



Political leadership and human security in Lesotho (1993 to 2020): An analysis

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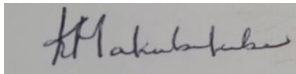
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DECLARATION

I, Khosi Emmanuel Makubakube, declare that:

1. The entire work contained herein is my original research except where otherwise indicated.
2. This thesis has not in its entirety or partly been submitted for obtaining any qualification at any other university.

Signature

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in black ink. The signature appears to be 'K Makubakube'.

Date 27 November 2023

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ABSTRACT

For a country to enjoy sustainable development and human security it requires accountable and transparent governance that respects the fundamental human rights and rule of law, functional institutions, and successful service delivery. This study adopts a political leadership perspective to analyse human security in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020. The research explored the nature of political leadership in Lesotho in the period under review. Furthermore, it sought to understand the conceptualization of political leadership and human security concepts. In addition, it examined the linkage of political leadership and human security. The study argued that without effective political leadership in Lesotho, it would be difficult to overcome human insecurity. Lastly, it recommended ways to promote effective political leadership so as to foster human security. The research employed the qualitative research approach. It further reviewed literature and used Thematic Qualitative Analysis to analyse data to identify recurrent issues. The research focused on the research findings and discussions. It discovered that Lesotho has a political leadership deficit since 1993 to 2020 which is central to human insecurity. Finally, the research concluded that political leadership and human security are interconnected, imperative and interdependent concepts and without effective political leadership, human security is impossible in Lesotho.

Key words: Political leadership, human security, democracy, governance, Lesotho.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABC	All Basotho Convention
AD	Alliance for Democrats
BCP	Basotho Congress Party
BNP	Basotho National Party
DC	Democratic Congress
LCD	Lesotho Congress for Democracy
LDF	Lesotho Defence Force
LMPS	Lesotho Mounted Police Service
RCL	Reformed Congress for Lesotho

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CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 Orientation

Lesotho is a landlocked country, surrounded by South Africa. It has a population of about 2 million (Worldmeter, 2021). Lesotho is a democratic country with the Monarch as head of state, and the Prime Minister as head of government. The country has been led by democratically elected leaders since 1993 after a military regime (Matlosa, 2018:78). However, Lesotho has faced persistent political instability since 1993. Lesotho's political leadership tried hard to get into parliament, not necessarily to represent the people, but to be in positions of power in order to use public assets for themselves and their constituencies (Shale, 2017:33). This is manifested by a degree of corruption, which undermines service delivery to the citizens. The Public Accounts Committee in the Lesotho Parliament estimates that the bureaucratic corruption has cost the country a minimum of M1.4 billion between 2013 and 2016 (2017:10). Furthermore, the public service is recruited through political affiliation not through merit. This has become a critical challenge to the country's strong governance and threat to service delivery.

In 2014, the New Zealand government made a recommendation to the Lesotho government on how to overcome the politicised public service (New Zealand Report, 2014). New Zealand recommended for the establishment of an independent public service and proposed several ways to do so (2014:8). For example, "that the government immediately signal its intention and begins the process to transform the public service into a non-political and independent public service where appointments are based on merit and made by an independent authority at arm's length from the executive." However, up to now, political leadership has not implemented such recommendations due to lack of political will. The study believes that unless the Lesotho government is led by effective political leadership, who do things in the interest of the citizens, good governance can hardly be achieved. Scholars have rightly established that political leadership performance can only be measured by the ability to deliver public goods to the citizens (Fourie and Schoeman, 2010:153, Rotberg 2009:111, Matlosa, 2018:78, Makoa, 2018:28, Akokpari, 2007). The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, (2008:18) rightly argues that the motivation

for service delivery may be weakened by lack of government capacity and lack of political willingness. Poor service delivery by the government exacerbates poverty. Akokpari, (2007) elaborates further this point when stating that human insecurity has reached high levels in Africa particularly in Sub-Saharan. He indicates that 40 percent of Sub-Saharan Africa's 800 million people live below the poverty line and this percentage is likely to increase. The study believes that political leadership and service delivery are at the centre for human security. Therefore, whether lack of service delivery causes human insecurity or not will be discussed in section 1.1.1. Besides service delivery, this study seeks to explore key issues involved in political leadership which might have caused human insecurity in Lesotho (1993-2020) and interpret the findings.

Political leadership on the one hand refers to "the ruling class that bears the responsibility of managing the affairs and resources of a political entity by setting and influencing policy priorities affecting the territory through different decision-making structures and institutions created for the orderly development of the territory" (Ogboidi, 2012:4-5). On the other hand, political leadership pertains to holding a position in government, and it is aimed at the welfare of both the state and its citizens (Cohen, 2016). The study acknowledges that there are other stakeholders whose duty is to ensure the welfare of the citizens, but it wants to focus on the political leadership whose mandate is derived from the Constitution of the country. The study will use Cohen's definition of political leadership as a working definition because it highlights criteria to measure performance of the effective political leadership.

Lesotho has been experiencing the scourge of poor political leadership from 1993 to 2020 (Matlosa, 2018:78; Makoja, 2018:28). Lesotho has been characterised by political instability caused by politicised security, lack of rule of law and promotion of impunity, corruption, politicised public service, lack of separation of power between executive, legislature and judiciary. Despite 27 years of the return to democracy, Basotho's aspirations remain largely unrealized due to political instability and security challenges. According to the Lesotho Reforms Roadmap document (n.d), the instability has been occasioned by "several sectors including weak state and governance institutions; elite dominance of the political space, continuous splintering of leader-centred political parties that are marked by poor management and weak internal democracy; as well as politicisation of security establishments."

The need for fundamental reforms in Lesotho has been the subject of several reports and communiqués under the auspices of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and reports by other international organisations such as The Commonwealth Secretariat (Lesotho Reforms Roadmap (n.d:5). Lesotho commenced the reform process in January 2020. The thematic areas of the reforms were constitution, parliament, judiciary, security sector, public service, economic sector and media. The reforms were expected to be done by August 2021. However, the reform process took longer time than expected. The above-mentioned reforms were passed in August 2022 in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution Act of 2022, which was published in the Lesotho Government Gazette, 67(77) (31.08.2022). The vision of the national reform agenda is “The transformation of the Kingdom of Lesotho into a just, prosperous and stable country marked by effective and people-focused institutions; national unity of purpose; rule of law, good governance and human rights” (n.d:7). This study contends that the implementation of the reforms in Lesotho will hardly effect change since “without effective leadership and good governance at levels... it is arguably virtually impossible to achieve and to sustain effective administration, to achieve goals, to sustain quality and deliver first-rate services” (Legas, 2015).

Efforts have been made to promote good governance, which would meet the basic needs of the citizens (Lesotho Vision 2020, 2004:11). The effort of addressing weak institutional leadership, food insecurity, ineffective management of health institutions, strengthening legislature oversight function, improving judiciary system, strengthening the public service for service delivery and accountability and depoliticise the security sector. But these efforts failed because change poses a threat to political leadership since they benefit from the status quo (Thabane, 2017:19). Furthermore, the Lesotho Country Report asserts that factors such as “unemployment, corruption, nepotism, pollution, insecurity, crime, indebtedness and hunger continue to worsen, irrespective of having had democratic governments continuously since 1993” (2020:16). The country experienced lack of rule of law and promotion of impunity, which led to an increase in human rights violations, particularly suspects who died in police custody (2020:13). Central to the Lesotho anticipated reforms, there must be an issue of political leadership. Failure to have effective reforms will be largely attributed to poor political leadership because one of the paramount expectations the citizens have from

political leadership is that it “exists primarily to provide for their taxpayers and inhabitants” (Rotberg, 2009:113).

Since its return to democracy in 1993, Lesotho has been punctuated with political, social and economic crises. In Mid-April 1994, Lesotho rebel troops assassinated the then Deputy Prime Minister, Selometsi Baholo. Besides assassination, the country had to face challenges such the unresolved kingship issue and a three-week long wage strike by the police officers which rendered the country ungovernable (Ngwawi, 2014). In February 1997, some police officers mutinied without success since they were suppressed by the military (Makoa, 1997:15). Several days later, the Prime Minister, Ntsu Mokhehle, formed a new political party called Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) in the parliament (Mothibe, 2017:65), thus, to some extent, contributing to economic underdevelopment. It was marked by corruption. In addition, the assassination of the Deputy Prime Minister and the split of the ruling party caused political instability, which contributed to economic decline in Lesotho.

The bad economic performance in Lesotho, in recent years, has been, among other factors, the result of the sustained political instability (World Bank, 2020). The economic underdevelopment is the result of poor political leadership in Lesotho. Due to lack of rule of law, those who are in the positions of political leadership have been engaging in corruption with impunity (Matlosa, 2017:141). Corruption is defined as “the abuse of public power for private benefit” (Tanzi, 1998:8). Corruption is one of the serious illnesses in Lesotho, which, if not addressed vigorously, will lead the country to a failed state. According to the 2019 Corruption Perception Index reported by Transparency International (2020), Lesotho scored appeared 83 out of 179 countries in the world. It was worse than South Africa, which appeared 69 out of 179 countries in comparison. Corruption has been a major factor contributing towards economic underdevelopment in the country.

In 2004, Lesotho formulated its long-term aspirations in the National Vision 2020 that states: “By the year 2020, Lesotho shall be a stable democracy, a united and prosperous nation; at peace with itself and its neighbour...its economy shall be strong... (2004:11). However, the vision was never realized. Instead, it was reported that by 2020, more than 700 000 Basotho would need urgent food aid (Lesotho Times,

23.07. 2019). It is a clear sign that political leadership failed to address economic underdevelopment, which is a threat to human security.

1.1.1 Human Security

There has been a paradigm shift from a state centred to a human centred approach in terms of defining the human security concept. Furthermore, human security is essentially a contested concept. There is no universal definition. However, in chapter two, the human security concept will be dealt with in depth.

The Human Development Report (1994) defines human security as including "...safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs or communities" (1994:23).

This study adopts the Human Development Report (1994) definition of human security because it supports the aim of this study. It understands that the citizenry must be at the centre when human security is discussed. This definition of human security extends to human rights. The Commission on Human Security (2006:4) concurs with this point when stating that human security comprises the provision and protection of vital core of all human lives in the manner that promote human freedoms and human fulfilment. The majority of the citizens of Lesotho are now experiencing human insecurity because, as Makoa (2018:28) explains, democracy in Lesotho has not experienced adequate protection of human rights; state agencies, instead of protecting human rights, violate these rights or tolerate their violation by non-state agents and forces. Then because of lack of political will by political leadership to address the challenges facing the country, Lesotho missed many opportunities in the form of financial assistance from the development partners to address its challenges such as combatting the disease [HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis as Lesotho is number one in Sub-Saharan] and other social illness, due to lack of visionary and selfless political leadership (Shale, 2017:24). The growing poverty, food insecurity and starving Basotho cannot survive without equitable financial assistance and state support (Makoa, 2004).

This study, therefore, seeks to interrogate the issue of leadership in Lesotho politics by exploring the nature and performance of political leadership from 1993 to 2020.

Furthermore, to understand the concepts of political studies and human security. In addition, after exploring the relationship between political leadership and human security, it aims to examine whether political leadership has caused human insecurity in Lesotho (1993-2020) and analyse and interpret the findings.

The year 2020 is significant because the National Vision of Lesotho, which was meant to fulfil the aspirations of the citizens, came to an end by 2020. One of the aspirations was that Lesotho shall be a prosperous country. Such aspiration was never achieved instead the country seemed to be swiftly moving towards a failed state. The study assumes that if political leadership properly discharges its duty, the human insecurity would be arrested since, as Rotberg (2009:114) argues, "It is according to [political leadership's] performance in the governance realm that states succeed or fail." Therefore, finding ways of addressing the issue of human insecurity in the country are critical.

It is critical to address the political leadership crisis in Lesotho because "it can, arguably, be said that Lesotho is confronted with a significant leadership challenge which has been at the centre of the country's political instability" (Mothibe, 2017:73). The research seeks to explore, using evidence in literature and employing the qualitative research methodology, the nexus between political leadership and human security in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020 and find ways of addressing the issue of human insecurity in the country. This research limits its focus on Lesotho as a democratic country. Leadership is a broad phenomenon but this study will focus only on political leadership. Furthermore, there are other factors which can contribute to human insecurity but this study is focusing on political leadership because it has a constitutional obligation to serve the citizens in Lesotho.

1.2 Research Process

1.2.1 Research Problem

In democracy, citizens have a legitimate expectation from political leadership to govern them in the best interests of the governed and usefully providing adequate services to them (Howe, 2013:13). Lesotho is faced with political instability mostly caused by the unprofessional and politicised military and public service (Rakolobe 2019, Mokone 2014, Monyake 2015, Lejete 2016, Likoti 2017)). This has negatively affected the state and its institutions. The institutions are so weak that they are incapable to play the

accountability role. The country political leadership declared their commitment to fight against corruption. For example, Prime Minister Thomas Thabane announced that corruption is the country's worst enemy after HIV/AIDS and declared zero tolerance to corruption (Mokone, 2014). Despite their commitment, corruption continues to wreak havoc in the country. Santho (2017:128) argues, "Lesotho needs peace, security, good governance and stability in order to realize inclusive growth and development and also needs development in order to be secure and achieve societal cohesion and human security."

Based on the mentioned challenges facing Lesotho, this study adopts a political leadership perspective to analyse human security in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020. Ramcharan, (2002:9) aptly captures that from a human security perspective, human security can be measured in terms of whether or not human rights are respected in practice. The study argues that without effective political leadership, whose mandate is to save citizenry from a chronic situation and protect their human rights, Lesotho might be facing threats to human security. However, Mothibe (2017:73) believes that the country is "confronted with a significant political leadership challenge which has been at the centre of the country's political instability." Based on the findings, the study seeks to explore the factors leading to ineffective political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020, present, interpret, and analyse the findings. The study further recommends ways for consideration in addressing the problem of human insecurity because Mothibe also argues that "leadership challenge needs to be urgently addressed and elevated as priority issue of concern of all Basotho, regional and continental bodies as well as developmental partners" (2017:73). Effective political leadership is an important prerequisite for the realization of human security.

1.2.2 Primary Research Objectives

1.2.2.1 To explore the nexus between political leadership and human security in Lesotho (1993-2020).

1.2.3 Secondary Research Objectives

1.2.3.1 To explore the performance of political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020.

1.2.3.2 To understand the concepts of political leadership and human security.

1.2.3.3 To examine the nexus between political leadership and human security.

1.2.3.4 Based on the findings, to analyse and recommend effective political leadership that would promote human security.

1.2.4 Primary Research question

1.2.4.1 What is the nexus between political leadership and human security in Lesotho (1993-2020)?

1.2.5 Secondary Research Questions

1.2.5.1 What was the performance of political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020?

1.2.5.2 What is understood by political leadership and human security?

1.2.5.3 What is the nexus between political leadership and human security?

1.2.5.4 What recommendations can be made for effective political leadership that would promote human security?

1.3 Central Theoretical Statement

Ineffective political leadership is the bedrock for human insecurity. Effective political leadership in any country is critical for economic growth and development. Effective political leadership will also ascertain that policies and strategies are operationalised in view of promoting human security. Shinoda (2004:11) rightly points out that the concept of human security “supplies early warning indicators to signal the risk of national breakdown.” Governments are measured by the strength of political leadership and their ability to effect changes when required and to achieve human security. There is a link between political leadership and human security because both are integral to each other.

The study adopts a broader view of human security (a human centred approach) which comprise both development and governance. Good political leadership is manifested “by good governance because it is certainly true that bad government is a problem so serious that no effort at poverty alleviation can succeed without facing it” (Mesquite and Root, 2002:27). Keohane (2005:709) furthermore asserts that leaders who are able to read the signs of the times will prosper and those whose policies are irresponsive to the demands of the times will fail. The research has indicated that Lesotho desperately needs visionary leadership, since its good governance has been seriously jeopardized, in order to realize inclusive growth and development.

As Ogbeidi (2012:4-5) rightly stated leadership is “the ruling class that bears the responsibility of managing the affairs and resources of a political entity by setting and influencing policy priorities affecting the territory through different decision-making structures and institutions created for the orderly development of the territory.” On the other hand, human security is, defined by UNDP Human Security Report (1994), as “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs or communities.” It is the primary duty of the political leadership to guarantee an environment in which people can live well. Political leadership must be seen taking responsibility to deliver services in such a way that citizens’ basic needs are met. Meeting the basic needs is tantamount to respecting the human rights of the citizens because human rights complement human security.

This complementarity is expertly captured by the Commission on Human Security (2003:10):

Human rights and human security are mutually reinforcing. Human security helps identify the rights at stake in particular situations. And human rights help answer the question: How should human security be promoted? The notion of duties and obligations (inherent in human rights) complements the recognition of the ethical and political importance of human security.

Human rights are critical mechanisms for the realization of human security. The goals of human security and human rights coincide, while the threats that result in human insecurity always jeopardize the enjoyment of human rights. It is against this backdrop that the study mentions human rights which has a direct link with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) definition of human security.

This study will explore political leadership performance which is critical for transformative change in governance and socio-economic development in Lesotho.

1.4 Research methodology

1.4.1 What is an academic research methodology?

According to Dawson (2019) a research methodology “is the primary principle that guides research.” He further states that “it becomes the general approach in conducting research on the topic and determines what research method [one] will use” (2019). This study will employ the qualitative research method. According to Bhandari

(2020) qualitative research “involves collecting and analysing non-numerical data, for example, text, video or audio to understand the concepts, opinions or experiences. It can be used to gather in-depth insights into a problem or generate new ideas for research.” The qualitative research approach is relevant for this study because the research will be based on conceptual and textual analysis. Furthermore, Jansen and Warren (2020) explain that a qualitative approach is used “when the research aims and objectives are explanatory in nature.” This dissertation adopted a qualitative research approach as its focus is on the nature of social reality. This means that the study will search and explain the meanings ascribed to social or human problems (Creswell, 2009:4). The qualitative approach therefore provides for a detailed approach that offers thorough descriptions and leaves room for subjective constructions. (Creswell, 2009:12-14).

Data was collected through a literature review and a collection of primary and secondary material. Secondary sources utilised include, but are not limited to, internet and electronic sources, academic articles, textbooks and political analyses and commentaries as the main collection methods. Printed sources include academic textbooks, books, institutional sources, newspaper articles, and public articles. The value of a literature review is that it examines what has already been studied on the topic, which will assist the researcher in determining the current state of affairs on various aspects related to the topic (Healy & Mulholland, 2007:105).

This explanation is relevant to this study since its aim is to explore performance of political leadership as well as critically analyse the link between political leadership and human security in Lesotho (1993-2020) in view of recommending effective political leadership that would promote human security.

1.4.2 Literature review

According to USC Libraries, a literature review “surveys books, scholarly articles and other source relevant to a particular area of research or theory and by so doing, provides a description, summary and critical evaluation of these works in relation to the research problem being investigated” (USC Libraries, 2021). This study will obtain academic literature for research from scholarly articles, journals, newspapers, books, international agency reports on Lesotho and other source relevant to area of research.

A number of authors has researched and written about political leadership (Warlin, 2003; Mesquite and Root, 2002; Rotberg, 2004; Minhas, 1988) and human security (Samadi & Mirabbassi, 2016; Alkire, 2003; Hussein, et al. 2004; United Nations Development Programme, 2015 and Samadi & Mirabbassi, 2017). The scholars have different definitions of political leadership but what they have in common is the fact that political leadership has power vested upon themselves in order to make decisions in the interests of the governed and deliver high quality of services.

According to Hendricks (2003) deficiency of leadership has posed a dangerous situation affecting the world today. Many people have been elected into the position of authority but have failed to act like leaders. Olonosakin quoted in Moderan (2015:8) argues that many people find themselves in the position of authority, which is not necessarily leadership because leadership is seen in the interaction between the leader and the people. For example, a politician may be elected into the office of authority as a President or Prime Minister and this does not necessarily make them leaders. That is why in Africa, basic needs of the citizens are hardly met.

Scholars do not agree over whether poor political leadership is the cause of underdevelopment in Africa or Africa itself does not have resources. Some blame underdevelopment in Africa on lack of resources. For example, Werlin (2003:329) argues that a lack of resource is bedrock for the difference between the poor countries and rich countries. The study does not concur because Africa is said to be rich in natural resources including Lesotho but because of bad management such resources do not seem to be economically transforming the African countries. On the other hand, some scholars blame underdevelopment of African countries on poor political leadership (Afegbua & Adejuwon, 2012; Mbah, 2013; Mills, 2010, 2011; Heleta, 2007). They further state that political leadership in Africa put their interest before the interests of the people they serve. This is exactly what is happening in Lesotho. For Mills (2011:2030) poor countries remain poor because their political leaders have deliberately decided not to fully implement sensible economic ideas. Rotberg (2004:14) rightly observes that in Africa, “political leaders do not use power as a means to deliver the public goods, but for themselves, they have no interest to improve the livelihood of their citizens.”

Rotberg (2004:15) believes that Botswana's success, for example, is based upon its visionary political leadership. This study upholds that poor political leadership is directly linked with underdevelopment and human insecurity.

Lack of enthusiasm from political leadership to enhance functioning of public services in a country in order to "furnish public and other goods to the citizens in an effective, transparent, impartial and accountable manner" cannot be hidden (Raj, 2010:717). The political leadership has a primary role to create the environment necessary for economic growth in the country. Bad governance negatively affects the economic growth and development and therefore, the society is denied provision of basic needs (human security). Therefore, Lesotho is facing a combination of challenges, namely, security, human security, stability, good governance and development. Santho (2017:128) points out that, "Lesotho needs peace, security, good governance and stability in order to realize inclusive growth and development in order to be secure and achieve societal cohesion and human security." Since political leadership is exercised through good governance whose goal is human security, this study seeks to examine the nexus between political leadership and human security in view of creating ways for promoting a more effective political leadership in order to promote human security.

The phenomenon of human security was confined to the military area until the end of the 1980s (Buzan, 1999:23). Now there is a new perspective about human security. For instance, Rahman (2010:1) points out that new human security concept gives preference to human beings and their sophisticated social and economic relations over the state. The new human security concept rightly takes on board the fact that the dignity of the human beings is guaranteed. However, it has received considerable criticisms from various perspectives (Alkire, 2003:22) and it will be dealt with in depth in chapter two.

After a long debate of what the human security concept is or is not, the study believes that the human security concept describes the kind of security the government of Lesotho should provide to its citizens. A country's recognition and respect for basic human rights of its people is at the very core of the quality of its governance (African Development Bank, 2006:36).

The UNDP Report (1994) explicitly articulates components of human security including: a) Economic Security: an individual's enjoyment of a basic income, either

through gainful employment or from a social safety net; b) Food security: an individual's access to food via his or her assets, employment, or income; c) Health security: an individual's freedom from various diseases and debilitating illnesses and his or her access to health care; d) Environmental security: the integrity of land, air, and water, which make human habitation possible; e) Personal security: an individual's freedom from crime and violence, especially women and children who are more vulnerable; f) Community security: cultural dignity and to inter-community peace within which an individual lives and grow; g) Political security: every person must enjoy human rights and be protected against violation of such.

The new human security concept is all-encompassing, and it entails two main components, namely, freedom from fear and freedom from want (Akokpari, 2007:9). It is a directive to political leaders to commit to avoid anything that can dehumanise citizens. It actually calls for respect for human dignity. The existence of democratic governance is necessary environment in which human security can be enjoyed (Aning and Lartey, 2019:229).

Effective political leadership may be measured by ability to address the human security challenges, as articulated by 1994 UNDP Report, because Aristotle argues that whoever becomes a political leader must govern well, that is, for the good of the citizens (bk 3.ch.7). Matshabaphala (2015) echoes Aristotle and asserts that political leadership "is about making people happy through experiencing good governance and ensuring that the right people get the right job with good processes and leadership being accountable to the people." In addition, stability can be realized only if human security is guaranteed (Axworthy, 1997:184). Political leadership has the constitutional obligation to create an environment in which every person lives in dignity and peace. Human insecurity is man-made, and it can be avoided.

Thomas (2001:9) rightly asserts that human security is directed towards proper understanding of what democracy is, one that creates opportunity for all to participate in the decisions that affects their lives. Human security promotes self-governing and calls for a proper response from political leadership.

Political leadership through the lens of the components of human security is critically examined because, as Thomas (2001:160) rightly puts it; human security is mostly the result of existing power structures that decide who enjoy security of not, with a view of

establishing in whose interest governance may be operating; and based on the findings, to recommend political leadership for Lesotho that would improve service delivery to the public in order to combat human insecurity.

1.5 Research design

As indicated earlier, the study follows a qualitative research approach. This will be applied through a literature study of existing literature.

The steps to be followed in the analysis of data are first, thorough study of documents such as articles, monographs, policy documents and reports and academic studies on the nature of political leadership in Lesotho (1993-2020). Second, themes related to human security will be generated. Third, the study will analyse data collected on both political leadership and human security in order to examine their nexus. Fourth, this study will interpret data and explain the relevance of linking political leadership and human security. Fifth, a review will be written of the other cases considered where political leadership addressed human insecurity. Sixth, then a report of findings will be compiled interpreting the data relevant to creating ways for promoting a more effective political leadership in order to promote human security.

This process will enable the study to achieve its specific aims, namely, 1) to explore the performance of political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020; 2) to examine the nexus between political leadership and human security; 3) to critically analyse the relevance of linking political leadership to human security in Lesotho and 4) based on the findings, to create ways for promoting a more effective political leadership in order to promote human security

1.6 Ethical considerations

Conducting research has become more systematic and accountable. Laws and regulations have been introduced which control access to information as well as the behaviour of researchers. Also, codes of ethics have been formulated within institutions to ensure that research is delivered following professional and ethical standards (Sarantakos, 2013:17). Regarding professional practice, researchers are expected to uphold ethical standards that avoid the fabrication or falsification of data, the misuse of authority, and misleading ownership ascriptions (Sarantakos, 2013:17-18). For Bhandari (2021) ethical considerations in research “are a set of principles that guide a research design and practices. These principles include voluntary

participation, informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality, potential for harm and results communication.” This is not directly relevant to this study since it is not going to involve participants in the research process. Yet, the literature study will adhere to conventions pertaining to ethical and honest usage of documentary material, such as utilisation of material for academic research and recognition of the work of others. The study is for academic purposes only.

1.7 Limitations

This research will be limited to exploring political leadership in Lesotho (1993-2020) as one of the African democratic countries. The period under consideration is 27 years only. The country was never democratically ruled since its independence. It is only after a military regime ended in 1993 that Lesotho experienced democratic rule. Leadership is a broad phenomenon, and the interest of the research is leadership in the political context. Furthermore, there may be other contributing factors towards human insecurity, but the study will focus on political leadership whose mandate is derived from constitutional obligation. The political leadership will be explored in terms of finding out what actually impacts negatively its nature and its quality in as far as the performance is concerned which has a direct bearing on the human insecurity.

1.8 Significance of the study

The study hopes to make a contribution in the field of knowledge and the understanding that political leadership is not only about power and control but performance. Furthermore, the findings of the study will contribute additional information for further research on the related field. The challenges facing Lesotho stretches from a condition of poverty to a lack of security and safety. This is a result of poor political leadership and an inability to guarantee human security in the country. Although several authors (Shale, 2009; Shale, 2017; Santho, 2017; Matlosa, 2017) have explained why Lesotho remains poor over fifty years of independence, this study argues that Lesotho’s human insecurity has more to do with its internal weakness, notably, its ineffective political leadership. Mothibe (2017:93) believes that “leadership challenge [in Lesotho] needs to be urgently addressed and elevated as a priority issue of concern to citizens living in Lesotho - ordinary citizens, political parties, civil society groups, regional and continental bodies, as well as development partners.”

1.9 Chapter Layout

Chapter 1. Introduction

Chapter 2. Review of literature and definition of concepts

- Leadership, Political leadership
- Origins of security. Overview of Human development report 1994 on human security – a new concept of security.

Chapter 3. The performance of political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020 (What is actually happening in Lesotho in as far as political leadership is concerned)

- Analysing the essence of political leadership as it is instrumental in the course of augmenting the life of the people.
- Analysing whether the existence of the effective political leadership is an important factor in promoting human security.

Chapter 4 Analysing and interpreting the findings

- Analysis of the linkage of political leadership and human security based on the analysis in preceding chapters.
- Based on the findings, recommend political leadership for Lesotho that would improve service delivery to the public to combat human insecurity.

Chapter 5. Summary of findings, discussions, recommendations and conclusions

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND HUMAN SECURITY

2.1 Introduction

Political leadership is critical for promoting human security. Rotberg (2003:2) correctly states that “nation-states exist to provide a decentralized method of delivering political goods to persons living with designates parameters (borders), that is, supply of security especially human security.” Governments are measured by the ability of political leadership to provide human security to its citizens.

In public order there are two basic constituents of human life, namely, leadership and governance. Governance entails the interactivity between formal institutions and citizens, among citizens themselves and the way decisions are made and implemented in a given setting (Vanlalhlmpui, 2018:61). Leadership is essential if good governance is to be obtained, development and sustainability must be maintained in any country (Nicholas-Omoregbe et. al., 2016).

Leadership is universal. Wherever there is a group of people, there is a leader. There are many elements of leadership such as skills and character traits which are important in leadership, as well as different forms of leadership but it is not the intention of this study to discuss them. Leadership as a concept could be understood within a context since there are various dimensions of leadership. Therefore, this study will discuss political leadership in the economic, socio-political context. The following will be discussed: historical overview on the conceptualization of political leadership, conceptualization of political leadership, definition of political leadership, conceptual framework, conceptualization of governance, definition of governance and lastly, conclusion.

2.2 Historical overview on the conceptualization of political leadership

The origin of political leadership is found in Western philosophical history, particularly, Greek philosophers. It is an attempt to establish the ideal form of government (Salmon, 2006:4). Plato believes that the best form of government must be rule by a “philosopher King” who would understand that, even though their position put them

above the law, they would willingly subject themselves to the established laws (Chesterman, 2008:333; Cooper and Hutchinson, 1997:1402).

This view was opposed by some scholars on the basis that it would promote Voltaire's notion of "benevolent dictatorship", which allows a tyrant to govern without public consultation as long as they are willing to govern in a way that promotes the common good (Wolff, 2006:62). In spite of his view, Plato admitted that it would be a huge task to identify an individual with "philosopher king" characteristics.

As a compromise, Plato proposes that political leadership must be constituted by guardians. For him, guardians have not adequately acquired necessary knowledge to fully distinguish between good and bad like the "philosopher king." In addressing the importance of effectiveness in leadership, Plato suggests the "Guardians" as the imperative leaders of the state. Plato reiterates that these leaders "must have the highest degree and qualities required to guard the city...must be intelligent, able and also care for the city (Plato Book III, 31).

It seems that it is difficult to agree on the manner in which a desired political leadership can be identified perhaps due to scarcity of such people, but effective leadership and the necessity for socio-political security and peace have, from the time immemorial, remained a philosophical debate. Furthermore, the debate rightly asserts that capable and understandable people, who are inspired by the interests of the populace and who are morally grounded, must govern the state.

According to Aristotle, a person is both a political and social being. By virtue of being such, they find themselves in the organised community which is led by political leadership. For him "he who is without a city through nature rather than chance is either a mean sort or superior to [other people]" (Aristotle quoted by Porter, 1989:120). Aristotle, further, asserts that the state must have a political system called polity, which must not be ruled by a dictator. The kind of political leadership he proposes must be superior, autonomous and above all, must be driven by the interests of their subjects. (Aristotle quoted by Porter, 1989:118).

Aristotle does not put emphasis on qualities of political leadership but on the nature of the person which makes them eligible to become political leaders. Once they are political leaders, they must consider themselves as superior to others. However, being

superior does not give political leadership permission to disrespect the rights of the populace. Both Aristotle and Plato share the same principle of always seeking, first, the interests of the populace.

In *The Prince*, Machiavelli argues that the state must be headed by a Prince as its political leadership. For him what is important is for political leadership to grab power and obtain glory rather than seeking to achieve the common good and good behaviour (Origaro, 2017). He further maintains that effective leadership is characterised by ability to exercise power on both friends and enemies. According to him, political leadership must be strategic and tactical in applying power or violence on the populace. However, the Prince must always consider the interests of the state.

Machiavelli illustrates how the Princedom is obtained. He also shares the same opinion with Plato and Aristotle, in as far as the interests of the masses must be prioritised. Nye (2008) criticised that the hard power proposed by Machiavelli cannot longer work to recruit followers in modern liberal democracies. He rightly states that the best way for political leadership to have impact on the populace is to use soft power underpinned by charisma and compelling communication; ability to assist citizens to formulate and achieve shared goals and become aware of the situation in which they live and collective strategies to overcome such unwanted situation. Nye (2008) asserts that soft power must not be mistaken to mean inability to enforce laws when it is necessary.

According to Hobbes, there is a departure from the state of nature and its associated problems and the abnormalities of human nature, which makes him to suggest that for the success of political leadership, there must be a contract in which the individuals surrender their rights, for the common good, to the Leviathan. For him political leadership (Leviathan) could be constituted by an individual or a group of people. Leviathan is charged with protecting interests, wills and peace of the populace. The primary duty is to protect citizens and their property from the external or internal enemies.

Hobbes proposes something unique, the relinquishment of rights by the citizens in order to be governed. This must be made through a contract, which was motivated by the fact that each person lives for themselves. The community spirit was lacking. He is actually introducing laws which govern the citizens. He further emphasises the

primary role of the government, which to protect the lives and property of the people. The priority of the government is to safeguard the interests and wills of the citizens; and to promote peace and national unity.

Locke's leadership perspective is grounded on representative governance. In addition, he introduces three arms of government, namely, the legislative, executive and judiciary. He further asserts that trustworthy individuals who will not only be driven by the interests of the populace but by their common good too must constitute political leadership (Locke quoted by Porter, 1989:352).

Locke introduces a series of improvements in as far as political leadership is concerned. Locke uniquely initiated three arms of government which are still working in the Westminster system of government. Lesotho is using the same model of government. In addition, he introduces the representative system of the government. It means that people participate by electing their representative in government. He finally highlights the importance of being driven by the common good in everything that political leadership is doing and a virtue of trustworthiness in leadership.

In his Social Contract Theory, Rousseau transited from the state of nature to the civil state. Rousseau advocates for the individual participation of the populace in political decision-making. In his General Will, he points out that individuals must surrender their rights to the community for their good while they are enjoying their freedom and political equality (Rousseau quoted by Porter, 1989:412). He argues that the mandate of leadership is to safeguard the will of the citizens.

Rousseau is moving away from the understanding that people exist for themselves into the acknowledgement that the state represents every person who lives in union with others. But he does not seem to be trusting the representative democracy for he considers it be a disaster because in his perspective, "it can't be me that my representative represents. At best, it can only be his idea of me that he represents and much more likely, his own interest will interpose itself between him and those whom he appears to represent" (McClelland, 1996:271).

In his debate, Mill identifies liberty as a paramount important aspect in the state. He further argues that people are born free but the manner in which they exercise their freedom over others must be guided carefully by the state. In addition, the state must

be protected against dictatorship by political leaders (Mill quoted by Porter, 1989: 505). Moreover, he asserts that political leadership must focus on the will of the people and protect the interests of the citizens. Political leadership is charged with maintaining wellbeing of the populace.

Mill, like the above-mentioned philosophers, detests dictatorship. He points out that nature has provided people with a gift of freedom. However, people must be taught that there is limit to freedom in order to promote and maintain co-existence. Like others, Mill maintains that the will or interests of the people must dictate how the state business must be run. Priority must be given to the interests of the people.

2.3 Conceptualization of political leadership

The study has adequately demonstrated that historically political leadership is understood to be based on holding power, which automatically elevated them above other human beings in the society. Kings, emperors and chiefs were considered to be superhuman. This understanding of holding power created a distance between the leaders and their subjects. As time went on, that type of leadership was interrogated and a more logical and democratic leadership was articulated.

2.3.1 Definition of political leadership

The concept of leadership originates from diverse disciplines such as psychology (Herman, 2014); management theory (Gulick & Unvick, 1937 as cited in Van Wart, 2013), organizational studies (Yuk, 1989) and political science (Tucker, 1995). There are outstanding areas in which leadership is exercised like corporate, organizations and military. Furthermore, there is also another area called human social leadership where scholars situate the concept of political leadership (Masculli, Molchanoc & Knight, 2009). Political leadership is considered a complex social process (Jole & Cole, 1999).

The literature of political science accede that political leadership is one of the most critical constituents of political structures. Political leadership is an essential quality of government. The actions of political leadership demonstrate the ability of the government to realize its goals and effect changes that are required. Although the role and importance of political leadership in a given state are highly acknowledged, there is no generally accepted definition of the concept political leadership (Kehinde et al., 2016, Teles, 2015, Hockin, 1977). However, scholars concur that political leadership

is marked by power and control which underpin operations. Political leadership has the ability to make things happen according to law.

For Njoku (2002:219), leadership is the ability to lead and co-ordinate people effectively for a common goal.

As an attempt to create an all-inclusive definition, the social scientists agreed that “Leadership is the ability to influence, motivate and enable others to contribute to the effectiveness and success of the organisations of which they are members” (House et. al., 2004 as cited in Bass & Bass, 2008).

This definition highlights the importance of interaction between the governor and governed which is seen in the ability to influence and motivate. Furthermore, the governed are able to participate and contribute towards achieving a common goal. In addition, there is a sense of belonging to the group which has delegated its power to their leader to act on their behalf.

2.3.2 Conceptual framework

According to Cartwright (1978) leadership means ability of the person who leads to influence others to do what he/she wants in order to realize their good. Effective leadership manifests itself in the way in which the political role is played out as well as how the exercise of power influences the outcome of governance and development in the country (Iyoha et al. 2015; UNDP 2015; World Bank 1989).

Okadigbo (1987:1) argues political leadership connotes the character that is given the mandate to run the affairs of the citizens and the way in which such character exercises power in relation to the dispensation of the natural resources and the wellbeing of the citizens. This point is corroborated by Ogbeidi (2021:4-5) by providing a more elaborative definition of the concept as follows:

The ruling class that bears the responsibility of managing the affairs and resources of a political entity by setting and influencing policy priorities affecting the territory through different decision-making structures and institutions created for the orderly development of the territory. It could be described as the human element that operates the machineries of government on behalf of an organized territory.

It implies that every person who holds a decision-making position in government either by elections or appointment represents political leadership and expected to take decision on behalf of the citizens for the benefit of the citizens.

Furthermore, political leadership is considered to go beyond the Prime Minister or President and embrace all technocrats. This point is aptly captured by Chiamogu (2017:4), who argues that political leadership “goes beyond the ruling elites that directly manage the affairs of the territory; it embraces the totality of the political class that has the capacity to manipulate the machineries of government even from behind the scenes.” It means that there must be a chain of events towards service delivery. All the public service must be engaged and committed to service delivery. But this can only happen when political leadership is effective in terms of commanding things to happen according to law. The political leaders’ actions must be seen as having the intention to promote good governance which will in turn bring about necessary economic development. Effective political leadership is measured by the ability to distribute and allocate necessary resources to meet citizens’ needs.

Unfortunately, some African leaders in their decision-making are no longer motivated by the interest of citizens but what satisfies their unquenchable thirst of corruption. This point is corroborated by the Report of the First Conference of Intellectuals of Africa and the Diaspora (2004) as quoted by Chiamogu (2017:4), who laments that “the greatest problem in Africa is the provision of effective, progressive leadership which seeks not to be served but to serve, a leadership that goes beyond verbal declarations to action.” To mitigate the leadership crisis in Africa, Hutchful (1991:55) rightly discovers that democracy in Africa is lacking two key elements, namely, implementation of democratic principles and creating an economic friendly environment. The Conference competently states that the African leaders are good at talking but very poor in action.

Political leadership is characterised by commitment to promoting good governance, directing policy making and introducing effective administration reforms (Teles, 2015:25). Proponents of the good governance agenda believe that “economic growth and development are impossible without good governance” (Gisselquist, 2012:1). Good governance is influenced by effective political leadership. In addition, Levi (2006:5) argues that “a major problem confronting the contemporary world is how to

build effective governments where they do not exist.” Governments are administered by political leadership whose effective and visionary leadership is manifested in good governance. In other words, promoting good governance necessarily calls for enhancing political leadership.

In a political context leadership can be noticed in an interaction between the leader and populace. The populace formally grant permission to the leader to manage their affairs and when necessary, take decisions on their behalf because the expectation is that all the decisions to be taken by the leader will always be inspired by the interests of the populace. The populace is expecting the leader to give a direction towards achieving a common goal. All scholars hold in common the fact that political leadership must be morally grounded, visionary and competent and above all, political leadership must, at all times, be driven by the interests of the populace for the common good. It seems that it is impossible to successfully discharge the functions of planning, controlling, organization and influence if there is no efficient and effective political leadership.

Various authors have suggested that political leadership is mandated to plan, control, organise and implement strategies and policies. Political leadership discharge their duty in the democratic government and this is done through state institutions whose purpose is to deliver services to the citizens at the grass roots level in order to ensure human security.

Leadership and governance are at the centre of development in the world. A successful implementation of the state strategies and policies depends to a greater extent on the political leadership. The existence of effective political leadership is a fundamental factor in promoting good governance (Irawanto et. al. 2016). Good governance promotes human security since it necessitates delivery of political goods to the citizens. The actions of political leadership have a direct effect on the security or insecurity of the citizens.

2.5 Concept of human security

Since the emergence of the 1994 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme, the concept human security changed completely the way it was narrowly understood in terms of being state centric and no longer “functional with the realities of today” (Anderson, 2012:34). The Report expressed the necessity to

introduce a new idea of security. This, therefore, brings attention to a people-centred approach. However, some scholars critique this new idea of the concept human security. The study, in this chapter, seeks to demonstrate that security is not solely about the protection of the citizens from the external threats but also about the structural threats directly linked to environmental issues, human rights, economic development, food or health (Pedrazzini and Schnabel, 2014:12). There may be no external violence in the state but citizens may be experiencing all sorts of threats. The new concept of human security is inviting political leaders to pay attention to the well-being of the citizens. This chapter will further deal with the conceptualization the concept of human security, define security, conceptual framework, components of human security and conclusion.

2.6 Conceptualization of human security

There has been a paradigm shift in understanding the concept of security since the end of the Cold War. The understanding of security had been centred around state security whose primary task was to protect citizens from the external or internal threats. Security is currently understood as “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs or communities” (Human Development Report (1994), (1994:23).

2.6.1 Definition of security

Security is one of the most fundamental issues in society because it is an essential concept that human beings desire (Afolabi 2015:1). Afolabi further points out that essentially, security includes peace, safety, gladness and preservation of human and physical resources or no crisis or threats to human dignity, without which development and progress of any human society is impossible (2015:1).

Ogaba gives a broad overview of what security entails and he submits:

Security has to do with freedom from danger or threats to a nation's ability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest and enhance the well-being of its people. Thus internal security could be seen as the freedom from or the absence of those tendencies, which could undermine internal cohesion, and the corporate existence of a country and its ability to maintain its vital institutions for the promotion of its core values and socio-political and

economic objectives, as well as meet the legitimate aspirations of the people (2010: 35-36).

The new idea of security involves ability to create an environment in which every citizen lives in dignity. Security is achieved when the citizens abandon the tendencies which destroy unity and create conflict. Citizens are bound together by shared values and interests.

2.6.2 Definition of human security

Human security has widened the focus from territorial security to the lives of people and communities inside the borders. According to Muguruza (2007: 22) it “includes the security against economic privatization, an acceptable quality of life and a guarantee of fundamental human rights.”

The human security concept has been interpreted in such a way that it considers all contemporary challenges. In a similar way, the United Nations Development Programme in its Human Development Report of 1994 argued that the concept of security has “for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy, or as global security from a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation states than to people” (Human Development Report 1994:22). Therefore, the traditional understanding of human security is widened to include, according to Jolly and Ray (2006:4), “the safety of individuals and groups from such threats as hunger, disease and political instability; and protection from “sudden and hurtful disruptions in patterns of daily life.”

The Human Development Report (1994) broadened the human security concept to include “...safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, and protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs or communities” (1994:23). This is a working definition for the study.

The Human Development Report (1994) expressed its concern with human beings:

Human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons —it is a concern with human life and dignity.

The broadened interpretation of the human security concept guarantees freedom to live in dignity. Citizens enjoys remuneration from employment, good health is ensured, and harmonious co-existence is guaranteed. There is stability, peace and cohesion.

United Nations Heads of State 2005 World Summit on the United Nations reform refers to the term human security as “the right of the people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair” (2005:143).

Human security focuses on human beings and therefore it touches every area of human needs. Hubert expounds the concept when he asserts that:

In essence, human security means safety of people from violent and non - violent threat. It is a condition of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threat to people's rights, their ability or even their lives. It is an alternative way of seeing the world taking people as its point of reference rather than focusing exclusively on the security of the territory or government. Like other security concept - national security, economic security, and food security - it is all about protection (1999:3).

Some threats are legally supported to constitute structural violence. Therefore, human security guards against structural violence which refers to “the damage resulting from social, political and economic structures in society” (Harris 2009:294).

Kofi Annan (2000) outlines human security in the following:

Human security in its broadest sense embrace far more than the absence of violent conflict and with deprivation. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his/her own potential. Every step in this road sense direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment —these are the interrelated building blocks of human, and therefore national, security.

Kofi Annan affirms the fact that every person exists for a reason. Human security in a broad sense creates an environment in which people are able to fulfil their aspirations. Furthermore, he notes that what happens now has impact on the future generations. The future generations will inherent healthy, prosperous, and united nations.

For Ajdari and Aspharpour (2011:42) human security is “removal of poverty and deprivation, having a suitable level of life and to guarantee the basic rights to humans” in its two dimensional aspects, namely, “quantitative aspect which consists satisfying physical needs [such as] food, home, education and public health” and “qualitative aspect [which] relates to human personality that entails individual independency, the right to determine the destiny and free participation in social life.”

Human beings are biological, social and intellectual beings and without food there is no life. It is essential to address the quantitative and qualitative aspects of human security without which the dignity of citizens is compromised. Actually, there has to be a balance between quantitative and qualitative aspects of human security.

This observation is also made by Thomas (2000) who submits:

Human security describes a condition of existence in which basic material needs are met and human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community, can be met. Thus, while material sufficiency lies at the core of human security, in addition the concept encompasses non-material dimensions to form a qualitative whole. Human security is oriented towards an active and substantive notion of democracy, and is directly engaged with discussions of democracy at all levels, from the local to the global.

Fundamental needs must be met such as food, water, shelter, education and health but qualitative aspect of human security is also essential since it has a direct link with quantitative aspect of human security.

Even though there has been a variety of human security definitions, there has been debate among scholars about the human security concept. However, human security emphasises centrality of the human beings in socio-political and economic development. It further introduces a holistic approach in the welfare (socially, psychologically, economically and politically) of the citizens. In addition, it is concerned with safety from chronic situations, protection and employment of the fundamental human rights.

2.6.3 Conceptual framework

The human security concept has received considerable criticism from various quarters (Alkire 2003:22). First criticism is vagueness of human security concept. Paris (2001:88) argues that “human security is like ‘sustainable development’, everyone is

for it, but few people have a clear idea of it means. Existing definitions of human security tend to be extraordinarily expansive and vague, encompassing everything from physical security to psychological well-being, which provides policymakers with little guidance in the prioritization of competing policy goals and academic little sense of what exactly, is to be studied.” However, Jolly et al. (2004:187) counteracted the view of vagueness, he contends that human security has individual freedoms and rights as its priorities against which a state can be hold accountable. To supplement this, Truong (2005) argues that human security focuses its attention on “basic needs and basic rights for all.”

This study observes that the widened interpretation of human security is clear in that it covers specific insecurities such as poverty, lack of access to health services, education, shelter and clean drinking water. It further involves the qualitative aspects such as basic rights.

Second criticism is incoherence. Some scholars who prefer the narrow formulation of human security definition contends that its broad formulation (Beebe and Kaldor 2008, Chen and Narasimhan 2003, King and Murray 2001, Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy 2007, Thomas 2000) destroys chances of using it as a policy tool (Macfarlene and Kong 2003, Mack 2002). First, Paris (2001:95) criticizes the proponents of the human security concept who want to arbitrarily narrow its definition without providing “a compelling rationale for highlighting certain values.” Second, Jolly and Ray (2007) asserts that the very breath of the human security concept is the ground for its strength, enabling policy makers to employ a people centred approach within their own context, creating ‘national subsets of human security.’ Finally, Bosold (2006:23) argues that the human security concept provides a focus for policy response that can foster coherence and with its “large normative frame can influence other policy too.”

Critics argues that a list of threats formulated by the human security concept demonstrates incoherence. But the study believes that human security must be comprehended in terms of its specific context. All states are affected differently by different threats and as a result, this enables each state to make policy which addresses its unique challenges or threats.

Third criticism is arbitrariness or too wide usage. Freedman (1998:53) asserts that “once anything that generates anxiety or threatens the quality of life in some respects

becomes labelled a 'security problem'." Furthermore, Macfarlane and Khong complain that it "lacks prioritising power" (2003) and that it "has placed human beings at the core of security and the state is no longer privileged over the individual" (2006:14). Firstly, according to Fukuda-Parr and Messineo (2012:24) threats have been named for which responses must be developed. Lastly, Ajdari and Asgharpour (2011:42) argues that the complex nature and feature of security governments "are custodians of security" and there is no way human security can undermine the state.

The study maintains that it is a primary responsibility for the state to ensure the welfare of the citizens. This point is aptly captured by (Krause, 1994, 2004; Axworthy, 2001, 2004, Sen, 2000, Fukuda-Parr and Messineo, 2012), who submits that it is the responsibility of the states and its ability to protect its citizens against ever-growing list of threats.

After a long debate of what the human security concept is or is not, Fukuda-Parr and Messineo (2012:15) believes that finally "we understand it as a concept that is normative, describing what kind of security for whom the world should strive. This observation is also made by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (2001), which posits that human security is consequently creating "new demands and expectations in relation to the way states treat their own people."

Critics expressed their discomfort regarding the concept of human security which introduced new dimensions of safety from chronic threats and prevention from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life (Paris, 2001, 2004; Duffield and Waddell, 2004, 2006; Krause, 2004; Chandler, 2008) They feel that the Commission on Human security is introducing something new that is unrealistic. But the study holds a different view in that human security is critical since it seeks deliberate actions from political leadership to ensure safety of the citizenry and protection of the citizenry from anything that may threaten their pattern of daily life.

2.7 Components of human security

Human security is not a replacement of national security but a complimentary to the national security. The Human Development Report (1994) explicitly introduced and articulates seven interconnected components of human security including economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (1994:24-25). The absence of anyone of the

mentioned components poses a threat to human security. Their absence constitutes human insecurity against which the government should be held accountable.

2.7.1 Economic security

Human beings are working beings for survival. They must be compensated for the work done. If they are not working, there must be income for the social safety net. Jolly and Ray (2006:4) explains that economic security is a guaranteed basic income derived from employment or from a social safety net.

2.7.2 Food security

Food is essential for the survival of human beings. It is imperative that people are able to access daily food. According to Human Development Report (1994) food security “means that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. This requires not just enough food to go round. It requires that people have ready access to food-that they have an "entitlement" to food, by growing it for themselves, by buying it or by taking advantage of a public food distribution system” (1994:27).

2.7.3 Health security

Human beings are biological beings and their bodies needs attention. They need to be educated on how to live a healthy life. Health security covers a variety of issues such access to clean drinking water, to health services, living in a habitable environment, receiving support during pregnancy and delivery, prevention of HIV/AIDS and other disease (Gierszewski, 2017:54).

2.7.4 Environmental security

According to Afolabi (2015:6) “the primary goal of [environmental security] is to protect people from the short and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment.” Environmental security deals with issues such as prevention of water and air pollution, land conservation and prevention of deforestation.

2.7.5 Personal security

Personal security is concerned with protection of citizens from torture by the state and other entities (Gierszewski, 2017:54). Citizens should not be arbitrarily arrested.

2.7.6 Community security

According to Human Development Report (1994) “Most people derive security from their membership in a group-a family, a community, an organization, a racial or ethnic

group that can provide a cultural identity and a reassuring set of values.” It aims to prevent ethnic discrimination, ethnic conflicts and protect indigenous people.

2.7.7 Political security

Political security embraces guarantee and protection of fundamental human rights of citizenry. It is concerned with whether people live in a society that honours their basic freedoms (Afolabi 2015:6). It protects citizens from the state that may want to deny its citizens a freedom to express themselves, political detention, and systematic ill-treatment.

2.8 Conclusion

The United Nations Development Report of 1994 introduced a new idea of the security. The Report rightly discovers that the definition of security proved inadequate in comprehending the contemporary threats confronting people in the world. The report acknowledges that in some states, the cause of insecurity is internal and the source is the state itself. The state has abdicated its fundamental duty of protecting its citizens instead, it represses them. This discovery necessitated a shift from assumption that the existence of the state means the protection of its citizens. Therefore, human security must be considered as complementing state security, promoting human rights and driving human development. The new idea of human security is a well-thought-out approach which is holistic because it covers social, political, psychological, spiritual and biological aspects of the citizens. The study suggests that if the mentioned seven dimensions of human security are carefully implemented, the challenges of insecurity may be combated. The following chapter provides an overview of political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020.

CHAPTER THREE

AN OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN LESOTHO FROM 1993 TO 2020

3.1 Introduction

Political developments in Lesotho since independence in 1966 have become a source of instability with negative consequences on economic and human development. The country experienced undemocratic rule from 1970 to 1986 and military rule from 1986 to 1993. In 1993, Lesotho returned to multi-party elections of which the Basotho Congress Party (BCP) won. Basotho was expecting to enjoy the fruits of the new democratic dispensation after a long democratic deficit in the country.

Political leadership is a concept that should be understood contextually. Therefore, the study in this chapter seeks to examine political leadership in the socio-political and economic context in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020. This point is fluently captured by Makoa (2018:26) who posits that “students of governance would be interested in and ask how those at the helm of state power exercise that power, that is, govern and/ or behave; hence the notion of good governance as a test of any regime or rule; also in how ruler govern or manage the affairs of the state and the value of good that accrues to citizens and communities.” Therefore, wide-ranging issues affecting Lesotho, its citizens and its future will be discussed with “an understanding that to involve people and serve the interests of citizens, the state must be inclusive, responsive, and capable of carrying out its intentions” (Hyden and Samuel, 2011:2).

3.2 An overview of political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020

Whenever there is a group of people, there is a leader. This point is corroborated by Blondel (1993), who argues that leadership is one of the essential elements of political life because it is expected that political leadership, with the power vested upon them, can shape the destiny of their country. The economic development of the country solely depends on the ability to govern the country well. This is expressed succinctly by lyoha et. al. (2015), who submit that leadership is “critical to providing better governance, which advances societal development because it is a process of influencing activities of the [government] towards goal setting and goal attainment.”

Proper systems and structures in governance are important for service delivery. Anyadike and Emech (2014:70) agrees with this point when they assert that, among other things, which are necessary for the attainment of good governance are reward system, popular participation, efficient systems and structures. For this study, the following elements will be considered to examine political leadership in Lesotho for the period under review: accountability, transparency, citizen participation, responsiveness, combating corruption and rule of law.

3.2.1 Accountability

Accountability is demonstrated at different capacities such as political, financial and administrative accountability. African Development Bank (2006) states:

Public accountability, thus, requires public officials to respond to the requirements of the citizens without prejudice. There are various forms of accountability, but three are important in the current context. These are political, financial and administrative accountability. Political accountability relates to holding those elected into government, including Parliament, responsible for their actions. Financial (budgetary) accountability involves holding designated officials responsible for the use and control of government funds, assets and properties while administrative accountability involves holding public officials responsible for tasks and assignments bestowed on them.

Political leadership is expected to utilise all assets in their custody for the welfare of the citizens but the level of corruption in Lesotho is a threat to that expectation. Actions of the political leadership are a clear manifestation that they are no longer answerable to the citizens. In other words, they are not there to serve the citizens but to serve themselves. Service delivery is so poor that it is impossible to meet the basic needs of the citizens.

3.2.1.1 Political and administrative accountability

The country's 1993 Constitution ushered in a democratically elected civilian government in 1993, which was led by the Basotho Congress party (BCP), after many years of authoritarian civil and military rule (Mothibe, 2017:63). Basotho had hoped that the Constitution would be a mechanism to enhance transparency and accountability in governance in Lesotho (African Development Bank, 2006). Countries with good governance take pride in delivery of public services, practice the rule of law

and have comprehensive institutions responsive to the needs of the people (Asefa and Huang, 2015:131-132). But according to Hassan (2002:4), Lesotho's levels of poverty and inequality "remained extremely high during 1993 – 1999."

3.2.1.1.1 Politicized military

The politicization of the army and public service was highlighted as a source of instability which heightened bitter relations between the Basotho National party (BNP) and Basotho Congress Party (BCP), on the one hand and the public service and army, on the other hand (Mothibe, 2017:65). Since its return to democracy in 1993, Lesotho has been characterized by political, social and economic crises. In Mid-April 1994, Lesotho rebel troops assassinated Selometsi Baholo, the then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance. According to Ngwawi (2014), the assassination was "coupled with the unresolved kingship issue as well as three-week long wage strike by the police officers [which] made the country ungovernable..."

In February 1997, some police officers mutinied without success since they were suppressed by the military (Makoa, 1997:15). This situation led to the desire to political control the defence and security sectors, which gave birth to pieces of legislation, namely, Lesotho Defense Force (LDF) Act, 1996 and the Police Service Act, 1998. This point is aptly captured by Mothibe (2017:65), who submits that these laws prescribe how the Prime Minister appoints and removes from office the Commander of the army, in section 12 of the LDF Act, 1996 and in the same way, for the Commissioner of Police, in section 5 of the Police Act, 1998.

3.2.1.1.2 Insecurity and impunity

In democracy, the primary duty of political leadership is to protect its citizens and their property and guarantee the welfare of citizens. In Lesotho as Sejanamane (2017:138) argues, the government goes out of its way to kill and it fails to protect its citizens against its killers. For example, the Deputy Prime Minister, Selometsi Baholo was assassinated by his bodyguards, but they were never arrested until the National general elections whose outcome was questioned and denied by the opposition parties in 1998.

Sejanamane provides a more elaborative example as follows:

In January 2014 several army personnel attacked with bombs three families in Maseru which injured and damaged properties. The house of the former Commissioner of Police, the house of the partner of the then Prime Minister and the neighbouring were targets. After investigations, cases were opened; suspects were identified and summons/ warrants of arrest were issued. The Lesotho Defence Force Command refused to hand over the suspects. They are still free up to now.

The perpetrators could not and cannot be arrested because they were serving the political leadership interests. Therefore, this kind of behaviour creates a culture of lawlessness and impunity in the country.

3.2.1.1.3 Weak democratic institutions and clientelism

Lack of commitment to democratic institutions by political leadership is evident in Lesotho. Public service Act of 1995 states that recruitment will be based on merit is violated by recruiting into the public service politically motivated people who do not qualify. Consequently, this weakens the institutions whose purpose is to serve the citizens. It compromises service delivery. Hassan and Ojo (2002:7) rightly submits that, “inadequate administrative and institutional capacity in many ministries and central government agencies appears to have seriously impeded policy formulation, coordination, and implementation for long-term development. Data management systems are weak, raising concerns about the timeliness and reliability of data about national accounts, poverty, and society.”

It seems that lack of separation of powers in a democratic dispensation in Lesotho is a critical challenge. To this effect, Sejanamane (2017:8) argues:

Lesotho’s constitution places the judiciary at the heart of the centre of our human rights protection. In addition, Lesotho is a signatory to the United Nations Convention against torture. Unlike in any other country with democratic constitutions, the Lesotho courts are docile, I dare say that they are either captured or unable / unwilling to stand for the victims of human rights. The moment a case against the militia or its associated institutions goes to court, you can always predict that the militia will win or just a slap in the face...

Lesotho’s model of governance is taken from the Westminster system which has three branches or arms, namely, parliament, executive and judiciary. Although they do not

have equal powers and responsibilities, they are mutually independent (Makoa 2018:185). The executive had a tendency to control both the parliament and judiciary and this affect the oversight duty of the parliament and judiciary on the executive. For example, in reality the executive is controlling the legislature and judiciary “through use and manipulation of budget...” (Makoa 2018:196). For instance, the judiciary has expressed its intention to recruit more judges but the executive deliberately provide inadequate budget. Sometimes the executive influences who must be recruited.

The public financial accountable institutions have been weakened and are dysfunctional. The reason being politically motivated appointments; people who do not have experience and do not meet the requirements (they have no qualifications). This point is fluently captured by the 2010 African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) which states:

Accountability in the use of the public finance, auditing and reporting is grossly inadequate. In addition, although parliament officially allocates budgets and authorities expenditures, it is unable to oversee the expenditure of the executive and other arms of government (2010:231).

From what has been said above, it is a clear indication that parliament is weak while the executive is strong (Shale, 2017:40, 41; Sejanamane, 2017:241). Therefore, there is nothing holding the executive accountable for its actions.

To strengthen the democratic institutions, Lesotho had embarked on the institutions and constitution reform program which was expected to end in September 2021. The reform process was extended by twelve (12) months. Therefore, it took almost two years and the passing of the reform bills was delayed (Public Eye, 20.09.2022). The tenth parliament of Lesotho was dissolved on the 4th July 2022 by King Letsie III in order to prepare for new national elections as per Lesotho Constitution, without having amended the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution Act of 2022 as it was the expectation of the society. But the tenth parliament was recalled through the Lesotho Government Gazette of 23 August 2022 by King III who invoked Section 84 (2) of the Constitution which provides for the recall of parliament in the wake of a declaration of a state of emergency. The tenth parliament reconvened on the 24 to 29 August 2022 to amend the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution Act of 2022.

The new law was amended in the Lesotho Government Gazette by King Letsie III on 31 August 2022. However, Boloetse and Tuke filled a case challenging the constitutionality of the recalled tenth parliament to amend the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution Act of 2022, which was heard by the Court on the 25th August 2022 (Lesotho Times, 05.09.2023). In addition, the Law Society of Lesotho, on the 6th September 2022, has “filled a constitutional application seeking the nullification of the newly gazetted Tenth Amendment to the Constitution Act of 2022” on the 6th September 2022. (Lesotho Times, 8-14 September 2022). The Law Society of Lesotho argues that declaration of emergency section was illegally invoked to empower the recalled parliament (News24 7.9.2022).

On the 12th of September, the Court delivered judgement, on the case of Boloetse & Tuke. It nullified constitutional changes on the basis that the recalled tenth parliament did not have authority to amend the law because its mandate ended when it was officially resolved by King Letsie III on the 14 July 2022 (Boloetse & Tuke VS His Majesty the King and others – Constitutional Cases Nos. 0013 and 0015/2022).

The manner in which different coalition governments hesitantly approached reforms in Lesotho cast doubt on the authenticity of the areas of reforms. It remains to be seen whether the reforms will effect change since the political leadership has always demonstrated no political will to change the status quo since it serves them better (Thabane 2017:19). But Raj (2010:717) condemns resistance towards genuine reforms and claims that “a reform agenda [must] aim at building institutions and rules that are not just efficient but also fair, and that are developed through democratic processes in which all people have a real political voice”. He further argues that democratic governance “seeks efficient institutions and a predictable economic and political environment necessary for economic growth and effective functioning of public services” (2010:717).

The intra party conflict of the ruling party (Basotho Congress Party) in 1996 exacerbated the already fragile democracy. It led to the split of the Basotho Congress Party and formation of the new political party called Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) in 1998. This split was, according to Matlosa and Pule (2005:58), “a source of

a power struggle that had raged since the party's return from exile in 1988." For example, Selometsi Baholo was a deputy Prime Minister in 1993 and the following year, 1994, when the then Prime Minister, Ntsu Mkhehle became very weak because of sickness, it was evident that his successor was going to be his then deputy. But in 1994, his deputy was assassinated because of the fight for power. The participation of the citizens and their welfare were completely forgotten. For instance, the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) regime from 1998, made the policy to permanently give ministers the Mercedes-Benz vehicles, which they were using, for only R4000.00 after two years in the office. Then purchase the new ones for the office. In the same manner, the principal secretaries, who were chief executive officers in the various ministries, were also given the Toyota Lexus for R2000.00, which they were using for the office. This action depleted public funds which were meant to meet the basic needs of the citizens.

3.2.1.1.4 Corruption and patronage

Lesotho has committed itself to strengthening the principles of transparency, accountability and participation in governance, but political leadership actions demonstrate the contrary (African Development Bank (2006). The Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) government was characterized by lack of rule and impunity. For example, the then Government Secretary was found to be deeply involved in corruption. It was reported that the Prime Minister's office purchased a consignment of a litre of fruit juice for each of which the government was charged R70 instead of the normal retail price of about R10 (Lesotho Times, 28.03.2012) but he was never called to account. Mothibe (2017:70) argues that was during this period, 2007 – 2012 that a conducive environment emerged in which the investigative institutions such as auditors, police, anti-corruption agencies consented to this fraudulence.

Sejaname (2017:276) further unpack how the corruption was promoted as follows:

While the security nightmare has been the major reason why [Lesotho is] where it is. Corruption has triggered the present rejection of the government by a considerable number of people. One of the sources of anger of people about corruption revolves around the Bidvest Bank Vehicle scheme. The corrupt procedures for the management into the security agencies and the deployment of Mosisili's [former Prime

Minister] children, relatives and allies in all key sectors in the public service provide other source grievances.

Bidvest Bank Vehicle scheme agreement between them and Lesotho government was badly done in order to create a conducive environment for corruption. They were coming from South Africa to be used as the government fleet. Bidvest Bank Vehicle Scheme was collecting R16 million as monthly payment from the Lesotho government (Sunday Express, 25.10.201). Corruption in Lesotho is seen to be sponsored by the political leadership.

The literature is proving that good governance without effective watch-dog institutions is impossible. Chakrabarty (2007:68-82) agrees that in good governance it is a duty of the government to capacitate its institutions and civil society in view of “making governments more accountable, open and transparent as well as democratic and participatory.” By the same token, Matlosa (2006:33) recognizing the situation in Lesotho maintains that constitutional democracy demands effective oversight must be set up to guarantee the accountability of the state institutions which should carry out their duties as prescribed.

Comparatively, political leadership in Lesotho seems to be performing badly whereas other countries, which gained independence at the same time, are doing well like Botswana. Kehinde, Imhonopi and Evbuoma (2016) are confirming the above-mentioned observation as follows:

Countries that have leaders that are accountable are more liable to win a fight against great poverty and disease. Transparent governments that respect civic participation and the rule of law are required to make certain that scarce resources are well spent and investments are made in poor people.

Political leadership in Botswana is an example of those African countries which are accountable and have transformed their country economically. Botswana is one of the few countries in Africa which has obtained development growth and improved the welfare of its citizens (Sebudubudu, 2012). The success of Botswana is largely linked with good governance (Tsie, 1996; Theobald and Williams, 1999; Holm, 2008).

3.2.1.1.5 Responsive and accountable

Active participation of citizens promotes responsiveness and accountability because it is a process through which the needs of the citizens get to be known and addressed. Local government is an appropriate mechanism but political leadership has been postponing since 1993. Basotho Congress Party (BCP) which won the elections in 1993, in its manifesto it had mentioned local government was its priority (BCP Manifesto, 1993:3) but it only passed the Local Government Act No.6 of 1997 in 1997. However, it failed to implement the Act. BCP split because of its intra conflict and Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) was born in the parliament. LCD won the general elections of 1998. In 2004, LCD passed the Local Government (Amendment) Act of 2004 and held the local government elections on the 30 April 2005. However, LCD never initiated decentralization of the government. All Basotho Convention (ABC) won the 2014 general elections and passed National Decentralization Policy of 2014. But ABC never decentralised government.

Makoa (2018:268) also captures the idea of improved service delivery premised on the assumption that only through “local government could grassroots population participate in a meaningful way in governance process, that is, deciding what is good for themselves and determining and directing policy making process towards realizing their collective and individual goals.” Even though the local government has been established and first local elections held in 2005 but no adequate resources for the local authorities to work as per their prescribed duties and expectations of the citizens. (Lesotho Country Report 2020:14). For Raj (2010:715), a government, when performing its functions, it has the constitutional obligations in which it has to “enable, enhance and develop the power of the state for sustainable development.”

There was one party, namely, Lesotho Congress for Democrats (LCD) dominant system from 2002 to 2012 which was marked by “political elites’ greed and struggle for power [which exacerbated] political instability...driven more by motives of self-enrichment than public service” (Mothibe, 2017:67, 69). The emergence of coalition governments since 2012 until 2017 has been marked by political instability. But before 2012, LCD was governing alone with a majority in the parliament, but it was troubled by its internal conflict which were caused by power hunger. The party members knew

that the only way to gain wealth quickly, was be appointed to the cabinet or as a Prime Minister. Those years were marked by high levels of corruption.

Lack of political will makes it impossible to implement good policies in the country. For example, Lesotho Congress for Democrats (LCD) Government initiated the National Vision 2020 in 2001 which captures the national aspirations and the government committed to implementing it:

By 2020 Lesotho shall be a stable democracy and united, prosperous nation at peace with itself and its neighbours; that it shall have healthy and well-developed human resources; and that its economy shall be strong, its environment well-managed and its technology well-established (2001:4).

The vision 2020 document anticipated four possible scenarios the country could evolve into by the year 2020. The scenarios were as follows: *Melupe* (most preferred), *Khomo ha li kae batho re ba ngata*, *Metse e metle liotloana* and *Lesupi* (least preferred) (Lesotho National Vision 2020, 2004: xiv). *Melupe*, the preferred scenario would be marked by a situation where Lesotho has an effective public service, improved accountability and transparency, robust and positive trends in positive investment. *Lesupi*, the least preferred scenario would be marked by a situation where Lesotho has political instability, lack of political will to implement Vision 2020, weak public service management, poor service delivery and negative trends in investment. Political leadership failed to steer the country towards the most preferred scenario, *Melupe*, instead they led it towards the least preferred scenario, *Lesupi*. Therefore, the national vision was never realized, instead it is said that by 2020 more than 700 000 Basotho would need urgent food aid (Lesotho Times, 23.07. 2019).

This point is confirmed by Santho (2017:121), who posits that Lesotho continued to experience major development challenges such as poverty, inequality and unemployment. Santho (2017:127) furthermore laments that ‘if national systems are not transformed to respond to and manage’ human insecurity which exists in Lesotho “survivalist pressures will overwhelm the resilience of institutions and worsen political instability and even precipitate state failure.”

3.2.1.1.6 Weak health system

The World Bank's Lesotho Public Health Sector Expenditure Review (2017) articulates:

Since 2005, life expectancy at birth in Lesotho has increased consistently, though in 2014 it remained 18 years lower than the average observed in lower middle-income countries (50 years versus 68 years) and 10 years lower than the average for Sub-Saharan Africa (50 years versus 60 years). This follows the period 1990–2005, when life expectancy of birth in Lesotho dropped from 60 years to below 44 years.

The Lesotho health system assessment points out five challenges which the country must address, namely, declining population growth, weak health system, inequalities and inequities in service delivery, serious human resource crisis with increasing human resource drain to greener pastures and most of the country is in hard-to-reach areas (2009). In the wake of the weak health system, management of HIV/AIDS becomes a challenge and as Sejanamane (2017:88) submits, Lesotho ranks as the country with the second highest HIV/AIDS prevalence in the world. This is the position that the country has occupied for a long time. It has been confirmed that poverty aggravates the spread of HIV/AIDS. It is, therefore, imperative to improve health systems as well as poverty alleviation.

3.2.1.1.7 Coalition government challenges

The 2012 general elections ushered new hope for the citizens because it was the first coalition government after ten years, one party dominant government having failed to alleviate the pain of poverty for the citizens. It was a coalition of All Basotho Convention (ABC), Lesotho Congress for Democrats (LCD) and Basotho National Party (BNP) which had 30, 26 and 5 seats respectively with the total seats of 61 out of 120 seats that constitute the National Assembly (Mothibe 2017:70).

The Coalition Government realized challenges which the country was facing and in view of the National Vision 2020, they developed a policy called National Development Strategic Plan (2014 – 2018), which was intended to operationalize the National Vision 2020. This first coalition was punctuated by intra conflict, attempted coup of August 2014 by the Commander of Lesotho Defense Force (LDF), fleeing of the Prime Minister and the Leaders of Basotho National party and Reformed Congress for Lesotho (RCL) respectively to South Africa and finally collapsed in June 2015 when

Lesotho Congress for Democrats signed partnership with Democratic Congress (Mothibe 2017:70-71). Unfortunately, after the 2015 general elections, the second coalition government was formed. This second coalition government of 2015 – 2017 “was equally unstable because of its exclusion of the All Basotho Convention (ABC), which won 46 seats” (Mothibe 2017:71). Besides corruption, political instability exacerbated the developmental crisis in Lesotho.

3.2.1.1.8 Lack of political will

The government of Lesotho failed to implement its five-year National Strategic Development Plan 2012 to 2017 because of lack of political will. The Lesotho Country Report (2020) attributes its failure to poor management and inadequate financial support to ascertain that targets are met (2020:29). However, that was not only the reason, political leadership wanted to enjoy the status quo of weak systems which could not hold them accountable. Secondly, it was an opportune time for them to recruit friends and relatives into the public service in order to enrich themselves. Thabane (2017:33) confirms this point when he states “it becomes clear that, in the case of Lesotho, since 1993, leaders of political parties have been trying to get into parliament not to be the representative of the people but to be in a position of power from which to channel patronage to the constituents.”

There has been very poor policy coordination for the period under review. The government engaged in an inclusive planning exercise to develop the following policies, Poverty Reduction Strategy (2006), National Development Plan Strategy (2012) and National Vision 2020 (2001). Lesotho Country Report (2020) states that, “the success of such programs, however, remains hampered by significant financial constraints and skill deficit.”

Unlike Botswana which created good developmental policies and ensured compliance as it will be discussed in chapter four, political leadership seemed to be lacking understanding of the role of policies in the development of Lesotho. Lesotho Country Report (2020) elaborate more on this point:

It is very challenging for any government to have a coordinated approach to policy formulation, as the most important feature of politics

in Lesotho is personalities not policies. Government ministries are often competing for resources and implementation of policies. The inability of the office of the prime minister to coordinate policies is the major weakness of the government machinery. Lack of coordination could be attributed to corruption and lack of leadership on the side of both bureaucrats and politicians (2020:31)

Lesotho Country Report rightly pointed out the politics of personalities in Lesotho which deliberately replaces the national policies. It is the responsibility of the government to align policies in order to prevent the conflicting policies. Policies are fundamental to the economic growth and service delivery as well as the distribution of the resources. Unfortunately, Makoja (2012:2) and Mothibe (2017:72) observe, the formation of 2012 and 2015 coalition governments has been driven by state power.

The fact that the third Coalition Government of Lesotho (2017) was assuming power for the second time except Alliance for Democrats (AD), were aware of the areas which urgently needed to be addressed through reforms. Then they started with huge promise of being a reformist government addressing fundamental issues of development in the Kingdom of Lesotho (Sejanamane 2017:31). The coalition agreement between the four ruling parties, namely, All Basotho Convention (ABC), Basotho National party (BNP), Reformed Congress for Lesotho (RCL) and Alliance for Democrats (AD), as Sejanamane (2017:31) puts it, party leaders pledged to restore national peace and political stability, deepen democracy and respect for human rights, promote transparency and their leadership would be characterised by good governance and enhance citizen participation, combat corruption at all levels of society and government.

However, all these were never implemented and all government programs seemed to be the opposite of what was captured in the agreement when forming the third coalition government. To begin with, on the one hand, the government produced the Roadmap for the reforms and frustrated the reform process, on the other hand. The government tabled the reform bill in parliament, which was meant to bypass normal parliamentary processes where stakeholders have a say. Secondly, the police brutality swiftly increased between 2017 and 2020. Persons who died in the police custody were 70 and those who were tortured were 76 (Lesotho Times, 15.09.2020). The same opinion

is submitted by Lesotho Country Report (2020), it argues that the period under review was also marked by a spike in the number of murders and cases going cold (2020:4)

The pattern of impunity for human rights violations continues in Lesotho. For example, Thomas Thabane had two wives. Few weeks before his inauguration as a Prime Minister of Lesotho in 2017, one of his wives was murdered in June 2017. Shortly after the funeral of his wife, he married a third wife who was later charged with murder of Thabane's former wife. So Thabane is also charged with murdering his wife. Thabane sought immunity for himself and his wife (Lesotho Times, 04.03.2020). The pressure mounted on Thabane from his party to resign as the Prime Minister or face a vote of no confidence. He resigned as the Prime Minister in May 2020 (Lesotho Times, 27.05.2020).

The attitude of political leadership of unwilling to change the status quo led to a culture of lack of rule of law and impunity. To summarise, the new democratic dispensation in 1993 brought immense hope to Basotho. But it has been indicated that hope did not last long because of the manner in which political leadership handled the administrative issues. The government was punctuated with multiple challenges such political intra conflict and instability. Political leadership recruited their party affiliates into the security agencies to politicise the agencies. They intentionally weakened the democratic institutions in order to paralyse them lest they held political leadership accountable. It has been stated that the international partners advised political leadership to strengthen the institutions by introducing reforms but there was a lack of political will to do so. Lack of rule of law gave way to impunity. Political leadership was marked by lack of service delivery. The introduction of the coalition government in 2012 shed new hope to the citizens. But the coalitions too failed to alleviate pain of hunger and poverty until the third coalition of 2017. There had been three coalition government within a period of five years.

3.2.2 Transparency

Transparency in the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP)'s definition means that:

Decisions taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows rules and regulations. It also means that information is freely available and directly accessible to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. It also means that enough information is provided and that it is provided in easily understandable forms and media (2007).

This definition proposes that the citizens are given opportunity to participate in the decision-making, processes and implementation which are open as well as access to and information dissemination. In essence, transparency involves the availability of information, its accessibility and quality. African Development Bank (2006) outlines the centrality of transparency when it argues that it is absolutely impossible to have accountability without transparency since they are complementary, otherwise it would threaten the possibility to call into account the actions of a leader or public officer.

It is believed that practice makes perfect. Scholars such as Sejanamane (2017:45) point out that the political parties in Lesotho are characterized by malpractices and lack of commitment to democratic principles. For example, political leaders fail to adhere and respect their party constitutions. It is obvious then that in Lesotho the public may not expect transparency and accountability when that particular political party is in government since “you can’t give what you don’t have” (Hiebert, 2018).

When assessing transparency, this study will focus on three processes, namely, budget information, accounting and audit reports, and public procurement.

3.2.2.1 Budget information

Transparency is crucial in the budget process. The budget demonstrates how the national policies that affect every citizen’s live are going to be implemented. Therefore, as The African Development Bank (2006) puts it, “knowledge of the functions of the budget, its impact on the overall economy, and the role each and every Mosotho can play in the process is thus important.” It further argues that “By being fully informed and progressing with every stage of the budget process, every Mosotho would be better placed to influence the budget formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation processes.”

The Government makes an annual budget speech which is for now the most important budget information disclosure instrument in Lesotho every year in parliament. Unfortunately, these documents, according to African Development Bank (2006) “are more often than not too technical and detailed for public consumption.” For example, many Basotho are unable to understand the accounting technical terms used in the budget. Above all, it is even more difficult because the budget does not originate from the people in the grassroots since local government is not fully functioning. Citizens do not have a say in the budget process to ensure that the allocation of funds will address their needs. In addition, according to Open Budget Survey (2017) Lesotho’s score of 0 out of 100 indicate that Political leadership do not engage citizens in the budget process. This is lower than the global average score of 12.

3.2.2.2 Accounting and audit reports

It is a legal requirement in Lesotho which is spelled out in Section 117 of the Constitution of Lesotho, Audit Act of 1973 and Statutory Bodies Act of 1973 that all public accounts be accessible to the public. Public accounts of the Government of Lesotho are available to the public once they have been audited by the Auditor General and approved by Parliament (African Development bank, 2006).

The Auditor General Financial Reports of the year 2017/2018 and 2019/2020 highlight similar challenges which need urgent attention. The Auditor General laments non-compliance to the primary finance laws of Lesotho, cash position of the government of Lesotho could not be determined because of non-compliance, non-compliance with the requirements of International Public Sector Accounting Standard under cash basis of accounting, disagreement of figures in the consolidated financial statements with underlying records and opening balance of the current year is different from the closing balance of the previous year.

Non-compliance to the accounting standards and principles becomes a root for corruption. There seems to be no aggressive measures to combat corruption by holding accountable the concerned officials.

3.2.2.3 Transparency in public procurement

Transparency in public procurement is key in ensuring value for money (African Development Bank 2006:20). There is a perception in Lesotho that public procurement requires strengthening in many areas including its transparency. For instance, there are cases, as African Development Bank (2006:20-21) asserts, there is lack of openness in as far as information that is necessary to bidders is concerned in the process of bids preparation and inadequate information about the results.

The Public Procurement Regulations were not adhered to on a regular basis during the period under review. For example, the Ministry of Public Works awarded big construction projects to China Geo, under the pretext that the company had the capacity to build roads that were beyond the capacity of local construction companies.

African Development Bank (2006:21) maintains that “the challenge for transparency in the procurement system in Lesotho is to create an open, genuinely competitive and transparent public procurement system.” But even if the transparent public procurement system is created, it will not work unless there is a political will to use it as we have seen earlier. Lesotho has variety of good policies but it is characterised by non-compliance.

3.2.3 Participation

In democracy, according to Raj (2010:717), people “should rule themselves through the government they freely choose.” There are several ways in which people are expected to participate in their government like the following.

3.2.3.1 Stakeholders' participation

The good governance principles are summed up in the New partnership for African Development (NEPAD) Agreement as “commitment to democracy, human rights...building partnership between governments and all stakeholders in the society...promotion of popular participation in development... and accountability” (Malcomson 2004:12). According to the World Bank (2000) checks and balances to the power of the state can be effective when various measures such as ensuring the public participation in designing and monitoring projects and programmes, enhancing transparency to state activities and making public officials and politicians accountable to public. Basotho desperately needs civic education which will empower them in terms of knowing what to expect from politicians. Politicians are comfortable with the situation since they cannot be held accountable by the public which is ignorant.

Makoa (2018:27), aptly captures this point:

Democracy implies not just subsystems autonomy but that, as the norm and in practice, such subsystems autonomy guarantees right of participation by people either individually or through their representatives in decisions affecting them, transparency in making such decisions, equal opportunities and rights for citizens to choose and appoint rulers, regularity and predictability of processes by which rulers are chosen and appointed and self-determination”.

Participation enhances a sense of ownership amongst the citizens. The National Vision 2020 (2001), Poverty Reduction Strategy (2006), and National Development Strategic Plan (2012) experienced a comprehensive planning. The people of Lesotho experienced inclusive process during consultations and other stakeholders, namely, government, traditional leaders, civil society, private sector and development partners were involved.

Although in Lesotho the protection of the right to freedom of association is clearly expressed in the Constitution, Section 4, “economic, social and cultural rights such as the right to economic opportunities, equality and justice that go with it remain principles of state policy only” (African Development Bank, 2006:21). For instance, the government of Lesotho showed resistance to have a comprehensive key decision-making about the implementation of the constitutional and institutional reform program but political leaders' business only.

However, Lesotho Citizen's Participatory Survey (2017) confirms what has been said earlier that citizen participation is "surely hampered by very low level of knowledge on democratic processes (2017:9).

True democracy is characterized by holding fair elections at regular intervals, allowing opposition political parties to campaign freely and setting up of an independent electoral commission to monitor polls (African Development Bank 2006:21). But African Development Bank skips an essential component which makes democracy true, namely, political leadership. Political leadership determines a shape of the democratic state. It could be a successful or failed state depending on the political leadership. Rai argues that elections in Lesotho do not necessarily reflect democratic governance in which people rule themselves through the government they freely choose (2010:717). Shale (2017:33) outlines the reasons why political leadership want to lead the country in Lesotho in the following words, "it becomes clear that, in the case of Lesotho, since 1993, leaders of political parties have been trying to get into parliament not to be the representative of the people but to be in a position of power from which to channel patronage to the constituents."

Since 1993, the elections have been marked with disputes and conflict. However, the elections held in May 2002 were successfully conducted (Mothibe, 2017:67) but the country still faces the challenge of proper understanding and successful implementation of the new system and promoting political tolerance (African Development Bank (2006:21). Another factor which threatens public participation is the discrimination in deployment.

Sejanamane (2017:277) highlights another obstacle to achieving good governance in Lesotho:

Another corrupt scheme which has angered a lot of young people is the employment into the security services. A conspiracy was hatched to employ recruits into all security agencies on the basis of their membership of the parties in the ruling coalition. While thousands of young people applied for jobs in those, only those who were preselected from the supporters of the parties in the ruling coalition on a proportional basis succeeded.

The discrimination in deployment does not only deprive public service of the skilled and experienced employees but also threatens citizens' participation to govern themselves.

3.2.3.2 Decentralization

Local communities must be given an opportunity to decide for themselves with regard to things which affect them. They should decide how they are governed. In other words, according to Nyawurisa (2007), the relationship between the ruler and the ruled determines governance system. The conditions which allow people to exercise their freedom bring forth the opportunities that creates the institutional arrangements (Kaufmann et al. (2005).

Makoa (2018:268) elaborates more on that note:

Local government [ensures] increased popular participation, spread of democracy and self-determination and self-government. The assumption here is that only through local government could grassroots population or lowest echelon of society participate in a meaningful way in governance process; that is, deciding what is good for themselves and determining and directing policy making process towards realizing their collective and individual goals.”

As an attempt to increase popular participation of the citizens in governance the government of Lesotho established local government structures through legal framework of the Local Government Act 1997 (as amended in 2004) and the Local Government Elections Act 1998 (as amended in 2004) with intention of establishing local authorities (African Development Bank 2006:23). However, Makoa (2018:278-9) points out that the 1993 Constitution of Lesotho does not have a particular clause or section mentioning vividly the type of local government that Lesotho has to have; it leaves everything in the hands of the government and parliament to decide. However, regarding the Constitutional prescription of the local government, Makoa is wrong. It has been indicated earlier that since 1993, political leadership has been demonstrating willingness to decentralise government but up to today, that has not happened. The Constitution did well to leave it open in terms of prescribing a kind of local government Lesotho should have. Decentralised government must be formed looking at the socio-political and economic context in the country in order to ensure self-determination of citizens.

According to African Development Bank (2006:23) the expectations of the citizens are that the resources, functions and authority as decentralized must foster the coordination of the public service sector and promote popular participation in order to reduce poverty. This was expected to deepen democracy and promote good governance, ownership and accountability in Lesotho. Instead the legal framework allows the minister to do the opposite, as Makoa (2018:281) argues, the Local Minister “can alter or reduce and has indeed altered or reduced, councils’ approval and proposed budgets, and blocked the use of their current budget or part of it at will, and the councils cannot resist this in any anyway.” The problem that is being highlighted here by Makoa is the indication that the government is not ready to let go of power to let citizens determine how they would want to be governed. He continues to point out another obstacle of the deployment of the unskilled councillors with “low standard of education [which] undermines the councils’ capacity to fulfil their mandate” (Makoa 2018:281).

3.2.4 Rule of law

For United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2013) rule of law “refers to a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly broadcasted, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights, norms and standards.”

Lesotho is faced with a problem of separation of powers. Lesotho has three branches of government, namely, executive, parliament and judiciary. Limpitlaw (2013:463) explains the function of each branch as follows:

The aim, as the Lesotho Constitution has largely done, is to separate the functions of the three branches of government – the executive, the legislature and the judiciary – so that no single branch is able to operate alone, assume complete state control and amass centralised power. While each branch performs a number of different functions, each also plays a ‘watchdog’ role in respect of the other. This helps to ensure that public power is exercised in a manner that is accountable to the general public and in accordance with the constitution.

Although the separation of power has been guaranteed in the constitution and its function well explained, practically it is not happening. The legislature is unable to carry out watchdog duty on the executive because, according to Shale (2017:40), “parliament is weak while the executive is too strong.” It means that this compromises accountability by the executive to the public.

The executive has a tendency to interfere with the independence of the judiciary. The African Judges & Jurists Forum (AJJF) (2018) found out that in Lesotho “the structural issues in the appointment in the judiciary has shaped an unstable relationship between judiciary and the executive and has led to polarisation amongst the judges, between judges and legal practitioners and also amongst legal practitioners.” Raj (2010:714) condemns inseparability of power and claims that strong institutions create a conducive environment for separation of power among the various branches of state.

The lack of separations of power automatically compromises autonomy of the judiciary and the African Judges & Jurists Forum (AJJF) (2018) report confirms this point:

Urgent comprehensive review of the administration of justice in Lesotho be carried out in order to identify the root causes of the problems affecting the justice system and to set out a plan to strengthening the harmonious administration of justice, advancing judicial independence, enhancing public confidence in the administration of justice.

The Constitution of Lesotho, Section 118, provides for the independence of the courts in the performance of their functions and their freedom from interference. But this remains on the paper. The citizens have lost confidence in the judiciary and this attitude increases the cases in which citizens take law in their hands. The attention of the public has been on the stability of the judiciary in Lesotho because of what happened in the judiciary from 2015 till 2019.

The Lesotho Country Report (2020) gives an example of what has been stated above:

The wrangling between the government of Lesotho and President of the Court of Appeals, Justice Kananelo Mosito, paralyzed the hearing of appeal cases during the period under review. The judges of High Court seldom make judgments that are not in favour of the position of government. There are scores of cases that are still awaiting verdicts because the judges are too intimidated to make judgments against

government. Almost all the judges in Lesotho's justice system are aligned with particular political parties. Thus, if a certain judge presides over a case, it is very easy to predict which side will come out victorious.

The above-mentioned situation created lack of trust amongst the citizens for judiciary. Afrobarometer 2019 states that citizens' trust in the public institutions such as judiciary (49%) has declined (2019:3). Less than half of the Basotho population can trust the judiciary because, according to Makoa (2018:203), "the Lesotho judiciary is clothed in the political garb and this throws into doubt its presumed independence and neutrality." Unless the political leadership in Lesotho deliberately and consciously invested in the legal and judiciary systems, the aspiration of Basotho as expressed in the National Vision 2020 that Lesotho would be a peaceful and prosperous country by 2020 could be unrealized.

It is important that the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO) be given authority to prosecute its cases. For example, currently the DCEO cases should follow the court roll regardless of how urgent they are. There is a backlog of cases in the courts because of the inadequate number of the judges. Directorate of Public Prosecution (DPP) is still appointed by the Prime Minister and it means that the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO) "continues to struggle to prosecute senior government officials, as it has to seek approval to do so from the director of public prosecution" (Lesotho Country Report 2020:32). This implies that only those who are not favoured by the Prime Minister will be prosecuted and others will go freely.

The United Nations is warning that "the absence or collapse of the rule of law in any State can result in violent conflict or repression, leading to gross violations of human rights. Impunity is often the primary obstacle to upholding the rule of law" (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Report 2011:44). This is so true for Lesotho because many members of the victims have started to avenge death of their relatives and this has a potential to turn into civil war. The African Union in its 2063 agenda has expressed its aspirations such as Aspiration 3: An Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human and rights, justice and the rule of law and Aspiration 4: A peaceful and secure Africa (2015:7). United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has outlined the global goals to which the countries, including

Lesotho, have committed themselves to ensuring that those goals such as no poverty, zero hunger, good health and peace, justice and strong institutions are achieved by 2030 (UNDP 2015). But Lesotho political leadership is a threat to the said African Union and United Nations Development Programme as well as its own National Vision 2020's aspirations by entertaining lack of rule of law and promoting impunity.

The civil rights are not protected in Lesotho although the 1993 Constitution of Lesotho, Section 3, guarantees fundamental human-rights and freedoms to all persons. For example, as Makoa (2018:243) argues that "during Thabane's 2012 – 2015 rule saw an escalation in atrocious crimes committed by Lesotho Defense Force (LDF) members. Such crimes included wanton murders, kidnapping or abduction of opposition supporters and critics of the Mosisili regime and torture of the victims."

Sejanamane (2017:26) outlines what actually transpired as follows:

The 2015 elections in Lesotho have magnified the decline and /or collapse of the rule of law as we have known it. We need to emphasise that democracy cannot function in a situation where the rule of law has been undermined. Courts of law rather than the executive branch of government are guardians of the freedoms citizens have. When everything else has failed, people in democratic societies know that the courts will determine rights of citizens without fear or favour and the government is obliged to implement such decisions. In Lesotho, this no longer happens to all. The powerful are above the law.

The infringement of the human rights happens in the country regardless of the fact that Lesotho has ratified or acceded to most of the principal United Nations Human Rights' Treaties. For instance, The Lesotho Defence Force members ignored court rulings and the government was silent because "the government has clearly aligned with military" (2017:27).

Rule of law is a fundamental component to good governance without which a country can be in anarchy. In the same vein, Fedotov (2013) argues that "weak rule of law and lack of good governance pose a major threat to social and economic development the world over, and they have hindered progress in attaining the Millennium Development Goals."

3.2.5 Responsiveness

Good governance demands that institutions and processes provide timely services to all citizens. According to Debebe, et al. (2018:21) responsiveness implies the answerability of institutions to the demands of the citizens. Institutions must be accessible to the citizens and serve them within a reasonable time frame. For World Public Sector Report (2015) “responsive and accountable governance engages the people in decision-making, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. It responds to people’s needs and is open to people’s inputs and scrutiny” (2015:10).

Abrha (2016) states:

...Responsiveness implies to how the state and other public institutions perform in responding to the requirements and rights of citizens. For instance, how does the state act in service provision? Are people treated equally? Or are certain needs prioritized over others? And responsiveness aims for governments to do the right things for the people and the services to be delivered must be consistent with the citizen’s desires and needs.

There are no channels in Lesotho through which the voices of the citizens can be heard. Responsiveness can be, according to Abrha (2016), “measured in terms of public official’s ability to listen to the demands and voice of citizens, easy access of complaints for service users and whom to contact with the suggestion to change, the ability of councils decision to reflect the demands of public etc.” Lesotho has a dysfunctional local government and this frustrates the citizens in terms of expressing their demands and making sure that their voices are heard. Moreover, “the country is facing a huge food shortage as a result of unimaginative policies...” (Sejanamane 2017:88).

Hassan and Ojo (2002: ix) observes that “a major development challenge for Lesotho is that half the population lives below the poverty line and income inequality is among the highest in the world” (2002:ix). Nutrition and food security is still a challenge. According to Lesotho Common Analysis (2020:31) food insecurity continues to be a

serious challenge in Lesotho and a key impediment in the country's development agenda and progress towards SDG2 which seeks to end hunger.

Good governance is characterised, among other things, by ability to meet the needs of citizens. However, it is important to engage citizens in the policy-making to ensure that their concerns are captured and addressed which is not the case in Lesotho. The informed policies will be able to meet human insecurity.

3.2.6 Combating corruption

For Transparency International corruption “involves behaviour on the part of officials in the public sector, whether politicians or civil servants, in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves, or those close to them, by the misuse of the public power entrusted to them” (2020).

Corruption refers to “the misuse of public power, office or authority for private benefit through bribery, extortion, influence peddling, nepotism, fraud, speed money or embezzlement (UNDP 1999:7).

Asefa and Huang (2015:140) defines corruption as “post-constitutional opportunism aimed at getting benefits for individuals or a group at the expense of society.”

Corruption undermines government to provide basic services to the citizens and, according to Gumede (2011:9), it has “a disproportionate impact on the livelihood of the poor.” In addition, Transparency International (2021) asserts “corruption erodes trust, weakens democracy, hampers economic development and further exacerbates inequality, poverty, social division and the environmental crisis.”

It is claimed by many scholars that leadership is about service not wealth accumulation (Kehinde et al., Shale 2017:33, Mothibe 2017:69). But in Lesotho this is not the case. During the LCD government (1997-2012) tender processes have been breached for both party and personal gain. The outcome of the Lesotho National Assembly Public Accounts investigation showed “nepotism, kickbacks, opaque and irregular procurements and conflict of interest were used by the political elite to fund themselves

and their parties in complicity with several dirty corporations” (Mothibe 2017:70). Matlosa (2017:141) shares a similar opinion, he maintains that the political leadership in Lesotho has created a platform “for not only abuse of power, immunity and impunity, but also fast accumulation of wealth by the elite through fair and foul means.” In addition, Lesotho Country Report (2020:30) points out that two successive coalition governments (2015 and 2017) used the legal system called virement in order to bypass normal procurement procedures with the intention of misappropriating public funds. The similar characteristics between 2015 and 2020 is the award of the government fleet services tender.

The reality of what was transpiring in the government in terms of payoffs and benefits of cabinet positions is vividly captured by Mboweni (2014:2), he maintains that:

In this country [Lesotho], which is poor and with a small economy, control of the government is key to the most primitive forms of wealth accumulation. Access to a ministry means the ability to loot the state’s resources in order to enrich oneself. It is as crude as all that. Once someone becomes a minister, their social status changes, their control over tenders and other state resources is enhanced, and a ‘looter continua!’ So the very thought of losing the state power drives even the best men and women to go absolutely berserk. That is the fundamental basis upon which we should understand the continuing instability in Lesotho.

Political leadership in Lesotho does not understand that leadership is “very critical to providing better governance; it advances societal development, as it is a process of influencing the activities of an organized or structured group towards the setting and attaining groups” (Kehinde, et al. 2016).

Lesotho has to act urgently in order to remedy the stagnant economic growth. Santho (2017:117) contends that “due to a combination of internal instability and governance problems that have undermined business confidence and impact of external factors Lesotho’s economy has been deteriorating since 2014.” According to Asefa and Huang (2015:141) it “is imperative to create a constitution with checks and balances and rule of law.” There is a need to have accessible and clear legal framework which does not tolerate corruption.

The country's political leadership strongly announced their commitment to the fight against corruption. Prime Minister Tom Thabane declared corruption as the country's worst enemy after HIV/AIDS (Mokone 2014). Despite the announced commitment by Tom Thabane and his predecessor, corruption continues to ruin the country.

The constitutional reform is underway in Lesotho and the citizens are hopeful that it will have checks and balances and rule of law. But the parliamentarians have demonstrated lack of political will to pass the reforms before the parliament was formally closed on the 14 July 2022 since "current national political leadership prefers the status quo and have been completely blinded by self-interest and by the benefits that accrue to them from the status quo" (Mothebe 2017:73). It has been indicated that King Letsie III recalled the parliament to amend the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution of 2022 on the 24 to 29 August 2022. But it was challenged in the court and that act was nullified on the basis that the authority of the tenth parliament had expired on the day that it dissolved, the 14 July 2022.

According to Lyoha et al. (2015) corruption is the greatest threat to good governance because it undermines participation, security, transparency and civic freedoms.

In addition, Rakolobe (2019) observes:

The Constitution of Lesotho 1993, the Public Service Act 1995 as amended by the Public Service Act 2005, the Defence Force Act 1996, and the Police Service Act 1998 has conferred the recruitment of most of the top public officers in the hands of the Prime Minister. This is the case for the Director General of the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Offences (DCEO), the Principal Secretaries (PSs), the Commissioner of Police, the Commander of the Lesotho Defence Force, The Chief Justice, the President of the Court of Appeal, the Director of the National Security Services (NSS) and the Ombudsman. The Prime Minister (PM) is at liberty to appoint officers based on political considerations rather than merit. This is because the recruitment to the said positions lacks openness and competition thereby leaving room for the PM to use his discretion.

Unfortunately, political leadership has a tendency to abuse their power by appointing their relatives, relatives or party members as opposed to meritocracy. Therefore, this kind of recruitment promotes corruption and a culture of impunity.

Central to governance is participation, inclusion and accountability (Lesotho Common Analysis, 2020:56). Lack of accountability and transparency give way to corruption. Conservative estimates in the Public Accounts Committee's report to the Lesotho Parliament are that corruption has cost the country a minimum of M1.4 billion (100 million USD) over a three-year period (2013 – 2016) (Monyake 2020).

It is said that institutions have been deliberately weakened lest they hold accountable the government officials. Strengthening democratic institutions will promote accountability and rule of law which will reduce corruption. The reforms will enhance good governance whose pillars will robustly change the live of the citizens. The coalition governments will be stable, serve the citizens and last for five years.

3.2.7 Conclusion

Political leadership is entrusted with authority to exercise the spirit of stewardship in order to provide benefits to the citizens but they have put checks on how they exercise authority (United States Council for International Business (2015). The reports from various International agencies have been made about Lesotho with the intention to assist the political leadership of the country to rectify the mistakes and improve governance. But it seems that these reports have been ignored for a reason which has been clearly stated, the political leadership is comfortable with the status quo since they are benefiting.

Lesotho problems are attributed to a combination of factors, namely, weak democratic institutions, political instability, bad governance, bad political leadership and developmental crisis. Lack of visionary leadership is at core of all mentioned factors. A similar opinion is submitted by Mothibe (2017:73), he observes that "leadership challenge needs to be urgently addressed and elevated as a priority issue of concern to all Basotho, regional and continental bodies as well as developmental partners." Political leadership in Lesotho should demonstrate political will to strengthen

institutions that “can limit the space of arbitrary action and restrain corruption” (World Bank 2000:99).

The government of Lesotho rightly developed a National Vision 2020 which was considered as the basis to achieve accelerated economic growth and poverty reduction but the direction of the political leadership seems to be threatening its realization. There is no political will to promote social unity, integration and wellbeing of the citizens. There is lack of enthusiasm from political leadership to enhance functioning of public services in order to “furnish public and other goods to the citizens in an effective, transparent, impartial and accountable manner” (Raj 2010:717). The political leadership has failed to create the environment necessary for economic growth in the country. Bad governance negatively affects the economic growth and development and therefore, the society is denied provision of basic needs and consequently the citizens of Lesotho are experiencing human insecurity. The next chapter will investigate the relationship between political leadership and human security in order to find ways of addressing the issue of human insecurity.

CHAPTER FOUR

HUMAN SECURITY IN PRACTICE: LESOTHO EXPERIENCE

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to establish the role, if any, that political leadership over the years have played in promoting human security in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020. The overview is based on the premise that even though citizens live in the democratic dispensation since 1993 in Lesotho, masses still suffer from human security threats. Lesotho is one of the poorest countries in the Sub-Saharan. Thus, poverty is one of the threats to human security because it dehumanises citizens. It deprives the citizens of their basic needs. This demonstrates that there is an interdependent nexus that exists between political leadership and human security. The connection between political leadership and human security show that these are two fundamental constitutive factors of a democratic political system. Effective political leadership is central to poverty eradication, economic growth and development. Effective leadership cannot be realised without paying attention to human security. This can be practically done by respecting human rights and meeting the fundamental needs of the citizens.

4.1.2 Lesotho Government: Literature on governmental perceptions on human security

It has been affirmed that leadership is fundamental in providing good governance as well as fostering societal development. Economic and developmental success or failure of the state depends solely on the political leaders. This point is aptly captured by Wilkin (2000), who submits that the world is endowed with resources, wealth and technology and global poverty is a man-made issue not bad luck. Therefore, failure of the political leadership to guarantee security of its people, is tantamount to a failure of good governance. A similar opinion is submitted by Thomas (2001:160), who posits human insecurity is a direct result from structure of governance which are intended to provide services discriminately.

In the human security situation assessment in Lesotho, a combination of factors which contributed to the human insecurity were discovered. Many strategic actions were planned by the political leadership to combat human insecurity which was never implemented. The Human Development Report (1994) assists countries on how to overcome human insecurity. It “discovers early warning signals that can spur

preventative development in order to save a society from reaching a crisis point” (1994: iii). It further designed a new approach which was people-centred. By focusing its attention to how people live in the society, it employs many components, namely, economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

4.1.2.1 Economic security

Economic security covers consistent basic income which could be in the form of salary from employment or access to a safety net. But Lesotho has an alarming rate of unemployment. This observation is also made by Lesotho Country Report (2020:24), which states that Lesotho’s unemployment rate stands at 27.2% and makes the country one of the highest in the world. The citizens do not have access to the safety net.

Economic security cannot be attained if there are continuous poverty and unemployment. There is no way a government can combat poverty without first addressing an unemployment rate because unemployment is “a major cause of poverty” (Hassan and Ojo, 2002:4). The duty of the political leadership is to be aware of the needs of the citizens and respond appropriately and timely (Minhas, 1988:1897). On the other hand, Hassan and Ojo argue that without economic growth improved welfare of the citizens becomes impossible. The political leadership in Lesotho must, first, improve economic growth which will inevitably enable social service delivery which is so weak (Hassan and Ojo, 2002:5).

The World Bank Overview in Lesotho gives a more elaborative explanation:

In recent years, Lesotho’s economic performance has remained weak, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, sustained political instability has also contributed to weak economic performance. Real GDP contracted by an average 0.7% annually between 2017 and 2019 before it, declined by 8.4% in 2020.

Another serious challenge facing the government of Lesotho is the weak institutional capacity. Proper functioning of the institutions was fundamental in poverty reduction. According to Hassan (2002:9), administrative and institutional capacity which is lacking in many ministries and central governments agencies are to blame for no policy

formulation, coordination and implementation for long-term development. But, on the other hand, evidence in chapter three has manifested lack of will to change the status quo as another problem in making sure that policies and strategies are properly implemented. Prosperity and social development can only be realized when political leadership is strong and willing to transform the way things are done now.

The private sector is key for economic growth and development. But the government of Lesotho is not willing to create the enabling environment for the additional private investment which “remains one of the Lesotho’s biggest challenges” (2002:9).

Lesotho is endowed with natural resources such as plenty of water and unique diamonds in the world. Botswana is endowed with diamonds only but it is considered to be one of the economically progressed countries in the sub-Saharan Africa as the study will show later. Lesotho is given plenty of water and unique diamonds but it has remained one of the poorest countries in the sub-Saharan Africa. The problem seems to be the political leadership deficit. There is an urgent need to address the persistent failure of the political leadership to transform living conditions of Basotho. The political leadership in Lesotho must improve performance of democratic institutions. There must be a visible political commitment to democratic institutions. Furthermore, local government structures must be adequately resourced and skilled personnel be hired in order to be able to make critical decisions at all levels. The political parties must be a starting point to demonstrate commitment to democracy.

4.1.2.2 Food security

Food security deals with accessibility of regular food supply. The citizens in Lesotho are experiencing deprivation of food supply. This issue is succinctly explained by Hassan and Ojo (2002:4) state that “The Gini Coefficient for Lesotho is one of the highest in the world, implying that in a country with widespread poverty, half the population in 1999, many of the poor suffer extreme deprivations.” This condition has a direct effect on the performance of political leadership, who is seen by service delivery to the citizens (Rotberg, 2003:29).

Data accuracy is essential for planning and budgeting in every country. But, data about national accounts, poverty and society can be hardly trusted because Data

Management Systems are weak in Lesotho (Hassan and Ojo, 2002:9). The reason for this could be recruitment of the unskilled staff or there is a lack of political will to change the situation and that this is the result of the “competing political parties or coalitions of parties for access to political power and its material benefits” (2017:123).

Galtung (1990:145) states that some governments have policies whose “intention is not to kill but is nonetheless deadly.” He further maintains that governments are unable to provide basic needs to their citizens; particularly food, and such citizens die of hunger. This is the case in Lesotho.

Political leadership in Lesotho must demonstrate commitment to genuinely eradicate poverty by not only making good policies but by fully implementing them. Although “the proportion living below the national poverty line decreased from 56.6 percent in 2002 to 49.7 percent in 2017,” “high levels of economic vulnerability persist” (Lesotho Poverty Assessment Report, 2019). Moreover, there must be a strengthened relationship between the government and the private sector in order to maximize job creation and promote decent living conditions of the citizens. In an effort to enhance food security, the central structures of the government have embarked on a number of measures that include reforming the relevant institutions as well as delegating more responsibilities to the private sector (Government of Lesotho, 2001).

4.1.2.3 Health security

Health security covers accessibility of clean drinking water, healthy environment, basic support during pregnancy and delivery, prevention from HIV/AIDS and other deadly disease and capacity to make healthy choices. The government of Lesotho is facing a variety of challenges and one of them is a serious shortage of health personnel. For instance, as Lesotho National Strategic Plan, 2017-2022, submits that “the population per physician exceeds 20 000, double the average for SADC” (2002:5).

Due to declining economic performance, resources allocated to the Ministry of Health have also declined. This is having a negative impact on the beneficiary. Hassan and Ojo (2002:5) unpack this point when they state that the resources dedicated to health sector in Lesotho declined by 7% between 1995 to 1999.

The result of the declining resources allocated to the health sector is outlined by UNAIDS Report as follows:

The estimated HIV population in Lesotho has been increasing by 47 percent from 202 373 in 2000 to 327 427 in 2016. Globally, the country has the second highest HIV prevalence...Lesotho is among the top 20 countries with highest TB and TB/HIV incidence rates globally. Some progress has been noted in reducing the TB incidence and mortality in the past 15 years (2018:12-13).

The HIV/AIDS has increased while there is a slight decrease in TB cases. Stunted children are another health issue which requires political leadership to address. It is said that 33 percent children in Lesotho were stunted while 11 percent children were severely stunted (Lesotho Demographic and Health Survey, 2014). Significant investment in health sector is imperative in Lesotho if the above-mentioned threats are to be overcome.

There has been clearly observed gender bias in the attempt by the government of Lesotho to improve quality of life between male and female (Hassan and Ojo, 2002:5). They further argue that “progress in improving quality of life in Lesotho has not been evenly distributed between males and females.” For example, net primary enrolment (% of the age group) for male 55 and female 80 and group primary enrolment (% of age group) for male 85 and female 122.

In order to address the realities faced by Lesotho in a meaningful way, “the country needs protracted growth that is robust and equitable” (Lesotho Country Report, 2020:27). In addition, the government must increase the health budget in order to adequately share resources devoted to the health sector.

Water is a basic need and many people in Lesotho do not have clean water. The pace at which clean water is been made accessible to the citizens is very slow. For instance, in 2017, 25.64% of the population accessed clean water, in 2018, 26.74, in 2019, 27.87% and in 2020, 28.91% (Lesotho Clean Water Access 2000-2023). Similar opinion is submitted by Heller (2019), who argues that the government of Lesotho must prioritize water, sanitation and hygiene on its national development agenda. He further points out that inadequate access to safe drinking water, sanitation and hygiene strongly impact the well-being and livelihoods of the Basotho. Water is the basic need without which improvement of lives, ability to make choices on their way of living and

expanding freedom are impossible. The commitment of the government must be seen in the budget allocation that it really wants to improve access to clean water.

4.1.2.4 Environmental security

Environmental security includes factors such as prevention of water and air pollution and deforestation, prevention from natural hazards such as floods, earthquake, cyclones and drought. To this effect, the 1993 Constitution of Lesotho, Section 36, dictates how the environment must be cared for so that it may be enjoyed by every Mosotho. However, until 2017, “there has never been legislation in Lesotho to make Environmental Impact Assessment mandatory until 2017” (Lesotho Country Report, 2020:25).

The major problem with the political leadership in Lesotho is that it makes good environmental policies and laws but they do lack compliance. For example, the government initiated plans to exploit coal and shale gas reserves. However, there were no environmental impact assessments conducted as per the Environmental Act of 2008. The Ministry of Mining and the Ministry of the Environment must work together to enforce compliance to environmental regulations.

The Lesotho Country Report (2020:25) makes a similar observation:

There is utter disregard for the laws of Lesotho in that the commissioner of mines has violated Section 7 (1) (c) of the Mines and Minerals Act of 2005, which states that his responsibility is to assess breaches in environmental obligations in mining areas. Mining companies are not properly regulated and, even in instances where they have found to have violated environmental laws, nothing is done by the government of Lesotho.

The government must ensure environmental policies and laws compliance at all times. For this to happen effectively and efficiently, the Department of Environmental Affairs must be adequately resourced. Furthermore, Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) for the projects must be mandatory and conducted as the law prescribes. Finally, the Ministry of Mining and the Ministry of Environment work together to enforce adherence to environmental regulations.

4.1.2.5 Personal security

Personal security seeks to protect individuals from physical violence which could be inflicted by internal or external states. Basotho lives in fear of being raped, of theft, of murder and of free movement within the country especially at night. US Embassy Lesotho in its 2019 Crime & Safety Report in Lesotho states that the police information indicates an increase in violent crimes such as: “armed robbery, sexual assault, homicide, residential break-in) in recent years” (2019:2).

The Lesotho Country Report (2020:26) gives a detailed piece of information as follows:

The period between 2015 and 2020 was also punctuated by an escalation in the number of murders and cases going cold. Thabane’s regime introduced a policy where police were encouraged to torture suspects. Many people have been permanently paralysed and more than 30 have died in police custody in the period of 18 months.

Police who tortured the suspects and even killed them are known but they are still walking freely. This a vivid indication that political leadership in Lesotho is intending to promote impunity and lack of the rule of law. The rule of law is an essential component of good governance without which there is no good governance. Without good governance, there is human insecurity.

The government must restore the rule of law and ensure that every person, regardless of the race, religion, party affiliation and position, faces the law. The bail regulations must be reviewed. For instance, a suspect who is found with the unlicensed gun is granted a minimum of R500.00 bail. The judicial budgets must be increased so as to increase a number of judges to expedite court criminal cases. For example, due to backlog of cases in the High Court, gives room for bailed suspects to win cases because all the witnesses are dead or forgotten what transpired since the cases take many years before justice is served. In addition, law enforcement agencies must be properly trained because some cases are lost due to insufficient evidence because of poor investigation. Moreover, there is an urgent need to establish a Human Rights Commission in Lesotho, with structures espoused international best practices.

4.1.2.6 Community security

Community security safeguards tradition and cultures, languages and shared values which is the foundation of the national cohesion. It further includes prevention of ethnic conflicts, termination of ethnic discrimination and protection of indigenous people.

In Lesotho there are no ethnic groups, which in many countries become a source of protracted conflicts. But political parties are playing out a role of ethnic groups to divide and cause of conflict among the citizens. For example, in 2015, Tom Thabane, Thesele Maseribane and Keketso Rantso, the then opposition leaders, fled Lesotho to South Africa in fear of their lives. They came back to Lesotho in 2017 for general elections and they experienced intimidations during election campaigns. However, Thabane became Prime Minister in June 2017.

As an indication that the political parties have become the source of conflict among the citizens, what happened to Tom Thabane and his colleagues, would now happen to the leader of Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD), Mothejoa Metsing.

Lesotho Country Report provides a more elaborative narrative as follows,

After losing the general elections in June 2017, Mothejoa Metsing indicated that members of the armed forces had sacrificed much for his political cause and he was willing to negotiate with his other political parties to retain power. Having failed to secure enough seats to form a government, he fled the country, allegedly fearing for his life (2020:28).

As earlier said, political parties have turned out to be the source of conflicts. Hatred amongst the politicians, especially political leaders, in Lesotho have been a source of political instability which then threatens community security.

Then a new phenomenon that sparked conflict emerged. Then *Famo* music groups, formed gangs such as *Seakhi* and *Terene*. After being actively involved in politics in 2015, tensions mounted resulting in extreme violence (Mohloboli, 2019). This is reflected in the Post Newspaper:

The Famo killings are rife in Mafeteng district but of late, they have been happening elsewhere across the country. Perpetrators usually flee the country and hide in South Africa where they are difficult to trace. The killings have left many orphaned and injured (The Post, 1 April 2020).

The different tribes who were brought together as one nation by Moshoeshoe, has been divided along political party lines. This poses a threat to the community which was once united. It is, therefore, imperative for Lesotho political leadership to work unreservedly to restore unity, peace and harmony amongst the nation especially by ceasing to discriminately recruiting public service staff on the basis of political party affiliation.

4.1.2.7 Political security

Political security involves safeguarding human rights and welfare of all citizens; protection of citizens from arbitrary imprisonment; systematic ill-treatment and protection of citizens from state repression such freedom of speech, press and voting.

Due to lack of rule of law in Lesotho in the period under review, escalating cases of death were registered at the police stations. For instance, since 2017, escalating cases of death and torture in the police custody were reported. For instance, between June 2017 and December 2018, 30 cases of deaths which were caused by either police or army had been recorded (Lesotho Country Report, 2020:13). However, no action has been taken against the known officers (2020:13).

A similar opinion was registered by Sejanamane (2017:155), who posits:

We have seen the police becoming more militarised and more unprofessional and unaccountable. Lesotho Mounted Police Service has adapted to the political and security chaos that Lesotho has degenerated into in the past few years. An analysis of some of the unsavoury developments within the police will illustrate the point. They involve undisguised unprofessionalism and subordination to the current political climate which does not embrace accountability for all those who are aligned to the present government.”

The primary role of the police is to keep order and enforce law in the society. However, in Lesotho, the police and the military have been seen undermining guarantee and protection of the fundamental human rights of the citizens. Moreover, the perpetrators of these crimes are known but they are still going free. Compromising a rule of law is tantamount to compromising good governance. Then bad governance inevitably breeds human insecurity.

Sejaname (2017:138) further illustrates that, in January 2014, three families in Maseru were attacked and damaged with bombs by some military personnel. It was the house

of the former Police Commissioner, the house of the then partner of the then Prime Minister and the neighbouring house which were targeted. The investigations were made and the suspects were identified which led into the opening of cases. However, the Lesotho Defence Force refused to hand over the suspects. The government kept silent about it. The suspects had not been held accountable for their actions up to now.

4.2 The example of Botswana: A brief socio-political and economic overview

4.2.1 Introduction

Botswana has been mentioned earlier as a country that has made a huge progress in terms of being able to eradicate poverty, grow economically and guarantee human security to its citizens. Botswana's political leadership can serve as a role model for Lesotho and below, a brief overview pertaining to this point is provided by means of example.

Some African countries are considered to have embraced principles of governance such as Botswana, Rwanda and Seychelles. These countries have used different mechanisms to achieve good governance and promote human security. For instance, Botswana created realistic policies and adhered to them in their operations, especially to extract wealth from mining (Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Assessment Report, 2020). Rwanda had emerged from devastating conflict by strengthening their institutions which ensured stability and economic growth (Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Assessment Report, 2016). Seychelles addressed aggressively to its 2008 debt crisis by adopting a comprehensive economic programme and institutional reforms (Public Expenditure and Financial Accountability Assessment Report, 2017). However, the study seeks to demonstrate the impact of effective political leadership on poverty eradication, economic growth and development. It further aims to prove that effective leadership is central to poverty eradication and economic growth (human security). Literature shows that Botswana's economic success is to a greater extent attributed to effective political leadership (Tsie, 1996; Theobald and Williams, 1999 and Holm, 2000).

4.2.2 Political context

Botswana is a landlocked country which shares borders with South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. It is sparsely populated with about 2.5 million population (Sebudubudu, 2013). It is a politically stable country. It uses a multi-party system in its

democracy. As per its Constitution, it holds general elections every five years. The ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) has been in power since independence in 1966. It held its 11th general elections in 2019.

4.2.3 Economic and social overview

Botswana was one of the poorest countries in the world when it received independence in 1966. Lesotho too got its independence in 1966. Elements which have contributed to Botswana's economic growth and development are minerals, functional institutions and wise economic management (Sebudubudu, 2013). The diamonds have become essential for the economic growth. The presence of natural resources like diamonds do not automatically transform the economy of the country like it is the case in Lesotho. In other countries, the abundance of natural resources become a source of conflict (Sachs and Warner, 1995). The natural resources can benefit a country if they are prudently managed by political leadership. In addition, authors agree that Botswana has achieved growth performance because it adopted good policies and committed to compliance (Harvey and Lewis, 1990; Good, 1992 and Leith, 2000).

Botswana is characterised by good governance, democratic government and thriving development in the era whereby many countries are poorly governed and this negatively impacted on their economic growth. Another interesting factor is responsiveness. Government responsiveness to citizens' needs has been noticeable particularly, in the health sector. Even before sudden appearance of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the 1980s, the government had an extensive institutional framework for health care provision in place in the following order: mobile clinics, health posts, clinics, primary hospitals, district and referral hospitals (Sebudubudu, 2013). They were spread all over serving the majority of the population (85%) who were walking 15 kilometres to a health facility as per the World Health Organisation (WHO) guidelines (Sebudubudu, 2013).

The infrastructure has drastically improved since 1966. For example, there were only 12 kilometres paved roads at independence. But by 2007, the paved roads had covered 7000 kilometres. Furthermore, per capita had risen to about \$6100, placing Botswana at upper middle-income country (Lewin, 2011). This observation is also made by Acemoglu and Johnson (2003) and Leith (2005), who submit that annual

growth in per capita income ranged at 2.0 percent between 1966 and 1999. They further believe that Botswana's performance is outstanding as compared to other economies in the sub-Saharan Africa.

Poverty in Botswana has remarkably been eradicated. This point is aptly captured by Leith (2005), who submits that the percentage of people who lived below poverty line fell from 50 percent in 1985 to 33 percent in 1994. Whereas in Lesotho half (49.7%) of the population live below poverty line and about 24.1% lives in extreme level of vulnerability in 2020 (World Bank, 2020:10).

Even though, unemployment is still a challenge in Botswana, it has dropped from 21 percent in the 1990s to 17 percent in 2008. However, due to impact of Covid-19, unemployment rate increased to 21.02 percent in 2020. To ensure that the citizens meet their basic needs, Botswana has introduced the robust social safety nets which cover 37.9 percent (387 503) households that receive the social safety nets packages (Botswana Statistics, 2019). Whereas Lesotho has an unemployment rate of about 18.12 percent which is lower than that of Botswana but its social safety nets programs do not adequately address the unemployment issue like it is doing in Botswana.

Diamonds and other minerals are seemingly the factors for Botswana's economic success. However, authors do not agree over whether discovery of minerals helped Botswana's developed economy. Some authors believe that it is through mineral discovery that Botswana is successful (Auty, 2001; Sachs and Warner, 1995). Others do not believe that the discovery of natural or mineral resources can automatically help a country to be economically developed, citing countries like Zambia, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone and others (Stevens, 2003; Brunnschweiler & Bulte, 2008; Ledermann & Maloney, 2007). Thus, what the above argument makes clear is the fact that effective political leadership who is committed and showing political will can make the mineral resources become ingredients for the economic success of a given country. This also include good governance and good economic management (Lewin, 2013:2).

4.2.4 Rule of law

Rule of law is very important to ensure that financial transactions take place in accordance with the law. For instance, investments, credit access and debt facilitation as well as contractual rights. The quality of the judiciary guarantees protection of

economic rights in a country. Judiciary quality is vividly perceived when the judiciary is free from private and public interference (International Monetary Fund, 2018). Thus, economic rights are considered to be relatively protected in Botswana because of the independent, competent, efficient and effective judiciary (World Bank, n.d). Generally, depending on the Worldwide Governance Indicators, Botswana is reported to have robust rule of law.

In summary, the objective of this section was to show that effective political leadership is essential to a country's economic progress. For the past 40 years, Botswana has made a huge progress in as far as good governance is concerned. The government has been responsive to the demands of the citizens by ensuring that it worked out appropriate policies and programmes that were targeted to addressing the poor and disadvantaged in the community. There has been a shift for Botswana from where it was one of the poorest countries in the 1980s to a high-income country in the 2000s. Consequently, Botswana's case demonstrates that with effective political leadership, natural resources, especially diamonds, can have a positive effect on the development of the country and assist change citizens' lives. In this way, Botswana can provide lessons to other political leadership in Africa. In spite of that success, Botswana is not a perfect country but its governance has been good. It has some challenges and limitations such as, just to mention a few, to improve service delivery and dependence on mineral exports.

4.3 Conclusion

Political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020 has not delivered public goods according to the expectations of the citizens. They have failed to deliver on the aspirations of the citizens. During the period under investigation, Lesotho has become a country in which the lives of the citizens are in danger. Corruption and nepotism have exacerbated economic crisis in the country. Policies have been made to curb poverty but due to lack of adequate budget allocation, the pain of living in poverty cannot be alleviated. An ideal country is identified by significant investment in education and health. However, political leadership in Lesotho does not allocate adequate budget in health. The Constitution of Lesotho, as well as the policies, protect the environment but political leadership does not ensure compliance. The once loved traditional (*famo*) music groups have now become enemies of the community because

of their fighting and killings amongst themselves. Political leadership has endorsed its behaviour by adopting them into their political parties. Therefore, their murder cases can be hardly investigated. Lesotho has become a dangerous place to live in because even the law enforcers are involved in crime. Even when they have been identified, they cannot be held accountable for their crime or actions. Political leadership has ignored its moral obligation to address the human security needs of all citizens.

The preceding chapters have indicated that Lesotho is experiencing deficit in political leadership. In addition, it has been observed that political leadership is an essential component of good governance. The evidence has emphasised the centrality of political leadership in governance. Governance becomes good or bad depending on the direction of political leadership. Human security does not happen by default but by ineffective political leadership. Due to ineffective political leadership in Lesotho, evidence show that citizens' basic needs have not been met. Lesotho citizens have been consistently bearing the pain of human insecurity. Examining political leadership in the context of Lesotho, the evidence has shown a critical link between political leadership and human security (human development and poverty reduction). The next chapter covers conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions and discussions

5.1 Introduction

The study clarified the main purpose of the research at the beginning of this dissertation. Three questions were posited; what is the performance of political leadership in Lesotho from 1993 to 2020? What is understood by political leadership and human security? What is the nexus between political leadership and human security? The research has been able to answer all the questions. It is important to note that human insecurity is blamed on the ineffective political leadership. Political leadership and human security are interconnected, imperative and interdependent concepts and without effective political leadership, human security is impossible.

5.2 Findings

The literature has outlined a combination of elements, which underpinned poor performance of political leadership in Lesotho in the period under review. On one hand, there is acknowledgement of the efforts made by political leadership in order to improve governance. On the other hand, those efforts were deliberately frustrated by lack of political will to robustly implement good national policies, strategies and recommendations.

In chapter two, the conceptualisation of the political leadership and human security concepts were discussed. First, the historical overview of the conceptualization of political leadership commonly emphasised that political leadership's actions must be driven by the interests of the people, nothing else and that dictatorship has no place in democracy. It further showed that political leadership was characterised by the ability to exercise power and influence citizens to achieve shared goals and collectively combat unwanted situation. There was also emphasis on the primary role of government which is to protect the lives and property of the people as well as protection of the rights of the people. But Lesotho is characterised by lack of rule of law which is a threat to human rights.

Government must have three arms, namely, the legislature, executive and judiciary, with noticeable separation of power. However, it has been indicated that in Lesotho, three arms of government do not enjoy the separation of power. The legislature and judiciary must hold accountable the executive in the democracy and this aspect was

confirmed to be weak in Lesotho. The three arms of government must not only be inspired, in its operations, by the interests of the people but by their common good too. In addition, the actions of political leadership must show the ability of the government to achieve its goals and effect changes that are required. Political leadership has ability to make things happen according to law.

The literature further showed that, under normal circumstances, political leadership was mandated to plan, control, organise and implement strategies and policies. Failure to perform as such, would have a direct effect on the security of the citizens. Failure of Lesotho political leadership to carry out their mandate diligently has compromised human security.

Second, the historical overview of human security concept has confined security to the state sovereignty. But the literature indicated that there has been a paradigm shift in the understanding of security concept since the end of the World War II. Security was lately understood as being against anything that threatened well-being of the citizens. Therefore, political leadership must always protect citizens against all threats, be it poverty or torture. If the seven dimensions of human security proposed by the United Nations Development report of 1994 would be carefully implemented, the human insecurity challenges facing political leadership in Lesotho could be overcome.

Chapter three explained how those at the helm of state power exercised power; how they behaved and governed; how political leadership managed the affairs of the state which was tested by whether the basic needs of the citizens were met or not from 1993 to 2020. Effective leadership was tested by good governance which automatically guaranteed human security. The literature has shown that in democracy, political leadership had to be accountable to the citizens. But actions of the political leadership in Lesotho in the period under review did not seem to be promoting accountability. There seemed to be a noticeable disconnect between political leadership and citizens. This attitude rendered it impossible to meet the fundamental needs of the citizens through service delivery.

Political instability seemed to have negatively affected good governance. The government had been characterised by political instability because of the politicised security agencies and public service; institutions deliberately weakened lest they held

political leadership accountable. Lack of rule gave way to impunity. These above-mentioned factors suffocated the economic growth and development.

The literature emphasised lack of transparency as a problem too. Accountability and transparency are complementary. This attitude created a fertile soil for malpractices and lack of commitment to democratic principles by political leadership.

In a democratic dispensation, citizens govern themselves and they choose how they want to be governed. It is not the case in Lesotho because political leadership have not made it possible for the citizens to participate in the national budget. It rendered it difficult for the citizens to hold the executive accountable because they did not know the contents of the budget and how it was supposed to affect them. It seemed that political leadership used this cap to steal money and enriched themselves while the citizens remained vulnerable.

Local communities must be given an opportunity to decide for themselves with regard to things which affect them. This was not happening in Lesotho because of lack of political will by political leadership to decentralise government in order to ensure self-determination of the citizens.

There is no good governance without a rule of law. The rule of law is impossible without proper separation of power amongst the three arms of the government. However, the separation of power has been guaranteed by the Constitution of Lesotho but practically it is not happening. In addition, the literature has indicated that political leadership entertained lack of law and consequently, promoted impunity. This counteracted the efforts to create investment confidence into the country to boost the economy and created employment.

Government which is closer to the citizens is able to hear the voice of its citizens and respond accordingly and timely. Since there was a gap between the government of Lesotho and its citizens, it was difficult to respond to the citizens' needs. This attitude sustained human insecurity in the country.

The study discovered that political leadership challenges are attributed to a greater extent to a combination of factors such as weak democratic institutions, political instability, bad governance, bad political leadership and development crisis.

In chapter four, the literature reiterated that there was interdependent relationship that existed between political leadership and human security. Effective political leadership was characterised by practically respecting human rights and meeting the basic needs of the citizens. Human security covered seven dimensions without which the citizens were subjected to misery and vulnerability.

Lesotho seemed to have failed to deliver public goods and on the aspirations of the citizens since 1993. Furthermore, political leadership has failed to meet the requirements outlined in the seven components. The literature has emphasised the centrality of political leadership in governance. Due to ineffective political leadership in Lesotho, the basic needs of the citizens were never met. It has been demonstrated that state failure is largely human engineering, but not accidental. Institutional fragilities and structural flaws contribute to failure but those deficiencies are results of decisions or actions of political leadership. So it is those leadership errors which have caused human insecurity for personal gains. Examining political leadership in Lesotho context, the literature has demonstrated that there existed a profound link between political leadership and human security.

Lastly, it has been clearly established that the endowment of natural resources in a country did not automatically translated into economic growth. It demanded competent management from the effective political leadership and good governance. For instance, Botswana has diamonds and little other natural resources but the manner in which Botswana's political leadership managed its natural resources, changed the economy of the country and lives of its citizens. Now Botswana was placed under middle income country. On the other hand, Lesotho was endowed with quality diamonds and not only quality but plenty of water and because of the poor political leadership management, the natural resources failed to transform the Lesotho economy and live of its citizens. Therefore, political leadership in Botswana can be used as a role model for Lesotho and other African countries to learn how to manage state affairs and its natural endowments.

5.3 Recommendations

Politicised public service has paralysed service delivery because there has been a noticeable resistance on the side of the public servants to serve a government of the day. There is an urgent need to depoliticise the public service because:

5.3.1 An autonomous public service is the pillar for strong and stable government.

5.3.2 Government strategies and policies will be properly implemented if the public service is professional.

5.3.3 The Lesotho government must comply with the International Standards when appointing the public servants on the basis of their competence and experience.

5.3.4 Strong political will of political leadership is needed if Lesotho wants a non-political, independent and professional public service.

5.3.5 The non-political, independent and professional public service will be able to unreservedly serve a government of the day and during the change of government the government machinery will remain fully operational.

5.3.6 Political leadership will have to overcome a challenge of current system of clientelism and introduce one based on merit.

Human security demands that the fundamental needs of the citizens are met through the respect and protection of human rights. Fundamental needs cover access to food, health services, protection of rights and getting income. This demands political leadership to properly manage the affairs of the citizens and natural endowments in order to grow economy.

Human security fosters democracy in which participation of the citizens is recognised in determining policy and holding accountable the government for its actions. There is a need to decentralise government in order to give citizens opportunity to determine how they want to be governed. In this way, the citizens will be able to demand accountability from the government.

It is generally accepted that bad political leadership contributes to the propagation of poverty and under-development by weakening institutions and lack of ways to manage relationship between the government and citizens. Thus, to combat poverty, strengthening of institutions must be given a priority. Reinstating the democratic institutions and sustaining good governance systems is essential to development and poverty eradication, which is the main threat to human security in Lesotho.

Poverty seemed to be undermining the efforts made to eradicate poverty and combat HIV/AIDS in Lesotho. Research must be undertaken in order to identify factors leading

to poverty in the midst of natural resources abundance (diamond and water). which will then provide direction in terms of decision to be taken. Fiscal policy must be drawn up to ensure macroeconomic stability. Then it is imperative for political leadership to show political will to implement the policy.

An effective political leadership is needed to show a direction and government cooperation to concentrate on development and sustainability. Political leadership must be characterised by, in their actions, strong political will, commitment and societal concern.

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