

DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA: THE PITFALLS AND THE LAST RESORT

Moeketsi Kali¹, Mammo Muchie²

ABSTRACT. Democracy and corruption indices demonstrate that Africa's democracy is blemished. The severity and frequency at which the inconsistencies are encountered in the implementation of democracy raises a lot of concerns. The authors employ content analysis to maintain that African governments are not adequately prepared to embrace democracy. They take for granted the need to domesticate it. As a result, its implementation aggravates the deleterious effects of the colonial legacy by creating fragmentations and divisions between ethnic groups. By its very nature, democracy creates the losers and the winners. The bifurcation and lack of unity among citizens render them vulnerable to political influence. These divisions in turn continue to complicate the implementation of democracy and tarnishes its desirability. In spite of the repercussions, most of the constitutions fail to recognize the existence of ethnic and political differences that undermine democracy. Due to this omission, the authors propose a review of the constitutions. Last but not least, we propose to the former colonial powers to facilitate the initiation and implementation of these reforms.

Keywords: Democracy, ethnic groups, political affiliations, colonialism, constitution

1. INTRODUCTION

Everyone everywhere has a reason to value democracy. Sen (1999) asserts that for human beings to have good lives, they need political and social freedoms. Individual liberties are embedded in democracy (Dahl, 1971). According to Fukuyama (2018), the importance of these freedoms was noticed by Jean Jacques Rousseau. The latter was worried that society imposes a certain degree of restrictions to the enjoyment of man's natural liberties. On top of that, the famous dictators like Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) also acknowledged that democracy is desirable, even though he claimed that it is a fallacy in practice. Many scholars value democracy for its merits. For instance, Francis Fukuyama, Robert Dahl and Armatya Sen, inter alia, recognize its desirability (Dahl, 1971; Sen, 1999; Fukuyama, 2018). Important as it is, it does not bear out the expected results in Africa. After independence, African states implemented democracy with euphoria. Despite the challenges in the implementation, most of the countries are not relenting but continue to grapple with democratic survival and reversals (Freedom House, 2019; Kali, 2019). Although African countries are trying hard to perfect their democracies, certain scholars insinuate that most of them are condemned to muddle through as unconsolidated democracies (Diamond, Plattner, Chu & Tien, 1997). Some scholars attempt to explain the causes of the democratic deficits from the perspective of colonialism (Berhard, Reenock & Nordstrom, 2004). They acknowledge that colonial historical experience has deleterious effects on states' democratic prospects. Following Przeworski and Limongi (1993) where they argue that democratic stability depends on high levels of development, the reasons for Africa's democratic deficits are obvious. The literature clearly demonstrates how the colonial powers underdeveloped the African continent and left it vulnerable to poverty and insecurity (Berhard, Reenock & Nordstrom, 2004; Tomlinso, 1999).

¹ Pan African University
kalimoeketsi@gmail.com

² Tshwane University of Technology
mammo.muchie@gmail.com

The root causes of the failures of democracy are traceable to colonialism (Diamond, 1998). Colonialism orchestrated the scramble for Africa and fragmented united communities (Gashaw, 2017). It initiated ethnic differentiation and economic stratification among people with common characteristics (Arbernethy, 2000). Colonialism split ethnic groups which had common ties and created disunity instead of harmony. The fragmentation imposed difficulties when African people started embarking on the journey to democracy (Diamond, 1998). It complicated the prospects for their success and compelled them to fight a losing battle.

The solutions to African democratic deficits have to be found within the interplay of ethnicity and democracy. According to Schumpeter (1942), a country should be seen as democratic only if its governors are elected through competitive elections. The competitiveness of elections creates the losers and winners. This fragmentation compounds to the problems of ethnic divisions. Despite the merits of democracy, the context in which it is being implemented is inappropriate because of the divisions caused by colonialism.

2.METHODOLOGY

Based on desktop research and content analysis, the authors raise the problems arising from the interplay between democracy and ethnicity. We illustrate the ways in which democracy has been conceived and how its element of competitive elections compound to the problems of ethnicity. This endeavour is guided by the following questions: Why is the implementation of democracy so undesirable in Africa? What is the last resort to this democratic deficit?

We begin by explaining the concept of democracy and move to its theoretical desirability. Then we proceed by elucidating the root causes of the pitfalls and describing the last resort to democratic challenges. On the basis of the evidence flowing from the discussion, we offer conclusions and recommendations.

Democracy: Democracy is a form of government which attempts to promote popular sovereignty or inclusive governance (Owen, 2003, p. 5). The minimalist way of understanding it is by describing it as a system of government where rulers are chosen through competitive periodic, free and fair elections (Schumpeter, 1942; Dahl, 1982). This conception is referred to as minimalist because it defines democracy using the least characteristics possible, such as elections, as the main criterion. Since elections are competitive, Przeworski (1999) warns us that there will be winners and losers. This implies that defining democracy with words like popular participation or a government of all by all, would require us to be specific about those who rule. So it is safer not to identify this concept with majority rule (Sen, 1999). Others define democracy as a political system in which the constitution offers and guarantees periodical opportunities for changing public officials that govern a country (Lipset, 1959, p. 71). Seymour Lipset argues that in a democratic system, the constitution specifies the incumbent and political leaders holding office. Also, it specifies those who act as a legitimate opposition to the government and the ways in which a government can be changed. According to Lipset (1959, p. 71), when the constitution fails to define the insiders and the outsiders, democracy will be unstable. By not describing them, the constitution will obviously omit the rights of the ‘ins’ and ‘outs.’ Moreover, democracy is defined as a system of government in which the political office-holders are regularly held accountable in the public realm by adults who have a right to vote in competitive general elections (Huntington, 1991). The system of government in place has to vest the elected political office-holders with the powers to govern. The authorities have to

make national elections constitutionally periodical. Elections are supposed to be regular and honest. They have to be seen as fair by significant political actors, including some of the losers (Dahl, 1982, p. 11; Huntington, 1991). The most recognized set of rights embedded in democracy are as follows: The right to contest for political office, the right to a universal franchise, the freedom of expression, the freedom of association, the right to alternative sources of information and the recognition that elections should be regular, free, fair and competitive (Schumpeter, 1942; Lipset, 1959; Dahl, 1982; Huntington, 1999).

The maximalist conception raises a concern of viewing democracy as a matter of degree and not procedures followed, such as holding periodic elections. According to Beetham (1994), decision-making, in a democratic system has to be controlled by authorities with equal privileges and status. In addition, democracy has to be seen as an unfinished or continuous process because it has to be evaluated by the extent to which the basic principles are respected. This is contrary to assessing it in terms of the mere presence of its fundamental principles. A government is seen as democratic depending on the degree to which its legislators are chosen through competitive, regular, free and fair elections by citizens who enjoy a universal suffrage (Huntington, 1991).

In an attempt to bolster Samuel Huntington's conception of democracy, Beetham (1994) suggests that regardless of who the collective decision-makers are, a democratic system should be seen as a sphere of collectively binding decision-making where decisions are taken by all members as equals. In a nutshell, it has to be regarded as an extent to which a system of government where collectively binding decision-making by political office-holders, elected through competitive, free and fair elections, embodies the principle of equality and rule of law (Beetham, 1994).

However, the aforementioned definition fails to clarify the way parliamentarians and government officials treat citizens who elected them after elections. Again, it does not explain how citizens hold their leaders accountable (Beetham, 1994). It compels us to assume that the citizens will get the chance to hold their leaders accountable in the next term of elections. Moreover, little is said about the way the 'ins' treat the 'outs' and how the ruling party treats the opposition is left for us to guess.

Despite David Beetham's observation of the flaws of procedural definitions of democracy, its analytical value is not wholly wiped out. Since the minimalist approach describes democracy using few and simple attributes, it becomes easier to analyze systems of government around the world (Schumpeter, 1942; Dahl, 1982). The minimalist approach simplifies the classification of systems of government as either democratic or undemocratic. It leaves a room for scholars to further assess the extent to which basic principles are realized (Elkins, 1999).

From a procedural assessment, we can move to the assessment of democracy as a matter of degree. Once we find that the elections are competitive, free and fair, we can evaluate the extent to which the system in place complies with other basic principles of democracy. These include values such as the rule of law, equality, accountability and responsiveness (Huntington, 1991; Beetham, 1994). These issues permit us to know the type of democracy a government is practising. Thus we can classify democracy as empty, illiberal, liberal or consolidated (Zakaria, 1997; Beetham, 1994).

Both conceptions of democracy as a matter of degree and a continuous process are complementary and not contradictory (Knutsen, 2014). Nevertheless, they both miss out an important aspect which has to do with the composition of the insiders and outsiders, particularly in an African context. The omission on the part of scholars compels policymakers and bureaucrats to implement a faulty

project. The consequences are dire when the policymakers take for granted the need to domesticate policies.

In order to overcome the aforesaid omission, a slightly different conception of democracy is badly needed. Hence, we suggest that a state has to be seen as democratic provided that its elections are honest, competitive, free and fair and satisfy a country's constitutional requirements concerning the choice of political office-holders (Beetham, 1994, Dahl, 1971, Huntington, 1991; Przeworski, 1999). On top of these, a country has to constitutionally specify the power-sharing mechanism for different ethnic groups. Any conception that does not recognize the diversity of ethnic groups in a democratic process has the propensity to tarnish the desirability of democracy.

3. THE THEORETICAL DESIRABILITY OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is desirable because it serves as a buffer against conflict. According to Przeworski (1999), the mere prospect that elections have the propensity to bring about regime change can induce the conflicting parties to comply with stipulated rules and avoid violence. When the losers in an election foresee that there is a greater likelihood that they may win elections in future they are likely to abide by the rules. The mere fact that political actors alternate and others expect to have their turn in the future helps prevent bloodshed during and after elections (Przeworski, 1999). Thus democracy can be a source of peace. This argument is not limited to situations where political parties enjoy almost equal support because coalitions are also possible when small parties realize that their chances of winning are limited. In Lesotho, for instance, after a conflict that involved an attempted coup in 2014, the Southern African Development Community advised the country to hold elections (Moseme, 2017; Kali, 2019). Eventually, a coalition government was formed after the 2015 general elections (Kedebe, 2019).

In addition, the theoretical desirability of democracy lies in its intrinsic value (Sen, 1999). Some of the qualities of democracy are political freedoms and social participation. In a place where violence is minimal and political freedoms are valued, human beings will definitely feel more humane because they are free to interact (Sen, 1999). Social participation is a very crucial element of life for human beings because they are social beings (Beetham, 1994). Once they are deprived of these values, they feel unfulfilled and the purpose of life becomes questionable to them. Despite the contestations regarding the conceptualization of democracy, it has a natural value which every normal human being would want to enjoy.

Furthermore, the significance of democracy lies in its instrumental value (Sen, 1999). Democracy enhances some chances for people to be heard when they express their views. In a well-functioning democratic system, citizens' rights to express themselves without fear and access to alternative sources of information are guaranteed (Howei, 2018). Citizens can express themselves freely in an environment where they can be listened to by their leaders. For instance, in Kenya and Malawi when the losers the national elections presented their grievances before the courts their grievances were hearkened to and they won the cases (Jegwa, 2020). In addition, civil society organizations (CSOs) can freely aggregate the interests of their members and lobby where there is freedom of association (Putman, 1993). As well, they can advocate for marginalized groups such as ethnic minorities (Yishai, 2002, p. 215; Botchway, 2018).

Furthermore, the importance of democracy is embedded in its constructive value (Sen, 1999). The essence of civil society organizations is to identify democratic deficits, offer civic education, educate citizens about their rights and convince governments to protect those rights (Yishai, 2002, p. 215;

Botchway, 2018). Hence ethnic minorities can be sensitized about their rights by CSOs because of the constructive value of democracy. Based on the needs of ethnic minorities, CSOs can advocate for policy change. Over and above these, for ethnic minority groups to know what rights are, what they need to value and so on, discussions have to be held since concepts like rights and identity are social constructs (Baylis, Smith, & Owens, 2011). A civil society organization serves as platforms for the construction of needs and values for society and it serves as an arena for the articulation of aggregated interests (Putman, 1993). Only a democratic system caters for this kind of environment hence democracy is instrumental for the development of a community.

Last but not least, democracy provides a system of inclusion especially when it is supported by decentralization (Kali, 2020). This was partly the justification of the World Bank when urging the African state to decentralize (World Bank, 2000). Social participations helps human beings to feel humane since to be deprived such a right is tantamount to sheer dehumanization (Sen, 1999). Democracy gives people the freedom to make decisions about their leaders and hold their leaders accountable. Again, since elections are not based on educational qualifications in most countries, democracy permits equity as everyone gets an equal opportunity during voting (Beetham, 1994).

4. THE PITFALLS AND THE LAST RESORT

Although democracy is desirable in theory, its practice in Africa is not worth celebrating. The reason behind this is partly because its colonial powers gave it independence under conditions that did not encourage the development of a stable democracy. Decolonization was done involuntarily and hastily and did not give Africans time to learn and practice Western democracy (Clapham, 2012; Brown, 1999). Besides, colonialism was devoid of democracy so Africans were expected to either take time to learn democracy or create their own democracy. It is difficult for Africans to implement an idea that they never witnessed. Consequently, the states are predatory and associated with the national movements which bought independence (Arbernethy, 2000; Clapham, 2012).

A voluminous literature demonstrates how the colonial legacy impacted on social divisions in Africa. Precisely, many studies alluded to the difficulties caused by ethnic divisions on democracy (Berhard, Reenock & Nordstrom, 2004; Huntington, 1984). The literature demonstrates ways in which the legacy of colonialism contributed to civil wars (Blanton, Manson & Athow, 2001). The artificial drawing of boundaries in the 19th century which partitioned states and ethnicities destroyed common ties between people who are united by common history and norms (Gashaw, 2017). The divisions convey conflict which often has a spillover effect (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2012; Blanton, Manson & Athow, 2001).

In addition, colonialism denied Africans the opportunity to forge ethnonationalism ties. According to Fukuyama (2018), before establishing nationalism, Europe engaged in devastating world wars at the beginning of the twentieth century. Instead of establishing nationalism, African elites were dominated by European powers who used them to administer their territories (Fukuyama, 2018). Subsequently, the African elites started speaking the language of colonial powers. Consequently, they encounter revolts which make it difficult for them to govern their countries democratically (Fukuyama, 2018).

Africa has tried democracy for more than half a century but ethnic politics still play a significant destabilizing role in many countries. Since the 1960s, prolonged and protracted ethnic violence have been witnessed. For instance, ethnic-related conflicts were experienced in Chad, Burundi, Cote d'Ivoire,

Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Uganda, Ethiopia and Guinea Bissau (Jinadu, 2007; Fukuyama, 2018). Democracy indices demonstrate that many government's democracy is still flawed in spite of a plethora of solutions suggested by scholars (Freedom House, 2018; Arbernethy, 2000; Berhard, Reenock & Nordstrom, 2004). It looks like political scientists have not succeeded to explain how democracy can be modified to suit the African context.

Scholars have to realise that democracy has a destabilizing element. The embedded competition within it creates the losers and winners (Schumpeter, 1942; Pring & Vrushi, 2019). This division does not end with the fragmentation between political contestants but extends to ethnic groups within communities. Democracy taps on the fragile ethnic divisions created by colonialism to compound to the insurmountable problems Africans are facing (Berhard, Reenock & Nordstrom, 2004; Fukuyama, 2018).

On top of all these, African leaders minimize the importance of inclusive governance (Beetham, 1994; Bratton & van de Walle, 1994). Politicians campaign alongside ethnic lines to polarize the already divided societies. Identity politics emasculate unity, nationalism and fragments societies further. In turn most of the leaders are deprived the legitimacy which the elections were supposed to impart (Lipset, 1959). Scholars observed that ethnic identities in Nigeria, Kenya and Gambia, inter alia, have been politicized (Jega, 2000). In these states, ethnicity defines who control state resources. The effect of this is the bifurcation or polarization between the 'ins' and the 'outs,' especially in terms of access to government resources such as jobs and other benefits. A specific ethnic group votes for a leader who comes from the same ethnic group (Boudreau, Elmendorf & MacKenzie, 2018). Once the leader wins elections and holds public office, his/her ethnic associates who are concomitantly his/her political party associates seek to join him or her (Bratton & van de Walle, 1994). This implies that those who have no one of their ethnic group in a significant position rarely make it into the system. Thus ethnically divided societies are perpetually polarized.

The failure of constitutionally drawing lines between ethnic/political networks and public office perpetuates these problems. Consequently, in Africa, the prime ministers, presidents and ministers maintain their authority through the distribution of patronage, usually government jobs and tenders (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1994). Their right to rule or their legitimacy depends on this patronage. Hence, their authority to govern is attached to them as persons other than their office. The chief executives develop a network of relationships of loyalty that pervade throughout the public service (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1994, p. 459). Since the source of legitimacy depends mostly on the ability of the 'big man' to help others acquire personal wealth and status, neopatrimonialism gets entrenched. This is pattern perpetuated until the distinction between private and public resources are blurred. At the grassroots level, those without jobs mobilize political support for the 'big man' in exchange for jobs in the public service or contracts or other projects (Bratton & van de Walle, 1994, p. 459).

Due to neopatrimonialism and deficits in contextualizing democracy to embrace diversity in Africa democracy loses its desirability value. As this happens the courts cease to uphold the rule of law and start regarding personalities. Consequently, those in decision-making positions escape justice and perpetuate injustices to undermine the core principles of democracy. For instance, in Lesotho, the government was accused of nepotism, violation of human rights and corruption. In such cases, the perpetrators seldom pay for their crimes (Rakolobe, 2019, Kali, 2019; Swails & Radebe, 2020).

The ‘big man’ in Africa has no limits and can change the rules of the game as and when he sees it fit (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1994). Since no one dares judge the leaders and ministers because of their power, they violate the terms of office as they please. They rewrite the constitutions to change their term limits. For instance, it happened in Cameroon, Uganda, Zambia, Tanzania and Guinea, inter alia (Africa Center for strategic studies, 2019; Aljazeera, 2018; Agence France-Presse, 2020; France 24, 2008). African leaders are prepared to use any means to prolong their stay in power until death do them apart. Whether it means amending the constitution to repeal their term limits or rigging elections, they will do it (Jegwa, 2020). Bratton and Van de Walle (1994, p. 474), rightly maintain that African presidents are more than prepared to become “presidents for life.” Such presidents cannot uphold the rule of law because they are not afraid of the consequences since there are hardly any. Consequently, failure to uphold the rule of law in Africa leads to an increase in corruption. This takes place when resources are distributed among one’s ethnic group, political party associates or other individuals, in exchange of perceived benefits (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1994). The problem of corruption is that it undermines the government’s integrity, its effectiveness and widens the inequality gap between the ‘ins’ and the ‘outs’ (Pring & Vrushi, 2019). There is a likelihood that those who feel disgruntled due to further exclusion, especially the minority ethnic groups, may become a source of conflict. For instance, a conflict along this lines has already been witnessed in Rwanda between the Tutsi and the Hutus and in Cameroon between the Anglophones and the Francophones-dominated government (Nikuze, 2014; Zongo, 2018). On top of these challenges, many leaders perpetrate other ills that undermine democracy. It’s not surprising that at least 59% of African citizens believe that their governments are doing poorly when it comes to addressing corruption and 55% believe that corruption is increasing (Pring & Vrushi, 2019). On the other hand, the insiders speak well of their authoritarian leaders while outsiders can hardly be allowed to speak freely. Human rights violations are common against journalists, opposition party members and those who speak ill of government (Kali, 2019). One report revealed that in Cameroon for instance, the government harassed and imprisoned journalists and opposition members (Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2011, 2019). The report shows that the government restricted freedoms of association, speech and press and harassed members of CSOs in most cases. In the same way, in Egypt, the government usually silences journalists and bloggers and introduced severely restrictive laws to curtail freedoms (Desouki, 2018). In this connection, Freedom House (2019) discovered that ethnic cleansing has become a growing trend in countries such as Syria and Myanmar. This implies that if Africans continue to operate alongside ethnic lines, they may not escape this plight. In fact, Rwanda in 1994 demonstrated that Africans are not immune from this quandary (Nikuze, 2014). It is not surprising, therefore, that most of the African states restrict freedoms which are embedded in democracy. The values which enshrine the freedom of association, freedom of expression and the right to contest for elections are hardly respected. Devoid of these values, democracy lacks meaning and worth. Its essence becomes questionable and ambiguous. Sadly, a large part of the African continent is not yet free hence the desirability of democracy is not felt in practice. The beauty of democracy is largely limited to theory in Africa because only a few countries are rated free and partly free (Freedom House, 2019). The figure below illustrates the African countries rated ‘not free,’ ‘partly free’ and ‘free’ under the Freedom House index:

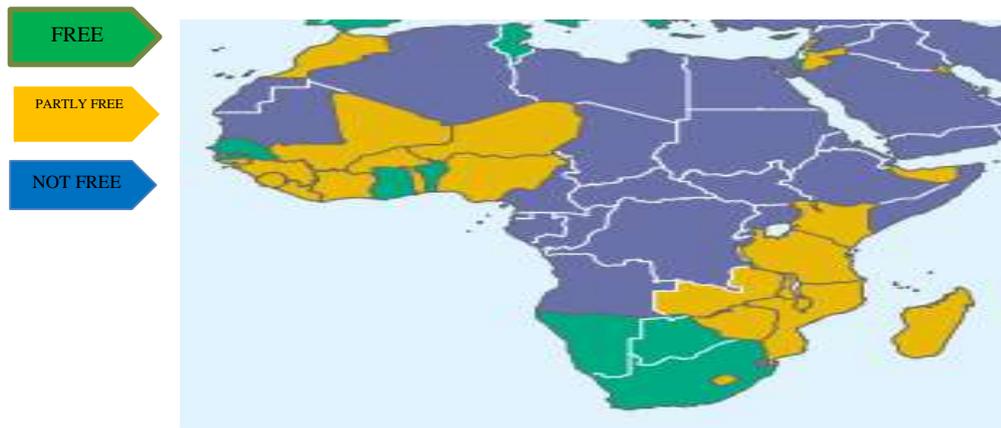


Figure 2. Freedom in Africa 2019

Adapted from: Freedom House (2019, p. 14)

It is on these bases that we contend that in practice, democracy in Africa is not as desirable as in theory. The dichotomy between theory and practice is pronounced (Dahl, 1971; Schumpeter, 1942; Freedom House, 2019). Ethnic, political and family affiliations causes democratic problems. The result of the ethnic affiliations is noticeable through rampant nepotism, neopatrimonialism and clientelism (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1994). According to Bratton and Van de Walle (1994), leaders continue to use patronage to buy loyalty to enrich their ethnic/political associates in order to maintain their stay in power. Eventually, resources dwindle and the gap between those who have access to resources and those who are the outsiders (those who are excluded from enjoying state patronage) keep growing. As this happens, the government loses legitimacy and its critics increase more than those who speak well of it. For the leader to maintain his authority he or she resorts to increasing corruption so as to keep support of his or her ethnic/political affiliates (Bratton & Van de Walle, 1994). As for the outsiders, they get to feel the heavy hand of the government as it resorts to coercion. Hence, the majority of African citizens can hardly enjoy the freedoms that democracy offers (Freedom House, 2019).

Notwithstanding, where governments have handled this ethnic diversities well, democracy has proven to be sweeter than being a 'president for life.' In Botswana for instance, leaders have peacefully handed over (Freedom House, 2019). Equally, Mauritius demonstrates that it is possible for citizens to be allowed to express their views against the government. Citizens of these countries enjoy freedoms embedded in democracy. Most importantly, Mauritius shows that democracy is not only desirable in theory but is also magnificent in practice (Freedom House, 2018).

In order to restore the desirability of democracy, African leaders have to demonstrate political commitment by reforming their political systems. This will facilitate the recognition of the existing ethnic and political differences. The last resort to the democratic deficit is the constitution that recognizes these diversities that engender instability (Berhard, Reenock & Nordstrom, 2004; Arbernethy, 2000). Africans have to first recognize the existence of ethnic diversity and political party lines that divide them. Identifying and accepting these differences is as important as solving the problem. The last resort, therefore, is the redrafting of the constitution to modify democracy for it to suit the African realities and rectify the deleterious colonial legacy (Berhard, Reenock & Nordstrom, 2004).

The constitution should spell out the sanctions that follow any disrespect of the conditions set out by the laws. It has been pointed out that African leaders

have a tendency to change the constitutions to their own favour (Africa Center for strategic studies, 2019; Aljazeera, 2018). Therefore, it is necessary for the political office-holders to have political will do to this. Also, it is expedient to seek the assistance of the former colonial powers who demonstrated their benevolence by assisting Africa with projects such as Structural Adjustment Programs and decentralization (World Bank, 2000). Their intervention in redrafting the new constitution and overseeing its implementation will help offset the lasting effects of colonialism (Berhard, Reenock & Nordstrom, 2004).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, democracy is desirable despite being tarnished by African leaders who campaign alongside ethnic divisions at the expense of harmony. Countries like Mauritius demonstrate that democracy is not utopian but an ideal that can be realized. Notwithstanding, most of the leaders can hardly refrain from destabilizing their countries by aggravating the ethnic divisions caused by colonialism for cynical purposes. The leaders' continual attachment to their ethnic/ political groups after occupying public office undercuts democracy. Most of the political office-holders distribute state resources to buy loyalty of the followers at the expense of harmonious development. As this behaviour continues, the political office-holders keep bloating the civil service with their affiliates and networks and widen social disparities. As resources dwindle, the affiliates of top public office-holders are compelled to join the outsiders who have been long excluded by the system. When corruption increases criticisms from the outsiders against the government intensify and as benefits get scarcer, the leaders eventually lose their legitimacy. To maintain their clasp on political power, they often exacerbate corruption and human rights abuses hence democracy seems to lack worth in many countries.

Notwithstanding, the democratic practice can be improved by curbing the deleterious effects resulting from colonialism and competitiveness of elections that exacerbate the divisions between the 'ins' and 'outs.' Revisiting the constitutions and amending them to recognize social realities can help address the aforementioned repercussions of ethnic divisions. The new constitution should stipulate the sanctions for mobilizing voters alongside ethnic lines as well as the penalty for distributing patronage to one's ethnic group. Equally important, the new laws should allow for the alternation of power among significant ethnic groups so that each gets an equal chance of being represented. Finally, colonial powers should take the responsibility of initiating and overseeing these reforms that are meant to curb the effects of colonial legacy and democratic deficits.

REFERENCES

- Africa Center for Strategic Studies (2019, September 17). Subverting Democracy in Tanzania and Zambia. Africa Center for Strategic studies. Retrieved from <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/subverting-democracy-in-tanzania-and-zambia/>
- Agence France-Presse (2020, January 07). Violence erupts as thousands protest against Guinea government. New Straits Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nst.com.my/world/world/2020/01/554088/violence-erupts-thousands-protest-against-guinea-government>
- Aljazeera (2018, January 02). Uganda enacts law ending presidential age limits. Aljazeera. Retrieved from

- <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/01/uganda-enacts-law-presidential-age-limits-180102182656189.html>
- Alvarez, M., Cheibub, J., Limongi, F. & Przeworski, A. (1996). Classifying Political Regimes. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31, 3-36.
- Baylis, J., Smith, S., & Owens, P. (2011). *The globalization of world politics: An introduction to international relations*. New York, N.Y: Oxford University Press.
- Blanton, R., Mason, T., & Athow, B. (2001). Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa. *Journal of Peace Research*, 38(4), 473-491.
- Botchway, T. (2018). Civil society and the consolidation of democracy in Ghana's fourth republic. *Cogent Social Science*, 4, 1-17.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/233311886.2018.1452840>
- Bratton, M., & Van de Walle, N. (1994). Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa. *World Politics*, 46(4), 453-489.
doi:10.2307/2950715
- Brown, J. M. (1999) "Epilogue." In *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 4: *The Twentieth Century*, edited by J. M. Brown and W. R. Louis, pp. 703-711. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Byrne, G. (2017, June 01). Ethnicity in the civil service in 2016. Institute for Government. Retrieved from <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/blog/ethnicity-civil-service-2016>
- Clapham, C. (2012), *From Liberation Movement to Government. Past Legacies and Challenges of transition in Africa*. The Brenthurst Foundation: Johannesburg.
- Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2011 (2019, March 31). Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. Retrieved from <https://cm.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/240/1808142011Cameroon-HR-report.pdf>
- Dahl, R. (1971). *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Desouki, K. (2018). Egypt Events of 2018. *World Report 2019*. Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2019/country-chapters/egypt>
- Diamond, L. (1997). Introduction: In Search of Consolidation, in Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yan-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (eds.) *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Elkins, Z. (1999). Getting Blood from a Stone: Constructing Intermediate Categories from Dichotomous Measures. APSA Organized Section for Political Methodology Retrieved from <http://polmeth.calpoly.edu/>
- France 24 (2008, April 11). Cameroon Parliament extends Biya's term limit. France 24. Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com/en/20080411-cameroon-parliament-paul-biya-term-limit-extension>
- Freedom House (2018). *Freedom in the World 2018: Mauritius*. Freedom House. Retrieved from <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/mauritius>
- Fukuyama, F. (2018). *Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Gashaw, T. (2017). *Colonial Borders in Africa: Improper Design and its Impact on African Borderland Communities*. Wilson Center.

- <https://africaupclose.wilsoncenter.org/colonial-borders-in-africa-improper-design-and-its-impact-on-african-borderland-communities/>
- Howie, E. (2018). Protecting the human right to freedom of expression in international law. *International Journal of Speech-Language Pathology*, 20(1), 12-15, doi: 10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612
- Kali, M. (2019). Democratic Reversals: Examining the Role of the Armed Forces and the Southern African Development Community in Lesotho. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*; 03, 11, 2454-1686.
- Kali, M. (2020). Challenges and Prospects of Decentralisation in Lesotho. *International Journal of Humanities, Art and Social Studies*, 5(2), 11-20.
- Keddebe, T. (2019). Kingdom of Lesotho Conflict Insight. Peace and Security Report. Institute for Peace and Security Studies, Addis Ababa University.
- Heron, L. (2018, March 04). Kenya's public service commission proposes an ethnic quota system. *Global Government Forum*. Retrieved from <https://www.globalgovernmentforum.com/kenyas-public-service-commission-proposes-ethnic-quota-system/>
- Huntington, S. (1991). How Countries Democratize. *Political Science Quarterly*, 106(4), 579-616. doi:10.2307/2151795
- Huntington, S. (1965). Political Development and Political Decay. *World Politics*, 17(3), 386-430. doi:10.2307/2009286
- Huntington, S. (1984) Will More Countries Become Democratic? *Political Science Quarterly* 99, 192-218.
- Jega, A. (2000). Identity Transformation and Identity Politics under Structural Adjustment in Nigeria. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet and Centre for Research and Documentation. Elanders Gotab, Stockholm. Retrieved from <http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:248993/FULLTEXT01.pdf> Similar Identity
- Jegwa, P. (2020, February 03). Malawi election: Court orders new voter after May 2019 result annulled. *BBC News*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-51324241>
- Jinadu, A. (2007). Explaining & Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy. Claude Ake Memorial Papers No. 1 Department of Peace and Conflict Research Uppsala University & Nordic Africa Institute Uppsala. Retrieved from <http://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:278846/FULLTEXT01.pdf>
- Knutsen C.H. (2014) Measuring Democracy. In: Michalos A.C. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Quality of Life and Well-Being Research*. Springer, Dordrecht.
- Lipset, S. (1959). Some social requisites of democracy: economic development and political legitimacy. *American Political Science Review* 53, 69-105.
- Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2012). The long-run effects of the scramble for Africa. Research-based policy analysis and commentary from leading economists. Retrieved from <https://voxeu.org/article/long-run-effects-scramble-africa>
- Moseme, T. (2017). The Rise and the Fall of the First Coalition Government in Lesotho: 2012-2014. Mini-dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Humanities, University of the Free State, in partial fulfilment of a Master's Degree in Governance and Political Transformation.

- Retrieved from
<http://scholar.ufs.ac.za:8080/xmlui/handle/11660/6510>
- Nikuze, D. (2014). The Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda: Origins, causes, implementations, consequences and the post-genocide era. *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, 3(5), 1086-1098.
- Owen, D. (2003). Democracy. In Bellamy R. & Mason A. (Eds.), *Political concepts* (pp. 105-117). Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt155jbcx.13
- Przeworski, A. & Limongi, F. (1993). Political Regimes and Economic Growth. *Journal of Economic Literature* 7(3), 51–69.
- Przeworski, A. (1999). Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense. In *Democracy's Value*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Casiano HackerCordón. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pring, C. & Vrushi, J. (2019). Global Corruption Barometer Africa 2019: Citizens' views and experiences of corruption. Transparency International. Retrieved from https://www.transparency.org/files/content/pages/2019_GCB_Africa.pdf
- Rakolobe, M. (2019). Politicised Public Service and Corruption in Lesotho. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 41 (1)
- Schumpeter, J. (1942). *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers. Shapiro, Ian. 1996. *Democracy's Place*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Swails, B. & Radebe, R. (2020, February 06). Lesotho's first lady is charged with murdering husband's ex-wife. CNN. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/02/05/africa/lesotho-pm-wife-death-controversy/index.html>
- The post (2017, October, 27). Makgothi rejects nepotism charges. The post. Retrieved from <https://www.thepost.co.ls/news/makgothi-rejects-nepotism-charge/>
- Tomlinson, B. R. (1999). Imperialism and After: The Economy of the Empire on the Periphery. In *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 4: The Twentieth Century, edited by J. M. Brown and W. R. Louis, pp. 357-378. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yishai, Y. (2002). Civil Society and Democracy: The Israeli Experience. *Voluntas. International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 13, 215-234.
- Zakaria, F. (1997). The Rise of Illiberal Democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, 76(6), 22-43. doi:10.2307/20048274
- Zongo, P. (2018, May 30). 'This is a genocide': Villages burn as war rages in blood-soaked Cameroon. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/may/30/cameroon-killings-escalate-anglophone-crisis>
- World Bank (2000). *Entering the 21st Century: World Development Report 1999/2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.