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# **The Complexities of Democratic Governance Embedded into Education and Formal and Informal Institutions in Swaziland.**

## **Abstract**

Much of the writing on governance in Swaziland and elsewhere focuses more on responsiveness, accountability, integrity, responsibility, representativeness but loose sight of the complexities surrounding these processes. Governance tends to be looked at in isolation rather than in relation to both informal and formal institutional practices and citizen empowerment through education. This paper examines the complexities of governance in Swaziland. This is achieved through the use of the institutional lens which helps in understanding hidden processes and struggles which take place in public governance and their influences on democratic governance. While elements of democratic practices are evident in the perceptions of some Swazis as a vehicle for peace and stability, it remains a complex concept influenced by multifaceted socio-economic dynamics and practices such as the value ethics, management ethics, and governance ethics. Governance remains one of the best vehicles towards peace and stability though fraught with some complexities such as lack of understanding of the key roles of traditional and modern institutions in facilitating democratic governance at all spheres of government.

**Key words: Governance, traditional and modern institutions, education, Swazi culture, values, values ethics, management ethics, governance ethics.**

## **Introduction**

Democratic governance and citizen participation are expected to be social processes, closely linked or intertwined. They take place in the interactions between the leaders and those who are led, the managers and those who are managed. The people who take the role of leaders play a critical role in determining the social relationships under which governance occurs. They are placed very prominently in the position of authority, trust and power by the people. Who govern is thus critical for the process of governance and it is as critical in its own way as who is governed, the citizens. Democratic governance is a formative activity conducted

through a variety of processes and structures, some of them are explicit and very visible (for, example, through the formal prescribed country's constitution, laws and policies), and some of the structures are subtle, almost invisible and unclear to some and barely understood mainly by non-citizens. For example, public governance in Swaziland is so unique and complex for both insiders and outsiders because it is still embedded into indigenous practices and values which are not easily understood mainly by outsiders. The complexities and contradictions in democratic governance are usually obscured by the language of official government documents, peoples' political ideologies, policy formulation practices which tend to disregard the messiness of real life, common usage of the word-democratic governance and the mess process itself (Levitsky and Helmke, 2004). In some situations the common usage of the word governance often wrongly suggests a political neutral or self-less process. Yet democratic governance is always political because it involves struggles and discussions over values, interests and peoples' ideologies and norms. It is a complex vehicle towards a democratic and sustainable nation because it provides means for government to make decisions based on public interests, values and aspirations. It inculcates the culture of democratic practices such as respect of diversity of opinions, norms and values (Jeckins, 2006; Barnes, 1999).

The processes of democratic governance are expected to convey a wealth to the country's citizens and the country's existence and success because it might be source of peace and stability. Anyone who conducts the process of governance (Governors and Civil Servants and others) forms an important part of the democratic governance process in any country including Swaziland. Governors and Public Servants as professionals are expected to have the capacity to reflect on professional and traditional values which are characterised by the sense of mutual respect, professionalism and ubuntu in order to execute their duties effectively and efficiently.

### **Traditional Governing Structures**

Swaziland is governed through different structures. These include the various institutions of traditional law and customs which are not easily understood mainly by outsiders. This makes the democratic governance in Swaziland to be so complex and easily misunderstood and misused by some sections of the Swazi society. The democratic governance in Swaziland is so unique and complex like the history of the country itself.

The stability and peace of Swaziland, for example, is not a product of the rules laid down in the Constitution of 2005, but also a product of informal rules, values and norms (such as respecting traditional structures and its organs). Levitsiky and Helmke, 2004 p 726) also noted that the stability of the United States of America's Presidential democracy is not only a product of the rules laid down in their constitution but also rooted in informal rules such as the gracious losing and bipartisan consensus on critical matter which may planch the country in chaos or serve conflict among the key branches of government.

### **Swazi Cultural values an aspect of democratic governance in Swaziland**

Swaziland is one of the oldest monarchies in Southern Africa and it is currently enjoying peace and stability. It is a country with unique peace with itself and with its neighbouring countries. Swaziland has a unique history because she gained her independence from Britain without shedding any blood. Yet, other African countries that were once colonised by Britain fought different battles and many people died in the struggle for independence. The history of Swaziland is complex and multifaceted not easily understood because it is embedded in unique Swazi cultural values, ideals and practices. As results, it is easily misunderstood mainly by outsiders who tend to look at it through an outsider's lens or perspective and narrow perspective (see Levin, 2001). For example, it is claimed that one of the drawbacks of the existing research in Swazi history is that some researchers fail to acknowledge the complexities of the Swazi society and cultural values.

Swaziland is a unique nation because it remains guided by traditional values, ideals and practices in government and traditional practices, circles or machinery. The country has survived both political and economic turbulence and upheavals (Levin, 2001). The Swazi traditional values and ideals have enabled the Swazi nation to weather the political storm of the past two centuries. Traditional values provide a solid foundation for the Swazi nation and worked as glue that holds the fabric of the Swazi society together. For example, the successful transition of the Swazi monarchy since the pre-independent could be attributed to the resilience of the solid traditional political system and the entire society machinery. For example, after the death of King Sobhuza 11, the country through its traditional management practices has proved its capabilities, resilience, and managed to consolidate its power despite being subjected into an invisible political power struggle. (Levin's 2001) claim or warning that Swazi traditional structures should be more open to change if Swazi society has to avoid problems does not hold water. Despite, the unsatisfactory on service delivery, people though

may appear many, but the majority on the streets find it had to find faulty on the traditional values and practices but may redirect their blame somewhere else.

The country has experienced some socio-economic changes and challenges since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century but still successful in maintaining peace and stability through the use of traditional cultural values, ideals which permeate the entire Swazi society (Matsebula, 1970). The country has changed politically and economically because of different social forces from within the country and outside, but managed to sustain some of the indigenous cultural practices as part of their democratic governance strategy. This includes the dance of Incwala ceremony an annual event where Swazis celebrate together with their King, regardless of race, gender and social status. An event which emphasise the importance of inclusionary practices anchored on cultural values such as ubuntu, as opposed to exclusionary practices. Relatively Swaziland has been enjoying peace and stability for decades as compared to other African countries such as Zimbabwe, apartheid South Africa, Mozambique, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt and Libya. However, this does not deny the fact that Swaziland once experienced some political instability mainly during the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era (Matsebula, 1970; Levin, 2001; Bonner, 1983). During the colonial era Swazis were fighting for their independence and after independence some minority wanted some democratic reforms and these minority groups were influenced by political changes in neighbouring countries-South Africa and Mozambique (Levin, 2001; Matsebula, 1970). This was not a new phenomenon because the Swazis experienced some socio-political instability in after the death of Mswati 11 in 1865 and during Mbandzeni succession years (Bonner, 1983). More often than not socio-economic instability had and has some influences on the nature of the education system of any country. For example, during the pre-independent era students were taught European history as opposed to African history. The colonialists had their agenda of colonizing the minds of the indigenous people and the locals were unqualified to teach (Mastebula, 1970).

### **Pre-independent educational changes and governance in Swaziland**

The pre-independent socio-economic changes are important in understanding the current educational and curriculum changes because they are anchored on the pre-independent socio-political changes. More often than not most local and international educational and

curriculum changes are political-oriented in nature because of socio-economic challenges such as racism and social exclusion in schools and societies (Levin, 2001).

The pre-independent education system was based on discrimination and segregation on the basis of race and colour. There were separate schools for whites, coloured and natives because of the political administration of that period (MacMillan, 1985). This created a culture of racism, prejudice and xenophobia within the Swazi societies. Discrimination in schools and within the Swazi societies was perpetuated by the existence of some colonial discriminatory legislation. For example, there was a legislation which was forbidding Swazis to purchase western Liquor (Scottish Whisky) and another legislation allowed the coloured people form their associations such as Stegi, Hlatikhulu and Bremersdorp coloured association (MacMillan, 1985). These associations allowed the coloured people to discuss their matters as independent individuals not Swazi citizens.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century the education system of that period and the Missionaries played a key role in perpetuating discrimination in schools and in societies, (Macmillan (1986). Claimed that that coloured children were preferred by missionaries because they believed that the children were victims of a great deal of wrong, a wrong that only the love and mercy of God can set right. Coloured children were considered by the missionaries not at par with the Europeans but better than the native. Missionaries built schools for coloured children to improve their lives. They attended schools such as St Michaels Mpholajeni School which was based in Mbabane, Florence Mission and the Our Lady of Sorrows School. The native children were attending their separate schools in the 1800. This type of education was supported by both the Missionaries and British Administration.

### **Churches a vehicle towards Democratic Governance**

In Swaziland, it is documented that the churches, state and the monarchy played an important role in initiating educational and curriculum changes in Swaziland during the colonial era (Matsebula, 1970; Imbokodvo National Movement Manifesto, 1972). The role of the churches, state and the monarchy in education in Swaziland is not a new phenomenon. It's an old practice which started during the reign of Queen Labotsibeni, "Mgwami longavutfwa netiko", she was a pioneer of education in 19<sup>th</sup> Century and she ensured that the State and the Monarchy played their crucial roles in promoting both political and educational changes in Swaziland (Mtsebula, 1970; Levin, 2001). Levin, (2001) noted that Queen Labotsibeni devoted her time in ensuring that King Sobhuza 11 received proper education. It is claimed

that Queen Labotsibeni once argued that the power of the white people lies in money and books (Levin, 2001), therefore the state and the Monarchy should be involved in promoting education for the sustainability of the Swazi nation and the spirit of oneness/inclusivity. In 1911 Queen Labotsibeni imposed tax on the Swazis as a strategy of promoting the development of education in Swaziland (Matsebula, 1970). This was viewed by the colonial powers with suspicion because they believed that the tax might be used for other purposes other than the announced purposes (Levin, 2001). In 1916 Zombodze National primary school was established and Matsapha Swazi National built in 1932. These schools were financed from the Swazi National Fund; this was every Swazi taxpayer contributed two pounds per year (Levin, 2001; Matsebula, 1970). Building these schools the monarchy aimed at changing the country into centres of education excellence, beam of hope for the hopeless, centre of cultural, social and industrial development and training for all Swazi students, mainly the sons of Chiefs, to prepare them for their future responsibilities in today's challenging society (Matsebula, 1970). This was of multiple benefits, to ensure the survival of the existing order and for promoting education for all Swazis because educating the sons of Chiefs was a strategy for promoting governance which is embedded in traditional practices and values; since Chiefs in Swaziland are strategically positioned for societal changes and political stability (Levin, 2001). They are perceived as custodian of peace and stability and these factors are important in initiating any societal developmental programme, including educational programmes (Levin, 2001).

The involvement of the monarchy was viewed as necessary and desirable, mainly for funding purposes and curriculum provision for all students and for the preservation of key traditional social values that may be undermined by global social forces and changes (Levin, 2001; Matsebula, 1970). For Example, His Majesty King Sobhuza 11 saw the power of traditional social values and practices as fundamentals in unifying the Swazi masses behind the monarchy mainly for social stability and therefore education or knowledge was seen as the best route towards social stability, traditional-oriented governance and an inclusive society (Levin, 2001; Matsebula, 1970). His Majesty was convinced that in the presence of colonial practices (racism, xenophobia and other injustices), intense diversity, without knowledge and stable economy, there can be no stable forms of power or an inclusive government (Osler, 2006; Mastebula, 1970). For example, the inequitable distribution of land by the British colonisers through the Land Proclamation of 1907 caused some chaos and resentment and it was perceived by the Swazis as an unfair act or injustice. The land partition was opposed by

the Swazis but their opposition was not effective because eventually the land was partitioned by the colonialists in this following manner: Private European land which consisted about 976558 hectares; Swazi nation land with 687635 and the Crown land with 63549 hectares (Mastebula, 1970).

### **Post- independent Educational Changes Facilitated and Sustained Democratic Governance in Swaziland**

In the post-independent era, education became a state directed entity in Swaziland and guarded by national rules and accountability procedures and educational acts, the Swaziland Constitution of 2005 and other related education acts and policies (see National Development Strategy, 1999). Tony Blair the former British Prime Minister once argued that the top priority of his government was, and always be education, education, education. Education is used by different states as vehicle for promoting social cohesion, unity and a tool for fighting racism and xenophobia (Moore, 2006; Imbokodvo National Movement Manifesto, 1972).

The national acts in Swaziland are used by state to bring education in line with government goals and global aspirations (promoting democratic governance, sustainable development, gender equality, addressing the problem of racism, xenophobia and social exclusion and discrimination) (see National Development Strategy, 1999). The state stance on education was future-oriented in nature with a clear focus on promoting responsible, critical citizenship which may urge the development of respect of universal human rights anchored on Swazi cultural norms and practices (Imbokodvo National Movement Manifesto, 1972). At the centre of education in Swaziland is the culture of inculcating the sense of oneness, unity, spirit of discussing matters of differences in ways in which different cultural perspectives and opinions are respected and valued (Imbokodvo National Movement Manifesto, 1972). The pre- independence Swazi state was preoccupied by matters of social stability, particularly when Swaziland was under threat from Colonisers, the granting of concessions. These were undermining the continued existence of royal hegemony (Levin, p. 30), and therefore education was seen as a right tool to achieve peace, unity and stability and governance (Levin, 2001; Matsebula, 1970).

The post- independent educational changes in Swaziland were guided by the Imbokodvo National Movement Manifesto of 1972, the first post-independent written policy document which facilitated both political and educational changes in Swaziland. These changes aimed at improving every individual Swazi by making him or her better responsible citizen of the

country with capabilities of contributing towards the economic renewal of the nation. A better citizen was defined as someone who is participating in the country's affairs and participating in a continuous process of improving the Swazi nation (see The Imbokodvo National Movement Manifesto, 1972). The Imbokodvo National Movement Manifesto of 1972 claimed that the colonial education system laid more emphasis on the subject content. The Ministry of Education at that period was tasked to scrutinize the subjects' content, syllabuses in order to determine whether the colonial type education was relevant to the new independent nation. Education was and is perceived as a vehicle towards democratic governance.

### **Modern Governing Structures a facilitator for Democratic governance**

Democratic governance facilitated by modern structures such as the constitutions could be a tool which can help government to improve practice and to earn respect of its citizens who pay for it, and whose lives are affected by its programmes and regulatory activities. Democratic governance is important for national politics, policy formulation, policy implementation, public administration and public management. This could be facilitated through both modern and traditional structures.

### **The Constitution as a Modern structure**

In recent decades, there have been substantial constitutional reforms in governance and administration in Swaziland. These were based on neoliberal assumptions and market-driven policies and international conventions and policies. The reforms aimed at re-inventing government operations and re-structuring the state machinery (Judiciary and other organs of government). There have been considerable changes in the public sector in Swaziland in response to internal and external pressure but the political realm of the state has hardly changed in terms of shifting towards the participation of opposition parties in policy decisions.

### **Shift in the mode of governance**

Restructuring public bureaucracy to be in line with international changes, Swaziland government has adopted some major components of business-oriented public administration and governance. This business-oriented public governance includes the disaggregation of agencies into semi-autonomous agencies of financial and managerial authority for managing government programmes (taxation). These semi-autonomous agencies have a certain degree

of operational flexibility. These semi-autonomous agencies include the Anti-corruption Commission, Swaziland Revenue Authority and Swaziland Procurement Agency. The functions and operations of these agencies are supported by different structures including the country's constitution of 2005.

The internal and external factors, which include the fiscal crisis, economic crisis and inefficiency or waste, caused some major shifts in the mode of governance in Swaziland. These factors provided the primary rationales for contemporary reforms and the type of governance, particularly the 2011/2012 economic crisis which required an active rather than passive state.

The Swaziland Constitution of 2005 remains the supreme law of the land. Sub section 2 (1) of the Swaziland Constitution of 2005 notes that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land and if any other law is inconsistent with the Constitution that law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void. More often than not the Constitution is used for taking serious decisions regarding the governing and management of the country and other relevant departments and ministries. For example, the termination of service of the former Chief Justice of Swaziland was guided by the Swaziland Constitution of 2005. A legal notice, citing the section 158 (2) of the Constitution of 2005 was used and reads thus: "I King and Ingwenyama of Swaziland, hereby remove Chief Justice Michael Mathealira Ramodibedi from office of Chief Justice of the High Court of Swaziland for serious misbehaviour with effect from the date of the signature of this notice". Serious misbehaviour among senior officials particularly within the country's judicial system (the custodian of governance) has serious repercussions on governance and the operations of government. As Hope, (2009) noted that governance is about power, relationships and accountability, respect for the rule of law, predictable legal framework encompassing an interdependent and credible government system. A credible government system guided by credible institutions such as a constitution is critical in managing the operations of a country and handling sensitive national matters. For example, the removal of the then Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa (Jacob Zuma) was done through constitutional means. This forms part of the democratic governance procedures and a vehicle for peace and stability. National institutions such as the constitution and other judicial structures (Courts) are glue that is expected to hold societies together and be a vehicle for sustainable development (Serageldin, 1996). These institutions provide multi layered networks of trust, political coordination and some collective actions at local, regional and national level of governance (Knowles, 2006). A multi layered of

networks of trust is crucial for governance because a breakdown or absence of governance is characterised by the disintegration of respect norms, trust and mutual respect in national institutions and this lead to poor governance and to unsustainable practices. Norms, trust and networks help in improving the efficiency of a society, government operations by facilitating coordinated organisational or government functions. The networks help in creating linkages which exists in different levels within both modern and traditional structures (Levitsky and Helmke, 2004).

Morden governing structures such as the Swaziland Constitution of 2005 facilitates democratic governance because it provides citizens and members of civic society a platform to exercise their democratic rights to challenge any unprofessional practice either by government or any independent body. To an extent it promoted active citizen participation in governance and citizen empowerment. For example, the Law Society of Swaziland once challenged Simelane's appointment as irregular, because the Judge did not meet the criterion set down on the Constitution as stipulated in Section 154 (1) (b), which requires a person to have been in legal practice for not less than ten years, before he can be appointed to be a judge of the superior court. In addition, the appointment of the Judge did not comply with the Swaziland Constitution of 2005 requirement of section 173 (4). Further, the nomination of very Simelane, Judge the most junior Judge of the high court to Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) court of justice ahead the most senior experienced Judges also undermined the country's governance system. The manipulation of the constitution and failure to respect the judicial code of ethics further eroded the confidence of the public in the country's justice system.

Democratic governance is one of the complex tools used by public sector regimes to manage their activities to achieve public purposes and sustainable development. It is characterised by the non-hierarchical forms of networking arrangements, where boundaries between public and private sectors are blurred (Pierre, 2000). The politics-policy interlink scenario highlights the potential of state and non-state actors in influencing governance arrangement and the existing complexities and variable relations between political processes and institutional structures and policy context. For example, in 2012 the Swaziland National Association of Teachers (SNAT) used the non-hierarchical forms of networking arrangements and state and non-state actors and practices in influencing their political game in their favour in 2012, where the King ordered their re-instatement after hearing from Swazis during a peoples' parliament-Sibaya (Indigenous-local-oriented democratic participation). The net workings arrangement

are characterised by multifaceted actor interactions at multiple levels of society and their interactions are influenced by different cultures (Bacher and Flinders, 2004; Hooghe and Marks, 2001; Arnstein, 1971).

Modes of governance raise the question of how to govern societies in a manner that promotes peace and sustainable development. Modes of governance also highlight that governance is indeed a complex concept never established in a neutral zone or societal vacuum because more often than not it reflects the dominant culture of the people to be governed, their values, goals and interests. Peoples' culture is also complex in nature. In Swaziland democratic governance is so complex because of the Swazi culture or their practices. For example, no institution either modern or traditional, can be seen as independent and autonomous in its operations since every institution is connected to and attached to different institutions (both modern and traditional). This brings some confusion in regard to Swazi democratic governance and this has enormous impact on the prospect of understanding the nature of the country's governance system. This is further complicated by the dynamics of both modern and traditional structures, the people occupying those positions within the structures and politics of the country. All these dynamics revolve around the visible and invisible Swazi culture. Matlosa, (2003) noted that a social fabric of any society is centred on the culture of that community. It is worth noting that the importance of a culture and cultural systems to democratic governance is as important as that of respecting the political practices such as multiparty national elections.

Democratic democracy in Swaziland is cultural-oriented in nature because it embraces an array of cultural values, norms, beliefs, that shape the peoples' practices, institutions and the process of governance. The norms, values and beliefs directly or indirectly influence the main organs of government (the legislative, executive, judiciary and security establishment). Political culture creates some norms and beliefs among people, which end up influencing their behaviour and perceptions on governance (Jackson and Jackson, 1997). People's understanding, perceptions of governance in Swaziland is also influenced by the family culture and educational institutional cultural practices as opposed to international political liberalisation influences and regional democratization-oriented practices. For example, the demise of apartheid in South Africa in 1994 and other political changes in Southern African Development Community (SADC) region became a very important factor for the region's political democratic transformation processes but the institutional, cultural embedded democratic governance maintained and sustained the political stability and the peace in

Swaziland. The Swazi democratic governance embedded in both educational and traditional institutions, cultural norms and values are misunderstood by many particularly outsiders as Matlosa, (2003 p 94) claimed that an ostensibly resilient dynastic authoritarian rule anchored upon executive monarchy and traditionalism is still deeply entrenched in Swaziland. The Monarchy management style in Swaziland is characterised by citizen participation through various platforms (emabandla). This brings confusion to many, particularly to those unfamiliar with the Swazi norms and values. The Swazi democratic governance is further complicated by the skewed traditional-oriented institutional marriage between modern institutions and traditional institutions and the unique peoples' participation within the Swazi political arena. Governance has become a shared responsibility of state and other traditional actors. MacMillan (1986) noted that one of the greatest challenges facing the international community is that of identifying the local social institutions, norms and processes that may have traditionally guaranteed both peace and stability, and participation within communities and then support their reform. Hope, (2009) stated that good governance and peace can be achieved and sustained through developed institutional and human capacities, and the institutions and its operations should be understood.

## **Methodology**

It is difficult to analyze the full impact and consequences of democratic governance in improving practice without exploring the institutions (modern and traditional) through different lenses, such as documents (critical review of policies, acts, research based evidence and journals). For this work a case study is deemed as powerful and illustrative of the nature of governance through institutional analysis and it allows for deeper and more penetrating analyses of what democratic governance means in different spheres of social context. It also helps in giving a detailed examination of one or multi-setting (both modern and traditional settings), thus relevant to this research focus which is to explore governance through institutional analysis. This study does not aim at making some generalization but providing a clearer and deeper understanding of governance in Swaziland and its influence on practice.

## **Research tools**

### **Documentary evidence**

This study is based on documentary evidence and interviews. Documentary evidence (such as the Swaziland Constitution of 2005; South African Constitution of 1996, relevant journals and articles) were used by the researchers because of the nature of the study which examines the nature of institutions and other institutional factors which influence democratic

governance and its management practices. Documentary evidence is crucial in understanding the factors which triggered and also stifles democratic governance and peoples' behavior in institutions. Sometimes the complexities and contradictions in democratic governance are usually obscured by the language of official government documents, policy formulation practices which tend to disregard the messiness of real life, common usage of the word-democratic governance and the process governance itself.

Democratic governance related actions can be triggered by critical programme reports on organizational performance and citizens' behaviour. For example, urgency of democratic governance change can be conveyed by citing the future needs of citizens or other stakeholders, appealing to students' best interests, or uncovering and tackling the perceived inadequacies of the current organizational or educational programmes. Through official documents (policy documents, minutes from meetings, annual reports and dossiers) researchers get access to official perspectives and to democratic governance change initiators' perspectives (Biklen, 1992).

### **Data analysis**

The data was analyzed using the institutional analysis. Good governance could be easily understood through institutional analysis because it requires vigorous attention to informal and informal and formal rules and practices. Institutional analysis helps researcher to understand the incentives that enables and constrains good governance. More often than not, custodians of good governance respond to multivariate of informal and formal incentives and sometimes informal incentives triumph over the formal ones. For example, the norms or culture of corruption may be more powerful than the culture of non-corruption in a society. The later may be violated or ignored with impunity; while anyone who challenges the conventions of the corrupt practices or unprofessional behavior could meet some constrain punishment and this affect good governance and sustainable development.

Informal and formal rules are critical in explaining institutional outcomes and the nature of governance in organizations. Informal structures usually shape or influence institutional outcomes and the manner in which an organization is governed and this has a potential of affecting societal development. For example, informal rules and practices may have some impact on the manner in which key government officials are selected for key positions. For example, Executives, Legislatives or Chief Justice or Judges' selection cannot be explained

strictly in terms of constitutional design (Levitsky and Helmke, 2004). Levitsky and Helmke, (2004) also noted that neo-patrimonial norms sometimes permit unregulated practices or control over state institutions. Informal institutions also shape the formal institutions outcomes in a less visible manner, by creating or strengthening incentives to comply with formal rules. Informal institutions may do the enabling and constraining that is widely expected or attributed to formal institutions (Levitsky and Helmke, 2004). Both formal and informal institutions serve to constrain and guide human behavior and they are embedded in social rules, moral values of an individual that structure peoples' interaction and their governance styles (Redmond, 2005; OECD; 2011,). This highlights that the complexities of democratic governance are a product of both formal and informal institutions.

The institutional analysis helped the researcher to make sense of the documentary evidence, participants' interviews and eventually the formation of these themes: complexities of good governance and unique citizen participation, moral values of the individuals in both formal and informal institutions (value ethics), the value of the individual person in a given function or role (management of ethics), morale values of the institution (governance ethics).

## **Discussions**

### **Multiple Influences of Governance**

Governance for societal change

Democratic governance remains a complex concept influenced by multifaceted socio-economic dynamics and practices such as the politics of that era, the nature of the organisation, peoples' values, peoples' management ethics, and institutions' governance ethics. Within the Swazi modern and traditional institutions democratic governance is perceived as a mean through which individuals are expected to advance societal change and service delivery through citizen participation. Though fraught with some complexities traditional-oriented citizen participation remains one of the best vehicles towards peace and stability in Swaziland. As stated earlier that citizen participation and democratic governance in Swaziland and elsewhere are a formative activities conducted through a variety of processes and structures, some of them are explicit and very visible (for, example, through the formal prescribed country's constitution, laws and policies), and some of the structures

are subtle, almost invisible and unclear to some and barely understood mainly by non-citizens.

The existing institutions are recognised by the Swaziland Constitution of 2005 and viewed as tools to address the country's challenges (poverty, underdevelopment in rural communities and sense of responsibility). This is important in a country with a history of multiple challenges in different sectors, which include the health service, education and the judiciary.

Governance in Swaziland is influenced by multiple of factors which include existing problematic scenario such as the judicial crisis of May June, 2015, morale values of the individuals (values ethics) in both traditional and modern institutions, the value of the individual person in a given function or role (management ethics) and morale values of the organisation (governance ethics).

### **Problematic Scenarios a cultivator for democratic governance**

Problematic scenarios or societal crisis in Swaziland tend to influence governance in both positive and negative ways. For example, the judicial crisis of May-June 2015 influenced governance within the Judicial Service Commission in a positive way because for the first time in the history of (JSC) interviews for Judges were conducted publicly to show transparency, trustworthiness, fairness, accountability and integrity of the Swaziland Judicial Service Commission. Accountability, transparency and integrity are some of the key ingredients for cooperate and democratic governance.

### **Governance and participation through institutional networks**

Institutional networks are schools for democratic governance and democracy because it's where democratic practices and values are nurtured and learned. There is a relationship between citizen participation through institutional networks and empowerment because meaningful good governance depends on empowerment of citizens. Empowerment has the potential of creating creative citizens, able to help themselves and others as opposed to passive citizens who are unable to adapt to the changing environment (Delahaij, 2004). Empowerment is about helping individual citizens, organisations, and communities to be in charge of their lives (Rappaport, 1984). This suggests that empowerment is a facilitator for citizen participation and the latter is a vehicle towards democratic governance. This highlights the integrative perspective of empowerment, an important element in context of good governance. It also notes that good governance depends upon a broader view of

empowerment which is not based on “thin” citizen participation (political participation through political parties).

Governance through networks and supported by empowerment has a potential of promoting democratic governance because of its educative function and integrative function (Michels and Graaf, 2010; Michels, 2007; Jeckins, 2006). Citizens learn how to debate public issues, trustworthiness and reciprocity (in universities, civic organisations and trade unions). Citizen participation contributes to the inclusion of citizens in public matters, such as governance and it also encourages civic skills development, gives government an opportunity to tap into wider source of expertise, information, perspectives, potential solutions, building public trust in government, raising the quality of democratic governance and strengthening civic capacity. In this regard government is not viewed as only the custodian of governance, democracy and expression of the common good and interest of the people but a guarantor of democracy and facilitator of societal change through a well-functioning democratic machinery.

## **Findings**

The study found that governance, empowerment and citizen participation are intertwined processes. Empowerment of citizens through different educational means (using both modern and traditional institutions) helps individual citizens, organisations, and communities to be in charge of their lives. This suggests that empowerment is a facilitator for citizen participation and the latter is a vehicle towards democratic governance either within the modern or traditional institutions.

The researcher found that governance in Swaziland is a multifaceted process influenced by different visible and invisible social forces and are interdependent. Governance is influenced by a combination of socio-economic activities and the on-going dynamics of the context in which this process (governance) is taking place. The dynamics of the context and peoples’ actions and behaviours influenced the governance in different ways in Swaziland. The dynamics include the morale values of the individuals (values ethics) in both traditional and modern institutions, the value of the individual person in a given function or role (management ethics) and morale values of the organisation (governance ethics within the institutions).

The study noted that the leaders of the day in government and within some key organs of government such as the judicial or the executive arm of government, for example, tend to

have a different perception of governance because of their psychology and domestic pressures.

The study found that the ever changing context and the dynamics within the modern institutions (Judicial crisis of May-June 2015) and traditional institutions did not totally demoralised the positive spirit of the Swazi people and did not destroy their knowledge capital but instead it created a new lens in which governance could be improved through existing institutional structures-judiciary, courts and the Swaziland Constitution of 2005.

The study discovered that problematic scenarios helped in promoting collaborations and partnerships of various kinds among the key organs of government. The partnerships open up various forms of flows of communication between different civic societies (Swaziland Law Society, Judicial Service Commission), people, sharing of information and ideas and educational values. The new form of citizen participation promoted a culture of citizen empowerment, a key ingredient for proper governance.

## **Conclusion**

The study concluded that despite the governance complexities in Swaziland the political landscape of governance has been restructured by civic participation (Judicial Crisis of May – June 2015). It also concluded that governance in Swaziland is influenced by a combination of factors – institutional and constitutional structures, and the moral ethic combination of the citizens. Constitutional structures facilitated social movements to use multiple institutions and methods to engage the state. On the other hand governance is influenced by seismic visible and invisible social forces in a manner that it positively and negatively affects the country's governance systems.

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