OSISA

PROMOTING INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY IN LESOTHO

TRAINING MANUAL

EISA
Promoting Credible Elections and
Democratic Governance in Africa

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Democratic Governance in Africa

L.C.N
LESOTHO COUNCIL OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

EISA AND THE LESOTHO COUNCIL OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

ELECTORAL HANDBOOK NO 17

PROMOTING INTRA-PARTY DEMOCRACY IN LESOTHO

TRAINING MANUAL

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EISA is a non-partisan organisation which seeks to promote democratic principles, free and fair elections, a strong civil society and good governance at all levels of Southern African society.

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FOREWORD

EISA carried out a capacity needs assessment and in-country dialogue workshops with political parties in Lesotho between 2006 and 2007. In recognition of the key role that political parties are expected to play in the democratic process, these activities were meant to prepare the ground for a targetted capacity-building initiative for political parties in Lesotho. This involved two complementary projects: (a) a needs assessment survey, which aimed to find out what the real needs are of parties in the process of nurturing and consolidating democracy; and (b) capacity-building and dialogue forums involving parties and other key stakeholders, to determine exactly how political parties, operating effectively, can play their role in building democracy.

Furthermore, EISA and the Lesotho Council of Non-Governmental Organisations (LCN) jointly organised a regional conference on the theme 'Lesotho's 2007 General Election: Towards a Constructive Management of Post-Election Disputes', which was held at the Maseru Sun Hotel on 25-27 September 2007. The primary goal of this conference was to promote regional dialogue on election-related disputes following the 2007 general election in Lesotho and to share experiences across Southern African countries in terms of challenges and best practice in the management of post-election disputes.

In both of the above initiatives, it was evident from the participants' contributions across all parties that there is a dire need to assist parties with necessary skills in order for them to contribute meaningfully to the democratic process. Most importantly, it was acknowledged that it is difficult to have intra-party democracy and build mutually beneficial inter-party relations in the presence of limited resources, where parties and politics at large are perceived predominantly as employment and a source of income. Furthermore, participants indicated that parties have a serious problem with regard to conflict management. The participants also highlighted the problem of a lack of visionary leadership within parties.

It is against this background that EISA and the LCN conceptualised a project that seeks to address most of the grey areas identified by the political parties. This project therefore dovetails neatly with these initiatives, building on them to further strengthen political parties for sustainable democracy in Lesotho. This manual is a tool that the two organisations intend to use to conduct district-based workshops to address these gaps. It is hoped that the political parties that are beneficiaries of this project will take up the challenge and participate fully in the training workshops.

Victor Shale
Researcher, EISA

INTRODUCTION

This manual is meant to ensure that political parties in Lesotho are well equipped with the necessary skills that will enable them to promote democracy effectively. It focuses on the following aspects of party functioning:

- Leadership qualities within political parties;
- Gender representation in political parties;
- Public outreach;
- Candidate nominations; and
- Conflict and conflict management.

EISA and LCN do not purport to have all answers in this manual relating to the above issues. Therefore, they recommend that the manual be used just as a guide for training workshops.

It is expected that at the end of the workshop, participants will have enhanced their understanding of leadership and leadership qualities, gender equality and the role of women in politics, various public outreach strategies and conflict management.

Box 1: Ice Breaking

At the beginning of the workshop, participants need to introduce themselves. Naturally, participants have a tendency to want to sit next to the people they know. These could be their friends or members of their party. The facilitator has to mix the participants so that people of the same party do not sit together deliberately. This can be done by counting from one to four or five so that participants will then be mixed.

Secondly, participants are divided in pairs and are asked to take turns introducing each other. They should first talk to one another about themselves, their families, their parties and any hobbies they have. The idea of the exercise is to make the participants realise commonalities they have as Basotho in spite of their party political differences. After the allocated time the participants will then take turns to introduce their partners to the larger group.

Box 2: Ground Rules

In order to use the workshop optimally and avoid unnecessary distractions, there have to be ground rules which are proposed by the facilitator and agreed to by workshop participants. These rules may range from cellphone use, time-keeping and language to respect, and how participants should engage with each other during the workshop.

Box 3: Participants' Expectations

Participants are required to state their expectations of the workshop; these will be written on the flip chart and placed on the wall. The expectations list is important as it helps in the assessment of whether or not the workshop has achieved its objectives. Towards the end of the workshop, the facilitator should refer back to the list of expectations and verify with participants that all the expectations have been met. Any expectation that has not been met should be dealt with before the workshop ends.

MODULE 1: POLITICAL PARTIES

1.1 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this module is to introduce participants to what political parties are all about: what their main roles and functions are, so as to provide a common platform for subsequent deliberation in the workshop.

1.2 DEFINING POLITICAL PARTIES

Box 4: Definition of a Political Party

A political party is defined as 'an organised group of people with at least roughly similar political aims and opinions, that seek to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected to public office'.

Thus a political party, unlike an interest group, aims to capture state power and control the public policy-making process within the confines of the constitutional and legal framework of the given country. Four characteristics that distinguish parties from other groups (including interest groups and social movements) include the following:

- Parties aim to exercise government power by winning political office (small parties may nevertheless use elections more to gain a platform than to win power);

- Parties are organised bodies with a formal card-carrying membership. This distinguishes them from broader and more diffuse social movements;

- Parties typically adopt a broad issue focus, addressing each of the major areas of government policy (small parties, however, may have a single-issue focus, thus resembling interest groups); and

- To varying degrees, parties are united by shared political preferences and a general ideological identity.

It is worth noting that political parties can be either democratic or authoritarian. Thus, 'whether they are the great tools of democracy or sources of tyranny and repression, political parties are the vital link between the state and civil society, between the institutions of government and the groups and interests that operate within society'. (EISA Political Parties Handbook 2008)

1.3 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Although the defining features of political parties are principally the capturing of government power and control of public policy-making, their impact on the political system is broader and more complex. Thus, various functions of political parties can be identified. The six main functions of parties in any democratic system are as follows:

- Aggregate and articulate needs and problems as identified by members and supporters;
- Socialise and educate voters and citizens in the functioning of political parties and electoral system and generating general political values;
- Balance opposing demands and convert them into general policies;
- Activate and mobilise citizens into participating in political decisions and transforming their opinions into viable policy options;
- Channel public opinion from citizens to government; and
- Recruit and train candidates for public office. (Ace Electoral Knowledge Network, http://aceproject.org)

MODULE 2: LEADERSHIP

2.1 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the module are to assist participants to understand the meaning of leadership, to distinguish between the various types of leadership, to learn about the requisite leadership skills and the communication skills that leaders should possess.

2.2 DEFINING LEADERSHIP

Box 5: Defining Leadership

Leadership is defined as 'the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organisations of which they are members' (See EISA Political Parties Handbook, 2008). Organisationally, leadership directly impacts on the effectiveness of the party in terms of inculcating intra-party democracy, public outreach, gender parity, election campaigns and the constructive management of intra-party and inter-party conflicts.

2.3 TYPES OF LEADERSHIP

Adapted from Coleman @ http://www.12manage.com/methods_goleman_leadership_styles.html

2.3.1 VISIONARY LEADERSHIP

Table 1: Types of Leadership

Characteristics	How style creates resonance	When style is appropriate
Inspires. Believes in own vision. Empathetic. Explains why and how people's efforts contribute to the dream	Moves people towards shared dream	When change requires a new vision/direction = radical change

King Moshoeshoe I was a visionary leader:

Source: Government of Lesotho website

'Morena Moshoeshoe oa pele ebile mothehi oa sechaba sa Basotho. O thehile sechaba sena ka ho kopanya lichaba tse fapaneng; joalo ka Batlokoa, Baphuthi, Bathepu, Matebele, Makhoakhoa le ba bang; a ba kopanya, a bopa sechaba sa Basotho. Lichaba tse ling, tse nemg li le haufi le eena Morena Moshoeshoe, li ne li rata likhoka; 'Me li phela ka lintoa. Morena Moshoeshoe ebile lehlatsipa la boemo bona. One a iphumana a loantšoa ke lira tsena. Ka lehlohonolo, o ne a atisa ho ba hlola. Le ha a ba hlotse joalo, o ne a sa ikhabe; empa, one a khutlela morao ho kopana le sera, 'me a ikopele tšoarelo, a be a qetelle ka ho fana ka likhomo, ele mokhoa oa ho bopa khotso.

Malimo aile a bolaea ntatae moholo Peete. Empa ha a ka a a loantša, oile a laela hore a hlabeloe likhomo, aje, 'me ho otloe limpa tsa ona ka mosoang e le sesupo sa hore ke mabitla a ntatae moholo.

Liketso tsena tsa Morena Moshoeshoe, li ile tsa makatsa sechaba sa hae le lira tsa hae. Lira tsa hae li bile tsa fetoha metsoalle ea hae, 'me ba phelisana ka' Khotso.'

2.3.2 COACHING LEADERSHIP

Characteristics	How style creates resonance	When style is appropriate
Promotes harmony. Boosts morale and solves conflicts	Connects people's dreams with organisational dreams	To help competent, motivated members to improve performance
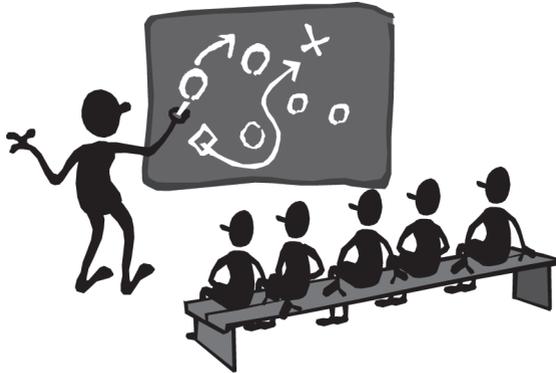
2.3.3. AFFILIATIVE LEADERSHIP

Characteristics	How style creates resonance	When style is appropriate
Listens, encourages and delegates	Creates harmony and connects people to each other	To heal rifts in a team and motivate during stressful times
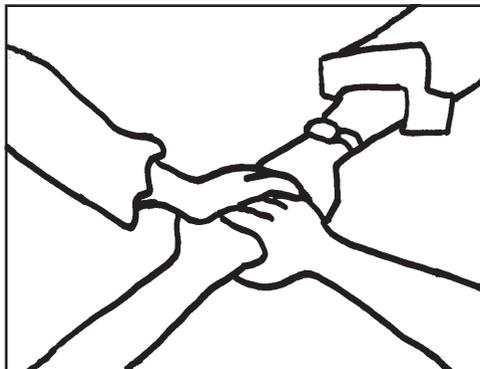
2.3.4 DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Characteristics	How style creates resonance	When style is appropriate
Good listener, team worker and collaborator	Appreciates people's inputs and gets commitment through participation	To build support and consensus

Nelson Mandela is the world renowned democratic leader.

Source: ANC http://www.anc.org.za/people/mandela.html
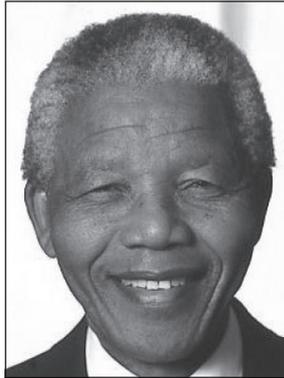
Nelson Mandela affirmed: I detest racialism, because I regard it as a barbaric thing, whether it comes from a black man or a white man.

Mandela was convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. While serving his sentence he was charged, in the Rivonia Trial, with sabotage. Mandela's statements in court during these trials are classics in the history of the resistance to apartheid, and they have been an inspiration to all who have opposed it. His statement from the dock in the Rivonia Trial ends with these words:

> I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment and started his prison years in the notorious Robben Island Prison, a maximum security prison on a small island 7km off the coast near Cape Town. In April 1984 he was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town and in December 1988 he was moved to Victor Verster Prison near Paarl,

from where he was eventually released. While in prison, Mandela flatly rejected offers made by his jailers for remission of sentence in exchange for accepting the bantustan policy by recognising the independence of the Transkei and agreeing to settle there. Again in the Eighties Mandela rejected an offer of release on condition that he renounce violence. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts. Only free men can negotiate, he said.

Released on 11 February 1990, Mandela plunged wholeheartedly into his life's work, striving to attain the goals he and others had set out almost four decades earlier. In 1991, at the first national conference of the ANC held inside South Africa after its decades-long banning was lifted, Nelson Mandela was elected president of the ANC while his lifelong friend and colleague, Oliver Tambo, became the organisation's national chairperson.

Nelson Mandela has never wavered in his devotion to democracy, equality and learning. Despite terrible provocation, he has never answered racism with racism. His life has been an inspiration, in South Africa and throughout the world, to all who are oppressed and deprived, to all who are opposed to oppression and deprivation.

In a life that symbolises the triumph of the human spirit over man's inhumanity to man, Nelson Mandela accepted the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of all South Africans who suffered and sacrificed so much to bring peace to our land (ANC 2008).

2.3.5 PACE-SETTING LEADERSHIP

Characteristics	How style creates resonance	When style is appropriate
Strong edge to achieve. Low on empathy and collaboration, micro-managing	Realises challenges and exciting goals	To get high-quality results from motivated people/ employees

2.3.6 COMMANDING LEADERSHIP

Characteristics	How style creates resonance	When style is appropriate
'Do it because I say so.' Threatening, tight control. Contaminates everyone's mood and drives away talent	Decreases fear by giving clear direction in an emergency	In a grave crisis. To start urgent organisational turnaround

2.4 LEADERSHIP SKILLS

The skills that a true leader should possess include the ability to:

- Debate, clarify, and enunciate values and beliefs;
- Fuel, inspire, and guard the shared vision;
- Communicate the strategic plan at all levels;
- Recognise the problems inherent in the planning process;
- Ask the big picture questions and "what if";
- Encourage dreaming and thinking the unthinkable;
- Engage in goal setting;
- View problems as opportunities;
- Set priorities;
- Be a critical and creative thinker;
- Set the example (walk the talk);
- Celebrate accomplishments.

Personal qualities include passion, humour and empathy, strength of character, general maturity, patience, wisdom, common sense, trustworthiness, reliability, creativity, sensitivity.

Activity 1: Leadership

Purpose: To allow participants to deliberate on their understanding of leadership and how leaders should conduct themselves.

Time: 1 hour for group work
        20 minutes for plenary

Process:
1) Participants are divided into groups.
2) Participants are requested to discuss leadership in terms of:
    a) Leadership types;
    b) Leadership skills;
    c) Challenges they face; and
    d) Suggest how these could be addressed.

MODULE 3: GENDER EQUALITY

3.1 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this module is to assist participants to understand the concept of gender equality and the role of women in politics

3.2 DEFINING GENDER

Box 6: Defining Gender

Gender is a dynamic of human relations and it is concerned with the social differences and relations between men and women, which are learned and transformed. Although people are born female or male, they learn to be girls and boys who grow into women and men. They are taught the appropriate attitudes, roles and activities for them and how they should relate to each other and to other people. Therefore, gender is not about sex (being a male or female) but about the dynamics of socially constructed human relations (being a woman, man, boy or girl) that are shaped by the socialisation process through societal institutions (e.g family, cultural, religious, schools, military or state institutions). This learned behaviour (gender ideologies) is what makes up gender and determines gender roles. (Sahl Ibrahim 2007)

3.3 GENDER EQUALITY IN THE SADC REGION

Gender equality remains a major challenge in the SADC region. Political systems of some countries are more inclusive and broadly representative than others, but even the countries that are doing relatively well in this regard still need to increase the number of women in political decision-making. Political parties, too, need to incorporate more women into their decision-making structures.

Source: EISA 2008

It is also important that as political parties strive towards gender parity, concern with the numbers of women in positions of leadership and decision-making is balanced with concerns about the requisite power and authority given to women in these positions. In this way, gender parity will be able to address both quantitative and qualitative aspects of the empowerment of women. Put somewhat differently, it is pointless simply to increase the number of women in political leadership and decision-making positions if such women do not have the requisite authority and power to make an impact on governance.

Table 2: Gender Representation in SADC Parliaments

Rank	Country	Lower or Single House			
		Electoral System	**Seats**	**Women**	**% Women**
1	Mozambique	PR	250	90	**34.8**
2	South Africa	PR	400	131	**32.8**
3	Tanzania	FPTP	307	97	**30.0**
4	Namibia	PR	104	19	**26.4**
5	Mauritius	FPTP-Block	70	12	**17.0**
6	Angola	PR	220	34	**15.5**
7	Malawi	FPTP	193	27	**14.4**
8	Botswana	FPTP	57	7	**12.3**
9	Zambia	FPTP	158	19	**12.0**
10	Lesotho	MMP	120	14	**11.7**
11	DRC	FPTP	500	57	**11.4**
12	Zimbabwe	FPTP	150	15	**10.0**
13	Swaziland	FPTP	65	5	**3.1**

Source: Lowe-Morna, 2004

3.4 LEADERSHIP AND GENDER

The internal functioning of political parties determines how the views and social demands of different groups are represented in parliament.

Source: EISA 2008   Source: EISA 2008

In many instances, the electoral and political culture and associated structures have allowed socially marginalised groups, such as women, ethnic and religious minorities, indigenous and young people to have only limited access to the political realm.

Despite representing a larger percentage of world population, women are less represented in leadership positions within parties and ultimately in parliaments. This is contrary to the universal declarations pertaining to gender equality.

3.5 CASE STUDY

LESOTHO LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS 2005

The Parliament of Lesotho amended the Local Government Act of 1997 ahead of the 2005 elections to include one-third representation of women in local government structures. This was in line with a 1997 undertaking by the Southern African Development Community member states to address gender inequality among public representatives and ensure a minimum of 30 per cent representation of women in political leadership and decision-making by 2005.

The amendment included a clause that lays down that no less than one-third of the seats in a council shall be reserved for women. The Local Government Elections Act of 1998, which outlines the procedures, rules and regulations for the local government elections, had also to be amended to accommodate the election of women.

Section 18(1A) of the Local Government Elections Amendment Act 2004 only provides that 'In accordance with the Local Government Act 1997, one third of the reserved seats in each Council shall be from every third electoral division'.

To legitimise the process, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) adopted a multi-stakeholder strategy to determine the electoral divisions to be reserved for women. Political parties were invited to take part in a random selection of the electoral divisions to be reserved.

Table 3: Electoral divisions per district per council

District Councils	No of Community Councils	No of electoral divisions	No of reserved electoral divisions
Botha-Bothe	10	96	30
Leribe	18	178	54
Berea	10	104	30
Maseru	15	147	45
Mafeteng	12	116	36
Mohale's Hoek	14	140	42
Quthing	10	105	31
Qacha's Nek	11	103	33
Thaba-Tseka	13	127	39
Mokhotlong	15	156	45

Source: Lesotho Independent Electoral Commission 2005

After the nomination exercise a man from the Litjotjela Community Council area sued the government, saying his constitutional right to participate in the elections as per Section 20 of the Constitution had been violated.

His case was based on Section 18(3) of the Constitution, which states that no person shall be discriminated against because of race, sex and so on. His legal team argued that women should be empowered but their empowerment should not be at the expense of other people's constitutional rights, such as the right to stand for election. The decision of the High Court was that the law seeks to empower women and that

fact overrides the question of whether the manner in which women are empowered is constitutional or not. The man's claims were therefore dismissed without costs.

3.6 LESOTHO: WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE 2007 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

One of the most important positions in Lesotho is that of the National Assembly, which ranks very high in the Lesotho Official Order of Precedence. The Speaker is elected by the National Assembly from among its members or from among other persons who are not members of the National Assembly. Election of the Speaker is the first task of a new Parliament. This is so because the Constitution says no business can be transacted when the office of Speaker is vacant (Parliament of Lesotho 2008). The current Speaker of Parliament is a woman. She has occupied this position since the 6th Parliament and her re-election as Speaker can be interpreted as a vote of confidence by the legislators in her ability, and by extension the ability of women, to perform this very important office.

In the February 2007 elections, 30 women were elected to the 120-member National Assembly, forming 25 per cent of the House. This is a considerable improvement on the 14 women, 11.7 per cent, of the 2002 National Assembly (IEC Lesotho 2008). If the figures for the ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy/National Independent Party alliance are combined, 28.9 per cent of the alliance's National Assembly members were women. The opposition All Basotho Convention/Lesotho Workers Party alliance's combined rate was 18.5 per cent.

The Senate (the Upper House) is comprised of 22 Principal Chiefs and 11 appointees by the King on the advice of the Prime Minister. Out of the 22 principal chiefs, seven are women, having assumed office at the death of their husbands. On the other hand, there are two women out of the 11 appointees. The picture is different when it comes to Cabinet. There are 18 ministers and five assistant ministers. Out of the 18 ministers, six are women, and of the five assistant ministers, three are women.

Table 4: Women's Representation in the 7ᵗʰ Parliament

Party/Alliance	Total seats	Women's seats	% women
Lesotho Congress for Democracy	62	13	21.0
National Independent Party	21	11	52.4
All Basotho Convention	17	2	11.8
Lesotho Workers Party	10	3	30
Basotho National Party	3	0	0
Alliance of Congress Parties	2	1	50
Popular Front For Democracy	1	0	0
Basutoland Congress Party	1	0	0
Marematlou Freedom Party	1	0	0
Basotho Democratic National Party	1	0	0
Basotho Batho Democratic Party	1	0	0
Total	**120**	**30**	**25**

Source: EISA website.

Activity 2: Gender Equality

Purpose: To allow participants to discuss gender equality within political parties and the role of women in party leadership.

Time: 1 hour for group work
20 minutes for plenary

Process:
1) Participants are divided into groups.
2) Participants are requested to discuss the role of women in politics and how they can best be integrated within party structures.
3) Participants are also requested to examine critically the role of women's leagues in parties and how they can best promote gender equality.

MODULE 4: PUBLIC OUTREACH

4.1 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this module is to highlight the importance of public outreach and introduce some public outreach strategies that political parties could use.

4.2 DEFINING PUBLIC OUTREACH

> **Box 7: Defining Public Outreach Programme**
>
> Political parties' agenda is to compete for control over state power and government so that they can direct a country's development process in the manner they see fit, based on their ideological orientations and policy frameworks as contained in their manifestos. It is therefore imperative that political parties have a way of making their plans about development and how the country ought to be governed known to the electorate. Thus public outreach refers to the strategies that the parties use to link up with the people, both members and non-members alike. Without a comprehensive public outreach strategy, a political party will not be better positioned to attract voters during the elections. Parties also need to maintain these links even beyond the elections by ensuring regular interaction with the people.

As political parties, we then have to ensure the following actions.

- The party interacts with the members.
- The party has offices at the provincial, district and local levels.
- The party holds public hearings in which citizens are invited to attend and speak.
- The party has a system which allows members and the general public to know more about the party.
- Information on the party is easily accessible.

4.3 VOTER AND CIVIC EDUCATION

In ensuring that elections add value to a democracy, electoral and democracy education is required. Such education entails:

- Voter information;
- Voter education; and
- Civic education.

Box 8: Voter Information

The voter information programme focuses mainly upon awareness of the voters about the voting process with a view to raising the consciousness of the electorate to vote. Voter information focuses primarily upon the following aspects, among others:

- How to vote;
- Where to vote;
- When to vote;
- Requirements for voting;
- Who can vote;
- Who may not vote.
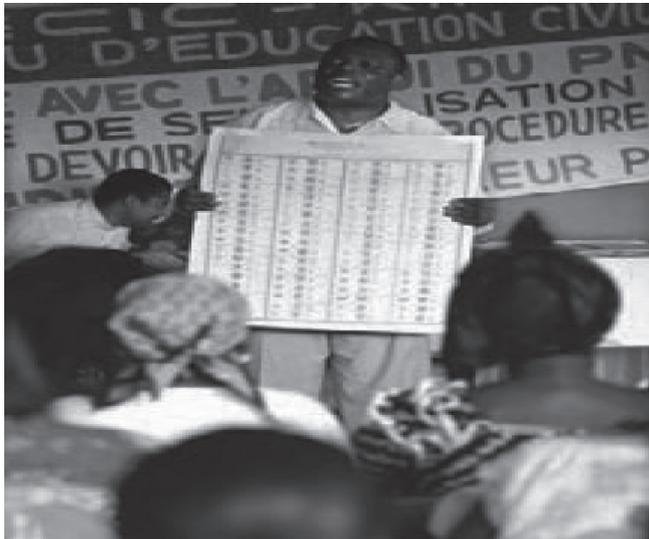
Source: Conflict Trends 1 2008

Box 9: Voter Education

Voter education is a step further from simple awareness for citizens about voting. Its aim is not just to raise awareness, but to answer questions around how to vote and why it is important for the electorate to vote. It is therefore broader in its scope and coverage compared to voter information. It covers all the three phases or stages of the electoral process, namely;

- Pre-election processes;
- Election day processes; and
- Post-election processes.

Source: ACE Electoral Knowledge Network
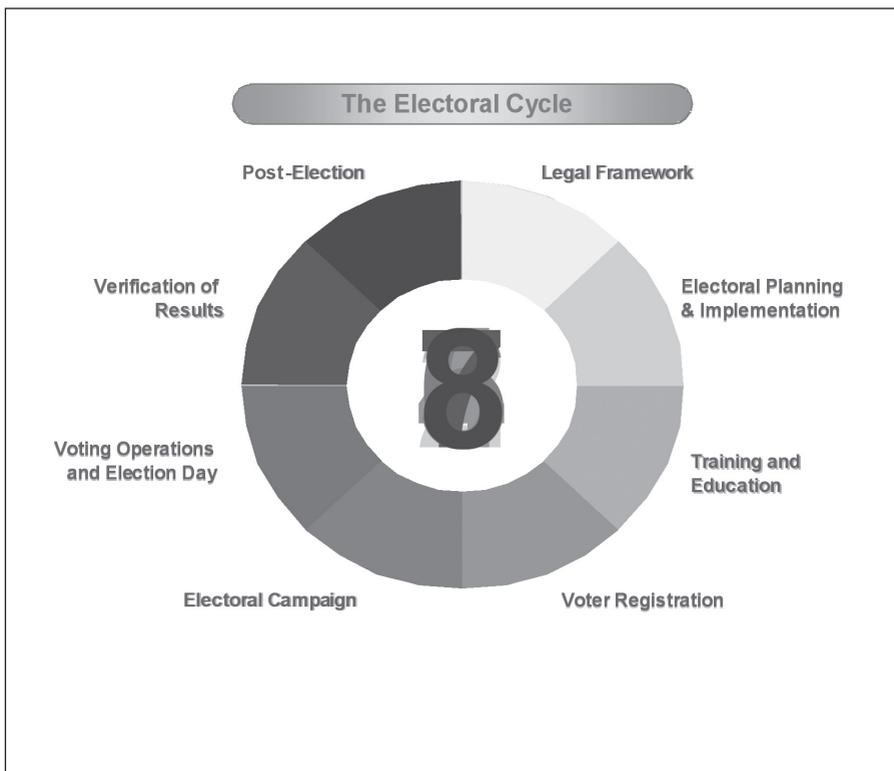
Box 10: Civic Education

Civic/democracy education also transcends voter awareness and voter/ electoral education. It is political education about elections, democracy and governance. The elections component of civic education will normally cover the same ground as voter information and electoral education programmes. The democracy component will normally cover issues around how institutions (both government and non-state actors) operate in a democratic setting, including government institutions, election management bodies, political parties, civil society organisations, democracy watchdog bodies, such as the Human Rights Commission, etc. The governance component will normally cover issues around state-society relations (relations between the government and the governed) in the running of national affairs including, among others, citizen participation, gender relations, the rule of law, economic management, corporate governance, social governance and corruption. Thus, while the election component focuses on electoral processes, the democracy and governance components focus on processes that take place in-between elections.

Source: EISA 2008

Activity 3: Election Campaigns and Mobilisation

Purpose: To allow participants to discuss election campaigns and mobilisation techniques.

Time: 1 hour for group work
20 minutes for plenary

Process:
Participants are divided into groups and requested to discuss election campaigns. Group work focuses on:

1)   Campaign strategies and their effectiveness;
2)   Capacity of parties for effective campaign.

The facilitators will issue further instructions to guide group work and report back to the plenary.

MODULE 5: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

5.1 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this module are to assist participants to understand intra- and inter-party conflict in terms of its causes and effects in parties, to help participants analyse conflict situations, to equip them with the necessary skills to respond to the conflict and to assist parties to establish conflict management structures.

5.2 DEFINING CONFLICT

Conflict is defined by Rubin at al. 1994 as a perceived divergence of interests, or beliefs that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously. It can manifest itself in many forms, some of which may be violent and inflict pain and suffering on both parties in conflict and to other people who may not be directly involved, due to its spillover effect.

Conflict is a natural and necessary art of life.

Whether at home with our families or at work with colleagues, conflict affects our relationships. The paradox with conflict is that it is both the cause and the result of relationships and can tear or bind them together. It is therefore important that we study and understand conflict.

5.3 SOURCES OF INTRA-PARTY AND INTER-PARTY CONFLICT

> ### Box 11: Sources of Intra- and Inter-Party Conflict
>
> **Data/information**: Involves lack of information and misinformation, as well as differing views on what data are relevant, the interpretation of that data and how one performs the assessment.
>
> **Relationships**: Results from strong emotions, stereotypes, miscommunication and repetitive negative behaviour.
>
> **Values:** Arises over ideological differences and differing standards on evaluation of ideas or behaviours.
>
> **Structural:** Caused by unequal or unfair distribution of power and resources.
>
> **Interest:** Involves actual or perceived competition over interests such as resources.

5.3.1 INTRA-PARTY CONFLICT

- Favouritism – promoting one's kith and kin;
- Unequal sharing of resources (leader's constituency gets a lion's share);
- Lack of regular meetings;
- Centralised authority – power concentrated at the top.

5.3.2 INTER-PARTY CONFLICT

Inter-party conflicts are often around elections. Elections are a competition and therefore cause conflict. Parties compete for space for their campaign. Lack of clear rules, systems (including conflict management systems) can escalate conflict to a destructive conflict. These rules have to do with:

- Access to media;
- Ruling party's use of state resources for campaigns;
- Parties' use of ethnicity or other social factors as divisive force;
- Character assassination;
- Constitutional changes (ruling party's changing of national constitution without proper consultations and procedures to suit its goals, thus threatening democracy).

Source: Conflict Trends 1 2008

The 1998 election results triggered tension between the ruling Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) and the opposition parties, who believed that the LCD had rigged the elections. This let to a protest and a sit-in at the Royal Palace grounds, as shown in the photograph above.

5.4 FACTORS ESCALATING CONFLICT

When efforts to contain conflict fail, the conflict tends to escalate into violence. This is also the case in election-related conflicts. The escalation process follows three main stages:

- Discussion stage (mutual respect and co-operation);
- Polarisation stage (distance and competition);
- Segregation stage (disrespect and defensive competition); and
- Destruction stage (total antagonism and violence).

Conflict escalation can also be explained by the following models:

The Aggressor- Defender
Model

The Conflict Spiral
Model

The Structural Change
Model
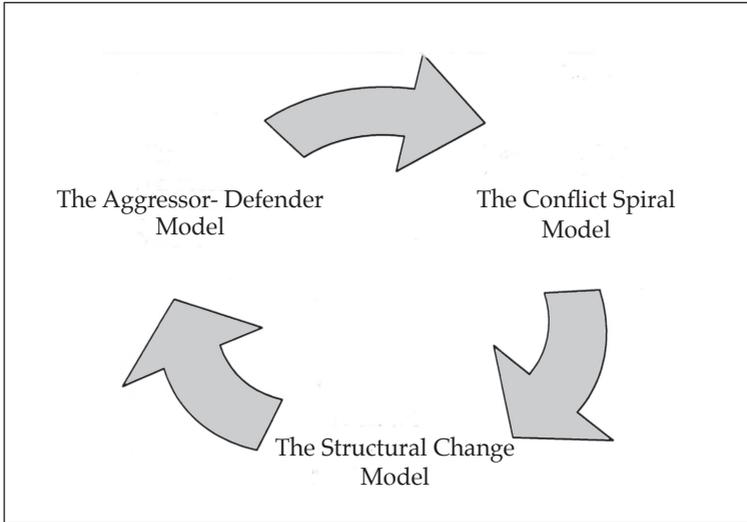
Source: Pruitt and Rubin1986

THE AGGRESSOR-DEFENDER MODEL

In this model, one party is the aggressor while the other is the defender. The aggressor uses mild to heavier tactics against the defender until the aggressor gets what he wants or gives up. The aggressor is the party who realises an opportunity to change things to meet his interests and therefore initiates the offensive. The defender, on the other hand, is the party who resists this change. It should be indicated from the onset that being the defender does not imply that one is automatically the weaker of the two parties. The defender could be the stronger of the two parties and can be weaker as well under certain circumstances. In other words, the two parties in a conflict can shift positions from being the defender to being the aggressor, depending on the situation at hand. The defender's interest is to maintain the status quo.

Source: Conflict Trends 1 2008

During National Party rule in South Africa, for instance, many would argue that the National Party government was the aggressor. While this is undoubtedly true, it has to be pointed out that it does not does not follow that the aggressor is always the stronger and the defender is perpetually the weaker party.

For instance, there is evidence that shows that the apartheid regime for a long time was the aggressor. There is also evidence that points to the fact that in the early sixties, the African liberation movements, although described as defenders according to the model, became the aggressors, particularly when, through their armed wings, they started underground operations. Negotiations between these groups with the government were fruitless as the government only made platitudinous statements regarding freedom that never translated into action. The last resort was the use of violence by the liberation movements as shown in the photograph above. The National Party government then strengthened its police and the defence forces in order to withstand the challenge of the liberation movements and clamp down its activities in defence of the status quo.

THE CONFLICT SPIRAL MODEL

This is the model that demonstrates escalation as a result of response and retaliation by the defender against the aggressor. This retaliation invites further action by the aggressor so that the whole circle is completed – and it may repeat itself again. As it repeats itself, the conflict does not continue at the same level. In the example of the conflict between the liberation movements and the apartheid government, as the conflict intensified, the government also went out to hunt activists outside South Africa and killed many of them, together with local people, as well as destroying properties in Lesotho, Botswana and other neighbouring countries. In order to survive the ferocious reaction by the government, the liberation movements also intensified their activities, using more attacks as their form of defence. The conflict, therefore, moved to an even higher level.

THE STRUCTURAL CHANGE MODEL

The continuity of the spirals produces changes in the political and socioeconomic spheres of the parties involved in conflict. This makes it difficult for conflict to be managed because both sides become even more determined to continue with the conflict, particularly when they have incurred loss of lives and property. The structural change model explains the effects of the protracted conflict emanating from the conflict spirals and escalations, as explained in the previous models. Under this model, people's and groups' perceptions change, and hostile and competitive goals develop within these communities. The aim becomes to punish, discredit, defeat and destroy the other party. The negative perceptions discourage conflict settlement and promote its escalation. Once escalation happens, the process repeats itself, as has been said earlier, and the structural changes also persist. This then has a direct effect on the human relationships.

5.5   CONSTRUCTIVE MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICT
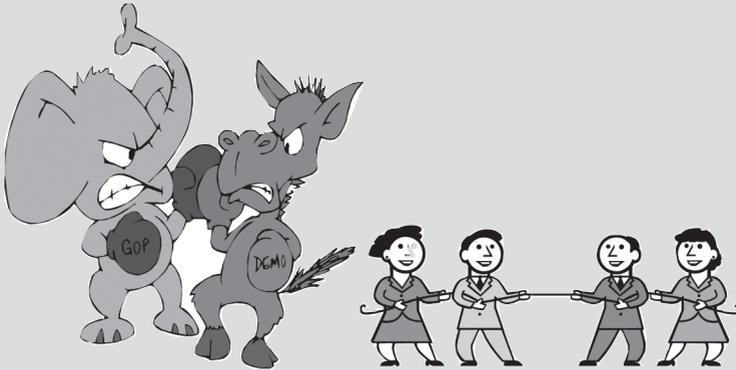
We have all learned responses to confrontation, threats, anger and unfair treatment. Some of our learned responses are constructive, but others are not and escalate the conflict. How we respond to confrontation depends on our previous experience in dealing with conflict as well as our confidence in dealing with conflict. What can start to change destructive responses to conflict is learning to assess the total impact of negative responses.

Conflict is inevitable and the challenge therefore is how we address it. It can be managed negatively through avoidance at one extreme and the use of threat or force at another. Alternatively, conflict can be managed positively through mediation and negotiation.

5.5.1 MEDIATION

Source: Conflict Trend 1 2008

Mediation refers to a process through which a third party provides procedural assistance to help individuals or groups in conflict to resolve their differences. It is a voluntary process and its successes are linked to the vesting of decision-making authority in the parties involved in the conflict. The mediator structures the process in a way that creates a safe environment for the parties to discuss the conflict and find solutions which will meet their interests.

Box 12: Mediation Process

- Preparation of the stage;

- Convening of parties to the conflict;

- Opening of the mediation which includes welcome, introduction of parties and seating;

- Explanation of the mediator's role (facilitation of the process and neutrality);

- Description of the process and its confidentiality;

- Agreeing on the ground rules, which provide behavioural guidelines for the participants;

- Checking of understanding of the process;

- Ensuring the belligerents' comfort (tea breaks, bathrooms, etc);

- Signing of agreement on the mediations (at times not required);

- Parties are then, in turn, given an opportunity to present their understanding of the conflict (no interruptions allowed). Only the mediator may reframe to ensure that the parties' concerns are properly understood;

- Parties are allowed to talk to each other under the mediator's facilitation. If necessary, the mediator may request a break so as to consult with individual parties (care should be taken to balance the times and leave no room for suspicion);

- Mediator ensures that issues are properly heard and suggests agenda to address them;

- Brainstorm options for meeting concerns of parties;

- Evaluate options (reality check), get to agreement (sometimes need to have it written);

- Clarify and review agreement (next steps, future mediation in necessary);

- Closing of the mediation (thanks, guarantee confidentiality).

Box 13: Qualities of a Good Mediator

- Respected and trusted by the parties (not anxious for recognition);

- Impartial: able to focus on process, put aside own opinions on outcome;

- Strong 'people skills', active listener, patient, empathic, non-violent communication but able to confront and be directive on process, comfortable with parties' high emotions;

- Imaginative in helping parties to solve problems;

- Expert in mediation process, not necessarily on the issues in dispute (unless complex technical or legal issues are in dispute, or court approval is needed).

5.5.2   NEGOTIATION

Negotiation is a process between parties that is directed at reaching some form of agreement that will hold and that is based on common interests for the purpose of resolving conflict. This process is achieved through establishing common ground and creating alternatives. It is also an exchange of information through communication.

The conflict that precedes negotiation would be a clash of interests that may be mild and not necessarily violent. Negotiation offers the belligerent parties the opportunity to communicate openly and express their feelings. In the negotiation process each negotiator decides what to offer, what to reject and how much concession to make.

5.5.3 NEGOTIATION PROCESS AS A CONFLICT RESOLUTION TOOL

Box 14: Prerequisites for Negotiation

In order for negotiation to take place there first of all has to be conflict. This can be latent or manifest conflict of any scale.

The level of negotiation varies from one conflict situation to another. When a husband and his wife talk about where they are going to spend their next holiday, there is conflict already because there is a clash of interests.

The negotiations between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli Government (although not always maintained) are held in an attempt to put an end to the seeming nature of the intractable political conflict between the two of them. Each party in negotiations has direct or indirect needs that they want to satisfy. There is a direct causal link between conflict and negotiation because it is after the former has happened that the latter takes place, probably initiated by one of the parties or because both parties believe that the time is ripe for talks.

Frustration of a party's needs invites counter-frustration of needs by the receiving party. In order to thwart this vicious circle, negotiation should always be used to counter-balance the effects that the conflict brings and maximise the meeting of their interests. There are alternative approaches that are designed to establish contact between representatives of parties in conflict. It is important to consider a suitable approach for a particular negotiation in the pre-negotiation stage.

One of these approaches is 'walk in the woods'. This approach allows parties to explore issues without binding them to an agreement. All parties are at liberty to accept or reject options that are made available to them. In everyday life the majority of people perform well when they are not under pressure. In walk in the woods, therefore, people make genuine and meaningful contributions without having to worry about things not working out. They also do not worry about carrying the blame for such a failure.

Another dimension that is not far from a walk in the woods approach is pre-negotiation. This is negotiation before negotiation because it involves a lot of informal interaction before negotiations begin. The importance of pre-negotiation is that it reduces disagreements, enables parties to sort out their own motives for negotiation in the given context and prepares parties physically and psychologically for negotiation. Here parties think outside the box and move from their positions to mutual understanding and multilateral solutions. (Azar)

Box 15: The Negotiators and Their Role

In many conflicts involving groups, a negotiator is someone who has been mandated by the group to represent it in negotiation. In other cases people become negotiators because no one else could represent them. This is mostly the case with small-scale conflicts. For instance, a person who wants to buy furniture, at a reduced price from a furniture shop normally has to negotiate for himself, and not through a third party. Negotiators in any negotiation are human beings who have their own weaknesses and strengths.

Individuals who represent their groups in a negotiation carry the ideals, values and beliefs of their group in dealing with others. They often have to suppress their personal beliefs and conscience and air those of their groups. In this way they are not able to negotiate according to the objective merits of the conflict.

It is an enormous task for each individual negotiator to make these decisions and the process therefore consumes a lot of time. Negotiators avoid moving quickly because it can be extremely dangerous to them as it involves yielding to the other side. Many negotiators therefore drag their feet and use delaying tactics such as the use of threats to pull out of negotiations in order to increase the risk that no agreement is reached.

There could be parties that are not necessarily primary to the conflict but have influence in the process of negotiation. Additional parties may be openly supporting one of the parties in the conflict. They may well support them secretly. In the event of coalitions being formed openly, the membership of a coalition as a whole poses a threat to individual members when they want to take a different position from that of their coalition.

Box 16: Limitations of Negotiation Process

It is important to look at the limitations of negotiation as a tool for resolving conflict. The process is not entirely flawless.

- It often falls short of benefiting both parties as sometimes one loses and the other wins. It can even be worse when both parties lose. As a result of the inherent flaws in this process some negotiations are started and then broken off without clear achievements.

- It is common for negotiations to end without an agreement. Any one of the belligerent parties may decide to unilaterally quit if they feel that they are not happy with the offers made to them.

- Some negotiations have not been able to produce agreements even if there have been negotiations that have gone into history as success stories. The negotiations between the South African Government and the African National Congress prior to 1994 and the negotiations in Sierra Leone after that country's civil war are among the successful ones.

- The tendency of some parties to pull out of negotiations may not only be the exercise of power. It may also depend on the personalities of the individual negotiators. Some negotiators may be wrong or inappropriate for certain kinds of negotiations. Other negotiators go into negotiation to fulfil their individual needs that are not part of the conflict.

- They fail to pursue the needs of their constituencies. When their needs are frustrated, such negotiators are quick to grab the opportunity to derail the negotiation process. Their lack of loyalty and their self-centeredness compels them to create sensational stories and deceive people.

- In reality, negotiations usually suffer a setback because of the fact that on many occasions people believe in these kind of negotiators. Their mischievous behaviour makes them different from those negotiators who carry the values, ideals and beliefs of their groups along.

Thinking Outside the Box

Activities of political parties cannot be successful unless communication in such organisations is maintained to assure information flow in both horizontal and vertical directions within an organisational structure. The same applies to the success of any attempt to manage intra- or inter-party conflict. The parties need to have certain skills to ensure smooth and effective communication. Similarly, they need to have the skills and ability to think outside the box. Thus, the secret behind the solution of a problem is not to allow our thinking to be contained and limited by imaginary boundaries. Thinking outside the boundaries and limitations is what creative thinking is about.

Thinking Outside the Box Exercise 1:

1. Divide the shape into six exactly equal parts.
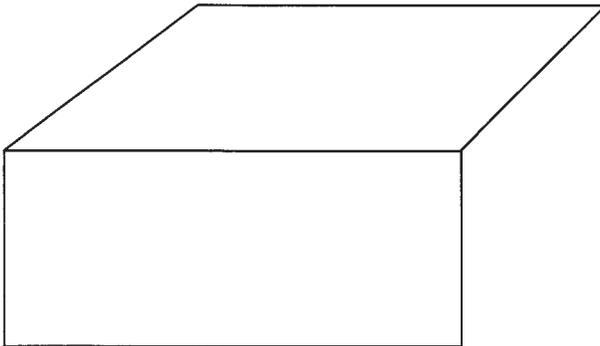
Thinking Outside the Box Exercise 2:

1. Connect all the nine dots using no more than four straight lines.
2. The dots cannot be repositioned.
3. The connecting line must be drawn in one continuous strike; leave the pencil on the paper until all lines have been drawn.
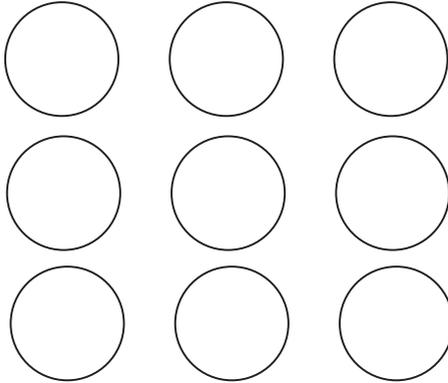
Activity 4
Purpose: To allow participants to discuss the conflict within parties as well as prospects for smooth inter-party relations.

Time: 1 hour for group work
        20 minutes for plenary

Process:
1) Participants are divided into groups.
2) Participants are requested to choose the current/topical conflict involving political parties in Lesotho. The groups are supposed to role-play the conflict, looking specifically at their understanding of the conflict in terms of:

   a) The issues;
   b) Structures to deal with the issues;
   c) Source of power;
   d) Actions and processes;
   e) Assumptions about the nature of the conflict.

MODULE 6: PRIMARY ELECTIONS

6.1 OBJECTIVE

The objective of this module is to provide participants with information pertaining to primaries, their types, advantages and disadvantages, so that they can be well equipped to deal with challenges surrounding primaries.

6.2 DEFINING PRIMARY ELECTIONS
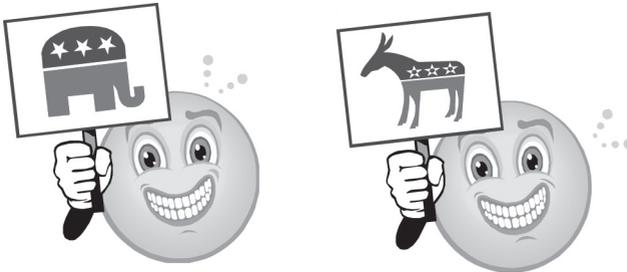
Primary elections are internal party processes that choose a political party's candidate(s) for the next general election by holding an internal election. Exactly how this is done depends on the legal framework, internal party rules and informal practices. Primary elections are an example of a selection process with a high level of participation, meaning that ordinary members (or in some cases all voters in the electoral district) control the process.

Box 17: Arguments for Primary Elections

'Those who argue for primary elections tend to say that:

- Primary elections help the political party select the candidate who is most likely to win a general election by consulting a considerable number of those who are likely to vote for the party's candidates.

- Primary elections start the democratic process even before the general elections

- Primary elections give the candidate(s) a clear mandate and legitimacy, since the decision has been taken by party members in general and not only by the top leadership.

- Primary elections give a party, its candidate(s), and perhaps even its platform significant public visibility.

- Primary elections empower the ordinary members and engage them in party strategy and key decisions.

- Primary elections help members overrule unpopular but entrenched party elites.' (Ace Electoral Knowledge Network)

Box 18: Arguments Against Primary Elections

'Those who argue against primary elections claim that:

- Primary elections do not produce the candidate(s) most likely to win the general election, since only a small fraction of party members (usually hard-liners) tend to vote in the primary elections. Strategically, it might be better to choose candidate(s) who can also appeal to other parties' members or supporters rather than only to the party's own core members.

- Primary elections are very expensive and (unless organised and paid for by the public purse, which they are in some cases) take funds away from the general election campaign.

- Primary elections encourage internal party strife instead of fostering an environment of negotiation, consultation, and compromise at a time when efforts need to be focused on defeating external challengers, not internal ones.

- Primary elections take the decision away from the most experienced, the office holders, and party leadership. Instead, ordinary party members with little or no experience of running for or holding public office get to decide.

- Primary elections weaken the party structures by putting the focus on individual candidates rather than on the party manifesto or policies.' (Ace Electoral Knowledge Network)

Box 19: Legislated and Non-Legislated Primary Elections

'Legislated primary elections refer to cases where the country's legal framework stipulates that political parties must choose their candidates by holding internal elections. In some cases, the laws or regulations (or, in other cases, the Constitution) merely state that parties must select their candidates democratically, while other countries have chosen to lay down the details of how primary elections must be held. Where this is the case, the law sometimes gives the electoral management body the responsibility to organise, monitor, and supervise the primary elections. Legislated primary elections are often membership-based; otherwise, they can be open to all voters in the constituency (see Types of Primary Elections below).

Laws also differ on sanctions for non-compliance with the provisions requiring internal party elections. In some countries, the law does not stipulate any sanctions, while in others, having held primary elections is a prerequisite for registering a political party for election or for nominating candidates.

Political parties that hold primary elections even though it is not required by law are often guided by their own party constituencies or internal rules for candidate selection. Party system, electoral system, and party ideology tend to influence this decision, and even in the cases where legislation exists, it is not always possible to say if the law has determined the processes or if they simply reflect practice.' (Ace Electoral Knowledge Network)

Box 20: Types of Primary Elections

'There are three main types of primary elections: the congress (or convention/caucus) election, the membership election, and the open voter election.

The congress election is a common internal party mechanism where the election takes place at a party meeting, often called a party congress, convention, or caucus. Some political parties allow all their members to attend and vote at the selection congress, while others restrict attendance to delegates from the sub-units of the party. The advantages of this system are that the congress allows the participants to discuss and reach compromises before a vote is held, the sub-units of the party can be given a clearer voice than in other systems, and, in general, the congress system strengthens the role of the party organisation vis-à-vis the individual candidates. Disadvantages include the often unrepresentative participation, the risks of manipulation (such as not calling the meeting on time or closing deals behind closed doors), and the lack of division of power within the party. Voting in party congresses is also sometimes done by acclamation or other methods that do not allow for secrecy of the vote, which might inhibit the democratic process.

Membership elections are sometimes called "closed" primary elections, given that they are open to all members of the party but closed to other voters. Membership elections are at times operated by the Electoral Management Body (EMB) but can also be organised internally by the party itself. Advantages of this system are that it is more open and transparent than the congress elections, empowers the ordinary members, and involves them more in the business of the party. It limits the dominance of the party elites but may in that process also take the decision away from those who are more experienced and might be in a better position to take a good decision. Another disadvantage might be that the decision is taken only by those who want to be publicly affiliated with a political party, and not by supporters or potential supporters who might help the party get a better indication of which candidates(s) would do well in a general election. In volatile or polarised political environments with high levels of political violence, voters may not want to publicly display their affiliation by turning out to vote in a membership election.

Open voter elections are primary elections where all registered voters in a constituency, even those who are members of other parties or of no party, can participate. This is not a very common method. EMBs tend to organise open voter elections since they require enrolling all those who could vote in a general election. The advantage of this system is that political parties do not need a formal and fully updated membership register, and voters do not have to declare their affiliation through membership. Open voter elections take one of the main functions away from the party: that of acting as gate-keepers and recruiters of candidates. Given that primary elections tend to inspire a lower voter turnout than general elections, there is also a significant risk that the result does not reflect the view of the majority of voters who will vote in the general election. Since supporters of other parties can also take an active part in the primary election, they may seek to ensure that the candidate with least possibilities of winning the general election would win the primary – and thereby take competition away from their preferred party's candidate.' (Ace Electoral Knowledge Network)

Box 21: Factors Influencing Primary Elections

'The electoral system and election law influence the conduct of primary elections, not only because requirements to hold primary elections are often included in election laws, but also because the electoral system in itself influences politics. In single-member constituencies, the regional and local branches of political parties would naturally tend to have greater influence, while the central party organisation would be more influential in systems with multiple-member districts. This tendency is, however, not clear-cut, and there are many cases that would contradict this.

Electoral laws may also include legislated quotas that have an impact on the selection of candidates. Quota laws can reserve seats in the national legislature to ensure gender equality or to enhance the participation of under-represented groups such as national minorities. They may also stipulate the number of, for example, women on the parties' candidate lists and in some cases even dictate the placement on the list.

The party system is heavily influenced by the electoral system but also by legal regulations such as the threshold to win seats in the national legislature, the political geography of the country, and other contextual issues. The number of political parties contesting an election, the number of parties likely to win seats in the legislature, and other issues can determine the need for coalition-building and other party strategies that can influence the selection process.

The political context and culture are major factors in deciding on primary elections. As has been mentioned above, polarisation and political violence can, for example, affect voters' will to publicly display their affiliation. The level of trust in a society can set different needs for transparency and participation, and cleavages in the society can be reflected in internal party practices.

The political party culture, lastly, is another of the major factors influencing the process of candidate selection. If the party is membership-based or not, if it is built on a strong ideology or on the leadership of an individual, and what its ideological values and traditions are, ultimately decide if the party chooses to voluntarily select its candidates through internal elections.' (Ace Electoral Knowledge Network)

Activity 5
Purpose: To allow participants to discuss primary elections in terms of procedures and their usefulness or otherwise. Participants will also discuss challenges they face during primaries and the role of the party leadership in primaries and how best parties can deal with their inherent challenges. **Time**: 1 hour for group work   20 minutes for plenary **Process:** Participants are divided into groups and are requested to role-play the positions of a) party leadership, b) rank and file members, c) constituency leaders and d) would-be candidates. The participants have to demonstrate their understanding of the people in each role in terms of the criteria for candidate election and procedures to be followed. They should also suggest how disagreements on the candidature have to be solved.

MODULE 7: NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

7.1 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this module are to assist parties to understand the importance of nominations and to assist them to deal with the challenges they face during nominations. .

7.2 DEFINING NOMINATIONS

7.2.1 NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES

The nomination of candidates (to gain ballot access) is the formal procedure by which political parties and/or individuals put candidates forward for election, and the acceptance by the election management body of that nomination. In list systems, parties put forward a list of candidates selected within the political party. In constituency systems, candidates are nominated individually (not as part of party lists). Depending on the country, they can be nominated either by a political party or by an individual.

Legal frameworks can place requirements on the composition of party lists. In some cases, there are requirements aimed at increasing the representivity of the list by, for example, asking or requiring the party to have a certain number of women (or members of other traditionally under-represented groups) on its list. In some cases, not only the number but the placement on the list is specified (ACE Encyclopaedia 2008).

7.3 NOMINATION REGULATIONS

Candidate nominations are based on both external legislation (e.g. the Electoral Act) and internal party regulations. External regulations generally cover aspects such as age and citizenship requirements of candidates, while internal regulations govern the nomination procedure and processes, including membership status.

In Lesotho the law provides for two kinds of nominations, namely, the constituency and the proportional representation (PR) nominations. The constituency nominations happen in the constituencies where in order for one to become a candidate, he/she has to be proposed by a member of the public. Such a proposal has to be seconded by another person. The proposed candidate has to give his/her consent in order for such a proposal to be valid. Again, if the proposed candidate belongs to a political party, then the party president or secretary general has to endorse such a candidature. On the day of nomination court, candidates are presented to the IEC by their supporters, translated into local language as 'Ho emisoa Bakhethoa', and it is during this day that the candidates also pay their fees to the commission in accordance with the law. This has become a big event in the electoral process in Lesotho because during this day, party loyalists put on their party colours, sing party songs and accompany their candidates to the constituency office to demonstrate their party strength.

The PR nominations happen within the parties, where individual parties prepare lists for the 40 PR seats. The IEC usually stipulates a time frame for the PR nominations and after receiving the lists, the IEC displays them at the national office for people to inspect.

Nomination of candidates for the general or local elections is a very important process which, if not handled properly, creates conflict within parties. Therefore there is a need to have a clear set of procedures in terms of who administers this process.

Activity 6

Purpose: To allow participants to discuss nominations in terms of procedures and the challenges they face during the nomination period.

Time: 1 hour for group work
        20 minutes for plenary

Process:
Participants are divided into groups and are given instructions by the facilitators.

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