapter Two of the Constitution and National Vision (2016), which set the development pace for the country since 1977. It envisions protection of fundamental human rights and freedom of individuals and protection of right to life. The constitution also gives the provision for protection of freedom of expression. Botswana is one of the countries in southern Africa that has been declared as the best in terms of democracy, and as a result labelled the democratic darling. Although Botswana is seen as the democratic darling of Africa it still lacks some elements of democracy, such as civic engagement, low voter turn-out among others. The BDP has won the 11th consecutive elections since independence without any possible alternative power challenger. This fails to meet the "two turn over test" that has been suggested by Huntington (Lekalake, 2016: 1).

4.7.1 Respect for human rights

Botswana as the signatory of several Human Rights Treaties, like other African countries in its constitution, gives the provision for protection of human rights. Albeit being labelled as very democratic, the country has for some time deviated some principles of democracy, especially the observation of human rights. The CRS Report for Congress 2004 shows that in 2004, the San people were forcefully removed from their ancestral land within the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. This action was condemned by various international human rights groups and labelled as a violation of international human rights laws.

The Country Reports on Human Rights Practices (2018) indicates that in 2017, there were reports of tortures by the police where a family reported that their son was alleged to have been tortured by the police and died in custody. In terms of the treatment of the detainees there are no reports. The police seem to handle this issue with dignity. The rights of the detainees are respected. The country did not have political prisoners and detainees (Human Rights Practices Report, 2018: 2).

4.7.2 Free, fair and regular elections

Botswana has held successful elections since independence in 1965 and is one of the few countries in the world where the president has handed over power to the other person within the party. Since 1965 elections, no president has taken more than two terms, although the country has been ruled by one party, the BDP. All these elections have been declared free and fair by the observers. The electoral process has been successful in Botswana, such that the separation of powers has been maintained between the three arms of government. As a means to safe guarding democracy and enhancing transparency and accountability, Botswana has introduced a number of watchdog institutions, among them the Ombudsman, Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime and Independent Electoral Commission. Botswana has been placed as the democracy promoter at both regional and international level. The country has held very successful free, fair and regular elections since democratisation in 1965. (Maudeni, 2005: 10-25).As said that free and fair elections are not only about casting the ballot, there has to be adequate information regarding the party manifesto and presentation by the candidates and the election process as a whole. Freedom of media enables the citizens to make rational choice. This is however, not the case in Botswana, there is no specific section that talks about free and fair elections. It is inferred in section 12 that provides for general freedom of expression (Maudeni, 2005:89).

According to Kenya Human Rights Report (2014: 15), elections in Botswana were free, fair, transparent and credible and the human rights were respected.

4.7.3 Freedom of expression

Freedom of media and press in Botswana is protected by the law. The state Botswana Press Agency dominates the print media and it is said that it is dominant and it is distributed nationally. The government also own two radio stations which are considered to be favouring government and this was also stated in the Ombudsman 2017 Report. The private media is at times put in a tight spot that they should portray a good image of the country. The private media does not have the privilege to obtain the government information (Human Rights Practices Report, 2018: 6-7).

Restrictions on freedom of expression were also visible in Botswana. Sonny Serite, a

freelance journalist was arrested in March for investigating a case related to corruption. The fake charges for receiving stolen goods were laid against her and later in June the charges were withdrawn against her. Also in 2014, Outsa Mokone was arrested after publishing an article that talked about the involvement of the president in a car accident in the Sunday Standard Paper (Amnesty International Report, 2016/17).

4.7.4 Checks on the government

Legislature in Botswana is established in terms of section 86 of the constitution and is vested with powers to legislate laws, maintain peace, order and good governance. It is a bicameral system made of up the National Assembly and Ntlo ya Dikgosi. The constitution also provides for the establishment of the executive in Section 44, while the provision for the judiciary is embedded in Chapter VI of Botswana constitution. The judiciary is vested with powers to administer justice. In terms of Section 97 (2) and 101 (2), the judges of the Court of Appeal and High Court can be removed from the office by the president for incompetence and inability to perform the duties. The president is the head of state and the head of the government. As said that in Botswana exists three arms of government, each is charged with the duties in accordance with the separation of powers. As the member of the legislature, executive powers are vested in him. The powers of appointing the secretary to the cabinet, cabinet ministers, and deputies, permanent secretaries, commander of the army, commissioner of police, judge president and chief justice are vested in the president.

The parliament in Botswana, according to Molomo (2012: 242-245 in Botlhale & Lotshwao, 2013: 42), is the “rubber stamp” and “door mat” of the executive. It controls the parliament to the extent that it fails to effectively discharge some of its duties. The parliament budget is controlled by the executive and as a result lacks operational independence. Also the parliament staff is hired and dismissed by the public service, which is controlled by the executive. The president in Botswana is not accountable to the parliament constitutionally. Section 42(2) of the constitution gives the president powers not to be accountable to the parliament. It reads as such...

“The president is empowered to act in his own deliberate judgement and shall not be obliged to follow the advice tendered by any other person or authority”.

This was observed in 1998 when Lesotho experienced post-election political instabilities and the president send troops to Lesotho without consulting the parliament. The parliament resolutions are not binding to the executive. The concept of the supremacy of the parliament is not observed in Botswana. The appointment of the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime (DCEC) and the Ombudsman are done by the executive and as a result do not account to the parliament, instead the director DCEC reports directly to the office of the president (Botlhale & Letshwao, 2013: 41-44).

4.8 THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN RWANDA

The Republic of Rwanda is a small African land locked in a central African country that has a very sour ethnic cleansing history where the two major ethnic groups, namely the Hutu and the Tutsis massacred each other in 1994. Despite this bad and tragic history of the genocide, Rwanda has been doing very well both economically and politically since Paul Kagame took the office of president in 2000. Section 101 of the constitution provides for the two-term limit for the office of the president. However, a section of the amendment allows the extension of the term of the office of president (Amnesty International Report, 2017/2018). The Rwandan Constitution (2005), as amended by 2015 Chapter IV, gives the provision for protection of human rights and freedoms. Elections have been declared free, fair and credible by the observers both national and international. The country has been ruled by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), led by President Paul Kagame, since 2003 after the genocide until now when the government decided to extend his term by amending the constitution.

4.8.1 Respect for human rights

Although human rights protection is stipulated in the constitution, there were however reports of tortures by the security agencies, where people were shocked with electricity. There were also the reports of forced disappearance, as well as arbitrary detentions on politicians. The government is reluctant to deal with the officers who are associated with these tortures and human rights abuse. The suspects that were claimed to be collaborating with the enemies were put in custody unlawfully and detained up to 9 months under harsh conditions. There were reports of abductions where police would

detain people without charging them, take them to rehabilitation centres and later return them to their homes (Rwanda Human Rights Report, 2018: 1-5).

According to the Amnesty International Report (2016/2017: 15), several killings and arrests associated with the government have been reported. In March 2016 Leonille Gasengayire, the member of FDU-Inkingi, was arrested and accused of incitement and was not charged and later released. Also in 14 February 2017, one Violette Uwamahoro, the wife of the Rwandan National Congress politician was reported missing while arriving in Kigali and the police denied knowing her whereabouts, but accepted after weeks to have kept her in police custody and was later released without being charged though was accused of revealing state secrets.

4.8.2 Free, fair and regular elections

In 1999 post genocide, the National Assembly extended the term of the Transitional government of National Unity. The first presidential elections took place on the 25th August 2003 and were followed by the parliamentary elections that took place on the 29th September to 2nd October 2003. There was no violence prior, during and post elections, though some people claimed irregularities. It was also claimed that Kagame's representatives were seen at the polling stations and Kagame became victorious with 74 percent of votes. The next parliamentary elections were held in 2008 and the RFP won again by a margin of 78.8 percent and Kagame was again re-elected as the president in 2010 during presidential elections, getting 93 percent votes. As said that the constitution required that the president takes only two terms, Kagame had finished his 2nd term. In 2015 over 3 million people petitioned the parliament requesting the altering of the section 101 that limits the term of the president and the constitution was amended (Amnesty International Report, 2017/2018: 12-13).

4.8.3 Freedom of expression

Freedoms of press, freedom of expression and access to media are covered in section 38 of the constitution. However, there are reports of arrest of the people who were suspected to have defamed the president through the cyber space. On the 13th April 2018, one Attorney Donat Mutunzi disappeared while leaving work and was found later

in police custody. Later the family of Mutunzi was told that he was accused of rape. On the 23rd of April, Mutunzi was reported to have committed suicide while in police custody. The post mortem report revealed that the deceased had wounds on his face and the family suspected that he was tortured. It was also reported that between 2016 and 2017 there were 37 individuals that were killed by the security agencies for minor crimes (Rwanda Human Rights Report, 2018: 2).

During the 2010 elections, the tension was very high, such that some candidates were accused of divisionism and spreading the genocide ideology. There were also restrictions on the freedom of association on opposition members. One Victoire Ingabire, the president of FDU-Inkingi, was first arrested in April 2010 and then kept under house arrest in October 2010 for uttering a statement that was regarded as spreading hatred. She was re-arrested and was sentenced to 8 years in prison. She appealed to the Supreme Court and was given 7 years more. Sylvia Sibonana, the secretary general of IDU-Inkingi, was also charged for participating in illegal gatherings that took place outside the court during the trial of Ingabire at the Supreme Court and was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment. Rwanda is very intolerant with the society's criticism. Media has been suppressed by the government. Journalist have been jailed, harassed and even killed, while others have been exiled. Journalists work in an unfriendly and unwelcoming environment.

Jean Bosco Gasasira, the Umuvugizi newspaper editor, was the victim of harassment and intimidation. He was assaulted by unidentified men on the evening of 9th February 2007 in Kigali and was hospitalised. He had published the articles about the nepotism within the ruling party. He reported the threats that he got through phone calls and expressed his fear that he is being followed by the military intelligence. The 2010 elections marked the renewal of freedom of expression by the government. Two private newspapers, the Umuvugizi and the Kinyarwanda, were suspended. The then Media High Council claimed that they were threatening the national security. Jean Leonard Rugambage, the deputy editor of the private newspaper Umuvugizi, was shot to death at the gate at his home in Kigali. He had been investigating the exiled ex-chief of staff of the Rwandan army, Kayumba Nyamwasa, which took place in South Africa in June 2010. The magistrate who prosecuted the suspects of his shooting indicated that the shooting was politically motivated, though Rwanda denied the involvement. In February 2010, Agnes Nkusi Uwimana, the editor of an independent newspaper and her colleague

Saidati Mukakibibi were charged and convicted after publicising articles that criticised government policies and making allegations of corruption by the president and government officials. She was convicted for genocide ideology, threatening national security and spreading division.

The BBC Kinyarwanda services were also suspended in October 2014, after publicising the documentary that was considered to have violated the laws of the state, inciting violence and spreading hatred and division. The same year in 03 March, the computers of two journalists, Ivan Mugisha and Moses Gahigi of the East African newspaper, were seized by the police and detained. The two have been investigating the acts of corruption and evasion of tax by the government officials (Amnesty International Report, 2017/2018: 12-23).

4.8.4 Checks on the government

Article 61 of the Rwanda's constitution gives provision for the existence of the three branches of government, namely Legislature, Executive and the Judiciary. Section 62 of the constitution prohibits the election of the speaker of the parliament from the party of the incumbent president. The president, according to this article, has to choose cabinet members from the ruling party up to only 50 percent; the other 50 percent has to come from other parties.

Legislature in Rwanda is also bicameral with the chamber of deputies as the lower house and the Senate as the upper house. Each chamber enjoys the financial independence. This branch is vested with powers to legislate laws. Rwanda is a two- tier government with the national and the local government.

Judiciary in Rwanda emanates from Article 152 of the Rwandan constitution, Supreme Court, as the apex court. Article 150 gives the courts both financial and administrative independence. The President and the Vice President of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate in consultation with the Cabinet and High Council of the Judiciary for the period of five years. The High Council on the Judiciary appoints other judges for the period of five years (Rwanda's Constitution of 2003 with Amendments through 2015).

The president, according to Rwanda Constitution, is elected for the period of five years

and is the head of the executive and has powers to call for referendum in terms of section 101 of the 2015 constitution and after that is subject to apply for the seat in the parliament, which does not have a limit. The president as the head of executive as said earlier, is vested with powers to appoint the president and the vice president of the Supreme Court.

4.9 THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe got independence in 1980 from the British after the destruction of the settler colonial regime of Ian Douglas Smith by the bloody war named 2nd Chimurenga. The regime denied the natives their basic rights. Zimbabwe was one of the countries that were well off economically after South Africa in the Southern Hemisphere. The country made significant democratisation progress in the early 1990s. However, the country experienced the democratic regression in the 2000's when it back-slided from being partly free to not free (Magure, 2009: 2). The constitution of Zimbabwe in section 9, advocates for the adoption of good governance that is transparent, efficient, competent, accountable and free from corruption.

4.9.1 Respect for human rights

Respect for human rights in Zimbabwe is embedded in Chapter four, part 2, which subjects its citizens and other people to the protection of human rights. The Human Rights Report 2018 shows that in Zimbabwe there were claims of human rights abuse by both the military and police personnel where the protesters were killed and tortured by these security agencies. People were also claimed to have been tortured in police custody. Opposition members have been brutalised by the police. Fake charges against opposition are made as a means of threatening them, they are incarcerated and brutalised while in custody at times by soldiers who are not on uniform. According to the Human Rights Watch report 2018, there were also reports of harassment of civil society members, human rights defenders and members of the opposition parties by police and other security agencies. The Zimbabwe NGO human rights forum 2018 report shows that between 29th June 2017 and 22 October 2017 there were several cases of abductions by the Zimbabwean army, police and the Central Intelligence Officers (CIO).

Members of opposition parties were tortured, brutalised, harassed and then released without being charged, while others were charged with public violence. There were also reported cases of arbitrary detention and arrest by the members of the discipline forces (Zimbabwe NGO Human Rights Forum, 2018: 15-19).

4.9.2 Free, fair and regular elections

The Zimbabwean constitution makes provision for the holding of elections in this country. Section 155 accounts for the holding of peaceful, free, fair and regular elections. Zimbabwe has been holding elections since independence in 1987 and has been won by one dominant party of the late Robert Mugabe, the ZANU (PF), which later merged with the PF (ZAPU) of the late Nkomo to form the Zimbabwean African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF). Mugabe has been in power from 1987 until he was toppled by the military coup in 2017, after 40 years in power. The formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 changed the political landscape and the hegemonic status of the ZANU PF. Several institutions such as the army, police, intelligence, public service commission and ministry of home affairs have been used to facilitate the ruling of the ZANU PF. From 1980 until 1990 there was no election outcome contestation until 1995 when opposition started to boycott the results. The voter turn-out has also been dropping since then (Sithole & Makumbe, 1997: 125-129).

Since then Mugabe has been using his charismatic skills and Zimbabwe's political background to maintain his stay in power. Post the formation of MDC in 2009, which came as a strong opposition in Zimbabwe, the old man manipulated the constitution and the electoral processes to the extent that in 2009 the ZANU PF and the MDC formed the Government of National Unity (GNU) in preparation for the constitutional reform aimed at taking 24 months (Onslow, 2011: 4-5). Albeit the formation of the GNU, the ZANU PF continued to dominate the governance by controlling the coercive institutions of the state, such as the military, the CIO and the Ministry of Justice (Bratton, 2014: 5). The manner, in which the government ministries were shared, indicates that the majority ZANU PF wanted to continue with the dominance of the vital state apparatus, such that the MDC could use them to topple their government. The 2018 elections marked the transition from the 40 years' rule by Mugabe and people were expecting better free, transparent and fair elections. However, there were again the evidence of the use of

state resources by the incumbents. The distribution of the food aid by the ruling party gave them an advantage. Fertilisers, as well as state development projects which were announced at the ruling party's rallies were used by the government to amass support. This impacted the element of fairness in the election campaign (EU, 2018: 21).

According to the European Parliament Research Services, one of the controversial issues in 2018 elections was the interference of the military in the electoral process, such that it derailed the fairness of the elections. The army was deployed throughout the voting stations countrywide and it is alleged that they infiltrated the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). It is also said that the playing fields were not levelled prior the elections for the state media was biased in and pushed the agenda of the ruling party. Food parcels were also used in campaign processes.

The European Union Election Observation Mission Report 2018 claimed that the elections in Zimbabwe were free and fair, peaceful with political freedoms prior elections. Freedom of movement, assembly and speech were respected. The notable thing was the misuse of the state resources by the incumbents. The Election Day according to the report was marked by peace and stability. In essence the elections were free and fair (EU, 2018: 47).

4.9.3 Freedom of expression

Freedom of expression is expressed in the constitution of Zimbabwe. Section 61 and 62 provide for freedom of press and freedom of expression and access to media. Despite being clearly stipulated in the constitution, freedom of expression and access to media is under threat in Zimbabwe. Journalist and activists are harassed, detained and brutalised by the police and other security agencies. People who criticise the government face arbitrary arrests and tortures by security agencies for openly criticising the government. Albeit the protection by the constitution, freedom of press in Zimbabwe is restricted by laws such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA), Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPP), Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Broadcasting Services Act (BSA). Since independence in 1980 media has been under the control of state through Zimbabwe Broadcasting Act (ZBA). The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, as the arm of the government, exists to push the mandate of the minority black elites. It restricts the laws the freedom of press and promotes the

control of government over private media. Journalists are detained. The laws constrain the space of freedom of media and press (Moyo, Osunkunle & Chabwinja, 2014: 1544-1552).

Freedom of media and expression in Zimbabwe has been under threat, Pastor Phillip Musedza, was arrested by police on the 16th January for saying that president Mugabe will die on the 17th October. He was given a charge of criminal nuisance. Pastor Mawarire has also been the victim of arrest by the police after criticising the government; he fled the country and was arrested upon return on the 31st January and charged with subversion and insulting the national flag. He got bail on the 8th January. He was again arrested on the 24th September for publishing the video where he was complaining of the skyrocketing fuel prices and shortages. He was later acquitted by the Harare High Court on all charges. Energy Mutodi, the supporter of Emerson Mnangagwa and the businessman was also arrested for writing on Face book that the failure of the president to carefully choose his successor has the possibility of inviting the coup d'état. Police also detained the Executive member of the National Liberation War Veterans in August for inciting dissatisfaction within police and the army. He was released on bail. Other arrests that were affected by the police include that of Kenneth Nyangai, who was alleged to have reported that the first lady donated used underwear to the ZANU PF members. Martha O'Donawen, a US national, was also charged on the 03rd November alleged to have insulted the president on Twitter (Amnesty International Report, 2017/18: 406-407).

4.9.4 Checks on the government

In Zimbabwe there are also three branches of government like in other countries. The legislature in Zimbabwe emanates from section 117 (1) of Zimbabwe constitution and has powers to enact law. The bicameral system of parliament in Zimbabwe stems from section 118 and is composed of the Senate as the Upper House and the National Assembly as the Lower House. The National Assembly consists of 210 members, while the Senate has 80 members.

Executive is another branch of government that exists in terms of section 88 of the constitution and executive powers are vested in the president of Zimbabwe. The president also has powers to appoint the ministers. There is no term limit for the

president in Zimbabwe. The president can be elected as many times as possible. Section 98 of the constitution gives the president immunity of prosecution and while in office, can only be tried on crimes committed while in office as the former president.

Judiciary is another branch of government that emanates from section 162 of Zimbabwe Constitution. The Constitution establishes several courts with the Supreme Court as the apex court in Zimbabwe. The independence of the courts is embedded in section 164 of the Constitution. Section 180 stipulates that, “the judges are appointed by the president acting on recommendation of the Judicial Service commission”. Section 189 (1) gives the provision of the Judicial Service Commission (JSC). The JSC comprises of the Chief justice, Deputy Chief Justice, the Judge of the president of the High Court and the judge nominated by the judges of the Constitutional Court. It has to be noted that these JSC appointees are appointed by the people who have been appointed by the politicians.

4.9.5 State of democracy in Egypt

Egypt became an independent state after the revolution that disposed the monarchy rule in 1952. The country has since then been under the three rulers from 1952 until 2011 (Islami, 2016: 190). The Arab Republic of Egypt is the country situated in North East Africa. Chapter 1, article 1 of the Egypt Constitution (2014) defines the country as the democratic republic governed by the rule of law. The Constitution goes further to show that Islam is the dominant religion; while article 2 states that “the principles of Islamic Sharia are the principles of the legislation”. Chapter 3 of Egypt Constitution (2014), article 51-54, give provision for protection of human rights, which prohibits human torture, and promotes human freedoms and equality in public rights and duties.

4.9.5.1 *Respect for human rights*

As stated in the constitution that the country observes the protection and respect for human rights, the country also provided the allowance of other non-governmental organisations to observe human rights. In 2003, the National Council for Human Rights (NHCR) was established in Egypt with the advisory mandate to the government. The council aims in promoting human rights and spreads awareness of human rights. Al-Kalimah Centre for Human Rights is the non-governmental organisation that advocates

for the rights of journalist, religious beliefs, rights of the vulnerable and the rights of women. The Land Centre for Human Rights (LCHR) is another organisation that focuses mainly on the rights of children and women was established in 2009 in Egypt. Another non-governmental organisation that was established in 1999 is the Association of Human Rights Legal Aid (AHRLA), which is mandated to represent the rights of citizens against any form of violation (Arab West Report, 2009).

Despite the establishment of these various human rights' groups and organisations, Egypt has a record of human rights' violations. Prolonged pre-trial detentions were used by the state to cut the powers of the opposition. Judges and prosecutors framed vague and unfounded charges to opposition members. In 2013, the army shot over 900 protesters in Cairo. People spent more than five years in pre-trial detentions 16 unarmed people were killed by the armed forces and these incidences were never investigated. It was also reported that the military killed four men who were returning from their workplaces and the investigations were never followed up. People have been subjected to torture in detentions and the detainees were clustered in holding cells to the extent that others had to sleep on the ground. They were also denied access to food and medication.

4.9.5.2 Free, fair and regular elections

Egypt has since independence after the 1952 revolution from Britain, been under the three dictatorship rulers, namely Jamal Abdul Nasser who ruled from 1954 to 1970 when he died. Anwar Sadat succeeded him and ruled from 1971 until he was assassinated in 1981. Since then the country has been under the rule of Hosni Mubarak until he was forced to resign following the Arab spring revolution in 2011, after 30 years in power (Islami, 2016: 190). From Nasser to Sadat, there were no elections held, Sadat was approved by the referendum that was held in 1970. Post the death of Sadat, Mubarak took over the office. During Nasser's rule, opposition parties were not allowed, such that all parties were banned. Nasser's political system was authoritative in nature. Egypt was a one-party state ruled by the Arab Socialist Union. This type of political system continued from Nasser to Sadat and then to Mubarak. In 2005, Mubarak's regime introduced some reforms where the parties were allowed to stand for multicandidate presidential elections. The elections were characterised by threats against the strong

competitors of Mubarak and were not permitted to run for elections. Elections had many irregularities such that the voter turnout was very low and Mubarak won with 88.6 %. One candidate, Mr Nour, contested the election outcome, demanding the recount, but was rejected and later was charged and sentenced. The 2010 elections are considered to be the worse fraudulent in the history of Egypt. The National Democratic Party of Mubarak won elections by a landslide majority increasing its seats from 330 to 420. The Muslim Brotherhood party seats fell from 88 to 1. The Muslim Brotherhood gained popularity, especially among the youth and it had a strong base at the grassroots, especially in the rural areas. Mubarak's regime was characterised by corruption, poor accountability and poor service delivery. This shattered the hope of Egyptians, especially the youth and the revolution was imminent. It is however worth noting that despite all these challenges, the Egyptian economy was growing at the average of 5 to 7 percent annually. Post Mubarak's resignation in 2011, the power was transferred to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF).⁴ Egyptians were now looking forward to democratisation and Morsi was elected as the president in the elections that were seen as democratic. During the first year of Morsi as the president, corruption increased, and the economy nearly collapsed. The non-consensual constitution was passed. This divided the country between Islamists and secularists. The result was the rise of the Tamerod (rebellion) movement against the government of Morsi. The petition was signed and finally in 2013 Morsi was disposed (Ghanem, 2016: 7-24).

The 2010 elections according to Human Rights Watch 2010 were run in the existence of the demonic Emergency Law that authorises the security forces to disperse the election rallies and public meetings and detain the organisers without charging them. During this period, the security agencies used this law to disrupt and destabilise opposition and the arrests were made on those that exercised their freedom rights. Mubarak had promised an inclusive presidential election, but the oppression continued such that the demonstrators were arrested and detained in June 2010 and the police brutally beat them.

In 2011, after the overthrow of Mubarak, the next elections were held in 2012. It saw the coming of the new president, President Mohamed Morsi, who was elected in June 2012 and toppled in July 2013, by the Tamerod and that led to the dissolution of government.

⁴ Supreme Council of the Armed Forces is the statutory body composed of the military officers that convened in case of war or great internal emergencies.

The interim President Morsy had to prepare for 2014 elections, which took place on the 26th and 27th respectively. The 2014 elections were victoriously won by President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, who was re-elected with 97 percent of votes. El-Sisi's contesters got 656, 534 less 1.8 million of the spoilt votes. Sisi's main opponent was arrested prior the elections while his campaign manager was tortured and other presidential candidates withdrew as the result of intimidations. Democracy in Egypt seems to be the far-reaching phenomena. The government took a maximum of 2 years while according to the constitution it was supposed to take six years.

4.9.5.3 Freedom of expression

In October 2010, media in Egypt was cracked down by the state. One Ibrahim Eissa, the editor of the private paper daily AL Dustoura was the prominent critic of the government, was fired by the new owner of the paper for publicly criticising the government. In September 2010, Eissa was cancelled from the talk show on private satellite TV. As a move to discourage the mobilisation of demonstrations via SMS messages, the National Telecommunications Regulatory Authority imposed the new requirement through which the texting of the SMS messages by the organisations requires subscribers to get permission from the Ministry of Information and the Supreme Press Council.

According to the Amnesty International Report (2017/2018) about 113 people in Egypt were arrested for expressing their views peacefully in December 2017 prior 2018 presidential elections, targeting independent voices ranging from media critics, political people and satirists. Opposition party members were also the targets. The president ratified two draconian laws that prohibited the freedom of expression by the private media. The control of media and printing was monopolised by the government. Prosecutors were also given powers by the state to prosecute people who have over 5000 followers on social media. Police were also given powers by the state to monitor and deal with websites that were seen as threats to the national security. It was reported that media was strictly prohibited in the army operation in Sinai in 2018 and those who went were seriously threatened and harassed by the army. It was also reported that police raided and burned the house of one journalist who captured the events of Sinai reporting for the TV based in Turkey (Amnesty International Report, 2019: 1).

4.9.5.4 Checks on the government

The current Egyptian constitution does not clearly stipulate the existence of the separation of powers. However, it is indirectly denoted. Chapter four, Article (191) of 2014 constitution recognises the independence and autonomy of the Judiciary.

“The Supreme Constitutional Court is autonomous and independent judicial body having its headquarters in Cairo...it shall have an independent budget which shall be examined by the House of Representatives”.

Article 194 gives immunity from dismissal to the president, vice president and members of its commissioner of the Supreme Constitutional Court. The Court is the one that is responsible for the disciplinary accountability of its members. The president of the Republic by his virtue shall be deemed to have appointed them. According to Haimerl (2014: 14), the Chief Justice is appointed by the executive. The Chief Justice is an influential member of the Supreme Constitutional Court. He oversees the writing of dockets and writes the judgements.

The Legislature in Egypt emanates in article 101 of the 2014 constitution and it is a unicameral system of the House of Representatives. The house is established with the powers to make laws, compile the state budget and any other executive power action. It composes of 450 members or more for a five years term. The president as the head of the state is elected for the period of four years and may be re-elected once, according to Article 140. The president as the head of the executive cannot, without consulting the National Defence Council and the House of Representatives, declare a war outside the borders of Egypt (Polimeno, 2015: 45-47).

The president assigns the Prime Minister to form the government. The 2014 Constitution curtailed the powers of the president, he is subject to impeachment by the House of Representatives for the breach of the Constitution, according to Art 159 (BTI Country Report, 2018 Egypt: 10).

4.10 SECTION B

This section presents findings of the style of democracy practiced in Switzerland.

4.10.1 State of democracy in Switzerland

Switzerland is the small country in Western Europe. It has the population of about 7.8 million people. Switzerland is the residue of the civil war of 03rd to 29th November 1847 between the Catholics and the Protestants. The Catholics were conservative and rejected the state's centralisation while the Protestants demanded a centralised state. The war resulted in the formation of federal states. Switzerland is one country that is known globally for practicing a desirable democracy. It is characterised by three main institutions, namely neutrality, Federalism and direct democracy. In Switzerland voting occurs four times a year, at communal level, cantonal level and state level (Nicole-Berva, 2016: 10). The interesting nature of the Swiss democracy is that the parliament operates at a part time basis. The National Council meets four times a year and only 43 members of the 244 are full time politicians, while 43 are entrepreneurs, 19 consultants, 12 teachers, 49 practicing lawyers and 8 medical doctors. Members, during the parliament vacation, continue with their daily jobs (Hartwich, 2017: 9). Swiss democracy is highly influenced by direct participation of citizens through referendums and initiatives, which form the foundation of direct democracy. The power is distributed to the people and is not concentrated in the hands of the individual. Switzerland is a three-tier arrangement composed of the federal government, major districts (Cantons) and minor districts or municipalities (Gemeinden). The Cantons are free to legislate laws so long as they do not contradict with the federal laws. Cantons are free to raise funds for themselves. The Federal Council (cabinet) is composed of seven members who rotate annually with the vice president becoming the next president (Funk, 2010: 1085-1085).

4.10.2 Respect for human rights

Fundamental human rights are embedded in title two, Chapter 1 of the Switzerland Constitution of 1999 with amendments through 2014. The Human Rights Council of the UN is based in Geneva, Switzerland. There were some concerns of human rights' abuses by police where they used disproportionate force in executing their duties when they deported immigrants. This concern was raised by the National Commission of Prevention of Torture (Amnesty International Report, 2017/2018: 348), generally Switzerland respects the human rights as these violations are addressed at an early stage.

4.10.3 Free, fair and regular elections

Upon attainment of 18 years in Switzerland, one gets the election document, which authorises him or her to vote. The voting is done via email or via the polling booth. Switzerland is a bicameral system made up of National Council that represents people and the Council of State that represents the cantons. Direct democracy in Switzerland allows citizens to participate directly in governance issues and it is a corrective tool used by the opposition to reduce the powers of the elites and it is one that is associated with the shining example of Swiss democracy. As said Switzerland is a bicameral system, the members are elected on a four-year term. The presidency circulates annually among the members of federal assembly. Observers described the 2011 elections as having a deep democratic root, vibrant and pluralistic. Elections stakeholders have a very high level of trust in the electoral administration body. Voting is done in three ways: by a person casting a vote in the ballot box at the polling station, by post and by internet. There is a high trust in these voting methods. Voting stations open between 10 am and 12 am and some open for 30 minutes, because people resort to the internet and post methods (OSCE/ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report, 2015: 21-22).

4.10.4 Freedom of expression

Freedom of media is provided in article 17 of the Swiss Constitution. The freedom of radio and TV to decide on programmes of their own is provided in article 93 of the constitution. The government according to Country Reports on Human Rights Practices (2018) respects these rights. The federal law prohibits the publication of the “leaked” secret official discussions. There were several reports concerning the violation of secrecy and which were investigated. On the 23rd October elections took place and were free and fair (Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 201: 7-8).

Swiss media is very pluralistic. It is structured along linguistic lines. There are public and private media outlets. There are several private television channels and radios. Media house is very vibrant and diverse. There are also a number of internet-based news websites. There is a satisfaction of media coverage and access during elections. Media is self-regulatory; there is no law that prohibits the role of media in election coverage. The Swiss Broadcasting runs 8 television channels and 8 radio stations, using four official languages. It ensures that the coverage is for all who take part in elections

(OSCE/ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report, 2015: 21-22).

4.10.5 Checks on the government

In Switzerland the parliament is the supreme body. It is composed of the National Council and the Council of States and together they form the United Federal Assembly. The parliament is vested with powers to enact and legislate the laws of the state. It is also the overseer of the daily work of the Supreme Court and the Federal Council. It is also vested with powers to elect the executive that is made up of seven members from both Federal Council and the Federal Chancellor. The parliament checks the Federal Council and the Federal Administration. The attorney general is also checked by the Parliament, while the parliament is checked by the voters. The Judiciary is also elected by the parliament that is both the President of the Federal Supreme Court and its judges. It again elects the attorney general who prosecutes and investigates the offences of the state especially committed by the government employees.

4.11 CONCLUSION

The findings on this chapter were made based on the four tenets of democracy, being respect for human rights, free, fair and regular elections, freedom of media and checks on government. The study occurred in all the countries that were mentioned earlier. The findings revealed the style of democracy in Africa as having the elements of not adhering to these elements. In most cases they are stipulated in the constitution, but are not practiced as expected. Almost all the countries in their constitutions embedded the human rights issue in their constitutions, but the implementation is the opposite of what is in black and white. The Swiss case has been exceptional in terms of all the elements. The parliament is the supreme body as opposed to the African arrangement.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter four described and explained in details the findings of the style of democracy in Africa, taking five countries as the sample. The style of democracy in Switzerland was also explained in Switzerland and African countries, using the four essential elements of democracy being free, fair and regular elections, respect for human rights, freedom of expression and checks on government. In this chapter, the captured data is analysed, described and interpreted, in order to identify trends and relationships in line with the objectives, using qualitative data analysis.

Silverton (2016: 12) asserts that there is no format followed in analysing qualitative data. It is all about how one presents and expresses the analysis in a manner that will be understandable.

Flick (2013: 5), describes qualitative analysis as...

“...the classification and interpretation of linguistic (or visual) material to make statements about implicit and explicit dimension and structures of meaning-making in the in the material and what is presented in it...it is applied to discover and describe issues in the field...combines approaches of details of a rough analysis of the material”.

Burnham and Hopper (2012: 1) define research data as “a recorded factual material commonly retained by and accepted in the scientific community as necessary to validate research findings”. Unlike other types of information, research data is observed, collected and made with a purpose of analysis and the research results will be produced.

This chapter therefore, deals with the data collected, which is grouped according to the four themes that were used to determine the style of democracy in each country, being free fair and regular elections, respect for human rights, freedom of media and checks on government. This will give the characteristics of the style of democracy that is practiced in Africa in comparison with the Swiss style of democracy.

5.2 ANALYSING AFRICA STYLE DEMOCRACY BASED ON RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

From the data collected In Lesotho regarding the aspect of human rights, it shows that respect for human rights is compromised. As a signatory of several human rights treaties, the country is trying to meet the UN standards, though it lacks practicable standards. *Albeit* the ratification of these treaties, the country still experiences a lot of human rights abuses. The most notable is the abuse by police. Police brutality in Lesotho is sky rocketing as it has been indicated that since 2017 more than 50 people have died while others were brutally tortured while in police custody. This culture of torturing suspects by the police is a long time issue, but the government of Lesotho seems to ignore where police use force to extract evidence from the suspects. The absence of the Human Rights Commission in Lesotho could be the source of the high human rights' abuses. The commission exists in the constitution, but it has not been implemented by the government. This shows the negligence of government on human rights protection. There are however other institutions that are supposed to protect human rights in Lesotho, especially those that are committed by the police. The Police Complaints Authority was established in 2003 in terms of Section 22 of the Police Service Act with the authority to investigate complaints of police misconduct and to make recommendations on disciplinary action to the Commissioner of Police. Its primary objective is to oversee the operation of police, their conduct with public, their general protection and conditions under which they work. However, the effectiveness of the PCA is constrained in some ways, for example it cannot receive complaints directly from complainants or members of the public, but can only investigate complaints it receives from the Commissioner of Police or the Minister of Police and Public Safety, and it is the Commissioner who decides which complaints should be investigated. Other constraints, such as the perceived lack of autonomy and what may be viewed by some as low statistics on cases completed by the PCA, are further discussed in detail in the recommendations section. In other words there is no clear separation between the police and this institution and as a result the human rights abuses, especially by police, continue with a very high rate. The army in Lesotho has also been involved in colleagues' and civilians' tortures. They torture the colleagues who do not align with them politically and this politicisation of the army and the police is very visible in the Lesotho security institutions. These tortures cause the government a lot of money when the victims claim

against the government. The money that is supposed to be used for service delivery pays the victims of abuse and that directly affects the service delivery, which as a result affects good governance. The political leadership does not take this as a crisis. This says there is a leadership crisis and there is therefore a need for the kind of leadership that is transformative.

The other element of human rights abuse was visible in Zimbabwe where the military and the police were the main abusers of human rights. The protesters were the ones that suffered tortures during the political protests, especially members of the opposition. People have been killed while others were brutalised for engaging in protests as well. They were also put in police custody for unfounded reasons and also suffered tortures. This shows that in Africa human rights are not respected as opposed to Switzerland where the security officials respect human rights. The similarities with the African context are that police and the army are the ones that are used by the politicians to instil fear into the public. This too defines the style of leadership in Africa, which has the dictatorial tendencies though naming it democracy. People who are seen as a threat to the government are eliminated or jailed and this characterises the style of democracy in Africa. The difference of Zimbabwe with Lesotho and Botswana is that the security forces abduct members of the opposition and torture them. The suppression of human rights is a clear indication of poor governance and a threat to political transformation. Democratisation is therefore affected by all these abuses.

Rwanda is taken to be one of the best countries in Africa when it comes to the practice of democracy post genocide in 1994, under the leadership of President Paul Kagame. However, in Rwanda the data reflected the high rate of human rights abuses though it was regarded as better in terms of democratisation. Police brutality according to the information collected, is at the order of the day, which the government uses to suppress the opposition. This according to the theory defies democracy, yet it is seen as a better democracy in the continent. This defies the same principle as proposed by the proponents that democracy respects human rights. Unlawful detentions are the tools used by the authoritarian regimes to suppress opposition (Gelman 2015: 6-26).

We saw this becoming a norm in Rwanda, yet this country is seen as a democratic darling in Africa. Looking at these two countries, Botswana and Rwanda, which are claimed to be more democratic in Africa, there are elements of human rights' abuse,

which show that this kind of democracy practiced in Africa has its own elements and characteristics. Seeing the economic development in these two countries, this is evident that for Africa to do well, economic development should precede democracy.

In Zimbabwe, the military has been the main source of human rights' abusers. Police and the army use force and torture the members of the opposition parties. This also goes parallel with the same principle of democratisation and good governance. Harassment and brutality done to the people by the security agencies characterised the style of democracy in Zimbabwe. Comparatively these signs were also available in other countries that have been analysed in this study. This gives the connotation that democracy in Africa has its own unique characteristics, which does not respect the human rights.

Similarly in Egypt, the prolonged pre-trial detentions characterised the style of democracy in Africa. As a means of thwarting opposition, judges are used by the politicians and fake charges are used to frame those seen as a threat to the government.

Contrarily, in Switzerland, human rights are respected by the agencies of the government. People's rights are respected. The government does not use the security agencies to suppress members of the opposition.

5.3 ANALYSING AFRICA STYLE DEMOCRACY USING FREE, FAIR AND REGULAR ELECTIONS

According to the tenets of democracy philosophy, the extent to which countries achieve free, fair and regular elections, determines the degree of democracy. In most African countries international, regional and national observers declare elections free and fair. Free and fair elections according to Skaaning (2018) in Chapter four, means elections that are transparent and have no secrecy, are free from irregularities where people participate freely and fairly without being subjected to intimidation and is run by a credible body that is vested with powers to administer credible elections. African elections have been declared free and fair in several occasions, but we continue to see post-electoral wars and protests.

In Lesotho, free and fair elections as seen in Chapter four, have been practicable. Post-independence elections marked the adoption of the Western style of democracy in which

later we saw democracy backsliding to the authoritarian regime from 1970 to 1986, after the military coup. The re-democratisation in 1993 also marked the renewal of the Western style of democracy in Lesotho. Since then elections have been declared free and fair by the observers both national and international, despite complaints by the opposition parties. As seen in Chapter four that the country has been experiencing electoral instabilities, the elections have been held successfully. The protest of elections by the opposition marks the style of democracy in Lesotho and consequently the trend in African democracy. The events that unfolded in 1998 that resulted in the dissolution of BCP Government by the King, also characterised the style of democracy in Lesotho. As said by the theory of representative democracy that democracy presupposes representation of the majority by the few, the representation has been done properly despite these instabilities. However, the opposition also cried foul that the representation was not proportional and that led to the introduction of the new model of representation and the new electoral model of MMP was introduced in Lesotho. The type of representation that prevails in Lesotho is characterised by fragile coalition governments that do not last the five-year term as prescribed by the constitution. However, the handover power to the winner has been very successful in Lesotho. The problem that still exists until recently in 2012 in the Mountain Kingdom was the issue of “two turn over test” where the ruling party took many years in government and in Botswana where BDP has been in power since independence, in Zimbabwe the ZANU-PF has also been in power since independence.

The difference with the Swiss democracy is the kind of parliament that composes of people from various sectors in the community that are not elected, but instead appointed due to the qualities and contributions in the society. This causes rulers not wanting to cling to power as is the case with Africa. This gives Africa unique characteristics of authoritarian style of democracy that is combined with the western style of democracy.

Botswana as said in Chapter four has also been holding free fair and regular elections since independence and has also been characterised with one dominant party of the BDP since independence. The system also fails to avoid the trap of “two turn over test”. However it has to be noted that Botswana has had a style of democracy that is not characterised by the post-election wars and election rigging complaints.

Rwanda has similarly held free and fair elections since re-democratisation after the genocide in 1994. The 2003 elections were protested by the opposition during and post elections, claiming the rigging by the RPF. The RPF has been in power also since then until the last elections that were held in 2017 where it won elections with a landslide victory. This also gives Rwanda a party dominant character and this gives the democracy a kind of authoritarian regime. Consequently, this characterises the style of democracy in Africa. In so far as representation is concerned, the country passes the principle of representation as suggested by the theory of representative democracy, which has the elements of elections and representation of the majority by the minority and periodic elections. Rwanda has held periodic elections since 2003 and this makes it a democracy according to the western style of democracy, but with other elements that have not been proposed by the proponents of democracy.

In Chapter two, it has been said by the great man theory that for one to qualify as a great leader, one must possess unique characteristics and have qualities that inspire his followers, and as such Paul Kagame is seen by the Rwandans as the leader that possesses these skills. Such a leader must be influential in nature and must accomplish desired goals, and Kagame has done that successfully as has he transformed Rwanda to an economic giant in Africa as a result of these qualities and intelligence. This forced the Rwandans to extend his term. His abilities are also visible as Rwanda is one of the best countries in Africa economically, politically and socially. This makes him a great leader in Africa; therefore he adopts the traits of a great man. It was also said in Chapter two that transformative leaders are able to achieve the desired goals, and Kagame has been perfect in that and as a result assumes the role of a transformative leader. This makes the followers to believe in him and the African leaders are very adamant to extend their power. Leaders who were seen as the African liberators who threw away the yoke of colonialism, were admired by their people and seen as having the traits of a great man, they grew up with authoritarian tendencies, stayed on and became addicted to power and as a result became despots. Among them are names to the likes of Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, colonel Muamar Gaddafi of Libya, Laurent Gbagbo of Ivory Coast, Paul Biya of Cameroon, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and many more others came to see politics as a way of enriching themselves than service delivery.

Also according to the data collected in Chapter four, elections in Egypt were not practicable from the time of Abdul Nasser Answer Sadat until Hosni Mubarak who later

in 2005 wanted to legitimise his staying power by introducing what could be termed a fake democracy and won elections in 2005 and 2010 respectively. In these elections the data reveals that they were characterised by election rigging to the extent that the opposition candidate was jailed for requesting an election recount. These threats in Africa are used to suppress the opposition in order to facilitate the staying in power by the incumbents.

Electoral fraud is another element of elections in African democracies. It has been noted in Chapter four that the regime of Mubarak was characterised by corruption, poor service delivery and lack of accountability. This is common with African leaders and governments. Post Mubarak, the data shows that the government in Egypt have taken less than three years as expected by the constitution, who expects that they take five years. This element of fragile coalitions is also a norm in Lesotho.

Data reveals that Switzerland's democracy is characterised by direct democracy, which is used by the opposition to curtail the powers of the incumbents. People participate directly through initiatives and referendums. These tools help the people to become participants in the issues that affect them directly. In Africa people are used by the political leaders as the stepping stones that take them to the wealth. Power according to the data collected, indicates that Swiss democracy is characterised by the concentration of power in the hands of the people, not individual leaders as it is the case in African democracy. This in essence, discourages the leaders to stick to the position of power. Data also reveals that the Federal Council, which is the cabinet in other political arrangements, is composed of seven members that rotate annually and are from different parties. This is opposed to the Africa style of democracy where the members of the cabinet are from the same political party. This too discourages corruption that is very cancerous in Africa. The rotation of the presidency seats also develops the culture of hard work among members, as everyone would want to be seen as the best performer. Overstaying in a position of power encourages corruption and discourages innovation. This affects the process of good governance and political transformation. Democracy is the system that encourages transparency and this denotes that corruption is not acceptable in this system of governance. However, the Africa style democracy is characterised by the element of corruption where the incumbents at times in collaboration with the opposition, get involved in tenders corruption, as well as stealing from the public purse. The opposite occurs in Switzerland, where public monies are used

for the purposes it is intended for. Swiss democracy, according to the findings, is flourishing and this, according to the theory, emanates from the direct democracy that is practiced in this country. People get involved directly in issues that affect them, in policy-making and any other decisions. This is participatory democracy according to the theory in Chapter two

In Africa power is personalised and this is simply due to the style of democracy as a result of the system of poor governance.

5.4 ANALYSING AFRICA STYLE DEMOCRACY BASED ON FREEDOM OF MEDIA

Media, as one of the watchdogs of the government, seems to be under threat in Africa and this gives the Africa style democracy as one of its own kind. Africans see the media as a threat that exposes their wrong doings.

In Lesotho, as indicated, media has been under threat. The findings in Chapter four reveal that journalists have been attacked by the military personnel for revealing the information about the Lesotho defence force. This is despite the protection by the constitution of Lesotho, which protects the media from any threats.

Media in Lesotho is not fully independent although to some extent it shows some element of freedom. The Lesotho Communications Authority has said that it is entrusted to regulate the media in Lesotho. It is used by the incumbent government to threaten the media houses that do not say good things about the government. This subjects the media to succumb to the government threats. The radio stations that criticise the government have been closed by the LCA without being given a fair hearing and this shows how media freedom suffers under the administration of LCA and this affects the media and freedom of expression. The data collected indicates that the private media is at times co-opted by the government. One radio presenter who used to criticise the then government, was awarded a lucrative job at the embassy and it is alleged that it was a compensation for his contribution that led to the downfall of the then regime through the propaganda he used in the private radio station. This too characterised how media operates in Africa.

This too, is against the principle of democracy of freedom of expression that is expressed through media therefore democracy becomes at risk. This is also against the principles of good governance, which as such affects political transformation.

Although protected by the law in Botswana, freedom of media is not free as it is supposed to be. The data reveals that media is at times pressed to say good things about the government of Botswana. Access to information is a farfetched phenomenon. Media is prohibited to broadcast government-related issues. This means the information that people and the world receives is first polished before it can be brought for publicity. This means what people get from the media is not what actually transpires, especially government related issues, such as the corruption reports and bad governance issues. As a result the bad side of the government is covered that exists on the government spheres.

The government misuses its powers to arrest the journalists according to the finding in Botswana. Corruption is a cancer in Africa; the journalists that investigate corruption in Botswana become the victims of arrests by police in Botswana. These are the characteristics of the type of freedom that media receives in Botswana. The low level of corruption rate in Botswana could be the fact that Botswana does not publicise it, due to the lack of access of government information.

Rwanda, like other countries in Africa, misuses its powers to suppress media. The findings indicate that the use of cyber space by the people cause them arrests by the police. This creates fear among the people to talk about the president. Democracy allows people to say anything about people, so long as they are not insulted never mind public figures? This tells us that the president fears criticism and these are the signs of poor governance and non-transformative leadership. Rwanda is regarded as one of the best democracies in Africa with a transformative leadership that has the traits of great man theory under the leadership of Paul Kagame. This too brings the question of whether Rwanda is indeed a shining Africa democracy or is it a dictatorship that is hiding under democracy. Also corruption issues might not be publicised especially those done by the high ranking officials. Oppression of media is not acceptable in democracies, but Rwanda has that tendency of oppressing media. Security agencies are seen as the agents used by the Rwanda government to silence journalists according to the findings. Suppression of newspapers is a clear threat of democracy. Freedom of expression is

classified as a threat to the national security. This is also another characteristic of the style of democracy in Rwanda that has its unique features.

As said in Chapter four, that media in Zimbabwe has been entrenched in the constitution, the findings reveal that media in Zimbabwe also operates under threat of the government. The threats and harassment done to the journalists by security agencies as the data indicated, is a sign of undemocratic actions of Zimbabwe government. Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation is used by the government to suppress the media.

In Egypt, the data collected shows that media is also under threat thus the freedom of expression is not recognised. The media operates under the environment that is not conducive. This is done simply to deter media from broadcasting news that are against the government. Criticising the government is sine qua non in a democratic dispensation. This is done with the purposes of giving the nation the activities of the government. Egypt post Arab spring became extra sensitive on media issues. The cyber space has been used by Egyptians to dispose the government of Mubarak. As a result the government sees media as a threat to the stability of the country. Leaders are supposed to take media criticism positively to correct their actions. These suppressions show that media freedom in Egypt will not see the light any time soon. Leaders are supposed to take the criticism to strengthen and deepen the roots of democracy. This went to the extent that media printing was monopolised by the government, thus denying private companies the right to give people news. The action itself is a clear tampering of freedom of expression.

In Switzerland, there are no media restrictions; freedom of expression is not a threat to the government. The availability of several TV stations that broadcast freely without being threatened by the government, tells us that Switzerland permits freedom of media. The data reveals that media in Switzerland is self-regulatory. This shows that the country is more democratic when it comes to giving people information. This also presupposes the leadership in Switzerland is transformative and inclusive in issues of public interests as it is said that media plays a critical role in democracies. Journalists work in a user friendly and conducive environment and are not subjected to threats by the government. This is opposed to the African arrangement where media is used by the incumbents to glorify their corrupt activities. This gives a clear picture of the style of democracy that is practiced in Africa.

5.5 ANALYSING AFRICA STYLE DEMOCRACY BASED ON THE CHECKS ON GOVERNMENT

The data collected in Lesotho regarding the separation of powers, shows that in Lesotho there is no clear separation of powers between the legislature and the executive. The head of Executive, who is the Prime Minister, is appointed by the parliament (Lower House). The prime minister as the Member of Parliament also has powers to vote in the parliament like any other member. This means there is a conflict of interest, because he cannot vote against the decision he made at the executive level, the same thing with other members of the cabinet who are also elected from the lower house or upper house by the Prime Minister. The members of the cabinet are also obliged to succumb to the decision of the Prime Minister as the one who appoints them and fires them. The Prime minister also appoints the head of the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO). This institution is the one that is mandated to fight corruption as the threat of the economy in Lesotho. However, these powers of the Prime Minister to appoint and fire DCEO bosses, compromises the efficiency of this institution and as a result compromises accountability as a tenet of democracy. This too gives Africa the characteristic of dictatorship and poor governance.

The other fusion of the branches of the government that is visible in Lesotho has to do with the appointment of the head of judiciary. Data collected indicates that the Chief Justice and the President of the Court of Appeal are appointed by the King with the advice of the Prime Minister. In a positive perception we say the King is the one who appoints, but in analytical perception we know that the Prime Minister is the one who appoints. The Constitution also gives the Prime Minister power to act without the consent of the King. Section 91(2) of the constitution gives the Council of State the power to act if the King does not want to act. Section 91 (3) of the Constitution also gives the Prime Minister powers to act in case the King does not want to act. It reads as follows...

“Where the King is required by this Constitution to do any act in accordance with the advice of the Council of State and the Council of State is satisfied that the King has not done that act, the Council of State may inform the King that it is the intention of the Council of State to do that act after the expiration of a period to be specified by the Council of State, and if at the expiration of that period the King has not done that act, the Council of State may do that act themselves and shall, at the earliest opportunity thereafter, report the matter to Parliament; and any act so done by the

Council of State shall be deemed to have been done by the King and to be his act.”

This section has reduced the powers of the king, hence it is said that the king has only the ceremonial powers in Lesotho.

In Lesotho, data revealed that judiciary gets a budget that has been proposed by the executive and in most cases the parliament passes it as it is, because the majority of parliamentarians are from the ruling parties and they must have talked about it in the caucus. This means the parliament is just the rubber stamp of the executive. The minister and the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Justice can decide to sabotage the administration of justice by delaying to give the resources to the courts. This occurred in the 2019 Court of Appeal sitting that was supposed to be in April. It was claimed that there was no money to convene the April sitting and could not continue although the parliament had allocated money for the Courts. It was alleged that the government intentionally sabotaged the sitting, because of the factions within the ruling coalition partner of the all Basotho Convention (ABC). It was alleged that the President of the Court of Appeal was used by one faction of the ABC and he would rule the ABC case against the other faction. The Chief Justice was also alleged to have relations with the other faction and that he rules in favour of this faction. This led to the postponement of the sitting and was later held at end of May. This happened despite the entrenchment of the independence of the independence of judiciary, according to section 118 (2) that says...

“The courts shall, in the performance of their functions under this Constitution or any other law, be independent and free from interference and subject only to this Constitution and any other law”.

In Botswana, the president is the head of the government and head of the state and is elected by members of the parliament. The president is also the head of the cabinet and he appoints the cabinet secretary to the cabinet, the Judge President, army commander and the commissioner of police are appointed by the president. These institutions are supposed to be free from political influence. The appointment of the heads of these institutions subjects them to political influence and takes away the element of independence. The fact that the appointer also has the powers to dismiss says that they are supposed to dance to the music of the appointer and that also takes away the independence element. In essence it means those institutions are controlled by the

president as the politician who represents the ideology of a certain party. As such they are supposed to please their master for they cannot bite the hand that feeds them. This makes the characteristics of the style of democracy in Africa unique from other continents. According to the collected data in Chapter four, in Botswana judges of the Appeal court and the High Court are hired and fired by the State President. This deviates from the doctrine of separation of powers, because the independence of the judiciary is tempered with and this is what also transpired in Lesotho. This action compromises the justice system, because the judges may fear to administer fair justice, especially when it comes to the judgements that are against the incumbents, especially election petition cases. In most cases people that are appointed to be judges are those that are loyal to the party and the president. This fusion of Judiciary and the executive are the enemies of good governance and political transformation, which thus characterises the Africa style democracy.

Similarly, in Lesotho the same situation prevails where the Prime minister has excessive powers to appoint the heads of democracy institutions, judiciary and the heads of security institutions. This leaves a very thin line between the legislature and the executive, yet they are supposed to be independent and free from influence by the other, according to the theory of separation of powers. The fact that these heads of these institutions are appointed by the politicians who in return want to control them, takes away the element of independence.

The executive has too much power over the other branches of government and the doctrine of the supremacy of the parliament that exists in Switzerland is taken away by this arrangement. The findings revealed that the constitution puts the President on top of all the structures and supreme to all other branches. This is entrenched in the constitution that the parliament resolutions are not binding. This section therefore violates the principles of democracy, which are the pillars of the democracy according to the theory of the separation of powers. As a result transformation is not possible for there are no checks on the three branches.

In Rwanda, the president is the head of the executive and has powers to elect the cabinet. Data reveals that constitutionally the president is vested with powers to elect 50 percent of cabinet members from the ruling party and the other 50 percent from the other opposition parties. This arrangement helps to limit the excessive powers the executive

has in most African countries of “the supremacy of the executive”. The system permits participation of other parties in government decisions and as such is representative and inclusive. This arrangement could be regarded as one of the best that has elements of independence and developmental politics and participatory democracy.

Although having these elements, the problem is similar to that of other African counterparts when it comes to the independence of judiciary. The president is vested with powers to appoint the President of the Supreme Court and the Vice.

In Egypt, data shows that judiciary is independent and it gets the budget that is examined by the House of Representatives. It is not done by the executive as it is the case in most African countries that have been discussed in this study. Judges cannot be fired by the State President as is the case with other African countries. This strengthens the separation of powers in Egypt and encourages accountability too, although the Chief Justice is appointed by the Executive. The legislature cannot make major decisions without consulting the parliament. This further strengthens checks and balances on the two branches unlike in Botswana where the legislature resolutions do not bind the president.

In Chapter four, data revealed that in Switzerland the parliament is the supreme body. It is the overseer of the Supreme Court and Federal Council. The parliament also has the powers to elect the executive. Unlike in Africa the arrangement is such that the parliament plays its critical role of assuming its supremacy, while in Africa the Executive is the one that has supreme powers over all other branches and this concretises the fact that in a democratic dispensation the supremacy of the parliament reigns. This has been supported by the dictatorship theory, which describes modern dictators as being characterised by the might of the executive over other branches.

The parliament also has the powers to appoint the president of the Supreme Court and its judges. The arrangement in Switzerland is completely different from the African arrangement. The doctrine of checks and balances is much stronger as the theory of separation of powers suggests that each branch has to be independent and be free from influence by the other. The purpose is to avoid the misuse of the critical democratic and accountability institutions by the politicians. The Swiss system permits the democratic system and it does not have the authoritarianism characters like the African system. This makes Swiss democracy unique with the characteristics of liberal democracy.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The chapter captured the analysis of data that was collected in Chapter four. The data was grouped according to the elements of democracy, namely respect for human rights, free, fair and regular elections, freedom of expression and checks on government. The analysis revealed that in essence the theory and the practicality at times go parallel. It has been discovered that in all African countries that have been studied the respect for human rights has been entrenched in the constitutions, but when it comes to the actual observation of human rights they were not observed. Free and fair and regular elections were analysed and found that the most notable element was the regularity of elections, but when it comes to the element of fairness and transparency it was not practicable. Although the countries held regular elections, they were characterised by long-term serving presidents, thus defying the “two-term turn-over” principle of democracy. Election fraud has also been claimed by the opposition that the incumbents use fraudulent means to win elections. Freedom of expression is another factor that was seen very prevalent in Africa as opposed to the situation in Switzerland. The countries have also entrenched the freedom of expression clauses in their constitutions, but it was found that media in African countries is under threat for the rulers see it as a threat to their governments. The checks on government was also used to analyse the style of democracy where according to the analysis it was discovered that although the separation of powers is critical for the purposes of democracy, it is not practicable to have the complete separation of powers. The government is a single entity and as such it cannot be easy to separate the functions and duties. For the government to function well there has to be that interdependence between these arms of government. The African politicians appoint the heads of democracy institutions in order to protect them against their dirty actions hence they do not delegate such powers to the parliament as is the case in Switzerland. This makes it difficult for democratic consolidation in Africa.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the conclusions made based on the findings of this study and the recommendations are also made based on the theories and findings of the study. The purpose of this study was to determine the characteristics of the Africa style democracy in comparison with the European style of democracy using the Swiss democracy as the case study in Europe.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study show that Africa has its own style of democracy that is characterised by oppression of the people such that they cannot talk freely about the government especially when they talk negative issues. The theory of participatory democracy advocates for the participation of people in issues that affect them in all the platforms including the social media. The oppression of the people by the state refusing them freedom of media denies them participation in the governance.

Also there seems to be the culture of African societies, the cultural theory says that the norms, values and believes are rooted in an organisation and cannot be uprooted overnight and that the appointment of new managers in the company can be the sign of change in the organisational culture. In Africa, the culture of overstaying in power is problematic, new leaders that come into power do not change instead want to adopt the culture of overstaying in power. The African leaders who came to power after decolonisation took many terms in presidencies. They also fear criticisms by the media. One would expect a different arrangement in Rwanda and Botswana as the shining democracies in Africa according to the literature. However, they also deny citizens' freedom of expression as a result characterises Africa Style democracy. The conclusion therefore, is that Africa Style democracy is characterised by oppression of the freedom of expression.

Disrespect for human rights is another element that characterises the Africa style democracy. In all the countries studied human rights observation, is embedded in their constitutions. Respect for human rights as a tenet of democracy, is very critical for the investors to look at it before they could invest in a country and if the country does not observe them, it does not attract investors. It should however be noted that some investors like to invest in such countries and take advantage of the undemocratic processes within that regime.

The study also concludes that Africa Style democracy is characterised by the regular elections that are not transparent. The incumbents in Africa misuse the public resources for their campaigns. They want to stay in power so much that they cannot observe the two-term limit and then they do not represent the interests of those who elected them and instead they become corrupt. The theory of representative democracy emphasises the availability of the electoral process where those elected represent the interest of the electors. However, in Africa those elected represent their own avaricious interest, hence characterised by corruption. One party dominance is also characterises as the Africa style of democracy where we saw that in most of these African countries, the ruling parties dominated the system from independence. They have failed to deliver for the nations and they are characterised by poor governance and as a result no political transformation occurs in these states. The theory of transformative leadership demands that leaders emancipate change in the organisations, but this is not possible in Africa. Despite the economic developments that was seen in Rwanda and Botswana. This also makes us again conclude that in Africa economic development should precede democracy as a result democracy is not good for development in Africa.

The study further concludes that Africa style democracy is characterised by the fusion of the three arms of government, which defies the principle of democracy, which advocates for the supremacy of the parliament, which is what prevails in Switzerland. In Africa it is a completely different arrangement where we see the supremacy of the executive where the president or the prime Minister has excessive powers of appointing the heads of the democratic institutions, which are supposed to be appointed by the parliament where things go well. The theory of the separation of powers demand that each branch be independent and we see that in Africa, although the branches are interdependent, the executive has too much power over other branches. The study further concludes that the poor governance we see in Africa is the result of the poor

leadership that is not transformative, but self-centred and avaricious who wants to stay in power to accumulate wealth by thieving from the public purse. This, in the long run, affects the economy and development of Africa.

Africa style democracy is also characterised by the one-person-rule that clings to power for years or even decades. According to EISA, this is a hindrance to a democratic advancement. The African leaders are autocratic and authoritarian in nature. They have adopted the democracy governance, but turn to misuse it to suit their own interests. They manoeuvre the democratic system and launch false charges against the opposition as said by the dictatorship theory. The study therefore concludes that they are dictators that glorify their over-stay in power in the name of democracy as such democracy in Africa does not meet the standard expectation of the Western style of democracy as anticipated by the democracy institutions.

It however, has to be acknowledged that Africa has some elements of democracy, although manipulated by the leaders. This gives it an element of western democracy, combined with the African characteristics. As a result could be best measured using gradations. We therefore conclude that it is a sort of “mule democracy” that is very fragile and hard to consolidate hence we see recurrence of coups in Africa.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Democracy as the global and modern acceptable form of governance is dominating the global village and as such is seen a development and as such associated with development. There are however countries that are still sticking to the authoritarian regimes in a form of one party rule, military regimes, authoritarian monarchies. For the purpose of the global peace and development it is worth recommending that the world adopts this modern type of rule called democracy. The literature of democracy concentrates mainly on political democracy negating the most crucial aspect being the economic aspect. Democracy has to empower the citizens to participate actively in economic activities not considering their social status, gender, race. People have to participate in economic development for the purposes of economic sustainability. It could be argued that some states that are non-democratic have developed, but this might not last forever for people will demand their freedom.

Africa style democracy has its unique authoritarian characters and the western democracy characters. The procrastinating development we see in Africa is the result of the style of democracy that is practiced in Africa, which is exclusive in nature, because the citizens do not have powers to participate directly in decision making. The economic development as such is negatively affected.

The study therefore recommends that Africa should adopt the system that encourages public participation and that is through the use of participation democracy, which is the pillar of Swiss democracy.

The study also recommends that for Africa to strengthen its democracy, it has to adopt the Rwandan system of electing the members of the executive where the president is forced by the constitution to select members from the opposition parties. This should also proceed in tandem with the Swiss system where the presidency circulates among the members annually, may be it be within the leaders of the major parties in the parliament. This could help to reduce the leadership that clings to power and could also reduce corruption and enhance political transformation and good governance.

As it has been seen that in Africa, the principle of the supremacy of the parliament does not exist, but instead the supremacy of the executive branch of government, the study recommends that the parliament should resume its powers for the sake of checks and balances, which was established with a good purpose of enhancing good and transparent governance. This transformation will play a critical role in African development. Africa also has the problem of vesting powers in to the leaders and that leads to the individuals wanting to stay in power by extending the limits of terms, both at intra party level and at national level. The study therefore concludes that this could be avoided by the process of institutionalisation where powers are vested in the institutions. The allocation of the budget by the parliament will also facilitate the independence of these institutions. The powers of the executive as a result, should be curtailed when it comes to issues of budget allocation.

It is further recommended, that for democratic consolidation in Africa, the heads of institutions such as the police, army, as well as anti-corruption be appointed by the parliamentary committees, for they are inclusive and will appoint people based on merit. As a result the need for reforms is eminent.

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ANNEXURE A: LETTER FROM LANGUAGE EDITOR

Michelle Woolley

WRITER EDITOR PROOFREADER TRANSLATOR

Articles • Direct Mailing • Newsletters • Web Content/blogs • Brochure

CERTIFICATE OF EDITING

This letter certifies that I have edited the dissertation detailed below.

Title:

Africa Style Democracy

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Regards
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